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**An Ismā‘īlī Thinker on  
the Foundation of Religious Order  
in Cycle of an Enunciator-Prophet:  
Translation of  
the *Kitāb al-Iṣlāḥ*  
by Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī  
17**

Shin Nomoto

**Introduction**

This article provides the translation of the first section (*faṣl*) from Part 3 of the *Kitāb al-Iṣlāḥ*, (The Book of Correction) by Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. ca. 332 A.H./933-4 C.E.), a Neoplatonist-influenced Ismā‘īlī thinker from the 4th c. A.H./10th c. C.E.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The critical and printed edition of the *Kitāb al-Iṣlāḥ* appeared as: Abū Ḥātim Aḥmad ibn Ḥamdān al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-Iṣlāḥ*, ed. Ḥ. Mīnūchihr [and] prepared for publication by M. Mohaghegh with an English introduction by S. Nomoto (Tehran, 1377 A. H. Sh/1998 C.E). When the text of *al-Iṣlāḥ* is referred to in this article, the pagination of this printed edition is followed. In addition, I have consulted the following two manuscripts: MS Hamdani Ms. 1407, Institute of Ismaili Studies, London (originally preserved in Milwaukee, Wis.) (referred to as H); and MS Tübingen Ma VI 327, Universität Tübingen (referred to as T). The section translated in this article is found on: al-Rāzī, *al-Iṣlāḥ*, pp. 135-145/H ff. 64v-71v/T ff. 63r-69v. As for MS H, I am most grateful to Professor Abbas Hamdani (Professor Emeritus at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee) for his generous permission to use the MS, which is in his collection, and to Dr. Paul E. Walker (Research Associate at the University of Chicago), for his kindness in reproducing for me his photocopy of the MS. For the references to the life and works of al-Rāzī, see the works cited in note 1 in the introduction of our 5th sequel of

This study is the 17th in a series constituting the English translation of the entire text of *al-Iṣlāḥ*.<sup>2</sup>

In this section, al-Rāzī discusses the foundation of the sacred law, the missionary call, and the hierarchy of the community. He relates these issues to the discussions on the relations of the celestial angelic hypostases and angels with the people of the earthly community, and on their interaction with each other.<sup>3</sup> The section begins with the quotation from *Kitāb al-Maḥṣūl* or *The Book of the Product* by Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan al-Nasafī (d. 332/943)<sup>4</sup> on the formation of the sacred law. Al-Nasafī compares

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translation of the text of *al-Iṣlāḥ*, 'An Ismā'īlī Thinker on the First Enunciator-Prophet 1: Translation of the *Kitāb al-Iṣlāḥ* by Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī 5,' *Reports of the Keio Institute of Cultural and Linguistic Studies* 41 (2010): pp. 71–95. The updated for the MS Hamdani reference can be found in: F. de Blois, *Arabic, Persian and Gujarati Manuscripts: The Hamdani Collection in the Library of The Institute of Ismaili Studies* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris in Association with the Institute of Ismaili Studies, London, 2011), pp. 15-17.

2 The first and second articles, the two halves of the third, the fourth, the sixth, the seventh, the eighth, the ninth, the tenth, the eleventh, the twelfth, the thirteenth, the fourteenth, the fifteenth and the two halves of the sixteenth of this project have been published in *Reports of the Keio Institute of Cultural and Linguistic Studies* 34 (2002): pp. 97-152; 35 (2003): pp. 105-131; 36 (2005): pp. 45-78; 39 (2008): pp. 99-119; 40 (2009): pp. 69-90; 42 (2011): pp. 127–49; 43 (2012): pp. 117-135; 44 (2013): pp. 309-325; 45 (2014): pp. 283-296; 46 (2015): pp. 419-439; 47 (2016): pp. 225-239; 48 (2017): pp. 299-319; 49 (2018): pp. 203-117; 50 (2019): pp. 347-360; 51 (2020): pp. 269-285; 52 (2021): pp. 179-202; 53 (2022): 279-295. As for the fifth article, see note 1 above. The complete titles of those articles are omitted here for the sake of brevity.

3 The studies which I consulted for the following description are: F. Daftary, *The Ismā'īlīs: Their History and Doctrines*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); D. Hollenberg, *Beyond the Qur'ān: Early Ismā'īlī Ta'wīl and the Secret of the Prophets* (Columbia, S. C. : The University of South Carolina Press, 2016); H. Halm, *Kosmologie und Heilslehre der frühen Ismā'īliya: Eine Studie zur islamischen Gnosis* (Wiesbaden: Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, Kommissionsverlag Franz Steiner, 1978); P. E. Walker, *Early Philosophical Shiism: The Ismaili Neoplatonism of Abū Ya'qūb al-Sijistānī* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

4 For al-Nasafī and his important Neoplatonist influenced book, *Kitāb al-Maḥṣūl*, see F. Daftary, *Ismaili Literature: A Bibliography of Sources and Studies* (London/New York: I. B. Tauris in Association with the Institute of Ismaili Studies, 2004), pp. 16, 18, 28-29 and I. K. Poonawala, *Biobibliography of Ismā'īlī Literature* (Malibu, CA: Undena Publications, 1977), pp. 40-44.

the sacred law to the “junction” or “tie” (*‘aqd*) which appears on the point of the two crossing lines on the plane, one line set in the horizontal direction and another in the vertical. According to him, just as this junction appears only with the two lines, the sacred law is formed not with one enunciator-prophet (*nātiq*) but with the two enunciator-prophets. In the quotation, he states as follows:

... Any junction does not appear only from one line, unless [another] line like it appears in the horizontal dimension. Hence a junction would appear in the middle [of the two lines] just as it is said: One thing in one thing [makes another] one thing. The sacred law [thus] becomes visible (*zāhir*). ... Those two (=Adam and Noah) are two apostles for exoteric teachings (*rasūlān zāhirān*), thanks to whose ability an exoteric sacred law was born, just as each of them is in pair with his [spiritual] form which is [to be likened to] his female [partner].<sup>5</sup>

Thus al-Nasafī implies that the sacred law is formed and appears because of the two enunciator-prophets’ “union” or “coupling,” that is, a metaphorical marriage of two prophets who are compared to man and woman. We cannot judge only from this quotation that this idea does really represent al-Nasafī’s thought on prophecy and the sacred law.

In opposition to al-Nasafī’s idea of the appearance of the sacred law al-Rāzī outheprophet. Rather, the birth is brought forth only by the male and the female.<sup>6</sup> As for the “birth” of Adam’s sacred law, it is brought forth by his conjunction or contact (*ittiṣāl*) with the Preceder (*sābiq*) or the Universal Intellect (*‘Aql*).<sup>7</sup> In this case the Intellect bestows the “benefits” upon Adam: by so doing the former takes the

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5 Al-Rāzī, *al-Iṣlāḥ*, p. 135/H f. 64v/T f. 63r.

6 Al-Rāzī, *al-Iṣlāḥ*, p. 135/H f. 64v/T f. 63r-v.

7 The Universal Intellect or the Preceder is the highest hypostasis below God. Ranked next to it, the Universal Soul (*naḥs*) follows it in cosmic hierarchical order. This is the reason why the Soul is called the Follower (*tālī*) among the *Ismā‘īlī* thinkers of the 4<sup>th</sup>/10<sup>th</sup> century.

role of “man” to the latter who takes the role of “woman” as receiver of the benefits.<sup>8</sup>

The above male-female relation or giver-receiver relation has its equivalent on earth in the religious hierarchy, that is, the relation of the enunciator and his “fundament” (*asās*), namely, his heir who founds the basis of the religious order both in exoteric and esoteric aspects. According to al-Rāzī, the works of two of them, namely, the enunciator-prophet’s composition of the sacred law and his fundament’s establishment of the missionary call (*da’wa*) and esoteric interpretation (*ta’wīl*), brings forth the spiritual “birth” (*wilāda*), or the emergence of a new religious order both in its exoteric and esoteric aspects.<sup>9</sup>

As for the aforementioned “junction” of the two lines, al-Rāzī holds that the line in the vertical direction indicates the enunciator-prophet and another line in the horizontal direction indicates the fundament.<sup>10</sup> He points out that these two lines crossed on the junction bring forth some geometrical figures which indicate both the earthly and the spiritual, celestial hierarchies, suggesting their mutual contact. According to him, the four planes appear around those crossed two lines suggest as follows:

The shape and its form [of the four planes] appear with two of them (the two lines). That is, the missionary calling (*da’wa*) appeared in the “two plateaus” (*najdān*)<sup>11</sup> by virtue of what emanates from the Two Roots (*aṣlān*: the Universal Intellect and Soul) through the two *khayāls* (the two lower angels)<sup>12</sup> upon the two

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8 Al-Rāzī, *al-Iṣlāḥ*, p. 136/H f. 65r/T f. 63v.

9 Al-Rāzī, *al-Iṣlāḥ*, pp. 135-136/H ff. 64v-65r//T f. 63v.

10 Al-Rāzī, *al-Iṣlāḥ*, pp. 137 and 141/H ff. 66r and 68v/T ff. 64v and 67v.

11 Based on the context we suggest that the expression “two plateaus” (*najdān*) means the exoteric and esoteric fields or aspects of the religion.

12 They are the *fath* or “opening” the *khayal* or “imagination” below the *jadd* or “fortune.” These three angelic beings with the two highest hypostases compose the group of five higher beings which is called by Abū Ya’qūb al-Sijistānī: “The higher five beings” (*al-khamsa al-’ulwīya*). See for example: al-Sijistānī, *Kitāb al-Yanābī’*, edited and partially translated into French by H. Corbin in *Trilogie Ismaélienne* (Tehran: Département d’Iranologie de l’Institut

fundaments (*asāsān*: the prophet and the fundament). The grades of the hierarchical members emerged in every one of the four planes [in which] three corners (*zawāyā*, *sg. zawīya*) exist between two lines.<sup>13</sup>

In that way, receiving the guidance and the teachings from the Universal Intellect and Soul by intermediacy of the lower angels, the enunciator-prophet and the fundament (two fundaments) establish the missionary call in both the exoteric and esoteric fields of the religion (the “two plateaus”). Furthermore, al-Rāzī points out that the three corners that appear between each plane and the two crossed lines indicate the “two branches” (*far‘ān*) and a “wing” (*janāh*) which are three persons: the former are the completer (*mutimm*, that is, imam) and the lieutenant (*lāhīq*, the dignitary below the imam). To explain this geometrical form the text shows the figure as follows<sup>14</sup>:



The completers and the lieutenant are called “two branches” in contrast to “two fundaments” just below whom they are ranked. The “wing” is another title for a missionary activist (*dā‘ī*). Twelve is the number of all corners in the four planes. The number twelve here indicates the twelve lieutenants (*lawāhīq*).<sup>15</sup> In theory each of them governs the religious affair of one of the twelve sectors of the world. Thus, by interpreting the two crossed lines and the geometrical figures appearing around

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Franco-Iranien/Paris: A. Maisonneuve, 1961), p. 92 (French translation as *Le livre des sources*, p. 120/English translation by P. E. Walker as *The Wellsprings of Wisdom* in his *The Wellsprings of Wisdom*, Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1999, p. 108). On the mention and discussion by al-Sijistānī of those five beings, see H. Halm, *Kosmologie und Heilslehre*, p. 69.

13 *Al-Rāzī, al-Iṣlāḥ*, p. 142/H f. 69v/T f. 68r.

14 *Al-Rāzī, al-Iṣlāḥ*, p. 142/H f. 69r/T f. 68r

15 *Al-Rāzī, al-Iṣlāḥ*, p. 143/H f. 69r-v/T f. 69r-v.

them, al-Rāzī enumerated the members of both the celestial and earthly hierarchies. He mentions the bestowal of the spiritual benefit from the former upon the latter, which made possible the emergence of the new religious order both in esoteric and exoteric aspects in the cycle of Adam, that is, one particular cycle of Adam. However, returning to the description at the beginning of the section, we can point out that according to al-Nasafī the emergence of the sacred law needs two cycles to take place, since, he maintains, the sacred law emerges only with the two prophets just as the birth takes place only between a man and a woman, namely, two persons of different sexes. How did al-Nasafī discuss on the emergence of the sacred law in this way? How did he think that it takes place in two cycles? Unfortunately, it is not possible to answer these questions because we do not have al-Nasafī's *Kitāb al-Maḥṣūl* in its complete state or even at least partially complete state.

**Translation of  
the First Section of  
Part Three of *Kitāb al-Is̄lāḥ*  
by  
Abū Ḥātīm al-Rāzī**

1. The edition of the text used for this translation is:  
Abū Ḥātīm al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-Is̄lāḥ*. Edited by Ḥasan Mīnūchīhr [and] prepared for publication by Mehdī Moḥaghegh. Tehran, 1998. Hereafter this edition is referred to as the “printed edition” or “printed ed.” The printed edition is based on the following three manuscripts:  
MS Tehran-Markazī, F 1413 (microfilm) and 6180/1-2 (photocopy), Markazī Library, University of Tehran, represented as A (*alif*) in the printed edition;  
MS Tehran-Markazī, F. 1507 (microfilm) and 6087-6088 (photocopy), Markazī Library, University of Tehran, represented as B (*bā*);  
MS Mīnūchīhr, Tehran, represented as J (*jīm*). We consulted the notes in the printed edition, which cites variants from these manuscripts.
2. In addition to the printed edition, we consulted the following two manuscripts:  
MS Hamdani, Institute of Ismaili Studies, London (originally in Milwaukee, Wis.), abbreviated as H; and MS Tübingen, Ma VI 327, Universität Tübingen (University of Tübingen), abbreviated as T.
3. For readers’ reference, the pages numbers of the printed edition, and the folio numbers of the MS Hamdani and MS Tübingen are shown in the translation of the text, and also some of the variants of MSS A, B, and J, and MSS H and T are shown in the translation, in which case we reproduce the variants shown in the notes by the editor(s) in transliteration.



4. The symbol [ ] indicates a word or a phrase which is a suggested reconstruction of the text.
5. The symbol (= ) indicates an explanatory word or phrase which we have supplemented for a better understanding of the preceding word or phrase.
6. We follow the paragraph structure in the printed edition.
7. When a Qur'ānic verse is quoted or referred to in the main text and footnote, the abbreviation "Q" is used first, then its chapter (*sūra*) number, followed by its verse(s) (*āya*, pl. *āyāt*) number(s). We have translated the Qur'ānic verses quoted in al-Rāzī's text in consultation with the following English translations: M. A. S. Abdel Haleem (transl.), *The Qur'an* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, abbreviated as Abdel Haleem; A. J. Arberry (transl.), *The Koran Interpreted*, 2 vols (London: Allen and Anwin, 1957; reprint, Oxford: Oxford University Press, Oxford World Classics, 1983, abbreviated as Arberry; A. Yusuf Ali, *The Holy Qur'an* (Lahore: Sheikh Muhammad Ashraf Publishers, 1934; reprint, n.p; Islamic Propagation Center International, n. d.), abbreviated as Yusuf Ali. In addition, we also consulted: T. Izutsu (Japanese transl.), *Kōran*, 3 vols (Tokyo: Iwanami Publishers, 1964, abbreviated as Izutsu; K. Nakata and K. Shimomura under the direction of H. K. Nakata, *Nichi-A Taiyaku Qur'ān (The Qur'ān in the Arabic Original and Japanese Translation)* (Tokyo: Sakuhinsha, 2014), abbreviated as Nakata; J. Berque (French transl.), *Le Coran: Essai de traduction de l'arabe*, édition revue et corrigée (Paris: Albin Michel, 1990), abbreviated as Berque; and R. Paret (German transl.), *Der Koran*, Übersetzung von Rudi Paret, 12. Auflage (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2014), abbreviated as Paret.

## Translation

### Part 3

(P. 135) (H. f. 64v) (T. f. 63r)

In the name of God, the Most Compassionate and the Most Merciful...

#### Section

With regard to the following statement:

The sacred law can be [compared to] a junction (*'aqd*),<sup>1</sup> but the junction does not appear [only] by a single [line] unless another [line] to it<sup>2</sup> makes one junction with it (i.e. the former line). Any junction does not appear only from one line, unless [another] line like it appears in the horizontal direction. Hence a junction<sup>3</sup> would appear in the middle [of the two lines] just as it is said: One thing in one thing [makes another] one thing. The sacred law [thus] becomes visible (*zāhir*). The birth of the exoteric thing occurs only from between<sup>4</sup> the Two Roots (*aṣlān*). Up to the era of Noah nobody like Adam stood in front of<sup>5</sup> him: such a person would have been suitable for unifying with the exoteric aspect of the religion and for composing the sacred law in order to bear<sup>6</sup> the spiritual birth. Those two (=Adam and Noah) are two apostles for exoteric teachings (*rasūlān zāhirān*), thanks to whose ability an exoteric sacred law was born,

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1 “a junction”: *'aqd*. B, H, J, and T have this. A has *'aqdu-hu* (?).

2 “another similar [line] to it”: *ākhar ma 'a-hu*. B and H have this. A, J and T have *ākhar*.

3 “a junction”: *'aqd*. A, B, H and T have *'aqda* (ending with *tā' marbūṭa*). J has *'aqd*.

4 “only from between”: *illā min bayna*. A, B and H have this. J and T have *al-amr min bayna*.

5 “in front of”: *bi-izā'*. B, H and J have this. A and T have *bi-izā'*.

6 “in order to bear”: *li-taḥtamila*. A, B and H have this. J and T have *li-taḥmila* (?).

just as<sup>7</sup> each of them is in pair with his [spiritual] form which is [to be likened to] his female [partner].<sup>8</sup> Therefore likewise the exoteric sacred law of those two [apostles]<sup>9</sup> is in their own essence in pair with the esoteric interpretation (*ta'wīl*) which is its [spiritual] form.<sup>10</sup>

[We say:] This is the first statement in which an error<sup>11</sup> occurred. (T. f. 63v) We say that [the idea of] the pairing of Adam with Noah is wrong<sup>12</sup> because they are both male enunciator-prophets and the pairing of a male with another male does not necessitate any birth. The birth is brought forth only<sup>13</sup> from [the union of] the male and the female just like the pairing of the first enunciator-prophet with his fundament (*asāsū-hu*) because they are [to be compared to] male and female. The [spiritual] birth is brought forth from the two of them by virtue of the composition of the sacred law and the establishment of the community of the missionary call in the “two plateaus” (*najdān*). With each one’s help of his companion (p. 136) the sacred law and the community of missionary call are established. The spiritual forms (H. f. 65r) were born in the cycle of those two (=Adam and his fundament) until it was completed. Only when the cycle of the first enunciator-prophet was completed as long as his time<sup>14</sup> remained was his fundament’s support of him in the matter of his sacred law brought forth. Then, his fundament renewed for himself a sacred law, not anything other than it. For the first sacred law was born<sup>15</sup> from the first enunciator-prophet at the time of his conjunction (*ittiṣālu-hu*) with the Preceder (*sābiq*) and his pairing with it. This is because when he went into conjunction with the Preceder, he paired with it.

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7 “just as”: *ka-mā anna*. A, B, H and T have this. J has *ka-mā li-anna*.

8 “which is ... female [partner]”: *hiya unthā-hu*. A, B, H and T have this. J has *shibh*.

9 “sacred law of those two”: *sharī'atu-humā*. A, B and H have this. J and T has *sharī'atu-hā*.

10 “its [spiritual] form: *ṣūratu-hā*. A, H, J and T have this. B has *ṣūratu-humā*.

11 “in which an error...”: *fī-hi al-ghalaṭ*. A, B and H have this. J and T have *fī-hi al-fāṭ*.

12 “...is wrong”: *huwa khaṭa'*. A, H and T have this. B has ‘-m *huma khaṭa'*. J has *khaṭa'*.

13 “only”: *innamā*. A, H, J and T have this. B has *wa-innamā*.

14 “his time”: *min muddati-hi*. A, H, J and T have this. B has *min min ṣidqi-hi*.

15 “...born”: *mutawallida*. A, H, J and T have this. B has *muwallada* (?).

Therefore, he was in a position of woman in relation to it (the Preceder) because of his reception of its benefits on the one hand, and the Preceder was a man to him because of its bestowal of his benefits to him. Consequently the sacred law was born<sup>16</sup> with this pairing, then being established with the esoteric interpretation by his fundament: this is because of his pairing with his enunciator-prophet and his support of him. The birth appeared from two of them, not from between two male enunciator-prophets.<sup>17</sup> The birth cannot be possible except in this way.

With regard to the following statement:

The sacred law is a junction (*'aqd*), (**T. f. 64r**) but the junction by a single [line]<sup>18</sup> does not exist except with another junction with it. Likewise any junction does not appear from one line in except with another [line] like it in the horizontal dimension (*'arḍ*),<sup>19</sup> as the statement on it mentioned above.<sup>20</sup>

Then we say: when the two lines, one of which is in the same manner as another, are in vertical direction (*tūl*), as explained on the seven lines which indicate the masters of cycles (*aṣḥāb al-adwār*), no junction appears between two lines<sup>21</sup> [which both stand] in vertical direction. However, when one of the two lines stands in vertical direction on the one hand, and another in horizontal direction (*'arḍ*) on the other hand, the junction appears [between them]. This is because the two lines standing in the vertical direction indicate two enunciator-prophets just as the commentary explains. And when<sup>22</sup> one of (**H. f. 65v**) the two lines stands in vertical direction, and another in

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16 “Consequently the sacred law was born...”: *Fa-tawalladati al-sharī'a*. A, B and H have this. J and T have *Fa-tawallada (?) al--sharī'a*.

17 “... two [...] enunciator-prophets”: *nāṭiqayn*. A, H, J and T have this. H has *al-nāṭiqayn*.

18 “The junction by a single [line]”: *wa-inna al-'aqd min fard*. A, B and H have this. J has *wa-inna 'aqd<sup>mn</sup>(?) bayna fard*. T has *'aqd wa-inna bayna fard*.

19 “in horizontal dimension”: *bi-al-'arḍ*. A, B, H and T have this. J has *al-farḍ*.

20 “as [...] was mentioned above: *mā taqaddama*. A, H, J and T have this. H has *mā yuqaddimu* and lacks the passage:

21 “between two lines”: *bayna khaṭṭayn*. B, H, J and T have this. A has *bayna al-khaṭṭayn*.

22 “And when”: *wa-idhā*. A, H, J and T have this. B has *idhā*.

horizontal direction, those two of them<sup>23</sup> indicate two fundamentals (*asāsān*).<sup>24</sup> Therefore if it is<sup>25</sup> suggested that one of the two lines standing in vertical direction indicates the first enunciator-prophet and another line in horizontal direction the second enunciator-prophet, that is wrong.<sup>26</sup> For when the two lines are in such a state, they are different from each other in form: one of those two<sup>27</sup> stands in vertical direction, whereas the other [stands] in horizontal direction. When (**p. 137**) two enunciator-prophets are signified with two lines, the two lines<sup>28</sup> must stand together in horizontal direction, as we explained the matter of the seven lines between which the six lines in vertical direction. This is because the owners of the lines standing in vertical direction are equal<sup>29</sup> to each other (**T. f. 64v**) in [the mission of] establishing the exoteric sacred laws (*al-sharā' i' al-zāhira*) are equal to each other. Hence, just as<sup>30</sup> they are equal to each other in [the mission of] establishing<sup>31</sup> the exoteric<sup>32</sup> sacred laws, the lines in vertical direction, resembling each other, indicate them (=the owners of the lines). The line set in horizontal direction is different<sup>33</sup> in form to that in vertical direction. I do not mean that those<sup>34</sup> [lines] are different in the way of mutual

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23 “those two of them”: *fa-humā*. A, H, J and T have this. B has *wa-humā*.

24 They are an enunciator-prophets and his fundament.

25 “Therefore if it is”: *fa-in kānat*. J has this. A, B, H has T have *fa-in kāna*.

26 “that is wrong”: *fa-huwa khaṭ'*. A and H have this. B, J and T have *fa-huwa khaṭt(?)*.

27 “in form: one of those two”: *fī al-ṣūra aḥdu-humā*. A has this. B, H, J and T have: *fī al-ṣuwar wa-aḥdu-humā*.

28 “the two lines”: *al-khaṭṭān*. A, J and T have this. B has *bi-al-khaṭṭān*. H has *al-khaṭṭāb (?)*.

29 “...[are] equal”: *nuḏarā'*. B, H and J have this. A and T have *nuḏarā (?)*.

30 “...in [the mission of] establishing the exoteric sacred laws... Hence, just as”: *fī iqāmat al-sharā' i' al-zāhira, fa-kamā*. A, B and H have this. J has *fa-kamā*. T has *fī iqāmat al-sharā' i' al-zāhira*.

31 “in establishing...”: *fī iqāmat...*” A, B and H have this. J has *ka-dhālika fī iqāma...* In T this phrase is written on the margin of the page.

32 “the exoteric”: *al-zāhira*. A, H and J have this. B has *al-zāhira bi-hi*. In T this is written on the margin of the page.

33 “different”: *mukhālif*. A, H, J and T have this. B has *yukhālifu*.

34 “I do not mean that those”: *wa-lastu a'nī anna-hā*. A, H, J and T have this. B has *wa-lastu a'nī bi-hā*.

opposition<sup>35</sup> but I mean so within [the limit of] mutual similarity (*tashākul*), as the difference of the spirit<sup>36</sup> from the body: one of the two is different from the other<sup>37</sup> but congruous with and similar to it. And just as the difference of the esoteric interpretation from the exoteric revelation (*tanzīl*), one of them is indeed different from the other in expression (*lafaz*) but consistent with it in meaning (*ma'nā*) and [they are] similar to each other in substance (*jawhar*). [In addition this is] just as the difference of male from female,<sup>38</sup> but this is not the difference in mutual opposition<sup>39</sup> but within [the limits of] mutual similarity.

**(H. f. 66r)** Therefore the line standing in vertical direction represents the enunciator-prophet,<sup>40</sup> as we explained. The line set in horizontal direction represents the fundament who is in pair with the enunciator-prophet [on the other hand]. The vertical direction indicates the exoteric sacred law because it is difficult to whosoever clings to it without any knowledge. Something becomes difficult to those who cling to the sacred law [because] none of them has any knowledge on the esoteric interpretation. The matter in the sacred law is prolonged for them and becomes harder [for them] due to the doubts, uncertainties, and disagreements that they endure.<sup>41</sup> Everything in vertical direction shows narrowness, firmness, difficulty and hardship. Likewise God—May He be mighty and glorious—describes the matter of the sacred law through [the idea of] the length. **(T. f. 65r)** Hence He—His name be mighty<sup>42</sup>—said: “You have busy work for a long time during the daytime” (Q 73: 7). This is an

35 “[in the way of] mutual opposition”: *taḍādd*. A, B, H and T have this. J has *taḍādād* (?).

36 “as the difference of the spirit”: *ka-mukhālafat al-rūḥ*. A and B have this. H, J and T have *wa-ka-mukhālafat al-rūḥ*.

37 “from another”: *li-l-ākhar*. A, B and H have this. J and T have *al-ākhar*.

38 “from female”: *li-l-unthā*. A, H, J and T have this. B has *al-unthā*.

39 “mutual opposition”: *taḍādd*. A, H, J and T have this. B has *taḍādād* (?).

40 “the enunciator-prophet”: *al-nāṭiq*. B has this. A, H, J and T have *al-nuṭq*.

41 “that they endure”: *li-mā yuqāsūna-hu*. A, B and H have this. J has *wa-yuqāsūna-hu*. T has *yuqāsūna-hu*.

42 “His name be mighty”: ‘*azza ismu-hu*. B and T have ‘*azza wa-jalla*. H has ‘*j* (abbreviation for ‘*azza wa-jalla*).

address to the enunciator-prophet. By the “daytime” He means<sup>43</sup> the sacred law and by “a long time,” the difficulty and hardship. Busying oneself (*sabḥ*) means his (=the Prophet Muḥammad’s) “swimming” (*sibāḥa*)<sup>44</sup> in the literal meaning (*zāhir*) which (p. 138) is familiar to him, because the literal teaching (*zāhir*) is [compared to] the sea (*bahr*) in which the ships flowed after him. So he used to swim so much in the sea, but was not drowned in spite of his swimming in it for a long time. Indeed you (=the Prophet) face the difficulty and hardship in the following tasks: the composition of the sacred law (*ta’līf al-sharī’a*); the persuasion of the people to observe it obediently and forcedly<sup>45</sup>; and making them observe it.

He —He be mighty and glorious—said this in the beginning of this<sup>46</sup> verse “We will send down a weighty statement<sup>47</sup> to you” (Q 73:5): when he became acquainted the spiritual stream with what it conveyed (*jarā*)<sup>48</sup> to him [i.e, the revelaton]; the hardship which befell him first<sup>49</sup> from the people of the exoteric teaching of his sacred law, in persuading them to observe it (H. f. 66v) obediently and forcedly; the toil which befell him in conducting that matter [just mentioned]; and then, later<sup>50</sup>, the violation [of following esoteric teaching], the return to the exoteric teaching, and their victory in it, which befell him from the antagonists (*addād*); and what befell the “close friends” (*awliyā*) in every age from the antagonists who acted

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43 “It means”: *ya’ nī*. J has this. A, B, H and T have *wa-ya’ nī*.

44 “his ‘swimming’”: *sibāḥatu-hu*. A, B, H and T have this. J has *bi-sibāḥati-hi*.

45 “obediently and forcedly”: *tā’ i’ tna wa-mukrahīna*. A, B and H have this. J and T have *tāy’ tna (?) wa-mukrahīna*.

46 “this”: *hādhihi*. A, H, J and T have this. B has *hādihā*.

47 “a weighty statement”: *qawlan thaqīlan*. Abdel Haleem: “a momentous message.” Arbery: “a weighty word.” Berque: “une parole dense.” Izutsu: “omomiaru kotoba.” Nakata: “omoi kotoba,”

48 “with what it conveyed”: *bi-mā jarā* (Literally: “with what flowed”). B, H and J have this. A has *bi-mā jazā (?)*. T has *bi-mā jarī (?)*. I suggest my interpretative translation of this clause with consideration of its context. For the meaning of this clause, see n. 74 below in the present article.

49 “first”: *awwalan*. B has this. A, H, J and T have *wa-lā*.

50 “later”: *min ba’ du*. A, H, J and T have this. B has *ba’ da-hu*.

in accordance with the rule<sup>51</sup> of their ancestors and gained their explanation to them<sup>52</sup> about the creed of leaderships. [When this happened to the Prophet,] he saw all of it with what [i.e. the revelation] conveyed to him, what became weighty to him and intensified, and his anxiety is prolonged. Consequently the matter became weighty and prolonged for him. **(T. f. 65v)** Then it was said to him: “Remember the name of your Lord and devote yourself so hard [to Him]!” (Q 73: 8). [That is,] he was ordered to devote himself to the Follower (*tālī*)<sup>53</sup> who was his instructor, and was ordered to gain profit<sup>54</sup> from it and to bestow profit upon the fundament whom he installed in his name, because his attainment of the spiritual support (*ta’yīd*) for the establishment of the missionary community came from its (i.e. the Follower’s) side. Thus he was in the position of the name<sup>55</sup> which indicates it (=the Follower).

“The Lord of the East and the West. There is no God except Him. So take Him as the Guardian!” (Q 73: 9). Hence the “East” and the “West” mean the two fundamentals (*asāsān*)<sup>56</sup> in this place for the matter of the enunciator-prophet. He benefitted his fundament with what flew to him. His light shone upon him (**p. 139**). The fundament therefore gained benefit from it. In this way its light sets in him. Sometimes, the Lord of the two of them indicates the Follower which is their instructor.<sup>57</sup> Therefore He

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51 “the rule”: *rasm*. A, B and H have this. J has *wasm* (?). T has *washm* (?).

52 “their explanation to them”: *bayyanū la-hum* (literally: “they explained to them”). B, J, and T have this. A and H have *sannū la-hum*.

53 “to the follower”: *ilā al-tālī*. A, B and H have this. J and T have *ilā al-‘ālī*.

54 “and [ordered] to gain profit”: *wa-bi-al-istifāda* (literally: “[...ordered] the acquisition of profit”). B, H, J and T have this. A has *bi-al-istifāda*.

55 “the name”: *al-ism*. A, B and H have this. J and T have *al-amtam* (?).

56 “‘The Lord of the East and the West. There is no God except Him. So take Him as the Guardian!’ (Q 73: 9). Hence the ‘East’ and the ‘West’ mean the two fundamentals”: *Rabb al-mashriq wa al-maghrib lā ilāh illā huwa fattakhidh-hu wakīlan, fa-al-mashriq wa-al-maghrib ‘alā al-asāsayn*. A, B and H have this. J has *Rabb al-mashriq wa al-maghrib alā al-asās*. T has the same quotation from the Qur’ān but reads the last phrase as *alā al-asās instead of ‘alā al-asāsayn*.

57 “[which is their] instructor”: *al-murabbī*. A, B and H have this. J and T have *al-muzannī* (?).



ordered him (i.e. the enunciator-prophet) to take refuge<sup>58</sup> in the instructor of the two of them who installed them for the practice of the faith of the Unity of Creator (*Tawhīd al-Bāri'*) —He be glorious and exalted—who has no partner at all and except whom there is no deity. He also taught them that if they have trust in it, He would protect both of them from the affair of the antagonists: he (i.e. one of two, the enunciator-prophet) could see what they were bringing about, (**H. f. 67r**) with what the spiritual stream conveyed to him.<sup>59</sup> Their matter became weighty and prolonged for him. Consequently the vertical direction indicates the hardship. It is said to anyone whom the hardship befell<sup>60</sup>: the thing has been prolonged for him, and the days and the nights<sup>61</sup> has been prolonged. It is so famous that it does not need<sup>62</sup> a long discussion. Hence the line standing in vertical direction indicates the grade of the enunciator-prophets,<sup>63</sup> as we mentioned. Likewise (**T. f. 66r**) the seven long chapters (*suwar*) at the beginning of the Qur'ān indicate the masters of the seven cycles (*aṣḥāb al-adwār al-sab'a*). As for the seventh,<sup>64</sup> although he has no any sacred law, the missionary community has already been established to him on the wheel (i.e. cycle) of the sixth [enunciator-prophet].

As for the line placed in horizontal direction, it indicates the fundament in pair with the enunciator-prophet. The emanation (*fayḍ*) indicates his truthful missionary

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58 “to take refuge”: *bi-al-iltijā'* (literally: “[ordered] seeking refuge”). B and H have this. A, J and T have *bi-al-iltijā*.

59 “[the antagonists; about whom] he could see ... with what the spiritual stream conveyed to him”: *alladhīna ra'ā bi-mā jarā*. A has *alladhīna bi-mā jarā*. B has *alladhīna ay (?) bi-mā jarā i'lam-hu*. J, H and T have *alladhīna ay (?) bi-mā jarā*.

60 “to anyone whom [the hardship] befell”: *li-kull man waqa'at*. B, H, J and T have this. A has *man waqa'at*.

61 “the nights”: *al-layālī*. B and H have this. A, J and T have *al-layāl (?)*.

62 “[I]t does not need”: *yughnī*. A, B, H and T have this. J has *ya'nī*.

63 “[indicates] the grade of the enunciator-prophets”: *fī martabat al-nuṭaqā'* This reading is not supported by any of five manuscripts, thus being the reconstruction by the editors of text. A, H, J and T have *'alā martabat al-nuṭaqā'*. B has *'alā martabat al-nuṭaqā' ' j*. In this passage we follow the reading of A, H, J and T manuscripts.

64 “As for the seventh”: *al-sābi'*. A, B, H and T have this. J does not have this.

community (*da 'watu-hu al-ḥaqīqīya*) because the meaning of the emanation<sup>65</sup> is the width (*sa'a*) and the repose (*rāḥa*),<sup>66</sup> with which God—He be glorious and exalted—described the paradise (*janna*). So God said: “...And [...to] the garden of paradise, its width is like the width of the heaven and the earth prepared for the God-fearers” (Q 3: 133). “...And [...to] the garden of paradise,<sup>67</sup> its width is like the width of the heaven and the earth prepared for those who believe in God and His apostles” (Q 57: 21). The exegetes and the linguists (*ahl al-lughā*) say: their (i.e. the heavens and earth's) horizon means their width. The thing is like this, because if He had meant the horizontal direction which is different<sup>68</sup> from the vertical, He would have said: its horizontal direction and vertical are like the width of the heaven and the earth, and like the height of both two. Consequently, the mention of the horizontal (*'arḍ*) is not more appropriate here than (p. 140) the vertical (*tūl*). However, by the horizontal direction (*'arḍ*) He meant the wideness (*sa'a*) because when something becomes wide (*ittasa'a*), it widens [in horizon] (*'aruḍa*), and when if it does not widen [in horizon], it becomes long [in vertical direction] and narrow. Anything does not become (H. f. 67v) broad (*'arīd*) but despite the height, whereas it may be high in vertical direction, not broad in horizontal direction. When it is broad<sup>69</sup> without any height, that broadness becomes height and narrow; it is not said to be a thing in horizontal direction. (T. f. 66v) Rather, it is called<sup>70</sup> a tall being [with height] (*ṭawīl*). It is said of every wide being. This is a famous thing in the language of 'Arab. The poet said<sup>71</sup>:

65 “the emanation”: *al-fayḍ*. B, H, J and T have this. A has *'ard*.

66 “the repose”: *al-rāḥa*. A, B and H have this. J and T have *al-dāja*.

67 “...And [...to] the garden of paradise”: *wa-janna*. A, J and T have this. B has *wa-qāla 'azza wa-jalla wa-janna*. H has *qāla wa-janna*.

68 “different”: *khilāf*. B and H have this. A, J and T have *ḥilāf*(?).

69 “Anything does not become broad except despite the height, whereas it may be high in vertical direction, not broad in horizontal direction. When it is broad...”: *Wa lā yakūnu al-shay' 'arīd<sup>m</sup> illā ma'a al-tūl, wa qad yakūnu ṭawīl<sup>m</sup> wa lā yakūnu 'arīd<sup>m</sup> wa idhā kāna 'arīd<sup>m</sup>...* A, H, J and T have this. B has *Wa lā yakūnu al-shay' 'arīdan*.

70 “Rather it is called”: *bal summiya*. A, J, H and T have this. B has *bi-'ismī*.

71 “The poet said”: *qāla al-shā'ir*. A, H, J and T have this. B has *ka-mā qāla al-shā'ir shi'r*.

Just as the country of God—that<sup>72</sup> is broad in size,  
the net of a hunter<sup>73</sup> [spreads] on the frightened, scared man.

Being broad (*arīd*) means being wide (*wāsi‘a*). Therefore God said: “[to...] the garden of paradise, its broadness is the heavens and earth prepared for the God-fearers” (Q 3: 133). The “garden of the paradise” indicates the spiritual stream (*jāri*)<sup>74</sup> and the [meaning of] “heavens” is the enunciator-prophets.<sup>75</sup> The “earth” indicates the fundamentals (*usus*).<sup>76</sup> He (=each fundament) put together<sup>77</sup> the heavens and unified<sup>78</sup> the earth only for the following reason: the sacred laws brought by the enunciator-prophets are numerous and diverse; the fundamentals composed the sacred laws, ordered [the people to practice] the missionary calling (*da‘wa*) and prepared for it. Hence the completers (*atimmā‘*, sg. *mutimm*) emerged with it<sup>79</sup> after them in every

72 “that”: *wa-hiya*. A, H, J and T have this. B has *wa-huwa*.

73 “a hunter”: *hābil*. A, H, J and T have this. B has *hāyil*.

74 In al-Rāzī’s *al-Iṣlāḥ* the word “*jāri*” which can be translated as “stream” or “flow” indicates the emanation or overflow from the celestial angelic beings upon the dignitaries of the earthly hierarchy. This stream or emanation conveys the spiritual guidance, teaching and divine which is likened to spiritual sustenance to those dignitaries such as enunciator-prophets, fundamentals, and imams. See, for example, al-Rāzī, *al-Iṣlāḥ*, p. 86/H f. 42r-v/T f. 41r and p. 180/H f. 90r/T f. 90v. For explanation of the word, see S. Nomoto, “Early Ismā‘īlī Thought on Prophecy According to the *Kitāb al-Iṣlāḥ* by Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. ca. 322/934-5)” (Ph. D. Dissertation, McGill University, Montréal, PQ, 1999), pp. 194-203; idem, “An Ismā‘īlī Thinker on the First Enunciator-Prophet 4: Translation of the *Kitāb al-Iṣlāḥ* by Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī 8,” *Reports of the Keio Institute of Cultural and Linguistic Studies* 44 (2013): p. 319, n. 21; idem, “An Ismā‘īlī Thinker on Abraham and Moses’ Recognition of the Earthly and Celestial Hierarchies 2: Translation of the *Kitāb al-Iṣlāḥ* by Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī 16-(2),” in the same periodical, No. 53 (2022): p. 281.

75 The author compares the seven heavens to the seven enunciator-prophets.

76 “...[indicates] the fundamentals”: *‘alā al-usus*. B, H and J have this. A has *al-usus*.

77 “... put together”: *jama‘a*. A, B and H have this. J and T have *jamī‘*.

78 “...unified”: *waḥḥada*. A, B and H have this. J and T have *wajada*.

79 “Hence the completers emerged with it”: *fa-qāma al-atimmā‘ bi-hā*. A, H and J have *fa-aqāma al-atimmā‘ bi-hi*. B and T have *fa-aqāma al-atimmā bi-hi*. The reading of the printed edition is a reconstruction by its editors based on the context in which the passage is.

cycle. That [order of religion] was ready for them: all of them are thus enabled in [the practice of] that.

There is His saying in another verse: “[...to] the garden of paradise,<sup>80</sup> its broadness is like the broadness of the heaven and earth prepared for those who believe in God and His apostles” (Q 57: 21). Here<sup>81</sup> the “garden of paradise” means the spiritual stream just as we have said. The “heaven” and the “earth” indicate the completer (*mutimm*) and the lieutenant (*lāhiq*).<sup>82</sup> “Those who believe in God and His apostles” indicate the “wings” (*ajniha*, that is, *dā’īs* or missionary activists), the licensees (*ma’dhūnūn*) and others of the hierarchy of the missionary community who are in charge of concluding a contract (‘*aqd*)<sup>82</sup> with the listening-novices (*mustajībūn*) (**H. f. 68r**) because the former (i.e. the people of the hierarchy) assure the latter people (i.e. the novices) of the knowledge taught by the completer and his lieutenants in every age on the doubts and the suspicions among their first people (**T. f. 67r**) and on the punishment by fire among their last people.<sup>83</sup> “God” in this place indicates the completer because the obedience to him is the obedience to God and the disobedience to him is the disobedience to God. “His apostles” indicate the lieutenants who come from him to the people of the missionary community, just as the Apostle of God—God bless him and his family—come [to them] from God.<sup>84</sup>

(**P. 141**) Thus there is His saying: “...Ready for those who believe in God and His apostles<sup>85</sup>” (Q 57: 21). That is to say, the completer and his lieutenants are spiritually

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80 “[to...] the garden of paradise”: *ilā... jannat<sup>m</sup>*. Berque: “vers un Jardin.” Izustu: “Rakuen mezashite.” Nakata: “Rakuen nimukatte.”

81 “Here”: *hā hunā*. A, B and H have this. J and T have *hāhunā*.

82 “a contract”: *al-‘aqd*. B and H have this. A has *al-‘ahd*. J and T have *wa-al-‘aqd*.

83 “their last people”: *ukhrayā-hum*. J has this. A, B, J and T have *ākhirati-him*. H have *ukhrā-hum*.

84 “[God bless] him and his family—come [to them] from God”: *alay-hi wa āli-hi ‘an Allāh*. B has *alay-hi wa āli-hi ‘an Allāh ‘j*. H has *alay-hi wa āli-hi*. A and T have *‘alay-hi ‘an Allāh*. J has *‘alay-hi ‘an al-qawl*.

85 “and His apostles”: *wa-rusuli-hi*. A and H have this. B, J and T have *wa-rasūli-hi*.

supported<sup>86</sup> in every age with what contains wideness (*sa‘a*)<sup>87</sup> on the people of the hierarchy who conduct the missionary work (*da‘wa*) and the readiness (*‘udda*) for them.<sup>88</sup> The completer and his lieutenants prepare<sup>89</sup> that [sort of religious order] for them. Therefore God—May He be glorious and mighty—describes the garden of paradise with the horizontal dimension (*‘arḍ*). Hence the horizontal dimension indicates the wideness just as the line in vertical direction (*tūl*) indicates the tightness (*dayq*). And [also] the line in vertical direction indicates the sacred law just as we said. The wide horizontal dimension (*al-arḍ al-wāsi‘*) [of the paradise] indicates the missionary community because its people, as to the first ones of them,<sup>90</sup> will be enabled in declaration [of doctrines] and gain the spiritual rest with [its] proof which will lead them, as another part of the people,<sup>91</sup> to the broad paradise itself. There they will feel relaxed, and the days and nights<sup>92</sup> will become short<sup>93</sup> to them,<sup>94</sup> although there are neither days nor nights in that place, and yet [there are the days and nights] in accordance with the similarity in meaning.<sup>95</sup> This matter will become tight (*yaḍīq*)

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86 “spiritually supported”: *yu‘ayyadu*. A, B and H have this. J and T have *yurīd*.

87 This is seemingly a symbol of the basis of religion founded both on exoteric and esoteric by the fundament in every cycle

88 “and the readiness for them”: *‘udda la-hum*. B has this. A, H, J and T have *wa-‘adluhum*.

89 “prepare...”: read “*yu‘iddūna*” in IVth form, in stead of “*ya‘addūna*” in the printed edition.

90 “the first ones of them”: *ūlayā-hum*. A, B, H, J and T have *awwalā (?) -hum*.

91 “another part of the people”: *ukhrayā-hum*. A, B, H, J and T have *ukhrā (?) -hum*.

92 “and nights”: *wa-al-layālī*. B, J and T have this. A and H have *wa-al-layāl (?)*..

93 “[and...] become short”: *wa-yaqṣuru*. B, J and T have this (in the margin of T the correction is additionally written as *yaqṣuru*). A and H have *wa-yaqḍaw (?)*.

94 The passage from this subordinate clause (*wa-in lam yakūnu hunāka ayyām wa-layāl*<sup>l</sup> or “although there are neither days nor nights...”) to the clause (*wa-yaḍīl ‘alay-him al-ayyām wa-al-layālī* or “the days and nights are ...became long to them”) (on p. 141, ll. 7-8 in the printed edition) is missing from H.

95 “in accordance with the similarity in meaning”: *‘alā al-tashbīh fī al-ma‘nā*. B has this. A and T have *‘alā al-tashbīh fī al-ma‘nā* (ending with extra alif, not in *alif maqṣūra*). The phrase is missing from H (See n. 91 above). J has *‘alā al-shabīh fī al-ma‘nā*.

to the people of sacred law (*ahl al-sharī'a*) who are ignorant of<sup>96</sup> its real contents.<sup>97</sup> Among their first group the days and nights are hard and become long to them because of the constriction and uncertainty adhering to them, within doubts, suspicions and differences which will lead them<sup>98</sup> (T. f. 67v) to the sheer calamity and (H. f. 68v) suffering among the last of their people in which the days and nights are prolonged for them, although there are neither days nor nights in that place. However, [there would not be those days and nights] in spite of the similarity in meaning.

Therefore the line standing in the vertical direction indicates the enunciator-prophet, and the line<sup>99</sup> set in the horizontal direction indicates his fundament. Indeed when you draw<sup>100</sup> the line for him (=enunciator-prophet) in horizontal direction, the junction appears to the middle<sup>101</sup> [of crossing two lines] like this +,<sup>102</sup> that is, when (p. 142) the enunciator-prophet stands [in his position], he composes sacred law, and when his fundament stands [in his position] for conducting the missionary work, he begins<sup>103</sup> to make a junction [of the two lines]. Thus that junction is a key. Thereby the unity of Creator (*tawhīd al-Bārī*)——He be glorious and exalted!——appears and so does the grades (*marātib*) of the hierarchy for the people<sup>104</sup> of the missionary community, just as the one junction appeared and the hierarchical ranks with the two lines the one of which shows the unity of Creator——He be glorious and exalted! [In addition, also] with it all the hierarchical ranks appear in this one form repeatedly at the time of the appearance of the junction in its (=the form's) middle. That is, with the

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96 “are ignorant of”: *jahlū*. A and B have this. J and T have *ja'alū*. This word is missing from H (See n. 91 above).

97 “[T]he real contents of it”: *ḥaqā'iq mā fī-hā*. Literally this phrase means: the realities of what is contained in it.

98 “will lead them”: *tu'addī-him*. A, B and H have this. J and T have *yu'addī-him*.

99 “and the line”: *wa-al-khaṭṭ*. A, B and H have this. J and T have *yakhuṭṭu*.

100 “you drew [the line]”: *khaṭṭa*. A, B and H have this. J and T have *khaṭṭabuṭṭa* (?).

101 “to the middle”: *ilā al-wasaṭ*. B, H, J and T have this. A has *fī al-wasaṭ*.

102 +: A, B and H have this symbol. J and T do not have it.

103 “he began”: *ibtada'a*. A has this. B, H, J and T have *ibtadā'a* (?).

104 “for the people”: *li-ahl*. A, H, J and T have this. B has *wa-ahl*.

unity of Creator—May He be glorious and exalted!<sup>105</sup>—the grades of the hierarchal members appear. When the one junction appears<sup>106</sup> with the two lines, the four planes appear. Each plane of them has three angles [by the two crossed lines]. Consequently with the one dot in the two lines there appear three [angles] and four [planes]. This is the arithmetic precision (*tamām al-ḥisāb*) (T. f. 68r): two, three, and four. These make nine. And [number] one is the cause (‘illa) of the numbers but is not included in the numbers.<sup>107</sup> That is, with the unity of Creator—May He be glorious (H. f. 69r) and exalted!—there appeared the hierarchical ranks. He—His name be mighty!—is not counted with the hierarchical ranks. Therefore the dot indicates the unity of Creator—The mention of Him be glorious!—, as we mentioned. The two lines indicate the two fundamentals (*asāsān*). The vertical and horizontal directions indicate the “two plateaus” (*najdān*). That is to say, the unity of God—May He be mighty and glorious!—emerges with the performance by the two fundamentals of the sacred law and the calling (*da‘wa*) both exoterically and esoterically<sup>108</sup>. The number nine, which is the completion of the calculation, indicates the two fundamentals and the seven completers because the matter of the “two plateaus” is completed by them. The

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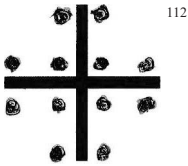
105 “Creator—He be glorious and exalted”: *al-Bārī’ jalla wa-ta’ālā*. A has *al-Bārī’ ta’ālā*. H and T have *al-Bārī’ jalla wa-ta’ālā*.

106 “appeared”: *ḡahara*. H, J and T have this. A and B have *ḡaharat*.

107 A similar concept of number one is found in the first epistle of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’, a 4<sup>th</sup>/10<sup>th</sup> century secret society of intellectuals in Baṣra thought to have been associated to the Ismā‘īlīs. The Ikhwān hold that number one or “the [unit] one” is the “source” (*aṣl*) of all numbers, and that the first number is number two. See *Epistles of the Brethren of Purity, On Arithmetic and Geometry: An Arabic Critical Edition and English Translation of EPISTLES I & 2*, edited and translated by N. El-Bizri (Oxford: Oxford University Press in Association with the Institute of Ismaili Studies, 2012), pp. 27-28 (Arabic), pp. 75-76 (translation). This note is based on a suggestion by Dr Omar Alí de-Unzaga (Research Associate at the Institute of Ismaili Studies, London). I am most grateful for his kind suggestion. Needless to say, the responsibility for any mistake is mine.

108 “The vertical and horizontal directions indicate the ‘two plateaus.’ That is to say, ...with the performance by the two fundamentals of the sacred law...”: *wa-al-ṭūl wa-al-‘arḍ ‘alā al-najdayn ay bi-iqāmat al-asāsayn al-sharī’a*. A, B, H and T have this. J has *al-sharī’a*.

four planes [appear]<sup>109</sup> between the two lines, one of which<sup>110</sup> stands in the vertical direction, and another of which stands in the horizontal direction. The shape and its form [of four planes] appear with two of them. That is, the missionary calling (*da'wa*) appears<sup>111</sup> in the “two plateaus” by virtue of what emanate from the Two Roots (*aṣlān*) through the two khayāls upon the two fundamentals. The grades of the hierarchical members emerged in every one of the four planes [in which] three angles existed between two lines. This can be seen in the following manner:



(P. 143) Therefore the three angles indicate the two branches (*far'ān*)<sup>113</sup> and a wing (*janāh*). That is, the support of the two branches and the wing in every age is [established] with what the two fundamentals let them obtain with the spiritual aid (*ta'yīd*)<sup>114</sup> from the Two Roots and the two *khayāls*. Then there are three and four: the sum of them makes seven. Thus the three indicate the two branches (T. f. 68v) and the wing. The four indicate the two fundamentals and the two plateaus. That is, with the conducting by the two branches and the wing of the missionary work in the two plateaus with what they obtained from the two fundamentals, there is the appearance of the affair of the seven completers. Thereafter [all] three [angles] (H. f. 69v) in the four

109 “[appear]”: *hunna*. B, H, J and T have this. A has *hiya*.

110 “which”: *alladhayn*. B, H, J and T have this. A has *al-lladhayn* (?).

111 “appeared”: *zaharat*. A, B and H have this. J and T have *zahara*.

112 A, H, J and T have this figure. It is missing from B.

113 “[indicate] the two branches”: “*alā al-far'ayn*. A, B, H and T have this. J has *'alā al-qar'ayn*.

114 “the two fundamentals...with the spiritual aid”: *al-asāsān bi-al-ta'yīd*. A, H and T have this. B has *illā al-asāsān bi-al-ta'yīd*. J has *al-asāsān al-ta'yīd*.



[planes] make twelve [angles]. That is, the basis of the twelve lieutenants (*al-lawāhiq al-ithnā‘ashara*) is established with the Two Roots’ bestowal of the benefit (*ifāda*) through the two *khayāls* upon the two fundamentals and completers. Consequently there appear<sup>115</sup> all these dignitaries of the hierarchy in this shape which is [made up of] two lines, namely, a line standing in the vertical direction and a line in the horizontal direction. Indeed if you draw<sup>116</sup> the seven lines in the vertical direction, nothing will appear from these people of the hierarchy and no junction (*‘aqd*) will appear between them (=the seven lines)<sup>117</sup> but only the lines and squares (*‘araṣāt*)<sup>118</sup> themselves. For it (=drawing of the lines) has already shown you<sup>119</sup> the following: As for the lines standing in the vertical direction and the squares which indicate the enunciator-prophets and their sacred laws, with them (=those lines) nothing emerges but the grades of those enunciator-prophets and the sacred laws emerge, and nothing of hierarchical ranks emerges in them. Furthermore this has already shown you that the line standing in the vertical direction and another line in the horizontal direction respectively imply the first enunciator-prophet and his fundament. [Also it is implied] that the whole hierarchy in his cycle was perfected with his sacred law and his missionary work at the time of his union and pairing with his fundament. It is because

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115 “That is, with the conducting by the two branches and the wing...(…)... the basis of the twelve lieutenants is established with the Two Roots’ bestowal of the benefit through the two *khayāls* upon the two fundamentals and completers. Consequently there appear...”: *Ay, bi-iqāmat al-far‘ayn wa-al-janāh al-da‘wa fī al-najdayn, bi-mā nālū min al-asāsayn, yakūnu zuhūr amr al-atimmā‘ al-sab‘a. Thumma thalātha fī arba‘a ithnā ‘ashara. Ay, bi-iqāmat al-aṣlayn bi-al-khayālayn al-asāsayn wa-al-mutimm, yakūnu qiwām al-lawāhiq al-ithnā ‘ashara. Fa-qad ṣahara...* A and H have this. The phrase *al-da‘wa fī al-najdayn bi-mā nālū min* is missing from B which has instead *wa-al-arba‘a ‘alā*. The clause *ay, bi-iqāmat al-aṣlayn bi-al-khayālayn al-asāsayn wa-al-mutimm, yakūnu qiwām al-lawāhiq al-ithnā ‘ashara* is missing from J and T.

116 “you draw”: *khaṭṭatta*. A, and B, H and T have this. J has *khaṭṭabūta* (?).

117 “between them”: For this all the A, B, and J have *bayna-humā* according to the editors of the printed edition (note on line 8 in p. 143). Also H and T have *bayna-humā*.

118 “the ... squares”: *al-‘araṣāt*. A, B and H have this. J and T have *al-‘araḍāt*.

119 “For it has already shown you”: *Fa-qad dalla-ka*. A and B have this. H has *dhālika* (?). J and T has *fa-qad dhālika* (?).

the two of them are man<sup>120</sup> and woman. [And] if an enunciator-prophet is united and married with another prophet, no hierarchical rank will emerge because they are both male. [Also] nothing but the enunciator-prophet and his sacred law appear in the exoteric meaning of the sacred laws brought by the enunciator-prophets (*ẓāhir sharā'i' al-nuṭqā'*). Between the lines (T. f. 69r) which stand<sup>121</sup> in the vertical direction, there are squares (p. 144) which make separation<sup>122</sup> between the lines and do not bring them together. That is,<sup>123</sup> between [each of] the enunciator-prophets and other one there is a certain period of time of sacred laws and a cycle. There is never a union<sup>124</sup> between two enunciator-prophets. Otherwise they are married in couple (H. f. 70r) just as in the union of the two fundamentals in one age<sup>125</sup> and their coupling. The emergence of the hierarchy from between two of them is like the emergence of the births (*mawālīd*, sg. *mīlād*) from between the man and the woman. There is no reproduction except with the union and the coupling. Then, how is it possible for an enunciator-prophet to be in couple with another enunciator-prophet?

We say: The emergence of the sacred law does not take place with that of two enunciator-prophets and the union of their two ranks (*ijtimā'u-humā*) because they are two men. Rather, the emergence of the two<sup>126</sup> takes place with the enunciator-prophet's coming together and conjunction with the Preceder (*al-Sābiq*),<sup>127</sup> as we mentioned. This is because if the enunciator-prophet goes into conjunction with the Preceder, he is in the position of the woman in relation to it, and the Preceder is to him in the position of the man in relation to him. Therefore when the two of them go into

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120 “man”: *dhakar*. A, B and H have this. J and T have *dhakarā*.

121 “which [stand]”: *allatī hiya*. A, H, J and T have this. B has *allatī huwa*.

122 “make separation”: *tufarriqu*. A has this. B, H, J and T have *yufarriqu*.

123 “...and do not bring them together. That is...”: *wa-lā tajma'u-hā ay*. H has this (but also with two dots of *yā*). A has *wa-lā tajma'u-humā ay*. B has *wa-lā yajma'u-hā ay*. J has *wa-lā tajma'u-hā ilā*. T has *wa-lā tajma'u-humā ilā*.

124 “There is never a union”: *wa-lā ijtimā'*. A, B and H have this. J and T have *wa-al-ijtimā'*.

125 “in one age”: *fī 'aṣr wāhid*. A, B and H have this. J and T have *fī wāhid*.

126 “the emergence of two men”: *zuhūru-humā*. A, B, H and T have this. B has *zuhūru-hā*.

127 “the Preceder”: *al-Sābiq*. H, J and T have this. A and B have *bi-al-Sābiq*.

conjunction with each other, the sacred law emerges.<sup>128</sup> Likewise, at the time of the conjunction of the fundament with the Follower, the missionary calling emerges because the Follower is in the position of the man in relation to the fundament and the fundament is in the position of the woman in relation to it. The union of the two fundaments with the basis of the missionary calling is established upon the exoteric teaching of the sacred law. For the enunciator-prophet is in the position of the man to him (=the fundament) and the fundament is in the position of the woman. By virtue of the union of those two the births emerge<sup>129</sup> with the simple forms (*al-ṣuwar al-bāsiṭa*). Hence following this<sup>130</sup> manner the coupling and the births do not take place with the emergence of two enunciator-prophets.

Then, if a person says:

“Indeed, the position of the enunciator-prophet is that of<sup>131</sup> the males and the position of the Follower<sup>132</sup> is that of the females [on the one hand], and you placed the enunciator-prophet (**T. f. 69v**) in the position of the woman [in relation] to the Preceder and the follower in the position of man<sup>133</sup> [in couple] with the fundament [on the other hand].”

We say: “the maleness (*dhukūrīya*) and the femaleness (*unūsīya*) are placed just in [the position of] the superior (*fāḍil*) and the inferior (*mafḍūl*)<sup>134</sup> at the time of the coupling. (**P. 145**) Therefore when the two ranks come together (**H. f. 70v**) in relation

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128 “emerges”: *zāharati*. A, B and H have this. J and T have *zāhara* (ending with *tā‘ marbūṭa*).

129 “emerges”: *taẓharu*. A, H, J and T have this. B has *yaẓharu*.

130 “following this...”: *fa-‘alā hādhā...* A, B and H have this. J and T have *fī‘l (?) hādhā*.

131 “the position of the enunciator-prophet is that of”: *maḥall al-nāṭiq maḥall...* A and H have this. B has *yaḥullu (?) al-nāṭiq maḥall...* J and T have *yaḥullu (?) al-nāṭiq yaḥullu...*

132 “the position of the follower”: *maḥall al-tālī*. A, H, J and T have this. B has *yaḥullu al-tālī*.

133 “in the position of man”: *bi-manzilat al-dhakar*. A, H, J and T have this. B has *maḥall al-tālī*.

134 “...are placed just in [the position of] the superior and the inferior: *taqa‘u fī al-fāḍil al-mafḍūl*. A has this. B has *taqa‘u fī al-fā‘il wa-al-amaf‘ūl*. H, J and T have *yaqa‘u fī al-fāḍil al-mafḍūl*.

to the benefit-bestowal (*ifāda*) and the acquisition (*istifāda*), the benefit-bestowing superior is always male, and the benefit-acquiring inferior is, as we said, always female. Similarly, the order in the males and the females is established by virtue of [the rule of] the superior<sup>135</sup> and the inferior, and of the benefit-bestowing and the benefit-acquiring, as we said. Indeed, when the follower is united with the Preceder, the latter is the benefit-bestowing male and the former is the benefit-acquiring female. Likewise, when the fundament is united with the enunciator-prophet, the latter is the benefit-bestowing male and the former is the benefit-acquiring female.

Therefore as for the union of an enunciator-prophet with another one, that is never possible<sup>136</sup> because they are both male. They do not come together with each other<sup>137</sup> in any age and do not unite with each other.<sup>138</sup> Otherwise one of the two would acquire benefit from another but the birth would never take place from them.

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135 “by virtue [of the rule] of the superior”: *bi-al-al-fāḍil*. A, B and H have this. J and T have *al-fāḍil*.

136 “that is never possible”: *fa-lā yajūzu*. B, H, J and T have this. A has *wa-lā yajūzu*.

137 “They do not come together with each other”: *wa-lā yajtami’āni*. A, B and H have this. J and T have *wa-lā yajma’āni*.

138 “...and do not unite with each other”: *wa-lā yaqtarināni*. A and B have this. H and J have *wa-lā yaftariqāni*. J and T have *wa-lā taftariqāni*.

