

James Barrett
1860
no 13 19
JOURNAL

OF THE

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

Library
Institute of Islamic Studies

~~MS 2849~~

SECOND VOLUME.

Library of
PITTSBURGH - XENIA
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
N.S., Pittsburg, Pa.

NEW YORK & LONDON:

GEORGE F. PUTNAM,

PARIS: HECTOR DOSSANCE.

MDCCLII.



T.N.K.

NODE 29319

ENG

1158

ARTICLE XII.

TRANSLATION

OF

TWO UNPUBLISHED ARABIC DOCUMENTS,

RELATING TO THE DOCTRINES

OF THE

ISMĀ'ILIS AND OTHER BĀTINIAN SECTS,

WITH AN

INTRODUCTION AND NOTES.

BY

EDWARD E. SALISBURY.

T.N.K.

(Read October 25, 1849.)

PAL II.

83

James Barrett
1860
JOURNAL no 13 19

OF THE

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

Library
Institute of Islamic Studies

~~MS. 2.10.100~~

SECOND VOLUME.

Library of
PITTSBURGH - XENIA
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
N.S., Pittsburgh, Pa.

NEW YORK & LONDON:

GEORGE P. PUTNAM.

PARIS: HECTOR DOSSANCE.

MDCCLII.

T.N.K.

ARTICLE XII.

TRANSLATION

OF

TWO UNPUBLISHED ARABIC DOCUMENTS,

RELATING TO THE DOCTRINES

OF THE

ISMĀ'ILIS AND OTHER BĀṬINIAN SECTS,

WITH AN

INTRODUCTION AND NOTES.

BY

EDWARD E. SALISBURY.

(Read October 25, 1869.)

T.N.K.

VOL. II.

33



INTRODUCTION.

SOME time ago, I received from Dr. Henry W. De Forest, missionary in Syria, an Arabic manuscript of fifty-seven leaves, consisting of three documents which throw new light upon the opinions held by the Ismâ'îlis, and other sects of Allegorists, or Mystics, of Muslim origin. Two of these documents bear marks of being authoritative with the sects themselves whose views they profess to represent; while the other, though controversial in its design and character, is valuable for comparison with them. The history of the Ismâ'îlis and their branches, of which the Druzes constitute one of the most important, is, at least in its outlines, sufficiently well known. But excepting the Druzes, whose books have now for some time been in the hands of the learned, the opinions of none of them have been definitely ascertained.* Of the Nusairian and Ismâ'îlian documents announced within the last three years, in France and Germany, as recently discovered, only outlines with brief extracts, or mere tables of contents, have as yet been published.†

Under these circumstances, though with some diffidence, I publish the following translation of two of the documents

* See *Mémoires de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions*, Tome xvii. pp. 127, ff.; *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits*, Tome ix. pp. 143, ff.; C. Niebuhr's *Reisebeschreibung*, Bd. ii. ss. 439, ff.; *Mémoires de l'Institut Royal, Classe d'Hist. et de Littér. Anc.* Tome iv. pp. 1, ff.; *Die Geschichte der Arabier*, v. Joseph von Hammer; *Mémoires sur les trois plus fameux Sectes du Moudjmanisme*, par M. Ik. pp. 31, ff.; *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, by John Lewis Burckhardt, pp. 130-8; *Journal Asiatique*, Tome v. pp. 122, ff.; *Origine de la Religion des Druzes*, par M. le Baron Silvestre De Sacy, 2 Tomes; *Die Druzen und ihre Vorläufer*, von Dr. Philipp Wolff, Einleitung; *Geschichte der Chalifen*, von Dr. Gustav Weil, Bd. ii. ss. 493, ff.; *Journal Asiatique*, Série iv. Tome xiii. pp. 28, ff.

† See *Journal Asiatique*, Série iv. Tome xi. pp. 145, ff.; *Idem*, Tome xii. pp. 72, ff. 485, ff.; *Zeitschrift d. Deutsch. Morgenland. Gesellschaft*, Bd. ii. ss. 318, ff.; *Idem*, Bd. ii. ss. 362, ff.

sent to me by Dr. De Forest, setting one of them aside, for the present, for fear that I may not have yet fully mastered the system contained in it. The document set aside consists of two fragments of what purports to be a conversation between Muḥammed Ibn 'Aly El-Bākir and Khālid Ibn Zeid El-Ju'fī, related by the latter in the form of a رسالة, i. e. Missive, for the purpose of directing certain persons supposed to have "deviated from the path of rectitude." The former of the two interlocutors here introduced can be no other, as the conversation itself shows, than the fifth Imām of the Ismā'īlīs, commonly known as El-Bākir, a great-grandson of the Khaliḥfah 'Aly; the other, who appears as an inquirer, is not so easily identified, but may be conjectured to be a descendant of 'Aly, whose father was a brother of El-Bākir.* But, inasmuch as Esh-Shahrastāny informs us that the Shī'ite sects, after the time of El-Bākir, were much disposed "to pass off" their opinions "upon his followers," and "to refer their origin to him, and to fix them on him," the question naturally arises, whether we have, in this Missive, the genuine doctrine of El-Bākir, or that of some party availing itself of his name to give currency to views in reality not his. To judge by what Esh-Shahrastāny tells us of the opinions of El-Bākir, the Missive in question might be taken as an authentic expression of his mind, for he here denies, either explicitly, or by implication, each of certain doctrines which are particularly mentioned by Esh-Shahrastāny as not actually held by him, and which therefore appear to have been those oftenest ascribed to him falsely. It is possible, however, that some party with which he was not so generally confounded, or perhaps kindred to his own, may have here used his name without authority. At all events, this Missive sets forth doctrines different from those maintained by either of the sects referred to, or represented, in the other two documents.

The first portion of the following translation is made from the controversial document. The original of this is entitled السوط العدلية بالفرقة الاسماعيلية والعين الساخطة علي الترامطة i. e. *The Attack of the Partizan of Justice*

* See Weil's *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Bd. i. s. 326-7; Id. Bd. ii. s. 204.

† The orthodox author so designates himself as one beholding to the justice of God in respect to predestination.

upon the party of the Ismā'īliyah, and the *Angry Eye* upon the party of the *Kardmatah*, and is an extract from a larger work entitled كتاب مناهج التوسل في مناهج التوسل

i. e. *The Book of the Open Ways of Approach [to God.] touching the Gladdening of [Divine] Lenity.* It seems to have been written on the appearance of some followers of Karmat in the Wādy Hamāh, probably near to Hamāh in Syria, "between Homs and Kinnereth," as Abulfeda says, who adds that those who threw off the faith of Islām, had free range there.* There is no precise indication of the date of its composition, nor is the name of the author given. He only calls himself Esh-Shāfi'y, or the Shāfi'ite. This document consists of three parts. The author begins with eight hundred and thirty-two lines of rhymed measure, in which he portrays the hated party against which he writes, in concise and pointed terms. These rhymings I have passed over in translating, as the fuller statements in prose which follow them, though less piquant as a specimen of controversy, may be more safely relied upon for information. Next is introduced a piece in prose by another author. This author calls himself El-Āmidy, and it may be suggested as quite probable that he is the Seif ed-din El-Āmidy whom Ibn Khallikān speaks of as having taken up his residence at Hamāh, and there composed works "on the principles of religion, and jurisprudence, and logic, and philosophy, and disputation," and whose death, as the same authority informs us, took place A. H. 631, i. e. A. D. 1233-4.† It is worthy of notice, in this connection, that a portion of this piece strikingly resembles what Von Hammer published many years ago, on the Ismā'īlīs, as in substance contained in a work by El-Jorjūny,‡ who, according to D'Herbelot, died A. H. 816, i. e. A. D. 1413-14.§ The third part of this document is a statement of inquiries respecting the Nusairis, presented to Takky ed-din Ibn Yatmiyeh, with his answer. This person was a distinguished doctor of Muslim law, who died, according to D'Herbelot, A. H. 768, or, as some say, A. H. 748, i. e. A. D. 1366-7, or A. D. 1347-8.]

* See *Obographie d'Abulfeda*, ed. Reinaud et De Slane, pp. 262-3.

† See Ibn Khallikān's *Dictionnaire Biographique*, ed. De Slane, pp. 458-7.

‡ See *Journal Asiatique*, Tome vi, pp. 327-5.

§ See D'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 373.

|| See *Ideas*, p. 444.

It follows from the limitation of date thus given to the concluding part of this document, that it must have been compiled as late as the middle of the fourteenth century of our era. This document was obtained by Rev. Dr. Eli Smith, missionary in Syria, from Mikhâil Mesbûka of Damascus.

The second portion of the following translation is taken from a document without title, but of which the nature of the contents is sufficiently evident. It consists of four pieces. The first piece presents a system of cosmogony; the second, a formula of religious belief; the third, a satirical allegorizing of the doctrines set forth in that formula; and the fourth, a statement of the doctrine of the Imâm. All these pieces are in form declarative, not argumentative; and in reading them attentively one cannot resist the impression, that they are specimens of the so-called sermons which the Dâ'is, or missionaries, of the Ismâ'îlis are said to have been in the habit of delivering, at stated seasons, in general assemblies of the sect, to those whom they would initiate into their system.* That they express Ismâ'îlian doctrine is put beyond doubt by allusions contained in them. But, what is more, one may even refer some of them, with considerable confidence, to particular grades of initiation which are described by oriental writers as recognized by this sect, and are briefly alluded to in our first document. For the fourth piece evidently belongs to that stage of instruction of which the object was to impress with the sense of dependence upon the Imâm; and the third, to that which was designed to initiate the proselyte into a pretended mystic sense of the doctrines and precepts of Islam; while the second might very appropriately have been delivered to less advanced scholars, by way of "preliminary agreement with them on the part of the great in religious and worldly affairs," that is, the leading religious and civil authorities of the day, or those of the Muslims, which our controversial document charges upon them as one of their practices. The date of these peculiar missionary sermons cannot be exactly determined. But there seems to be an intimate connection between them all, so that whatever date belongs to one is probably to be affixed to all. This document, so important for its contents, was obtained through

* See *Mémoires de l'Institut*, Tome iv. pp. 4-5.

the courtesy of Mr. Von Wildenbruch, late Prussian Consul General for Syria, whose dragoon, Mr. Catafago, found it near Aleppo.

As a farther introduction to the following translation, are here added translations of several passages from Esh-Shah-nastâny's celebrated *Book of Orders and Sects*, relative to the parties to be brought before the reader. The passage above referred to, in which this author gives an account of El-Bâkir, is also appended. It seemed the more desirable to make these extracts, as no English translation of this high authority on such subjects is known to have been published; and the German translation by Haubrucker, of which the first volume has recently appeared, although a good one, does not supply the place of one in our own language.* The first of these extracts relates to the Ismâ'îlis, under the more general name of the Bâtiniis, which includes also the followers of Karma; and the Nusairis.† The second is on the Ghâlis, the Extravagant Shi'is, in general.‡ The third is on that particular portion of this party denominated the Nusairis and Ishâkis.§ The fourth relates to El-Bâkir.]

Exactness has been my aim in translating; and to this every thing else has been sacrificed, so far as was consistent with preserving the English idiom. The foot-notes are intended mainly to facilitate the understanding of the text. A discussion of the many interesting topics suggested by it, would probably have been premature, if indeed it could have been entered upon.

"The *Bâtiniyah*."—This appellation is affixed to them only because they give out that every thing outward has an inward; and every letter of revelation, an allegorical sense. And they have many appellations beside this, according to

* *Abul-Fakh Muhammad ash-Saharastâni's Religions-Partheien und Philosophen Schulen*, zum ersten Male vollständig aus d. Arab. ubersetzt von Dr. Theodor Haubrucker. Erster Theil. Halle: 1850.

† See *Book of Religions and Philosophical Sects*, by Muhammad Al-Shah-nastâni, ed. Rev. W. Curzon, pp. 147, ff.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

§ *Ibid.*, pp. 143, ff.

¶ *Ibid.*, pp. 124, ff.

¶ i. e. Party of the hidden sense.

the language of one and another people. For in 'Irāk, they are named the Bātinīyeh, and the Kurāmāch, and the Mazdakīyeh;* and in Khorāsān, the Ta'ālmīyeh,† and the Mulhīdīh.‡ And they say, 'We are Ismā'īlīyeh,§ for we are distinguished from the parties of the Shī'ah, by this name and this impersonation.'

"Now the ancient Bātinīyeh have mingled with their system something of the system of the sect of Philosophers,¶ and composed their books after that way. Say they respecting the Creator,—let him be exalted! 'As for us, we say not that he is existent, nor that he is non-existent; neither that he is one who knows, nor that he is ignorant; neither that he is one possessed of power, nor that he is impotent; and in like manner, with regard to all the attributes. For veritable affirmation requires the association of him with other existences in that respect in which we speak of him absolutely, and that is anthropomorphism; so that he does not admit of judgment by absolute affirmation and absolute denial; on the contrary, he is the Deity of those who stand opposed to one another, and the Creator of disputers, and the arbiter between those who differ.' And respecting this, they also tell of Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī El-Bākir, that he said, 'Because he bestows knowledge on the knowing, it is said that he is one who knows; and because he bestows power on the powerful, it is said that he is one possessed of power. So then, he is one who knows, one possessed of power, in the sense that he bestows knowledge and power, not in the sense that knowledge subsists in him, and power, or that he is qualified with

* I. e. Party of Mazdak. Mazdak was the author of a modification of Manichæism, who was patronized by Kōbbād, one of the Sāsānid kings, and put to death by Nōshārwān. For his opinions, see *The Dabistān*, transl. by Shea and Troyer, Vol. I. pp. 372, ff.; E. H. Shabrástāny's *Book of Relig. and Philos. Sects*, pp. 192, ff. What particular ground there may have been for the application of this name to the Ismā'īlī, we do not know. But there is reason to believe that they may have derived some of their peculiar doctrines from a Persian source.

† I. e. Party of Instruction. The ground of this appellation appears from some of Hassan Ibn Sabbāh's "articles," stated farther on by E. H. Shabrástāny. I. e. Heretic.

‡ I. e. Party of Ismā'īl, son of Ja'far Es-Sādīq, the seventh and last Imam of the Ismā'īlī.

¶ Those of the Muslim learned men who were influenced in their religious opinions by the study of Greek philosophy, introduced among them especially under the Khalīfah Mā'mūn, were called by this name.

knowledge and power.' But it is said respecting them that they are deniers of the attributes, who despoil the divine essence of the attributes.

"Say they, 'And in like manner we say, with regard to eternity, that he is not eternal, nor originated; on the contrary, the Eternal is his Amr and his Word,* and that which is originated is his creation and his workmanship. He produced, by the Amr, the prime Intelligence, which is perfect in action; and by the intervention of that, he produced the secondary Soul, which is not perfect. And the relation of the Soul to the Intelligence is either the relation of the general seed to the perfection of created form, and of the egg to the bird, or the relation of the child to the father, and of the offspring to her who brings forth, or the relation of the female to the male, and of consort to consort.' Say they, 'And because the Soul yearns after the completion of the Intelligence, it requires motion from incompleteness to completion, and motion requires the means of motion. And so the celestial spheres originate, and move with a circular movement, as governed by the Soul. And after them, the simple natural properties originate, and move with the movement of directness, also as governed by the Soul. And so are compounded the composites, namely, minerals, and plants, and animals, and man; and particular souls enter into bodies. And the species of man is distinguished from other existences, by peculiar preparedness for the effusion of those Lights; and his world stands opposed to the whole world. And an Intelligence and a Soul which is universal, in the higher world, makes necessary that there should be in this world an impersonated Intelligence which is a whole, and of which the bearing is the bearing of a complete, mature impersonation,† which they name the Nātik,‡ and which is the Prophet, and an impersonated Soul which is also a whole, and of which the bearing is the bearing of an infant who is incomplete, tending to completion, or the bearing of the general seed tending to perfec-

* It will be evident, farther on, that the Ismā'īlīan Word, or Amr, is a prime emanation from the Deity, having divine nature and attributes, but distinct from the Deity itself.

† Nātik, I. e. Utterer, is the name which the Ismā'īlī give to every Prophet of a kind, who declares the divine will for that time.

tion, or the bearing of the female consorted with the male, which they name the *Asās*,* and which is the Legatee.

"Say they, 'And as the celestial spheres move as moved by the Soul and the Intelligence, and the natural properties too, in like manner souls and persons move in accordance with laws, as moved by the Prophet and the Legatee, in every age, in a circle of successive sevens, until the final period is reached, and the age of resurrection is entered, and obligations are taken off, and rules and laws are unloosed. And these movements of the celestial spheres, and the rules enjoined by law, are only in order to the Soul's attaining to the state of its completion; and its completion is its attaining to the degree of the Intelligence, and its being united to that, and its reaching the rank of that, as an actuality. And as for that, it is the greater resurrection, upon which the compoundings of the celestial spheres and the elements, and the composites, are unloosed; and the heavens are rent; and the stars are dispersed; and the earth is exchanged for the absence of earth; and the heavens are rolled up like the rolling up of the scroll for the Book, written upon within; and creatures are reckoned with; and the good one is separated from the bad one, and the obedient one, from the disobedient one; and the constituents of truth are joined to the whole Soul, and the constituents of falsehood to the false *Sheitān*.† And so, from the time of motion up to rest is the beginning; and from the time of rest up to that which has no end is the completion.'

"Moreover they say, 'There is no statute, nor rule, nor sentence of the sentences of law, concerning barter, or patronage, or giving, or marriage, or divorce, or wounding, or revenge, or the price of blood, without its counter-part pertaining to the world, by number against number, and bearing against bearing; for the laws are worlds spiritual, of the *Amr*, and worlds are the laws embodied, belonging to created things. And in like manner, the compoundings which respect the letters and the words [of the *Kurān*,] are in the way of counter-part to the coun-

* *Asās*, i. e. Foundation, is the name given in the Lam'ilian system to the five of seven supposed co-creators of every *Nāsūt*, that is, the first of seven Imāms of each period, whose office it is to confirm his teaching by the disclosure of its allegorical sense.

† See Rev. vi. 12-17; Id. xx. 8.

poundings of forms and bodies; and as for the single letters, their relation to the composites, of the words, is as bare simples to composites, of bodies. And every letter has a counter-part in the world, and a natural property with which it belongs, and an impress, so far as that property is in souls. And so, in consequence of this, sciences deriving virtue from the words of instruction, become an aliment to souls, like as aliments deriving virtue from the natural properties belonging to created things, become an aliment to bodies. And God has indeed ordained that something of that out of which it was created should be the aliment of every existence.'

"And on the ground of this equivalence, they go to telling the numbers of the words and verses [of the *Kurān*,] and that the calling upon the divine name* is a composite of seven and of twelve; and that the extolling God is a composite of four words in one of the formulas of testimony, and of three words in the second formula of testimony; and that there are seven segments in the first, and six in the second; and that there are twelve letters in the second;‡ and in like manner, with regard to every verse which admits of their calculating its number;—all which he who is intelligent exercises not his thought upon, without coming short of it, through fear of his meeting his match!

"These counter-balances constituted the way of their men of early times; who composed books respecting them, and called men to an *Imām*, in every age, who knows the equivalences of these sciences, and directs to the paths of these positions and definitions.

"Afterwards, the men of the new call departed from this way, when *El-Husan Ibn Es-Sabbūh* proclaimed his call, and was unequal to the exigencies of his word, and asked

* *بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ* i. e. In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate, of which the first part, *In the name of God, consists in the original of seven letters, and the remainder, of twelve.*

† The two "formulas" here referred to are *لا إله إلا الله* i. e. *There*

is no Deity but God, and الله رسول الله i. e. *Muhammad is the Prophet of God.* By "segmenta" are meant separate syllables; to make three of the numbers mentioned, final vowels must be thrown off, and the Prophet's name must be pronounced *Muhamd*.

help of men, and fortified himself in castles. And the commencement of his going up to the castle of Alimût was in Sha'bân in the year 488. And that was after he had made a journey to the country of his Imâm,* and had got from him how to call the men of his age; upon which he returned, and called men with the first of a call to the doctrine of the appearance of a rightful Imâm taking his stand in every age, and of the distinction of the party which obtain deliverance from the other parties in this point; which is to say, that they have an Imâm, and that the others have not any Imâm. And the refined gold of his system, after the rejection of that which was said respecting it, amounts, ultimately, in the Arabic language and in the Persian language, to this particular. And as for us, we shall translate that which he wrote in the Persian language, into the Arabic; and there is no fault resting upon the translator; and the prospered is whosoever follows the truth, and turns aside from falsehood; and God is the Prosperer, and the Helper.

"So then we begin with the four Articles with which he began the call, and which he wrote in the Persian, and so I have put into the Arabic. Says he, 'He who gives an answer respecting the knowledge of the Creator,—let him be exalted! has one of two things to say, either to say, "I know the Creator by mere intellect and speculation," without need of the teaching of a teacher," or to say, "There is no way to knowledge, with intellect and speculation, except by the teaching of a rightful teacher.' Says he, 'And whoever answers with the former, denies not another's intellect and speculation. For, as for him, if ever he so denies, he teaches; and the denial is a teaching, and a proof, that that which is denied has need of something other than itself.' Says he, 'And the two parts are both necessary consequences. For, as for man, whenever he gives decisions, or makes a declaration, he speaks on his own part, or on the part of another; and in like manner, whenever he is bound with an obligation, he is bound with it on his own part, or on the part

* The Fâtitic Khalîfah Mustanser-billah, who reigned in Egypt when Hassan began his career, is undoubtedly here intended. Before Hassan established an independent dynasty, he went about in the character of an Imam'ân Dîk, advocating the legitimacy of the Fâtitic, as descendants of 'Alî, against the Abbâsides. See *Mém. de l'Inde*, Tom. iv. p. 8; *Narrés de l'Inde de M. de Sarrasin*, Tom. iv. p. 867; *Id. Tom. ix. p. 162, &c.*

of another.' This is the first Article; which is a rupture with the Men of opinion and intellect.*

"And he states in the second Article, as follows: 'Since the need of a teacher is established, is then absolutely every teacher suitable, or must there of necessity be a rightful teacher?' Says he, 'And whoever says that every teacher is suitable, is not allowed to deny a teacher adverse to himself, forasmuch as, when he so denies, he yields the point that there must of necessity be a reliable, rightful teacher.' So much for this. And this is a rupture with the Men of tradition.†

"And he states in the third Article, as follows: 'Since the need of a rightful teacher is established, must there not of necessity be knowledge of the teacher, first of all, and possession of him, and afterwards instruction by him? or may there be instruction by every teacher, without his person being fixed upon, and his right being made clear? And the latter is a coming back to the former; forasmuch as, if one can not walk the way, except with one going before, and a companion, let there be the companion, and afterwards let the way be trod,—which is a rupture with the Shi'ah.

"And he states, in the fourth Article, that 'men constitute two parties, namely, a party who say, "There is need, with respect to knowledge of the Creator,—let him be exalted! of a rightful teacher; and the fixing upon him, and the recognition of him, is necessary, first of all, and afterwards instruction by him;" and a party who take up from a teacher, and from one who is not a teacher, in every science.

* The amount of this article seems to be, that religious instruction is necessary, contrary to the doctrine of those who hold that God is known by mere intellect and speculation; because whoever affirms the latter, if he would establish any definite criterion, must confine it to himself, and in so doing constrains his principle, by making circumstances personal to himself, independent of the possession of mere intellect and speculative faculty, requisite to the end.

† Exaggerates of ancient authority are here referred to. Kâh-Shal-wâziy elsewhere says that they were called Men of tradition, "because their aim is to get traditions, and to hand down accounts, and to base sentences on authorities, and they do not go back to analogy, manifest or hidden, so long as they find an account, or a memorial." See *Kâh-Shal-wâziy's Luck of Felicity and Misfortune*, ed. Curzon, p. 186. That such a party were wanting in determination, as Hassan affirms, may easily be credited.

‡ That is to say, the very statement of the latter alternative involves the affirmation of the former.

'And it is clear, by the preceding premises, that the truth is with the former party; so that, as for their head, he must needs be the head of those who hold to the truth. And since it is clear that falsehood is with the latter party, their heads, consequently, must needs be the heads of those who hold to falsehood.' Says he, 'And this way is that which causes us to know the place of truth by the truth, with general knowledge. Then, after that, we know the truth by the place of truth, with special knowledge; so that the rotation of questions is not requisite.' And by 'the truth' he here means only the having need;* and by 'the place of truth,' him who is needed. And says he, 'By the having need we know the Imām, and by the Imām we know the measures of the having need; just as by potentiality we know necessity, that is, the Necessarily Existing, and by this know the measures of potentiality in things potential.' Says he, 'And the way to the profession of unity is, by the measuring of feather by feather, in like manner.†

"Moreover, he states certain Articles which have respect to the confirmation of his doctrine, either by way of accommodation to, or by way of rupture with, received doctrines; and most of them are some rupture or other, and an insisting upon, and a demonstration of, diversity on the ground of falsehood, and agreement on the ground of truth. One of them is the 'Article of truth and falsehood, and the little and the great.' He states that 'in the world there is a truth and a falsehood;‡' after which he states that, 'as for the mark of truth, it is unity, and as for the mark of falsehood, it is multiplicity; and unity accompanies instruction, and multiplicity, opinion; and instruction accompanies the forming one party, and the forming one party, the Imām; and opinion accompanies diverse parties, which accompany their heads.' And he lays down truth and falsehood, and the similarity between them, on the one hand, and the difference between them, on the other hand, the mutual confronting in the two extremes, and the ranking in one of the two extremes, as a balance by which he weighs every thing, about which he disputes. Says he, 'And I have derived

* The need of a teacher.

† The meaning is, that one comes to the profession of the divine unity, with a full understanding of it, through the Imām, precisely as it is through him that one attains to a complete conviction of his need of instruction.

this balance only from the word of testimony, and its being compounded of denial and affirmation, or denial and exception;‡ says he, 'so that not that which merits denial, is falsehood; and not that which merits affirmation, is truth. And by that is weighed the good and the bad, and the true and the false, and the other opposites.'" And his main point is to come back, as respects every declaration and word [of the Kurān,] to the affirmation of a teacher; and that, as for the profession of unity, it is the profession of unity together with the doctrine of a Prophet, while it is the profession of unity; and that, as for the doctrine of a Prophet, it is the doctrine of a Prophet together with the doctrine of an Imām, while it is the doctrine of a Prophet.†

"This is the end of his system. He prohibited common people, however, from meddling with a matter of science; and in like manner, people of note, from examining the ancient Books;‡ except those who knew the state of the case respecting every Book, and the degree attained by men in every science. And in respect to points relating to the Deity, he went not with his followers beyond his saying, 'Our Deity is the Deity of Muhammed.' Says he, 'I and you say, that our Deity is the Deity of intellects, that is, that that which directs to him is the intellect of every intelligent being.' But if it is said to one of them, 'What sayest thou respecting the Creator,—let him be exalted! as for him, is he? and as for him, is he one, or multiple, possessed of knowledge, powerful, or not?' this definition alone is given for answer, 'My Deity is the Deity of Muhammed; and he it is who sent his Envoy with the direction; and as for the Envoy, he is the director to him.'

* This "balance," or principle of judgment as to the true and the false, the good and the bad, and all opposites, was derived from the fundamental confession of faith among the Muslims, *There is no Deity but God*, which expresses the truth of the divine unity only as the propositions included in it, namely, *There is no Deity, and God is a Deity*, each of which, by itself, may stand either for truth or for falsehood, are taken together as mutually complementary. The general principle may be stated as follows: that what may be affirmed absolutely, as between any opposites, consists in the complementary relation to each other of those opposites.

† This means, that the declaration *There is no Deity but God*, implies the doctrine of a Prophet to reveal the truth thus expressed, and that the doctrine of a Prophet, expressed in the declaration, *Muhammed is his Prophet*, implies that of an Imām to carry on the Prophet's work.

‡ The Scriptures of former periods, or previous Divine Revelations.

"And often as I have entered into discussion with the people, on the ground of the premises stated, they have not taken a step beyond their saying, 'Have we then need of thee?' or 'Shall we hear thee from thee?' or 'Shall we be instructed by thee?'—And often as I have been counselling towards the people, respecting the having need, and have said, 'Where is he who is needed? and how determines he for me the points relating to the Deity? and what is it which he prescribes in respect to things which are objects of the intellect? inasmuch as "the teacher" has no meaning intrinsically, and only has meaning because he teaches; and ye, indeed, shut up the gate of science, and open the gate of submission to dictation, and the following of authority; and an intelligent being is not content to believe a doctrine, without any evidence to rest upon, or to walk in a way, without any proof that he should do so,—the beginnings of the system have been authorizations to judge, and submissions to authority. 'But not, by thy Lord, not believe will they, until they make thee the judge respecting that which is in controversy between them; after which, they will not find, in their souls, any fault pertaining to that which thou determinest; and they will submit themselves, with submission.'"^{*}

"*The Ghafiyeh.* †—These are they who are extravagant in respect to the reality of their Imāms, to such a degree that they put them out of the limits of the creature-state, and pronounce bearings of the state of Deity to be in them. For often they liken one of their Imāms to God; and often they liken God to the creature; and they hold to the two extremes of extravagance and curtailment.‡ And their assimilations have only grown out of the doctrines of the Incarnationists and the Transmigrationists, and the doctrines of the Jews and the Christians; inasmuch as the Jews liken the Creator to the creature, and the Christians liken the creature to the Creator; and so these assimilations passed into the minds of the Extravagant Shi'ah, to such a

^{*} Kurān, Sur. iv. v. 68. It is the edition of Flügel which is referred to in these notes, in all cases.

† i. e. Party of the Extravagants.

‡ The writer means that they not only exalt the creature to the rank of the Deity, but also bring down the Deity to the level of the creature.

degree that they pronounce bearings of the state of Deity to be in the reality of some of their Imāms. And anthropomorphism was, as a principle, and fundamentally, among the Shi'ah; and only went over to some of the People of the Sunneh, after that. And the system of the Mu'tazilieh prevailed among the latter, after they saw that it was nearer to that which is objective to the intellect, and farther from anthropomorphism and incarnation.

"And the heresies of the Extravagants are comprehended in four things, namely, anthropomorphism, and the coming forth, and the return, and transmigration. And there are appellations belonging to them; and in every country, they have an appellation. They are called in Isfahān the Khurramiyeh,* and the Kūdyeh;† and in Rei, the Mazdakiyeh, and the Sinbādiyeh;‡ and in Adherbijān, the Dhubūkiyeh;§ and in a certain place, the Muhammariyeh;|| and in Mū-wārī-l-nahr, the Mubeiyediyeh."¶

"*The Nusairiyeh and the Ishākiyeh.***—They are among the Extravagants of the Shi'ah. And there is a set of them who defend their doctrine, and act the part of leaders in respect to their declarations. And there is a disagreement among them respecting the way to generalize the name appropriate to the state of Deity, so as to include the Imāms of the people of the Family. Say they, 'The appearance

* i. e. Party of the Veluptuous.

† i. e. Party of the Self-willed, probably. In this sense, the word seems to be originally Persian, as is Khurramiyeh.

‡ i. e. Party of the Followers of Sinbād. Sinbād was a leader of the Extravagant Shi'ah, in Khuzistan, in the reign of the Khalīfah Manāzin. See Weil's *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Bd. ii. a. 278.

§ I can make no sense of this word, however pronounced, either as Arabic, or Persian. But if we read Dhubūkiyeh, it is an Arabic word, meaning Self-hiders. Now from one of our new documents it appears, that certain Ismā'īlian followers of Bābak, whose standard of rebellion was first raised in Ajerbeijan, took from him the fashion of going abroad in mantles of Yemen, an article of dress covering the whole person, from the top of the head down; and the class of people there called, from that circumstance, Bābakiyeh, may have been the same as those here named. See p. 281.

|| i. e. Party of the Reddened, because they wore red there.

** i. e. Party of the Whitered, because they wore white in that country.

¶ The origin of this name I do not know. The name Nusairiyeh, signifying Little Christians, was probably given in derision. See *Zeitschrift & Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, vol. iv. p. 308.

of the spiritual in a material body is a thing which no intelligent being denies; whether on the side of good, like the appearance of Jibril,—let peace be to him! by some impersonation, and the being fashioned in the form of one of the Arab race, and the being likened to the form of mankind; or on the side of evil, like the appearance of Esh-Sheitan in the form of man, so that he may work evil in his form, and the appearance of the Jinns in the form of mankind, so that they may dispute with its tongue. And so, on account of that, we say that God,—let him be exalted! appears in the form of impersonations. And because there is not, after the Envoy of God,—let the divine benediction and peace be to him! any impersonation more excellent than 'Aly,—let benediction and peace be to him! and after him, his appropriated descendants,* who are the best of creatures, therefore, the true God appears in their form, and speaks with their tongue, and holds with their hands. So then, by virtue of this we generalize the name appropriate to the state of Deity so as to include them. And we affirm this being appropriated of 'Aly, preferably of any one else, only because he had given to him specially an aiding from God,—let him be exalted! which is something that connects itself with the hidden sense of mysteries. Said the Prophet,—let the divine benediction and peace be to him! "I judge by the outward, and God has charge of secrets."† And by virtue of this, it was the lot of the Prophet,—let the divine benediction and peace be to him! to fight with polytheists, and the lot of 'Aly to fight with hypocrites. And by virtue of this, he likened him to 'Isa Ibn Maryam, and said, "And if men may not, have said respecting thee that which they say respecting 'Isa Ibn Maryam, have not I, indeed, declared respecting thee with a declaration?"‡

"And often they affirm of him a participation in the envoyship, inasmuch as he said, 'Among you is one who fights on the ground of its allegorical sense, as I fight on the ground of its letter; is he not, indeed, the sewer of the sandal?'§ and so, that the knowledge of the allegorical sense, and the fighting with hypocrites, and the disputing with the Jinns, and

* Appropriated as dwelling-places of the Deity.

† A traditional saying.

‡ A traditional saying.

§ Meaning, does he not complete what I begin! This also is one of the traditional sayings of the Prophet.

the removing of the gate of Khaibar, not by corporeal power,* are the most convincing proof that in him was a divine part, and a sovereign power from the Lord, or that it is he in whose form God appeared, and with whose hand he created, and with whose tongue he commanded. And by virtue of this, they say, 'He was in existence before the creation of the heavens and the earth; says he, "We were shadows on the right hand of the throne; and so we gave glory, and then the angels gave glory with our giving glory,"—and as for those shadows, and those forms not casting shade, they are real, and shine with shining, by the light of the Lord; which is not cut off from them, whether they are in this world or in that world. And by virtue of this, 'Aly said, "I am of Ahmed as light of light,"—meaning that there is no distinction between the two lights, except that one of them precedes, and the second, a correlate to it, comes on after it. And this proves a sort of association."

"But the Nusairiyeh are more inclined to maintain the divine part; and the Ishakiyeh are more inclined to maintain the association in the prophetic office. And they have other disagreements which we shall not mention."

"*The Bakiriyeh, and the constant Ja'fariyeh.*—They are the followers of Abū Ja'far Muhammad Ibn 'Aly El-Bakir, and his son Ja'far Es-Sadik. They declare the imamship of both of them, and the imamship of their parent Zein el-'Abidin; except that among them are some who are constant to one of the two, and forward not the imamship to their descendants, and some who do forward.† And we distinguish this party over and above the sects professing to be Shi'ah which we shall mention, only because those of the Shi'ah who are constant to El-Bakir, and declare his return, are in constancy like those [of the Shi'ah] who declare the imamship of Abū 'Alidallah Ja'far Ibn Muhammad Es-Sadik.

* This must refer to some tradition connected with the taking of Khaibar by Muhammad.

† The meaning is, that some regard one or the other of the two as the last Imam, to whom the imamship still belongs, although he is for a season withdrawn from human view; while others consider the imamship as the inheritance of successive generations in the line of his posterity.

"And he was a possessor of rare science in religion, and perfect culture in philosophy, and consummate self-restraint in respect to this world, and complete abstinence from appetites. And he had dwelt in Medīneh a length of time, doing much service to the Shī'ah who sided with him, and committing to those friendly to him the secrets of the sciences; when he entered Irāk, and dwelt there a length of time. He never assumed the imāmsnip, nor contended with any one respecting the khalīfship; and whoever plunges into the sea of knowledge, is not eager for a shore; and whoever is elevated to the summit of verity, fears not a letting down; and there is a saying, 'Whoever has converse with God, is empty of men, and whoever cultivates familiarity with others than God, the Tempter makus a prey of him.'⁴ And he was related, on the father's side, to the stock of prophecy; and on the mother's side, he was related to Abū Bekr,—let God be gracious to him! And he cleared himself of that which any one of the Extravagants had to do with, and cleared himself of him, and cursed them; and he was clear of the peculiarities of the doctrines of the Rāfīdheh,† and their fooleries, namely, the declaring of the disappearance and the return,‡ and the coming forth,§ and transmigration, and incarnation, and anthropomorphism.

"But the Shī'ah were divided, after his day, and every one of them professed a doctrine, and desired to pass it off upon his followers, and referred its origin to him, and fixed it on him; while the master was clear of that, and of the system of the Mu'tazileh,|| and also of the doctrine of the Kaduriyeh.⁶ This is his saying respecting volition, namely, 'God,—let him be exalted! wills by us something, and

⁴ This is probably a traditional saying of Muhammed.

† i. e. Party of the Deserters, the same gives to a party whose doctrinal belief Esh-Shahrastāny characterizes by saying that "they are extravagant in respect to the prophetic office and imāmsnip, to such a degree that they come to the doctrine of incarnation [of the Deity]." See Esh-Shahrastāny's *Book of Relig. and Philos. Sects*, p. 2.

‡ The disappearance and return of the Imam.

§ The manifestation of the Deity by emanation.

|| This was extraneously, as Esh-Shahrastāny expresses it, such an "extravagance in the way of thinking about the divine unity, as amounted to making God a vacancy by the denial of attributes." See Esh-Shahrastāny's *Book of Relig. and Philos. Sects*, p. 2.

⁶ i. e. Maintainers of power (in man,) in opposition to the doctrine of absolute divine decrees.

wills from us something; and so, that which he wills by us he hides from us, and that which he wills from us he manifests to us. So then, what have we to do, to meddle with that which he wills by us, to the neglect of that which he wills from us?" And this is his saying respecting predestination, namely, 'It is a thing between two things, not absolutism, and not indifferentism.' And he was wont to say, in prayer, 'O God, to thee belongs the praise, if I obey thee; and to thee it belongs to convict, if I disobey thee. There pertains not to me, nor to any one else, any efficiency in the case of a doing well; and there is no convicting on my part, or on the part of any one else, in the case of a doing ill.'

"Now then, we will mention the sects which differed from each other respecting him, and after his day, not on the ground of their being divisions of his partizans,—on the contrary, on the ground of their having to do with the root of his stock, and the branches of his descendants."⁶

⁶ Meaning, as holding in common that the imāmsnip is perpetuated in his family, while distinguished by particular attachment to one or another of his descendants.

TRANSLATION.

L

THE Ismâ'îlyeh.—These are called by seven appellations. [1.] The Bâtinîyeh, on account of their profession of the inward sense of the Book, beside its outward sense. For they say, that the Kurân has an outward and an inward sense; and as for its meaning, that its outward sense appertains to the sciences of language, and that the relation of the inward sense to the outward is like the relation of the pith to the bark. And they say that the laying hold of its outward sense punishes with fatigue in assiduous action,* and that its inward sense is an aid to the leaving off of action by its outward sense. And as respects this, they lay hold of his saying,—let him be exalted! "And so there is established between them a wall, having a gate the inward part of which, within it, is mercy, and the outward part, before it, is punishment."† [2.] The Karâmâtéh, because their leader, he who levelled the high-way for their doctrine, was a man named Hamdân of Karmat,‡ which is the only place of its name, namely, Karmat of Wâsit. [3.] The Haramîyeh,§ on account of their desecration of sacred things, and allowing of things forbidden. [4.] The Sab'îyeh,|| because they think that the Nâsîks of the revealed laws, that is, the Envoys, are seven,

* Meaning that it obliges to go through laborious outward observances.

† See Kurân, Sur. Ivi. v. 13. The "wall" spoken of in this passage, is properly a wall separating "believers" from "hypocrites" in a future state.

‡ This person, commonly called Karmat, was the leader of a faction among the Ismâ'îlis, which separated itself A. H. 277, i. e. A. D. 890-1, and afterwards became fearfully celebrated under the name of the Karmatis, or the Hamshîs. See De Sacy's *Exposé de la Religion des Druses*, Tome i. Introd. pp. 166, ff. Wâsit, within the territory of which Hamdân is said by our author to have originated, was on the Tigris, at about the same distance, fifty parasangs, from Basrah, Kûfah, Ahwâz and Baghdâd. See Heineau and De Slane's *Géographie d'Assoufide*, p. 307.

§ I. e. Party of the illegal.

|| I. e. Party of the number seven.

namely, Adam, and Nûh, and Ibrâhîm, and Mûsa, and 'Isa, and Muḥammed,—let the divine benediction and peace be to him and Muḥammed the Mehdy,* the seventh of the Nûtik; and that between each two of the Nûtik there are seven Imâms, who rely upon the law of the Nûtik; and that there must of necessity be in every age seven who are imitated, and by whom direction is given, in respect to religion, who differ from one another in rank, namely, an Imâm, who aids the religion of God, who is the acme of arguments in proof of the religion of God; and a Hujjeh,† who relieves the Imâm, sustaining his science, and thereby authenticating him; and a Dhû'l-masâh,‡ who imbibes science from the Hujjeh, that is, receives it from him;—these three, and also certain Bâbs, who are the Dâ'is,§ namely, an Akbar, that is a Dâ'i Akbar;|| who is the fourth among them, who elevates the degrees of believers; and a Dâ'i Maddûn,¶ who receives the engagements binding inquirers from among the People of the outward sense, and causes them to enter into clientship with the Imâm, and opens to them the gate of science and knowledge; and he is the fifth; and a Mukellib,** whose degree in religion is indeed elevated, but who is not licensed in respect to the office of Dâ'i, whose license on the contrary respects argumentation with men, and who accordingly argues, and renders eager for the Dâ'i, like the hunter's dog, until, when he has argued with one of the People of the outward sense, and has drawn him off from his doctrine, so that he is averse to it, and inquires after the truth, he, the Mukellib, conducts him to the Dâ'i, who

* i. e. Way of direction. The Muḥammed so designated was a son of Isma'îl Ibn Ja'far Es-Sâdik. Being the Nûtik of the seventh and last period of the Imâmât, this personage is to be considered as the originator of this party. Their first existence as a separate sect may therefore be placed in the latter part of the second century of the Hijrah, that is, the latter part of the eight, or the beginning of the ninth, century of our era. See De Bay's *Essai de la Relig. des Douces*, Tome I. Istrool, pp. 65-7.

† i. e. Argument, literally.

‡ i. e. Imbiber.

§ The Isma'îlian missionaries are called Bâbs, i. e. Gates, with reference to their being a medium of access to the Imâm.

|| i. e. Greater Dâ'i or Head Missionary. The Isma'îlis, in carrying on their proselytism, formed dioceses, over each of which some one Dâ'i presided.

** i. e. Licensed Dâ'i.

¶ i. e. Dog-uraiser. The ground of this appellation appears in what immediately follows.

is licensed to receive the engagements binding him; (says El-Amidy, they call such a person a Mukellib only because he is like the ravenous beast, who draws off the hunter's dog from the game, according to what he says agreeing therewith, and ye know not of ravenous beasts any which train dogs;) and he is the sixth; and a Mumin,* who follows after him, that is, pants for the Dâ'i, from whom are received the engagements binding him, and who believes, and is thoroughly acquainted with the engagement, and enters into clientship with the Imâm, and acts according to him; and he is the seventh. These, they say, are like the heavens, and the earths, and the seas, and the days of the week, and the planets which govern with a command. [5.] The Bîbekiyeh,† inasmuch as a party among them follow Bîbek El-Khursany in respect to going out clad in the mantle of Yemen, and in red, because they wore red in the days of Bîbek, or because they were like those who differed from them of the Muslims, in respect to the mantle. [6.] The Isma'îliyah, an account of their affirming the imamsip as the right of Isma'îl Ibn Ja'far Es-Sâdik, who was the eldest of Ja'far's sons; or, as some say, on account of the derivation of their heterodoxy from Muḥammed Ibn Isma'îl.‡

And the root from which their preaching of the abrogation of the laws grew up, was the Kobâdîyeh, a sect of the Magians, who, being goaded by Islâm, aimed to allegorize the laws in certain ways coming back to the principles of their forefathers;§ that is to say, they assembled, and reminded one another of the position of undivided rule which their forefathers held, and said, "There is no way for us to eject the Muslims by the sword, on account

* i. e. Believer.

† i. e. Party of the Followers of Bîbek. These were, originally at least, of that subdivision of the Isma'îlis called the Extratragant Shi'a. See Weil's *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Bd. ii. a. 235-8. The appellation El-Khursany, here

given to Bîbek, should undoubtedly be El-Khursany, الخُرْسَانِي *al-Khursani*, as a relative adjective, is an abridged form, from خُرْسَان *Khursân*, the country where Bîbek mustered his followers, in the reign of the Khalîfah Mamûn.

‡ See note * p. 280.

§ From this it would appear that the Magian party established by Manâk, whom the Sâdîkîs long held patronized, survived the death of its founder, and existed, bearing a name derived from its royal patron, at the time of the avoofs of Islâm into Persia. See note * p. 264.

of their superiority, and their possession of the seats of empire; but let us use stratagem, by allegorizing their laws, with a view to a coming back to our principles, leading on by degrees the weak among them; and so that will necessitate their being at variance with one another, and the shaking of their system." And their head, in respect to that,* was Hamdān of Karmat, or, as some say, 'Al-dallāh, Ibn Meimūn El-Kaddāb.†

And in calling and leading on men, they have degrees of finesse; which comprehends [1.] the judging by the countenance of the state of the person called, whether he is favorable to the call, or not; and the saying, "Thou wilt make excuse for the putting of the germ into the trunk,"‡ that is, for the call of one not favorable, is in accordance with that; and they refuse to dispute "in a house where there is a lamp," that is, in a place where there is a doctor of the law, or a metaphysician; and then [2.] the familiarizing oneself with the inclination of every one of those called, with that which he inclines to, as respects his desire, and his native bent, pertaining to withdrawal from the world, and free living; and so, if he inclines to withdrawal from the world, it is set off in fair colors before him, and its opposite is depreciated; and if he inclines to free living, that is set off in fair colors before him, and its opposite is depreciated, until the man is thereby gained; and then [3.] the causing to doubt in respect to the corner-stones of the law, and the abbreviations of the surahs,§ in that one says, "What is the meaning of the isolated letters in the beginnings of the surahs? and of the statute requiring a woman in her menses to fast, without a statute requiring her to pray, that is, why is one needful, and not the other? and of the necessity of ablution on account of the seminal discharge, and not of the urine? and of the number of the

* That is, the leader of the Ismā'īlīs in respect to the imitation of the Kaddābiyeh, in annulling the laws of Islām by allegorical interpretation.

† De Sacy supposes that this person lived about the middle of the third century of the Hijrah, that is, about A. D. 884. See *Exposé de la Métaph. des Druzes*, Tome I. Introduction, p. 186.

‡ A saying, apparently, of the Ismā'īlīs, meaning that to impart instruction to one not fit to receive it is not allowed. According to Von Hammer, quoting El-Jorjaji, the saying was that seed should not be thrown into a mine-soul. See *Journal Asiatique*, Tome vi. p. 332.

§ I. e. The chapters of the Kurān.

prostrations in prayer, that is, why are they in some cases four, and in some, three, and in some, two?"—and so on to things remote from these; and the reason why they thus render them doubtful, and cause to inquire the answer in regard to these things, is that they may be inquired of, on their return, respecting them; and then [4.] the confirmation, which includes two things, namely, first, the receiving of the engagement from the candidate, in that they say that God's Sunneh has had currency by the receiving of engagements and pledges, and alledge, in proof of that, his saying, —let him be exalted! "And when we received from the Prophets their engagements,"* and then receive, with receiving, his engagement, made in accordance with a firm belief, on his part, that no secret thing is hidden from them; and second, the obligating him, in behalf of the Imām, with respect to the clearing up of that which he is confused about, of the things which one presents to him; because it is he who knows them, and the candidate has no command of them until he elevates himself to something of the degree which pertains to him, and comes to the Imām; and then [5.] the imposition, which is the pretension of agreement with them on the part of the great in religious and worldly affairs,† so that the candidate may be more in favor of that to which one calls him; and then [6.] the putting upon a foundation, which is the arranging of premises to which he who is called is favorable, and which he grants, which point him to that false doctrine to which one calls him; and then [7.] the divestiture, which is the causing to rest in the neglect of corporeal actions; and then [8.] the despoiling of the firm beliefs of religion.

And when an affair of calling has gone so far, they set about to abrogate prohibitions, and to incite to indulgence in pleasures, and to allegorize the laws, agreeably to their saying that the partial washing signifies friendship to the Imām; and as for the entire washing, that it is the receiving by hearsay from the Madhūb, when the Imām is hidden, what prayer is; and that prayer signifies the Nūṭiq, who is the Envoy, as is proved by his saying, —let him be exalted! "Verily, prayer restrains from depravity and crime;"‡ and that the having nocturnal pollution signifies

* Kurān, Sur. xxxiii. v. 7.

† See p. 282.

‡ Kurān Sur. xxiv. v. 44.

the divulging of one of their secrets to one who is not of the people to whom it belongs, without any object in so doing; and the ablution of the whole body, the renewal of the pledge; and alms-giving, the purification of the soul by knowledge of the religion which they profess; and the Ka'beh, the Prophet, and the gate (of the Ka'beh,) 'Aly; and Es-Safi, 'Aly, and El-Marweh,* the Prophet; and the place of rendezvous of pilgrims,† the familiarizing; and the bending,‡ the responding to the call; and the circling of the House seven times, friendship to the seven Imāms; and the Garden, the repose of bodies from duty; and the Fire, the severity of toil in duty;—and so on to other of their ravings.

And their doctrine is, that God is not existent, nor non-existent; neither knowing, nor ignorant; neither powerful, nor weak;—and so on, as to all the attributes; and that because veritable affirmation requires the association of him with things existent, which is an anthropomorphism; while absolute denial requires the association of him with things non-existent, which is a making void. But that, on the contrary, he is necessarily possessed of these attributes, and the Lord of contraries;‡ And often they blend their system with the system of the Philosophers, and accordingly say that he,—let him be exalted! produced by his Amr the perfect Intelligence, and that by means of that was the production of the Soul, which is not perfect; and so, that the Soul yearns after the perfect Intelligence, seeking to be quickened by it; and consequently, that there is a requiring of motion from incompleteness to completion; and that motion is perfected only through its (the Soul's) restlessness; and so, that the bodies of the celestial spheres originate, and move with a circular movement, as governed by the Soul; and so, that by means of them originate the simple elementary

* This and Es-Safi are the two hills, near Mekkeh, between which the Muslim pilgrim performs a seven times repeated ceremonial walk, on coming to the holy city. See *Travels in Arabia*, by John Lewis Burckhardt, vol. I. pp. 174-4.

† That is, after the ceremonies on first coming to Mekkeh. See Burckhardt's *Travels in Arabia*, vol. I. pp. 178-80.

‡ Meaning the associating oneself with the Lam'illah.
 † Meaning the performance of *riks'ah*, or prostrations, before the seven times repeated walk around the Ka'beh. See Burckhardt's *Travels in Arabia*, vol. I. p. 172.

[See page 285.

natural properties; and that by means of the simples originate the composites, namely, minerals, and plants, and the species of animals; and that the most excellent of them is man, on account of his preparedness for the effusion upon him of the Lights of the Holy One, and his connection with the higher world; and that, as the higher world contains a perfect Universal Intelligence, and an imperfect Universal Soul, which is the source of beings, so there is in the lower world a perfect Intelligence, which is a means of deliverance, by likeness in it to the relation of the primitive Soul to the primitive Intelligence, in what relates to the causing of beings to exist; and that that is the Imām, who is a Nāṭik-Legatee; and that, as the celestial spheres move as moved by the Intelligence and the Soul, in like manner living souls move to deliverance, as moved by the Nāṭik and the Legatee,—that it is so in every age and period.

Says El-Annidy, Such were the opinions of some senseless person; and when El-Hasan Ibn Muhammed Es-Sabbāh appeared,* he exerted himself, and the call assumed that he was the Hujjeh, who relieves the Imām, whom no period may be without. And the sum of his system was that which took the precedence, respecting the need of the teacher. Moreover, he prohibited common people from meddling with the sciences, and people of note from looking into the ancient Books, lest their disgraces should be exposed. And afterwards they became Philosophers, and ceased not to make sport of the canons of religious ordinances and legal commands; and they entrenched themselves in fortresses, and their power increased, and any kings whose vezirs were of their party, feared calamity, for they made a show of neglecting duties, and openly desecrated sacred things, and became like brute beasts, without any religious control, or legal restraint.

Says he [the author] respecting the *Tutarkhāntiyeh*, † And in the year 577, the doctors of the law of Samarkand were

* See, page 287, E.

† El-Annidy now proceeds to state opinions which had been recently delivered by the fakih of Samarkand, relative to the Karomat. The application of the *Tutarkhāntiyeh* which he here gives them, without any explanation, is deserving of attention. It must certainly be inferred from it, that the followers of Karomat, in process of time, became so associated with some people among the Northern borders, which in the thirteenth century of our era were pressing in upon the old empire of the Khalifas, that a name significant of such an association would be generally understood as applicable to them.

asked,—respecting a man who makes a show of Islām, and prays, and fasts, and makes a show of the profession of unity, and belief in Muhammed,—let peace be to him! for many years, and afterwards confesses, saying, "As for me, I have been, during these past years, a firm believer according to the doctrine of the Karāmāteh, and I have been a Dā'i to men; and now I am a convert, and return to Islām," and makes now a show of that which he before made a show of, pertaining to the religion of Islām, only that he is suspected to hold the doctrine of the Karāmāteh, as if he were among them,—what the sentence is as to his blood, and his property, and his effects, while the occasion of his exposing himself, and his confession, is that he has been found out, and it were idle, until he confesses his doctrine, to put him to death.

'Abd-El-Karīm Ibn Muhammed said, "The putting to death of the Karāmāteh, universally, is a necessary thing, and their being treated without discrimination, a statuta, because they are veritably apostate unbelievers, and their influence to corrupt the religion of Islām is greater than any other, and the injury which they do, the greatest of injuries."

Abū-l-Hasan Muhammed Sa'īd said, "It may be said of this man of whom mention is made, as Abū Hanīfeh,—let God be merciful to him! is related to have said respecting a Kadāry* who said, in the presence of Abū Hanīfeh, 'I am a convert,' Abū Hanīfeh, namely,—let God be merciful to him! said, 'Conversion on thy part is that thou returnest to all whom thou hast led astray, and callest them to the truth, and sayest, "As for me, I have been holding falsehood."' "

And Abū-l-Kāsim 'Abd-El-Rahmān Ibn El-Husein Es-Sa'īr said, "With regard to the like of these, namely, the Karāmāteh, whenever we cause them to be found out, the obligation rests upon the Sultān, in the first instance, and upon the doctors of the law of the Muslims, in the second instance, to set it down to their account to put them to death, and to eradicate them, not admitting, on their part, either conversion, or apology."

And Abū Muhammed 'Abd-El-Karīm Ibn Muhammed said, "As for all who act openly, of the Karāmāteh,—let

* See note ¶ p. 278.

God abandon them! as firm believers according to their doctrine, and become Dā'is of men to it, they are not, after that, sincere in their pretension of conversion, and return to Islām; because they are not truly converted, and make a show, on their part, of that which they make a show of, only after the manner of piety, for the safety of themselves, and their property, and their families, and their children, or something thereof; for a certain one said, 'Methinks that to pray, which profits not, is advantageous among Imāms,' and he was one of the Party of the Impious; to which his pupil said, 'O my preceptor, what avails this assiduity, while we acknowledge the faith?' whereupon he said, 'It is on account of the custom of the country, and for the protection of family and children.' So then, if we were to admit, on their part, that which they pretend of conversion, they would make that turn out to the overthrow of Islām and the laws; and the injury to the Muslims would be greater than that which happens to them of injury from those with whom they are at war. And accordingly, one of our men tells us that the doctors of the law in Balkh have decided in favor of shedding the blood of the Karāmāteh, and burning up their houses, after they have declared themselves of their opinion; and so some of them were beaten with thongs, and afterwards put to death."

And Abū Selimeh Muhammed Ibn Dāwūd Esb-Shāfi'y, said, "Whoever bruits this vile doctrine, and makes a show, on his part, of the call to it, let not any conversion be admitted on his part, but on the contrary let him be put to death. And Abū Sa'īd El-Isjākry, one of our men, was of this opinion, and said, 'Some of our men have distinguished that which marks the apostate in the follower of Karmat, with respect to conversion. And if the follower of Karmat is an apostate, he lets go the manifest senses of words, and calls up their hidden senses; and so, when he with his tongue makes a show of conversion on his part, it may be that, together with that, he declares something hidden, which he pretends, as his tongue happens to express it, after the manner of piety; and he gives out that he is already converted, so that his being a Muslim may not be judged of.

* Meaning the principles involving the abrogation of all outward observances.

And as for the apostate other than the follower of Karmat, because he calls not up the hidden senses of words, as the follower of Karmat does, and he was a Muslim originally, whenever he professes Islām, he returns, and we know that he is converted. Verily he,—let him be exalted! says, "So then, what shall be the portion of those who fight against God and his Envoy, and exert themselves to corrupt the earth? etc."—which is directed against those who exert themselves to corrupt the earth; but religion is worthier and prior, because that which religion enjoins is of more moment, to be cared for, than the earth, in every respect, and prior to it."

The above is in brief what was said.

And an inquiry was proposed to the Sheikh el-Islām, the Seal of profound investigators, of the party of Hanbal, Takky ed-din Ibn Yatsiyeh, the form of which was as follows:† "What say the learned seignors, the Imāms of religion,—let God be gracious to them all, and aid them to manifest the plain truth, and to cover the fair show of errorists! respecting the Nusairiyeh, who declare the lawfulness of wine, and the transmigration of spirits, and the eternity of the world; and profess to deny the awakening,‡ and the gathering, and the resurrection, and the Garden and the Fire, in another than the life which is of this world; and declare that the five prayers signify five names, which are 'Aly, and El-Hasan, and El-Husein, and Muhsin, and Fātimah, so that the mentioning of these five suffices them, in place of the ablution of the whole body, on account of sexual intercourse, and the partial washing, and the other conditions of prayer, and its essentials; and that fasting, in their opinion, signifies three men, and is the name of three women, all of whom they enumerate in their books, to mention whom particularly there is no room here; and that their Deity, who created the heavens and earth, is 'Aly Ibn Abū T'lib,—let God be gracious to him! so that he, in their

* Kurān, Sur. v. v. 37. But there is a slight variation from the common reading in this quotation. The passage properly reads, "The portion of those etc. is only that etc."

† Here begins the third part of this document. See p. 281.

‡ By this is intended, I suppose, the awakening of the dead, in their graves, to be examined by the angels Munkar and Nakir, and to receive from them a foretaste of their final allotments.

opinion, is the Deity, in the heavens, and the Imām on the earth; and the philosophy which maintains the manifestation of the Deity in this humanity, is based upon their view that he enters into familiarity with his creatures in order that he may teach them how they may know him, and serve him; —and that the Nusairy becomes not, in their opinion, a believing Nusairy, whom they will sit with, and in company with whom they will drink, and whom they will let into their secrets, and to whom they will give in marriage of their women, until his teacher addresses him; and the substance of the address, in their opinion, is that they make him swear to the concealment of his religion, and the knowledge of his elders and the great ones among the people of his doctrine, and that he will consult no Muslim, nor any others, excepting those who are of the people of his religion, and that he acknowledges his Imām, and his Lord, as manifested in his revolutions and his periods, and so acknowledges the transmigration of the Ism and the Ma'na* in every epoch and age. And the Ism, in their opinion, among the first of men, was Adam, and the Ma'na, Sbeit;† and the Ism, Ya'kūb, and the Ma'na, Yūsuf; and they use to prove this representation, as they think, that which is in the Kurān, namely, a story about Ya'kūb and Yūsuf,—let peace be to them both! and accordingly say, "What was Ya'kūb? as for him, he was the Ism, for what power exceeds its station?‡ and he says, 'Presently, I will ask pardon for you of my Lord; verily, he is the Pardoner, the Compassionate;§ and as for Yūsuf, he was the Ma'na who is asked, and so he says, 'There is no reprimanding of you this day, God pardons you,¶ and brings not in the authority of another, because he knows that he is the absolute Deity." And they lay it down that Mūsā was the Ism, and Yūshū'a, the Ma'na, and say, "As for Yūshū'a, the sun yielded to him, after he had commanded it, and obeyed his command; and does the sun yield to any one except its Lord?" And they lay it down that Suleimān was the Ism, and Āṣaf, the Ma'na, and say, "Suleimān was impotent to cause to be present the throne of Belkis, and Āṣaf had power to do it, because Suleimān

* The Nusairis are here represented as holding that the Deity in name, the Ism, and the Deity in reality, the Ma'na, appear in every age.

† Sbeit.

‡ See Kurān, Sur. xii. v. 99.

§ Its original.

¶ Ibid. v. 92.

was the Ism, and Asaf was the Ma'na, the Potent, the Powerful.* And they enumerate the Prophets and the Messengers, one by one, after the manner of this talk, up to the time of the Envoy of God,—let the divine benediction and peace be to him! and so they say that Muhammed was the Ism, and 'Aly, the Ma'na; and they carry on the enumeration, in this order, through every age, up to our time. So much for this.

But it is a part of the substance of religion, and of the address, in their opinion, that instruction be given that 'Aly is the Lord; and Muhammed, the Veil; and Selma'n, the Gate; and that these, in this order, have not ceased, and will not cease to be. And to the rhyming which is famous among them, of some of their extravagances, belongs the saying of one, the accursed, the disbeliever in God,—let him be exalted! "I testify that there is no Deity, except the Lion with bald temples and big belly;† and no Veil to him, except Muhammed the Just, the Faithful; and no Way to him, except Selma'n the Possessor of power, the Stedfast." And in like manner, there are the five Solitaires,‡ and the twelve Nak'iba,§ whose names are made known, according to them, in their detestable books; for they cease not to proclaim the Lord, the Veil, and the Gate, in every revolution and period, forever, without end. Also, that the Iulis of Ib'lises was 'Omar Ibn El-Khattab,—let God be gracious to him! and that the next in the rank of Ib'lises was Abû Bekr, and then 'Othma'n,—let God be gracious to them, and clear them, and elevate their rank above the sayings of the Heretics, and the profession of the self-devoting Extravagant! and they cease not, at any time, to exist, according to what they tell.

And there are ramifications and subdivisions to their doctrines, which come back to these fundamental principles mentioned.

* See Kurda, Sur. xxxvii. vv. 98-100. Asaf is not named in the Kurda, but El-Bedhawy allows the interpretation which attributes to him the miracle here referred to. See *Uridawati Commentarius in Coranum*, ed. H. O. Fleischer, vol. 4, p. 68.

† A well-known sobriquet of 'Aly, among the Muslims, is the Lion of God.
‡ Meaning, probably, Hijabla without unveiled Imāna. The document, referred to in the Introduction, which I have set aside for the present, teaches that the number of the Imāns is seven, while that of the Hijabla is twelve, without, however, admitting the doctrine of the disappearance of the Imāns.

§ I. e. Administrators, a name given to the Hijabla of the Imāns.

And this accursed sect has possessed itself of a great part of the country of Syria, so that they are known, noted, and declare themselves, as holding this doctrine; and all who have had intercourse with them, of the government-agents of the Muslims, and their learned men, and of the common people, also, up to the present time, have verified the state of the case in respect to them. For, during the time that the heretic Franks held possession of the country, it was unknown to many, how it stood with them; but after the days of Islām came,* the state of the case in respect to them was discovered, and their departure from the right way was manifested, and the proof of them was very abundant.

So then, is it allowed to the Muslim to take a wife from among them, and is the eating of their sacrifices permitted, while the state of the case is such? And what is the sentence in respect to the cheese made from the curdled milk of one of their animals offered in sacrifice? And what is the sentence in respect to their vessels, and their garments, also? And is the burying of them among the Muslims allowed, or not? And is it allowed to employ any of them on the frontiers of the Muslims, and to entrust them to them? or, on the other hand, is it obligatory upon the prefect of command† to displace them, and to employ other men, of the trusty Muslims? And does he do wrong, when he commands to turn these off, and to employ others than them? or, on the other hand, is it allowed to him to grant delay, in case this is determined upon? And when he employs them, and afterwards displaces them, or does not displace them, is it allowed to him to invest the monies of the Public Treasury on their responsibility? And is the shedding of the blood of the said Nusairiyeh lawful? And is their property a thing decided upon as free to be taken, or not? And when the prefect of command makes war upon them, does God,—let him be exalted! aid him in the extinction of their false doctrine, and in the ejection of them from the fortresses of the Muslims, and in the warring of the people of Islām against intermarrying with them, and eating their sacrifices, and in the commanding of them

* This refers to the victories of Salih ad-din over the Christians, in the latter part of the twelfth century of our era. See *Vita of Rex Graecus Saladinus*, ed. Albertus Schultens, pp. 34, ff.

† Meaning the provincial governor.

to fast, and pray, and in the preventing of them from making a show of their false religion? And is he who wars with the said Nusairiyeh counted as one who mounts a cavalier? and is his recompense like the recompense of him who mounts a cavalier on the frontiers, on the shore of the Sea,* through fear of an invasion of the Franks? or has this one a greater recompense? And is it obligatory upon any one who knows the said persons, and their doctrines, to divulge what they are, and to help to do away with their false doctrine, and the proclaiming of the Imâm on their part, so that God,—let him be exalted! may perhaps regard their offspring and their children as Muslims? or, on the other hand, is it allowed to him to be unconcerned, and to let things take their course? And what is the recompense of him who labors assiduously for that, and is zealous for it, and intent upon it?

Have they spoken explicitly respecting these things, as assisted, and aided, and recompensed, if God,—let him be exalted! wills?†

The answer respecting this, in the hand-writing of the Sheikh Tekky ed-din Ibn Yatmīyeh,—may God,—let him be exalted! be merciful to him! was as follows: "As for these people, denominated the Nusairiyeh, they and the other classes of the mystical Karâmīah,‡ are more unbelieving than the Jews and the Christians; nay, more unbelieving than many idolaters; and the injury which they do to the community of Muhammed,—let the divine benediction and peace be to him! is greater than the injury done by warring infidels, such as the infidels of the Turks and Franks, and others. For these meet the warring of the Muslims by affecting to be Sh'ah, while, in reality, they believe not in God, nor in his Envoy, nor in his Book, nor in any command, nor in any prohibition, nor in any reward, nor in any penalty, nor in any Garden, nor in any Fire, nor in any one of the Messengers preceding our Prophet Muhammed,—let the divine benediction and peace be to him! nor in any of the former religions; nay, they take up the word of God and his Envoy, acknowledged among

* The Mediterranean.

† It seems to have been understood, when Ibn Yatmīyeh gave the following opinion, that the Nusairi were a class of the Karâmīah.

the Muslims, to allegorize it agreeably to certain things which they are full of, pretending that they constitute the science of the hidden sense, such as those mentioned by the inquirer, and others not of this sort. For, as for them, they have no set limit as to that which they pretend of heresy respecting the names of the Creator, and his signs,* and of perversion of the word of God,—let him be exalted! and the word of his Envoy, to the doing away of its positious, inasmuch as their intention is to deny the faith and the laws of Islâm, altogether; while at the same time they hold out that these things have their realities, known to them, which are such sort of things as the inquirer has mentioned, and such as their saying that the five prayers are the knowledge of their secrets; and the prescribed fasting, the concealment of their secrets; and the pilgrimage to the Ancient House,† the visiting of their sheikhs; and that the two hands of Abû Lahab‡ were Abû Bekr and 'Omar,—let God be gracious to them both! and that the Great Prophet, and the Evident Imâm, was 'Aly Ibn Abû Tâlib,—let God be gracious to him!

And they are the authors of some well-known charges, and some books composed, in hostility to Islâm and its people. And so, whenever it is in their power, they shed the blood of the Muslims, as they put to death, once upon a time, the pilgrims to Mekkeh, and cast them into Zemzem, and, once upon a time, took off the Black Stone, which remained with them a long while, and put to death a multitude which only God,—let him be exalted! can compute, of the learned men of the Muslims, and their elders, and their princes, and their troops.§

And it is said that they have composed many books, and that what the inquirer mentions is in them, and other things. And the learned men of the Muslims have composed books disclosing their secrets, and have therein made evident the infidelity, and the Zendi-kism,|| and the heresy, which they profess, inasmuch as they are herein more

* Meaning the verses of the Kurân.

† The Ka'bah.

‡ Abû Lahab, an uncle of Muhammed, was one of his most implacable enemies.

§ This refers to the taking of Mekkeh by the followers of Karmat, under Abû Tâlib, A. H. 317, i. e. A. D. 929-30. See *Mémoires de l'Institut*, Toms II. p. 6.

|| Or, Magiam.

unbelieving than the Jews, or than the Christians, or than those who worship idols.

And as for that which the inquirer has mentioned by way of describing them, it is a little out of the much of that which is known to learned men, as descriptive of them. And it is, among other things, known among them, that the Christians possessed themselves of the sea-coasts of Syria only by means of them, who are always in league with every enemy to the Muslims, and so were league with the Christians against the Muslims. And one of the greatest of calamities, in their opinion, was the Muslims coming off superior over the Tatars;* and one of the greatest of their rejoicings was when the Christians,—and reverse is God's appointment,—possessed themselves of the frontiers of the Muslims, which ceased not to be under the power of the Muslims, as far as the island of Cyprus, (conquered by the Muslims in the Khalifate of the Prince of the believers 'Othmān Ibn 'Aflān,—let God be gracious to him! which Mu'awiyeh, the son of Abū Sufyān,—let God be gracious to them both! conquered,†) up to the middle of the fourth century; when these combatants against God and his Envoy multiplied on the sea-coasts, and elsewhere, and so the Christians possessed themselves of the sea-board; and afterwards, owing to them, possessed themselves of the Holy City, and other places. For the circumstances of the case as respects them were among the most potent occasions thereof; after which, when God had raised up kings of the Muslims who warred in the way of God, such as Nūr ed-dīn the martyr, and Salāh ed-dīn, and their successors, and they had conquered the sea-coasts from the Christians, and those who were in league with them, and had also conquered the land of Egypt, they held possession of them about two hundred years, and were at peace with them and the Christians, for, until they had conquered the country, the Muslims made war upon them;

* Alluding, probably, to the dismembering and repulse which the Mongols received, when they at length invaded Syria, in the beginning of the fourteenth century of our era. See *Abulfida's Annals Muslimicæ*, ed. J. J. Reiske, Tome v. p. 172, ff.

† *Abulfida* assigns this conquest of Cyprus by Mu'awiyeh to the year of the Hijrah 28, i. e. A. D. 648-9. See *Abulfida's Annals Muslimicæ*, Tome i. p. 262.

and within that period, the call of Islām was published in the country of Egypt, and in that of Syria.*

And they have certain appellations affixed to them among the Muslims. Sometimes, they are called the Mellāheh;† and sometimes they are called the Karāmāteh; and sometimes they are called the Nāshiyeh;‡ and sometimes they are called the Nusairiyeh; and sometimes they are called the Haramiyeh;§ and sometimes they are called the Muḥammareh.¶ And as for these names, some of them belong to them in common, and some are peculiar to some of their classes, just as the name formed from the fourth conjugation of *salama*,¶ and that formed from the fourth conjugation of *amana*,** belongs to the Muslims in common, while some of them have names peculiar to them, either by parentage, or by country, or on account of something else.‡

And he [Ibn Yatmiyeh] comments upon their purposes, at some length, as follows: "So then, they consist of those who are outwardly Rāṣidheh,†† and inwardly pure infidels. And the truth of the matter in respect to them is, that they believe not in any one of the Prophets and the Messengers, neither in Nūh, nor in Ibrāhīm, nor in Mūsā, nor in 'Isā, nor in Muḥammed,—let the divine benediction and peace be to him! nor in any of the Books of God, sent down from above, neither in the Law, nor in the Gospel, nor in the Psalms, nor in the Distinguisher. And they do not maintain that the world had a Creator who created it, nor that there is any religion of his which he commands, nor that he is provided with any state of being in which he recompenses men for their actions, other than the present state. And sometimes, they base their profession of belief in accordance with the doctrines of the Philosophers, naturalistic, or deistic, upon that of the Mutakāshshibeh,‡‡ and

* This statement of the relations existing between the Nusairis and the Christians in Syria, from the middle of the tenth century of our era down into the fourteenth century, the period when Ibn Yatmiyeh himself lived, can not fail to be regarded with interest, as it is believed to be quite new.

† i. e. Party of the Sellers of salt, probably. I think it has been said by some one, that, at the present day, the Nusairis come to Deric to sell salt.

‡ i. e. Party of the lactrictes. § See note § p. 279.

¶ See note § p. 273.

¶ Meaning the name El-Muhammad.

** Meaning the name El-Amān.

‡‡ i. e. Party of the Squalid. The Brthman Hermite, or Buddhist Mendicants, are probably referred to here.

†† See note § p. 278.

that of the Magians who worship fire; and to that *add* mingling of Râddism, and falsely, reporting, for instance, as a tradition handed down from the Prophet,—let the divine benediction and peace be to him! that *he said*, "The first thing that God created was the Intelligence, and he said to it, 'Approach,' and it approached, and he said to it, 'Retire,' and it retired;" and perverting the Prophet's expressions to such a degree that one of them writes, "The name of God,—let him be exalted! is on the lower part of his legs."* And they deny what the Prophets have communicated.

And the learned men of the Muslims are already agreed that, as for such as these, intermarriage with them is not allowed, so that a man may not use one of them as his concubine, nor take one of them as his wife; and that their sacrifices are not to be partaken of. And, as for cheese made from their curdled milk, learned men say two things which are well known, respecting it, as in respect to other curdled milk of a dead animal, and the curdled milk of the Magians, and the curdled milk of the Franks, of whom it is said that they do not slay victims for sacrifice. The doctrine, then, of Abû Haniffeh,—let God be gracious to him!—and I give praise in making one of the two citations,—is that this cheese is allowed, because the curdled milk becomes not dead with the death of the beast, and the impure receptacle in the belly affects it not with a pollution. And the doctrine of Malik and of Esh-Shâfi'y,—and I give praise in making the other citation,—is that this cheese is impure, because, in their opinion, the curdled milk is impure, for the milk of a dead animal and its curdled milk are, in their opinion, impure; and of whomsoever the sacrifice may not be partaken of, his sacrifice is like a dead animal. And as for their vessels, and their garments, they are like the vessels of the Magians, and the garments of the Magians, according to what is known of the doctrines of the Imams; and *The Sahih*,† on that point, says that "their vessels should not be used, except after they have been

* May not the saying here attributed to the Musalim, be an imitation of what is said of the "Word of God" in Rev. xii. 16. "And he hath on his vesture and on his thigh a name written, King of kings and Lord of lords?"
† Probably *The Sahih* of El-Bukhârî, which is the most celebrated of the collections of authentic traditions bearing this name.

washed; for their sacrifices are dead animals; and so, of necessity, if any part of what they cook of their sacrifices reaches those of their vessels which are made use of, they are thereby polluted." But as for the vessels which one is not obliged to regard as rendered impure, they may be used without any washing, such as vessels for milk, in which they leave not their bouillons, and which they wash before putting milk into them. And 'Omar,—let God be gracious to him! indeed, performed his ablutions with the jar of a Christian woman, respecting the impurity of which he doubted; so that he did not judge it to be impure, by doubting. And it is not allowed to bury them in the burial-places of the Muslims; nor to pronounce the benediction upon any of them who die. For God,—let him be exalted! forbade his Prophet,—let the divine benediction and peace be to him! to pronounce the benediction upon hypocrites, such as 'Abdallah Ibn Ubeiy, and those about him, who made a show of praying, and alms-giving, and fasting, and warring on the side of the Muslims, not making openly any declaration which was at variance with the religion of the Muslims, but keeping such difference secret. Says God,—let him be exalted! "And thou mayest not pronounce the benediction upon any one of them who die, ever, and thou mayest not preside over his burial; verily, they disbelieve in God and his Envoy, and die as wicked persons."* How shall it be, then, with these, who, together with Zindikism and hypocrisy, make a show of infidelity and heresy? And as for the employing of such as these on the frontiers of the Muslims, and in their fortresses, or among their troops, that is a great error, equal to one's employing wolves to pasture sheep. For they are the most treacherous of men toward the Muslims, and the pre-fects of their commands, and the most eager of men for the

* Kurân, Sur. ix. v. 85. In El-Beidhawî's commentary on this verse we read, "It is reported by tradition that 'Abdallah Ibn Ubeiy called for the Prophet of God, during his illness; and after he had entered where he was, he asked him to forgive him, and that he would wrap him for burial in the covering which was next his body, and would pronounce the benediction over him. So, after he was dead, he [the Prophet] sent his tunic that he might be wrapped in it for burial, and went out to pronounce the benediction over him; whereupon the verse came down, &c." See *Beidhawî's Canon*, in *Curân*, vol. i. p. 296; and compare *Mohammed's First Prophet*, von Dr. Gustav Weil, s. 282.

corruption of the religion of Islām and the empire of Muhammed. And they are worse than the lurker about in the army; for, as for him who lurks about, he has an aim which concerns either the commander of the army, or the enemy; while their aims concern our religion, and its Prophet, and its rites, and its kings, and its learned men, and its common people, and its people of note. And they are the most eager of men to entrust the fortresses to the enemies of the Muslims, and to alienate the troops from the prefect of command, and to withdraw them from obedience to him. So then, it is obligatory upon the prefects of commands to displace them from the rolls of fighting men, whether in a fortress, or elsewhere than in a fortress, while the harm they do in a fortress is most serious; and that they employ, instead of them, believing men, who hold to the religion of Islām, and the admonition of God, and his Envoy, and the Imāms of the Muslims. And when they make a show of conversion, respecting that there is a dispute among learned men. So then, those who admit their conversion, bind them to the observance of the law of Islām, and impose upon them tribute of their effects; and those who admit it not, reject their ranking as of their class, so that whatever is theirs reverts to the Public Treasury. But, as for these, whenever they are taken up, they make a show of conversion, inasmuch as one accommodates his doctrine to piety and the hiding of what is the case with them; and there are those among them who are acquainted with their religion, and those who are not so. So that the way, respecting that, is to look out for what is the case with them; and that they be not suffered to congregate; and that they be not empowered to bear arms,—not even if they make a part of the fighting men; and that they be bound to the observance of the laws of Islām, namely, the five prayers, and the reading of the Kurān; and that some one stay among them, who may teach them the religion of Islām, and interpose between them and their teachers. And let them be prohibited from making a part of the cavalry, and of the bearers of arms, and of those clad in the coats of mail which the fighting men wear; and they may not stay among the troops, just as neither a Jew nor a Christian may stay among the troops. And let them be bound to the observance of the laws of Islām.

And it is not allowed to any one to leave them at the extremity of the frontiers.

This is according to that which God,—let him be exalted I says, namely, "Do ye regard the giving of water to the pilgrim to Mekkeh, and the visiting of the Mosque, as ye regard one's believing in God and the day which is to come, and warring on the side of God? They are not alike in God's estimation, and God directs not wicked people. Those who believe, and leave their homes, and war on the side of God, staking their effects and their lives, are highest in degree in God's esteem; and as for those, they are those who are saved. Their Lord announces to them the gladness of mercy from him, and grace; and there are gardens for them, in which is enduring pleasure, where they shall abide forever. With God is great recompense."* And God,—glory be to him! is the Knowing One.

II.

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. Praise be to God, who confirms every thing by his unity; to the glory of whose reverence every thing bows; who embraces by science the thing in every thing;† who is, and before whom was not any thing; and who created out of nothing things created; and the glory of whose dominion nothing resembles, so that not any thing is too much for him, if he wills it; and who is the cause of every thing; and who dispenses with every thing, and whom nothing dispenses with; whom all things need, and from whom and with whom are all things; from whom every thing emanates, and who emanates not from any thing; and who is not the general of any thing special, and who comes not under any thing; and by reason of whom nothing subsists, and to the detriment of whom nothing changes; and to the degree of whose essence there is no reaching for any perception, or any conjecture; who is the Hidden of the hidden, and the Mystery of mystery; from whose unity emanated a sole Amr. And to it was given for a covering the

* Kurān, Sur. ik. vv. 16-21.

† Meaning, who knows the essence of every thing.

Kif and the *Nûn*,* comprehending that which was, and that which is, and that which is to be. So then, that is his Word, and his effusion, and his out-pouring, and his science, and the cause of that which is produced by him, and his perfection, and the medium of his producing, and the means of his creating, and the manifestor of his declaring,† and the exhibitor of his superior power, and a *hiyûly*‡ to his command, and a form to his volition, like as the *Irdîsh* is a *hiyûly* to his *Amr*, and a form to his *Meshiyeh*§ and as will is a *hiyûly* to volition, and a form to the intellect.

And so emanates from his sole *Amr* the first producer, the *Sâbik*,| the most perfect receiver, the simple substance, the apprehender, the comprehender, the suited to the appropriation of perfection, the creator by no reinforcement,¶ and the correspondent of the Eternal One, and the Noble Root, the Primitive Light, and the Universal Intelligence, the improver of things existing, the shedder forth of things created, the producer of things produced, the preceptor of things made, the divine in essence, the conjoined with felicities, the abiding, the constant, the medium between the Creator and his reinforcement pertaining to things caused, the made one with the Word, the sharer in the divine majesty, the prior by essence and rank, the exempt from finiteness and defect, the place of the act of creation, and the seat of the act of production, the shedder forth upon the *Tily*** as to that which it receives of the out-pouring of the Highest, the lofty, the form of forms, the originator of creatures, the governor of ranks, the performer of wonders, and the manifestor of extraordinary, the complete as to excellencies, the finisher of the first

* By the *Kif* and the *Nûn* is meant the creative mandate (س), *be thou*.

† Meaning the declaration of his mind and will by revelation.

‡ The *Græck* *logos*, matter without form. Of course, both this word and "form" are here used metaphorically.

§ By the *Irdîsh*, or the Will, and the *Meshiyeh*, or the Volition, seem here to be intended the *Sâbik* and the *Tily*, presently to be mentioned, of which the former emanates directly from the *Amr*, while the latter emanates from it. The same application of names is found in the books of the *Dresses*. See De Saey's *Explication de la Religion des Dressés*, Tome ii. pp. 21-2.

| *i. e.* Precedent.

¶ Meaning, without any aiding from a higher power.

** *i. e.* Followed. See below.

five,* the uniter of things allied, the separator of things which differ. So then, it is the first of substances, and the second of manifesters, the necessary by its Cause, the competent by its divinity, the living, the emulous in science, the potent, the ruler, the prohibitor, the commander, the shedder forth, the receiver, the made, the maker, the perfected, the perfecter, the lover, the beloved for its essence, the exerciser of justice, the joyous with its delights, the qualified with the most perfect of attributes, the designated by the most excellent of epithets, which is set forth in the attributes and the names,† and which is named *Fate*. So then, it is the fortune of fortunes, and the pen of that which is written, and the *hiyûly* of every *hiyûly*, and the place of science, and the supreme and primitive nature, which receives effusion from its Cause, and is let out, and so becomes the shedder forth of the lights of his Word, and takes its stand with his taking his stand, and abides with his abiding, by virtue of a continual effusion of reinforcements,‡ from eternity to eternity, endless, without measure, and incomputable. And its receiving that which is not an end§ postulates that it is a receiver in order to spreading, in order that the acted upon may be converted into an actor, and that the Intelligence, and that which is objective to the Intelligence, may become an intelligent being, and that the height of its potency may be manifested, and the light of its wisdom.

And so emanates, in accordance with its volition, in order to the continuance of the perfection of its felicity, through the fairness of its forming, an active substance, congruous with its substance, which is named the Universal Soul, and the Veritable Spirit, which is raised up by it as a receiver of its effusion and its impresses, improving by the succession of its benefits and its lights, prepared for the reception of impress, naked of forms. So then, it is the

* Meaning the first five emanations, namely, the *Amr*, the *Sâbik*, the *Tily*, the Primitive *Hiyûly*, and the *Circumambients*. See below.

† Namely, those applied to God by the *Mu-lims*.

‡ Meaning reinforcements from the *Amr*, received by the *Sâbik*, and transmitted to the Prophets of every period, and to the seven *Imâms* of each, as their representatives, by virtue of which the Duty himself is conceived of as taking his stand, and abiding, in them.

§ Namely, the reinforcements from the *Amr*.

verity of verities, and the quintessence of things recondite, which is designated as the Tūly to that Sābiq, the essence of which is a tablet for the inscribing of the letters of the pen of the Intelligence, a root to that which is beside it of branches, and a branch to that root, a place of beginning to the lettings out of things, and a cause of the measurements of things which have parts, and a medium between the first and the last, and the inward and the outward, the place of coming out of that which is potential to the open field of actuality, the sojourning-place of lights, the excellencies of science and justice,* a power able to manifest sciences in that which is caused, a receiver of the impress of its Cause, an actor, making its impresses upon that which is caused, pervading through all existence, reinforcing, by effusion and aiding, the rest of the Enclosures,† which manifests things subtle, and forms things gross, and disperses through the world its forces, and manifests its ideas in every genus and species and person.

And so emanates therefrom the Primitive Hiyily, the receiver, essentially, of the forms of things created, upon which the Soul pours out that which it receives of the impress of its Cause, and through the medium of which it perpetuates the perfection of its excellence, and which, by the force of receptivity, and the perfection of preparation for forms, it causes to become the distant three.‡ For, pervading nature and coursing forms are manifested in things whole and things of parts, and things high and things low; and the Hiyily thereby becomes an absolute body, and the force of the Soul is attached to it with attachment, and so are parted off from it the higher envelopes, and made out of it the lower bodies; while attractive, propulsive force manifests motion of volition.§

* Meaning that the divine attributes of knowledge and justice are tabernacled in it.

† Enclosures of the Deity. This name seems to include, in the Ismā'īlīan system, all created existences. See p. 208.

‡ By which is meant the three classes of existence furthest removed from the Deity, namely, Minerals, Plants, and Animals. See below.

§ The name of "the higher envelopes" includes the Stellar Sphere, and the seven Palaces, presently to be mentioned; while the four Globes, of Ether, Air, Water, and gross Earth, together with Minerals, Plants, and Animals, which are also presently to be mentioned, constitute what are called "the lower bodies." It is evidently the Universal Soul of which all these are

And so the Circumambient is fashioned in the most excellent of fashions, and ordered in the most perfect of states. So then, it is the cause of sensible motions, and the manifestor of the forces of the Soul, and the reconditeness of the ideas of the Holy One, the limiter of regions, the uniter of things simple and things composite, a cause of place, an actualizer of time, which is enthroned in the evenness of the Merciful, and the place of the loftiness of the envelopes, the basis of the regulator of the day, the compriser of every cause and every effect.*

Afterwards, is let out the Stellar Sphere,† with the fixed stars, the seat of power, which compasses the earth and the heavens, which is the standing-place of forms, and the lunar mansions, and the zodiacal signs, which is denominated the heaven of the degrees of the zodiacal signs, the actualizer of the great periods, the mover of that which is beside it of envelopes.

Afterwards, rises to view the Elevated Palace, the capacious structure, the vestibule, the hall of Keiwin, who is the superior over beings, the master of abstinence and chief-tainship, the educator of people of thought and ingenuity,

conceived to be incorporations, differing only in grade; for they are said to come into existence in consequence of the union of the Soul with "absolute body." But by the inclination of the Soul to absolute body is first developed, according to this system, motion of volition. It follows from that that all the emanations previously mentioned are to be considered as involuntary.

* From this description it is evident that the Circumambient is Finite Space.

† This is the outer concave of the ancient Ptolemaic system of astronomy, as appears from what follows in our text, when in connection with the following passage from an astronomical work of El-Farghaly, an Arabic astronomer probably of the ninth century of our era: "So then, we say that the number of the spheres which compass all the motions of the stars, is eight; of which seven belong to the seven planets, and the eighth is the highest, belonging to the fixed stars, which is the sphere of the zodiacal signs. And the figure of these spheres is like the figure of globes one within another. And so the smallest of them is that which is the sphere of globes one within another, which is the globe of the Moon, and the second belongs to Mars, [Mercury,] and the third, to Es-Zaharah, [Venus,] and the fourth, to the Sun, and the fifth, to El-Merikh, [J Mars,] and the sixth, to El-Mustawry, [Jupiter,] and the seventh, to Zuhal, [Saturn,] and the eighth, to the fixed stars. And so, as for the sphere of the fixed stars, which is the sphere of the zodiacal signs, on the one hand, its centre is the centre of the earth; and so far the centres of the seven globes which belong to the planets, they deviate from the centre of the earth, variously." See *Perganeia Elementa Astronomica*, ed. J. Golius, pp. 43-5.

the presider over cultivated spots and sown fields, the sheikh of the overflowing, and the lords of groups of houses, the letter out of ages by his rotation, the master of handicrafts, the black as to his colors.

Afterwards, the Second Palace, the solid as to foundations, of which the defenses hide Birjis, who is the manifest by science and research, the aider of the masters of the luminous and the enlightening, namely the Lights, the shedder forth, whose beauty gives light, the powerful in the house of the King of the invisible realm of heaven, the ordainer of kings and rulers, the manifest of nights and days, the cause of articles* by his movements, and the regulator of fundamentals by his repositings, who puts in motion the great enlightener, the most potent master of revolution.

Afterwards, the Fifth Palace, the palanquin of the fair Nâhid, and the sitting-place of the bright Zaharah, who is the star of the people of gaiety and ordered song with music, the sweetheart of the sparkling orbs, the adorer of women and girls, the bells of the celestial spheres, the tempter of the king who presides over love and mirthfulness, as for accidents; and as for colors, the white.

Afterwards, the Sixth Palace, the shop of the devices of Utârid, who is involved in every thing emanating, and every thing coming into existence, the sage, the geometriean, and the sanctified ascetic, the master of paintings and writings, who takes care of the niceties of the arts, the compiler of diwân, the educator of artificers and artisans, the mingled, the colored, the refined, the varied.

Afterwards, the Seventh Palace, the hippodrome of Jaûlû, who is the second enlightener, the hastener in journeyings, without delay, the master of the fashionings of light, the star of the camel-train and couriers, the colorer of things, who has command of stripping and reddening, who makes months and years to be, the agent of properties and powers, the befriender as to supplies, the clothier, who takes in hand the concerns of common men.

And after the seven homogeneous Palaces,† come other seven heterogeneous, which are the four Corner-stones, and their intermediates, the circumscribing three.

* Meaning articles of belief.

† The spheres, or masses, of the seven planets are referred to under this general name. We have proof of this, and a most important help to the understanding of the descriptions above given of these several Palaces, as well

The first, then, of the Corner-stones is the Globe of Ether, which is the heaven of the shooting stars, and the station of the possessors of tails and flowing manes, the highest of the elements, and the agent of heats in substances.

Next, the second, is the Globe of Air, with clouds and rains, the place of convection for the convection of vapor, the agent of thunder-clouds, and thunder-bolts, and mists,

as a clear indication of the source from which the ideas here expressed were derived, is Ebn-Sînâ's account of the Spheres. This author, after characterizing Sabîum as a system including assiduity in action, rather than a religious disposition, goes on to speak of its followers as those who hold to "Spiritual Existences, pure and holy, in substance, act, and state," which are necessary mediators between man and the glorious Creator, in respect to all benefits received from him; so that man must cultivate intercourse with them, by "assiduity in action, austerity, and withdrawal from the mundanities of passions." He also tells us that the Sabians hold these Spiritual Existences to be "the mediating occasions, in respect to production, and causing to exist, and alteration from one state to another, and the causing of created things to tend from a beginning to a perfection." After this he adds: "Some of them are the regents of the seven planets in their spheres, which are their Palaces; and to every Spiritual there is a Palace, and to every Palace, a sphere. And the relation of a Spiritual to that Palace which is appropriate to it, is the relation of the soul to the body; so that it is its lord, and its regent, and its interceder. And they name the Palaces lords; and often they name them fathers, and the elements mothers; and so the action of the Spirituals is to cause them to manifest a peculiar power, in order that from their motions actualities may arise within natural properties, and the elements, and therefore compendings, and temperanciness in compendings, upon which follow corporeal forces, and to which are superadded spiritual souls, like the species of plants and the species of animals." He also distinguishes the Spirituals of the Sabian system as "universal" in their "impressions," to which are to be referred the distinctions of species, and "particular," to which are to be referred the distinctions of the individual of a species, from another; and as exerting their influences either in the upper air, in the heavens, in the lower atmosphere, and on the earth, or every where, in all existences alike. See Ebn-Sînâ's *Book of Relig. and Philos. Sects*, pp. 202-5. The statement by Ebn-Sînâ, raising makes it quite evident what is intended by the Palaces, and the beings occupying them, described in our text; and also throws light upon the union of these Palaces with the four Corner-stones, or elements, presently to be mentioned as the intermediate occasion of the several regents of the planets, and Animals. As to the pretensions of the several regents of the planets, given in our text, however, I am unable to show that they have their analogues in any other system, although I do not doubt that such will be found to be the case. Some of the names which these regents bear in the text may be seen, by reference to our extract from El-Farghânî's astronomical work, to be those which are ordinarily given to some of the planets in Arab astronomy. But others differ. It is deserving of notice, also, that, although seven Palaces are spoken of in our text, the third and fourth, in the order of their being "let out," namely that of the Sun and that of Mars, are omitted in the description.

and distant thunderings, the uniter of colds in freezing cold, and the life of every thing animate which possesses form.

And the third is the Globe of Water, the giver of moisture to things, the image of science, the all-embracing, by means of which every thing living is constituted, the manifest by the ocean, the filled with substance, the pourer, the profuse.

The fourth is the Globe of gross Earth, the centre of every subtle circumambient,* the guardian of dryness in composites, the binder of separating parts.

The first two are light, and the last two, heavy; and as for each two of them, an intermediate determines them, that they may not exceed their bounds.

And after the fathers and the mothers have moved with the three motions, and natural properties incline towards being awakened, and the three generators appear, and the males are filled with the females, the first of things generated is Minerals, which are compounded of the Corner-stones, of which the lowest is sand, and the highest, small pearls; and as for the second, it is Plants, of which the lowest is the *Kushûk*,† and the highest, the tall palm; and the third is Animals, of which the lowest is the intestinal worm, and the highest, man.

So then, these are conjoined substances, and a material not discovered,‡ spreading itself from the apogee of the Holy One to the perigee of genus, coursing through the worlds, appearing in things which rise to view, and biding itself in things obscured. In twenty-eight places of manifestation is the Perfect in number, which are three groups of seven,§ successive as to effusion, and the reinforcements

* See note † p. 303.

† *Cucurbita epitymum*, a parasitic climbing plant, without roots, and without leaves, but bearing small seeds at its extremities. See *Edm Beikar's Hand- und Nahrungs-mittel*, liberatet von Dr. Joseph v. Bontheimer, Bd. ii. a. 360.

‡ Meaning, not discovered from the Deity. See p. 299.

§ These three groups are as follows: 1. the Deity, the Amr, the *Sâkîh*, the *Tûbî*, the *Primitivè Sîfûtî*, the *Circumambient*, and the *Stellar Sîfûrî*; 2. the seven Palaces; and 3. the Four Corner-stones, and the three classes of generated existences, Minerals, Plants, and Animals. Consequently, "the Perfect in number" denotes some absolute numerical principle pervading all things. It can be nothing else than Unity of number. The *îrâdîq* nature of the *Psychogæans* may be referred to as a parallel, provided only that simultaneousness of existence is ascribed to this principle of Unity and the Deity, for it is said of the Deity, above, that he "is, and before him was not any thing." See p. 299.

in which the light of the Divine Word spreads itself, of which the form is perfectness, and the ideas are consummate.* And so it appears, in every place of manifestation, in the most elevated of impersonations; and them it causes to acknowledge the way of return and deliverance, and instructs in the ideas of mystery and witness,† and commands to obey and worship, and forbids to pass limits. Blessed, then, be that which separates and unites, and which is conversant with that which is made! And let gratitude be to our friends, and praise to our superiors, for the bestowal of acquirements of knowledge, and gifts of things subtle, and the knowledge of quality, and that which is qualified, and the qualifier. And in him who knows, who is assumed, there is that which apprehends every idea.

These things, O my seignors and my brethren, are the verity of my knowledge, and the philosophy of my essence and my quality,‡ and my circuit of my Ka'bel, and my stopping on my *Arâfch*,§ and the hidden sense of my pilgrimage, and the idea of my visitation of the sacred spots, and the finishing of my endeavor for the *Sâfî* of my Choice, and the *Marwa* of my Fortitude,¶ and my prostration to the *Muhammedan Kibleh* and the *Kureishite Ka'bel*, and the *'Ally*-presence, and the *Ushimite Corner-stones*, and the *Fâtimate Domes*, and the *Isma'îlian Imams*, and the *Suns of the West and East*,—from them and to them let there be the best of peace-giving, and the most perfect of salutation!

"And thy Lord said by inspiration to the bee, 'Take thou of the mountains for homes, and of the trees, and of what they rear for shelter, and afterwards eat thou of every fruit; so pursue thou the ways of thy Lord.' That makes

* See note † p. 301.

† Meaning the knowledge of God as he is, or, allegorically, acquaintance with the rank and power of the Imams. See p. 318.

‡ Meaning, what is essence and quality to wit.

§ Stopping on the hill *'Arâfch*, a short distance from *Meekch*, is one of the ceremonies of pilgrimage in the holy city.

¶ There is a play on words here, which cannot be rendered in English. The arduous ceremony of the walk to and fro between *Sâfî* and *Marwa* is alluded to; but the idea of the person speaking is, that what he has said is in the way of sincere endeavor to be the object of the friendship of the Imams, and to be held in his service.

to come out from within her a drink varied in its colors, in which there is healing for men. Verily, therein is a sign to people who consider.*

The Memorial of the acquirements of knowledge by the friend of God Ibrâhîm,† of whose spirit was Isma'îl,—let peace from both of them be to us! The Blessed Belief.

Praise be to God who has directed us to his religion, the right, and brought us to his way, the straight, and elected us to the creed of our father Ibrâhîm, and freely bestowed it upon us! for it is the ancient doctrine which is the doctrine of Isma'îl the noble. And let the benedictions of God, and his peace, and his salutations, and his honoring, be to the Possessors of pure elements, and pervading envelopes, and angelic souls, and holy intelligences!‡ I believe as they who profess the unity, believe, and hold to that which they who know, hold to, and I declare as they who believe, declare, that the world with all its parts, from the roof to the ground, is originated, potential; and that that which is originated is that which is potential, needing an originator who exercises preference; and that he is God, the Eternal, the Necessary, the essentially Rich, the Self-subsistent, whom things potential take the place of, and are necessary to, whom we qualify with the qualificings of hallowing and exalting, and acquit ourselves of the profession of vacuity,§ as well as of anthropomorphists.

And I believe that the Prophets of God are so of right, and veritably Nâïiks, whose testimony is confirmed by intellectual proofs, and decisive arguments; and that the Leaves of the Prophets, and their Books, sent down to them, are the word of God,—let him be magnified and glorified! and

* Kurân, Sur. xvi. vv. 70-1. This passage seems to be used in an allegorical sense, as a recommendation of diligent seeking after hidden knowledge.

† This piece and the two following are called "Memorials" of Abraham, Moses, and Jesus, under the pretence that they contain that which is kindred to the teachings of those earlier Prophets.

‡ A denotation of the Universe, as made up of the four elements in their purity, pervaded by influences of the celestial spheres, with special allusion from the East, through the Sûbûti and the Tâjî.

§ See note † p. 278.

as for the letter of his revelation, that there is no vagueness in it, and no uncertainty, and no defect, and no fault; and that the angels are they who are the favorite servants of God, who are the Karûbis and the Spirituals;* and that the religions to which the Nâïiks call, during the periods, and the laws which they establish for the people of the ages, are correct as to terms, truthful as to ideas, obligatory as to the following of them, obvious for their utility, the denier of which, during their time, is an infidel, and the opposer of which, during their season, is an obdurate wretch; and as for the law of our period, that it is the Muhammedan law, and that the religion of this our time is the religion of Ahmed.

And I believe that the punishment of the sepulchre and its comforts are a reality; and that Munkir and Nakir are a reality; and the gathering, and the blast,† and the resurrection, a reality; and the Garden and the Fire, a reality; and the Book, and the reckoning, and the Shirî,‡ and the Balance, a reality; and the coming to an end, and the returning to God, a reality; and the seeing of him, a reality; and the allowed and the forbidden, a reality; and that the commanding of acts of obedience and services, is a thing admitted;§ and the prohibition of acts of disobedience and offences, a thing objective to the intellect; and that prayer, and alms, and fasting, and pilgrimage, and holy warfare, and justice, and beneficence, and the giving to a relative, are obligatory on the believers; and that the commission of adultery, and the practice of usury, and obscenity, and depravity, and the killing without right, and games, and things intoxicating, are forbidden to the Muslims.

And I believe that the Jinns are existent, and the Shi'ânûs not unreal; and that Iblis and his troop, the cursed, are the friends of infidels and hypocrites.

And I believe that there is no perfection except by the knowledge of oneself; and no elevation except by making sure the sciences of religion; and no deliverance except by sincerity as to the articles of faith; and no rest except

* See note † p. 304. The Karûbis are Cherubim.

† Meaning the blast of the trumpet to rouse the dead to final judgment.

‡ The bridge over Hell.

§ Meaning a thing which the reason allows.

in the renunciation of conveniences, and the taking to utilities; and no knowledge except by the profession of unity; and no clean purification, and no attaining, except by perseverance; and no coming up except by the *Imâm*; and no obedience except by the friends; and no disobedience except by following the adversaries; and no direction, and no being a *Musalim*, except by submission to the rightful *Imâms*; and no faith except by love to the pure people of the Family;* and no religion except the religion of the Lords of disclosure and allegory; and no belief except the belief of the Masters of wisdom and the letter of revelation; and no doctrine except the doctrine of the *Dî's* of *Isma'îl*.

These things are the cream of my doctrine, and my belief on my setting out and my return; and the refined gold of my faith, and the credence of my heart. And therewithal I submit to God in my inmost soul, and my open doing, and hope for the end of the attainment of things desired. And I am fixed in what my tongue has uttered in the presence of my chiefs and my brethren. And we read, "Upon those who believe, and who perform good actions, there rests no guilt in respect to that which they eat, provided they stand in awe, and believe, and perform good actions, and after that stand in awe, and believe, and after that stand in awe, and do virtuously; and God loves those who do virtuously."†

The Memorial of the talker with God *Mûss*.—let peace from both of them be to us! The Allegorical Sense of the Blessed Belief. "He it is who has sent down to thee the Book, of which some verses are explicit, which are the mother of the Book, and others not precise. So then, as for them in whose hearts is wandering, they follow that which is not precise, pertaining to it, from desire to seduce, and from desire to allegorize it; while no one knows its allegorical sense, except God and those who are firmly established in science, who say, 'We believe in it; all is

* The family of Mohammed.

† *Kurân*, Sur. v. v. 94.

from our Lord;" and only the possessors of hearts reflect.* I hold fast to the Possessor of majesty and omnipotence, and I fortify myself in the King of the visible realm and the invisible, and I entrust myself to the Living One, who dies not, our Deity, and the Deity of those who discover to us, and our Lord, and the Lord of our superiors, and our Friend, and the Friend of our friends. And I acknowledge that there is no outward without its inward; and no form without its perfect idea; and no rind without its core; and no Light without its Veil;† and no Knowing One without his Gate; and no law without its way; and no way without its verity; and no verity without its letter of revelation; and no letter of revelation without its allegorical sense; and no allegorical sense except to the firmly established in science; and no being firmly established in science except to the allegorizers.

So then, as for our saying God, its allegorical sense is the Word. And the allegorical sense of the world is a place for manifesting the divine greatness. And as for the coming into existence, it is the posteriority of the caused to the cause, and the latter's preceding the former, agreeably to convincing proofs, *a priori* and *a posteriori*, with reference to order, by argument from order of time, not order of place. And as for potentiality, it is the essence of the being in need, and the ordaining of the realization of the relation of cause to effect. And "the essentially Necessary" implies the absurdity of defining by that which is devoid of quality. And as for the *Ma'nâ's* being established as pre-existent and eternal, and the hallowing of the self-existent Necessary, and the exempting of him from his qualities, it is that we abstract from him every thing which occurs to our minds, and is fixed in our perceptions; and we know that

* *Kurân*, Sur. iii. v. 8. *El-Baidhawî* explains the expression "mother of the Book," in this passage, to mean "its root, that to which the rest of it amounts." This orthodox commentator is obliged to admit that an allegorical sense pertaining to some verses of the *Kurân*, is here recognized; but he claims that there are points left indefinite because God reserves to himself the knowledge of them, and that man has no concern with the allegorical sense, except where it becomes necessary to lean upon it with reference to faith or practice. See *Druidian Cosm.* in *Coranum*, vol. i. pp. 145-6.

† The Veil of the familiar system seems to be the human person of the *Imâm*, while the so called Light is the veritable *Isma'îlî*.

‡ i. e. The Idea, the absolute Deity.

he is above the reach of the choicest of our perceptions and our conjectures; and his unreached qualities take us out of the ditch of sentimentalizing and the profession of vacuity, while they save us from the fetter of anthropomorphism and assimilation.

And as for prophecy and communication by message, they are the manifestation of the Word in the Veil, and the setting up of the Guide, and the Conductor, and the Gate, to the open way of truth and the path of rectitude. And as for the Prophet, he is the informer with regard to fundamentals, calling to that to which the Envoy* calls. And as for the Envoy, he is the Nāṭik, calling to the two Roots, the Sābik and the Tāly, and the three Branches, the Jedd and the Fath and the Khayāl,† which make the higher five, comprising perfection. The Nāṭik is an outward, of which the inward is the Tāly, to which latter it pertains to train and manage, while the opposite is the case in regard to composing and putting together. And as for the confirmation of communication by message, by means of proof and analogy, it is the allegorical sense of the Asās,‡ and the manifestation to the intelligent among men of ideas composed by the Nāṭik. And as for the sending down of the Leaf and the Book, and Jibrīl's bringing the Address, it is the coming of aid to the Nāṭik from the Sābik, and its directing with reference to composing, and its assisting in the writing out. The embodiment of form objective to the intellect is necessary; and the Address is the verification of things determined by the intellect. And as for the favorite angels, they are the knowing, active forces in the upper and lower worlds. And as for their glorifying night and day, and their ascribing of dominion for people of the faith, with asking of forgiveness, it is the continuing of those forces to order the succession of the Amrs, and the manifestation of the properties thereof, in their known place, without intermission.§ And the Karūbis are the forces

* Muhammed.

† The Jedd, or the Primal Originator, the Fath, or the Opening, and the Khayāl, or the Image, are here, evidently, used as names of the Primitive Hiyāl, the Circumambient, and the Stellar Sphere. § See note * p. 264.

‡ What is here allegorized will be best understood by another quotation from Esh-Shahrastānī's statement of the belief of the Sabians in regard to the so called Spirituals. He says, "And they create in hollowing and glorifying, not doubting God as to that which he commands, and doing that which they

which support the Nāṭiks in composing the letter of revelation. And the Spirituals are the forces which belong to the Asās in the disclosure of the allegorical sense. And as for religions and laws, they are the institutions of divine intelligences for the good estate of earthly bodies, in order to the perfecting of the sciences of human souls; which are six, while seven is the number of the days of the week.*

And as for the sepulchre, it is corporeal form and the enveloping Palaces. And as for the punishment of the sepulchre, it is the impression made upon the soul by the shackle of that which comes to it of Hiyāly-forms, opposed to its natural properties; which is in the way of fettering. And the comfort of the sepulchre is the loss of the impression made upon it thereby, and its taking refuge in the verification of the apprehensions pertaining to its Palace-like instruments;† which is by the power of abstraction. And as for the fixing by Munkir and Nakir, it is the mastery of the forces of passionate desire and anger. And as for the gathering, it is the hastening of souls in pursuing the route of their impediments, and their decamping to the rear-guard of their instruments,‡ and the conclusion from premises of creatures, in respect to their days, and the verity of the idea of a day which calls all men to their Inām. And as for the awakening, it is the manifestation of souls in world after world, in accordance with their requirements of wrong and crime. And as for the allegorical sense of the resurrection, the resurrection of individual souls is separation from the apprehensions of sense, and corporeal instruments; and the resurrection of laws and religions is the appear-

are commanded. . . . And we depend upon them as our administration, so that they are our lords, and our divinites, and our sakers, and our intercessors before God; while he is the Lord of lords, and the God of gods." See Esh-Shahrastānī's *Book of Religions and Philosophies*, Sects, p. 263. The next sentence shows that by "the Asurs" are here intended the reinforcements which the Amesha Spentas to the Nāṭiks and Asās, or Prophets and Legates, of the seven periods.

* This seems to indicate that the Prophet of the seventh period was not considered as having established the new order of things, which this sentence was composed.

† By which are intended the senses.

‡ This and the "pursuing the route of their impediments" are expressions borrowed from the operations of an army in the field, to signify a victory gained by souls over all the obstacles of corporeal form.

ance of the Káim* of the time; and the resurrection of the period in the Universal Soul's showing itself in the well-doings of individual souls; and the resurrection of resurrections is the perfection of deliverance and salvation, and the relief of all souls from being made to emanate, and their reaching the world of the Holy One, and the place of Lights, and the ending of the prolongation of the hours of the Great Day, and the coming together of the planets, after their separation, at the point of the first equisipose in revolution; and the resurrection of the whole is the consummation of the two awakenings,† and the closing together of the two zones,‡ and the reversion of science and power to the Universal Soul, in the two worlds, and the coming to nothing of articles, and the failure of difference in fundamentals, and the Hiyály's putting off the clothing of form, and the Soul's dispensing with the efficiencies of necessity,§ and the Knowing One's becoming alone as to his sort and his principle,¶ and the verification of his saying, "And to him shall all command revert."¶

And as for the Book, it is the tablet of secret thought, and the place of that by which the soul is determined in respect to holding to be true and imagining. And as for the reading of it, it is the soul's eyeing and regarding its objects of knowledge akin to itself. And if they are proved sciences and decisive verities, the soul takes hold of them by the right hand, because they pertain to the higher alternative of direction and certain knowledge; and if they are the imaginings of conjecture, and the accreditings of supposition, and the doubtings of syllogism, and the beliefs of the following of authority, the soul takes hold of them by

* I. e. The Taker of his stand, meaning the manifestation of the Amr in each new Prophet. See note † p. 301.

† Probably, the awakening by Munkir and Nakir, (see note † p. 288,) and the awakening for final judgment.

‡ Meaning the two zones called, in the astronomy of the Arabs, "the zone of primary motion," a circle intersecting the earth near the north and south poles, which regulates the motion of all the heavenly bodies together, from east to west, around the earth, every twenty-four hours; and "the zone of secondary motion," a circle, intersecting the earth at other than the polar points, which regulates the revolutions of the sun and stars from west to east, around the earth, in varying periods. See *Nirpannait Elements Astronomica*, pp. 15-18, 48.

§ See p. 302.

¶ Kurán, Sur. xi. v. 123.

¶ See note § p. 306.

the left hand,* because they pertain to the lower alternative of conjecturing and error. And as for the reckoning, it is that the superior Universal Soul stands by inferior individual souls, in respect to that which emanates from them of sayings and doings, and sciences and operations, whilst they use the instruments of form, and outward shapes, with the four compound forces, out of which are made up the forces of man, which are the angelic, and the brutal, and the bestial, and the Satanic. And so, if the angelic increases, and the force of certain knowledge predominates, they merit the good of compensation, and are safe from the evil of penalty, and are elevated, as devotees, to the inner court of the invisible realm of the celestial spheres, to have command of worlds beneath which the Regal Powerst have sway, and are raised by degrees to their spiritual mansion, and their world of light; and if one of the three [other] forces predominates, and hinders them from experiencing resurrection, they merit the torment of penalty, and return into the defile of the place of return, and are brought back to the long zig-zag, and to base, hideous form, and are dismissed to a shade in three parts;‡ and are imprisoned in the caverns of abjectness and weariness. And as for the balance, it is the medium which the intellect makes use of in order to apprehension, and discernment, and preference between the incoherencies of falsehood and the accordances of that which is precious. And as for that which is weighed, it is views and firmly established beliefs, as respects sayings and doings, and sciences and operations. And as for the weigher, it is the intellect, the apprehender, the comprehender, the discerner between the composite and the simple. And as for the Sínit,§ it is the intermediate between progression and attainment, shared in common, and the soul's way of transit to the upper world, from the lower

* The taking hold by the right hand, or by the left, in this phrase signifies good, or evil sagacity. The language is borrowed from the scene of the judgment-day, as anticipated by the Muslim, when the good man will have his book of accounts put into his right hand, and the bad man will be made to take it by the left hand. See *Vulgate Générale de l'Empire Ottoman* par M. De M. D'Ohsson, Tome i. p. 47.

† Meaning the Regents of the planets.

‡ Meaning that they become embodied in minerals, plants, or animals. See p. 317.

§ See note † p. 308.

opposed thereto, between that which is corporeal and that which is spiritual, a place of twisting for minerals, a place of bending for plants, a place of stooping for animals, a place of erect standing for spiritual men and deities.*

And as for the idea of the Garden, it is the eight worlds, of which the first is the Garden of the Balance, which is the station of man; and the second, the Garden of 'Adan, which is the station of angels; and the third, the Garden of eternal life, which consists of the worlds of the celestial spheres; and the fourth, the Superior Garden, which consists of the worlds of spirit abstracted from the enveloping worlds; and the fifth, the Garden of Firdaus, which consists of the worlds of the Soul-like; and the sixth, the Garden of comfort, which is the world of science; and the seventh, the Garden of Ridhwan, which is the world of the Intelligence; and the eighth, the Garden of the place of aid, which is the world of the Divine Amr, from which the worlds come forth, and to which is their return.† And as for the gradations of the Garden, they are the degrees of sciences, and the measures of perceptions, in every known Place.‡ And as for the delights, and the enclosures, they are the whirling about of souls in the inner court of their acquirements of knowledge, and their gaiety on reaching their places of witness,§ and their stopping-places. And as for the couches, and the shades, and the cushions, and the mantles, they are the places of manifestation of souls in rival forms, and their putting off disagreeing forms, and clothing themselves in suitable impersonations. And as for the water-pitchers, and the goblets, and the butler, and the wine-chalice, and the wise, they are instruments of the apprehensive faculties, and helps to the comprehension of the sciences of the invisible realm and the angels. And the butler is the Imām of the circling period; and the wine-chalice is that which the Naṣīḳ composes of the outward;

and the pure wine is the allegorical sense of the letter of revelation, and the disclosure of the hidden.

And as for the Fire, it is the seven worlds, namely, the three things generated and the four Corner-stones; of which the first is *Leza*, which is the Globe of Ether; after which is *El-Jehim*, the centre of Air and Freezing Cold; after which is *Es-Sa'ir*, the mausson of Water; after which is *El-Hāwiyeh*, the place of sepulture; after which is *Jehennam*, the world of animals other than man; after which is *Sakar*, the station of plants; after which is *Scjzil*, the place of dead minerals. And its descents are the forms of its hideous impersonations, and its gross, heavy envelopes. And its people are the individual souls which profess false religions and depraved beliefs. And as for the punishment and the penalty, it is that which one experiences of sufferings and pains and diseases, and separation from things habituated to, by the inroad of misfortunes and calamities. And as for the *Zubiniyeh*,* the helps of *El-Jehim*, they are the forms of doubts and ignorances, and the impersonations of errors and phantasms, and the manifesters of false views and failures. And *Mālik*† is the impersonation of composite ignorance. And as for the being qualified with badness, that is the being collared with the serpent and the scorpion, and the change of skins, and the being folded to breaking, and the being brought back to the lowest of two low states;‡ and the being conducted into the zig-zag of *Es-Sa'ir*, and the tree *Zakūm*,§ and the becoming akin to the Adversaries,|| and the gathering of the fruits of infidelity and repugnance, and the feeding on the *dhari*** and putrefaction. And the belief of that which fits not the intellect, and religion, and the following of authority, are the People of uncertainties and conjecturing,** and the drink of hot water, and the sentences adverse to the certain truth.

* Here is allegorized that sort of intermediate state represented in the Muslim creed by the bridge over Hell, which the good pass with the speed of lightning, while the bad are precipitated from it into the flames below. It is explained to mean the scene of the progress of souls through this world, in its various stages of mineral, vegetable, and animal embodiment.

† All this may be understood by reference to the system of cosmogony, detailed in the first piece contained in this document.

‡ Place of the reinforcements of the Amr. See p. 301.

§ See note † p. 307.

* Demons of the Muslim Hell.

† A note to the original manuscript, in Arabic, interprets this to be the name of "the barbed and feathered arrow of the porter of Hell."

‡ Blessing to *El-Jehim*. See above.

§ The Tree of Hell.

|| A name given to the Spirit of Hell.

** The *dhari* is said to be a plant of heating qualities, found on the shores of the Dead Sea. See *Ibn Beitar's Herb- und Nahrungs-mittel*, Bd. ii. p. 145.

** A name given to the Spirit of Hell.

And as for the coming to an end, and the return to God,—let him be exalted! it is the terminating of all the relations and connections which are between things simple and things composite, of the spiritual and corporeal worlds, and things subtle and things gross, in the four Upholding Roots,* the traces of the Word, in the order indicated, by means of the letters of God conjoined with the Amr;† which is the idea of the return of things composite, having relation to number, to Unity; which is anterior to Ether, which is the principle of number, and its origin, and which is the principle of the perfect, the deficient, and the redundant.‡

And as for the seeing of him,—let him be exalted! it is the knowledge of the rank of the Imām, and the witnessing of his lights, comprehending that which is special and that which is general, and the regarding of his traces, embracing ideas and corporeities.

And as for the allowed, it is that which is necessary to be manifested and laid open. And as for the forbidden, it is that which is necessary to be concealed and hidden. And obedience is the entering into covenant with the Kāim of the time. And disobedience is the inclining to the Imāms of error and hostility. And as for prayer, it is the connection of the Dā'i with the House of peace, through paternal connection, in respect to religiousness, with the Imām.§ And alms is the coming of wisdom to him who is worthy, and the guiding of the inquirer to the open way of truth. And fasting is the abstaining from disclosure of the verities of legal enactments, in the presence of others than those to whom they are suited, during the period of disclosure. And as for the going into retirement,‡ it is the Imām's hiding himself by means of his Veils,¶ and his concealing himself by means of some of his Dā'is and his Hujjahs, that is, night, which is the Imām's veiling himself by his Veils from sight.

* The four elements.

† See note * p. 300.

‡ See note § p. 304; and it is worthy of notice in that connection, that the relations of number as even, and odd, in the two opposite respects of too little and too much, are referred to in the last clause of this sentence.

§ On the relation of the Dā'i to the Imām, see p. 280.

¶ This is one of the duties obligatory upon the Muslim. It is defined to consist "in remaining several days and nights in the interior of a mosque, there to fast, pray, and meditate, in an unbroken and complete collectiveness of mind." See D'Osson's *Traité Général de l'Empire Ottoman*, Tome ii. p. 7.

‡ See note † p. 311.

And day is that which proves the period of disclosure, that is, the breaking of fast, which is the manifestation of the Imām behind a Veil, and his causing souls to know without a Gate. And as for the breaking of fast, it is the coming out to view of the divine ideas, and the knowledge of the verity of the circumstances of the Place of return;* which is its manifestation without a Veil with which it veils itself, and without a Gate by which entrance is made to it; and the manifestation of guarded secrets and reserved sciences. And as for pilgrimage, it is correct motive in respect to love of the Seignior, the Imāma, and constancy in friendship for the people of the Family, the Family of science and wisdom. And the setting out is the cutting off of speculation, to the neglect of that which is beside them. And the provision for the way, and the pack-camel, is the asking to be reinforced with their idea.† And the entering upon the sacred territory is departure from the doctrines of the Adversaries, and the acquiring of receptivity and preparation. And as for the stopping on 'Arafah and Muzdelifah,‡ it is the being intent upon the canon of wisdom and knowledge. And as for the idea of the slaying and the shearing,§ it is the putting an end to falsehood by the manifestation of the truth. And the casting of stones at intervals of three thousand paces¶ is the rejection of doubting and supposing and conjecturing, as respects sciences and operations. And the kissing of the Black Stone‡ is acceptance of the call from the aided Nā'ik. And the going around the corners** is the knowledge of the groups of seven pertaining to the relation of cause to effect.

* A name applied to the Imām, as one who brings back the Amr to the world, by virtue of those reinforcements from the Amr which are the essential part of his being.

† Meaning to have the true idea of the Imām formed in the mind.

‡ A locality near Mekeeh, one of "the sacred stations of the Muslim pilgrim, where he spends the night after visiting 'Arafah." See D'Osson's *Traité Général de l'Empire Ottoman*, Tome ii. p. 29.

§ Meaning, of animals for the sacrifice offered in connection with pilgrimage to Mekeeh.

¶ A ceremony several times repeated by the Muslim pilgrim, in memory of Abraham's putting demons to flight, by throwing stones at them, who tempted him to disobey God. See D'Osson's *Traité Général de l'Empire Ottoman*, Tome ii. pp. 29, 30.

** The black stone on one corner of the Ka'bah which is kissed by the pilgrim in making the tour of the Ancient House. See Burckhardt's *Travels in Arabia*, vol. i. p. 249.

** Of the Ka'bah.

And the *Makâm* and *Zemzem** are the call to that which is inward and the call as to that which is outward. And the running between *Marweh* and *Safs* is the performance of the covenant with faithfulness. And the finishing of pilgrimage by the complete visitation of the sacred spots, is the responding to the *Mûsbûns* with respect to the general call. And the going against an enemy and holy warfare are the scrutinizing of the arguments of those who are repugnant, and the bringing to nought their sayings by intellectual proofs and decisive arguments. And as for the commission of adultery, it is the responder's being brought into connection without a witness, and the laying open of things before the choosing to enter into covenant. And the practice of usury is the passionate desire for enrichment, and the seeking of things perishable by the divulging of secrets. And obscenity is the mentioning of commendable actions as pertaining to the obstinate disobedients, and the reference of fair deeds to the hostile transgressors. And depravity is the exchange of the Knowing One for the Ignorant. And transgression is the preferring of that which is excelled above that which excels. And justice is the abandoning of that which is deficient, when the perfect exists. And fair doing is the science of the comprehensiveness of the *Imâm*, and his sovereignty over that which is inward and that which is outward, or which appears and which hides itself. And the giving to a relative is love of the Family of the Envoy, and friendship for the posterity of the Immaculate,† and the extolling of the *Îshâmites*, and the declaration of the imamsip of the *Fâtimite Imâms*. And injustice is the making others than the people of the Family the depositors of the imamsip, and the falling away from the Knowing One, the Living One, and the imitating of the Ignorant, the Lifeless. And as for the killing without right and evidence, it is the contending for victory without science, and the striving to put to rout without proof. And games are the sciences of the Party of the Outcasts, and the things believed by the Party of the Externalists, which prevent souls

* The *Makâm*, or *Makân Ibrâhîm*, i. e. the station of Abraham, supposed to mark the spot where the patriarch stood to build the original Ka'beh, is a small building which the Muslim pilgrim passes immediately before reaching that inner shrine of the Mosque. The well *Zemzem* is situated near by, but farther from the Ka'beh. See Burckhardt's *Travels in Arabia*, vol. i. pp. 246-7.

† Meaning his being admitted to the fraternity.

‡ A name applied to *Fâtimite*.

from inquiring into verities, and from contemplating things which are recondite, and interdict the following of the rules of the ignorant, and the institutions of the Adversaries and the repudiating zealots. And the forbidden intoxicating draught is that which diverts the intellect from direction toward the knowledge connected with inquiry concerning the *Imâm*, and the witnessing of his lights, comprehending the special and the general, and the regarding of his traces, embracing ideas and corporeities.

And as for the *Jinns*, they are the Hiders of themselves from the eyes of the aliens, but the Attendants upon the perfect, the good, who expand wings of mercy over the inhabitants of the metropolises. And as for the *Ifrits* and the *Ghûls*, they are the accused, obstinate Adversaries, of the species of the gainsayers and the repugnant,—let the curse of God and of the angels be on them all! And as for *Iblis* he is the undertaker of hostility to the manifest *Imâm* of the age, through envy and hatred.

This is the allegorical sense of my belief with respect to religion, and the refined ore of my holding with respect to the summing up of the substance of certain knowledge; which is the religion of the Noble Envoy, and the creed of our father *Ibrâhîm*, and the doctrine of the great Annunciation, and the belief of the people of the Noble Family. "So then, whoever changes it, after that he has heard it, the fault thereof rests only upon those who change it. Verily, God is one who hears, one who knows."*

As for the pious, verily they are beheld taking comfort upon couches; in their faces is discerned the brightness of comfort; they have given them to drink pure wine sealed, of which the seal is a perfume of musk. And let those be eager, then, for that, who are eager for gladness, and joy, and happiness, and resurrection.

The Memorial of the Spirit of God 'Îsa and his Legatee *Shemûn*,—let peace from both of them be to us! The Knowledge of the rank of the *Imâm*,—let the most distinguished peace, and the most perfect salutation, be to his memory! which is the hidden sense of alms.

* *Kurân*, *Sûr. II. v. 177.*

It is a saying of his,—let him be exalted! "And we have indeed ennobled the sons of Adam, and borne them upon the land and upon the sea, and bestowed on them good things, and distinguished them above many of those whom we have created, with distinction. On a certain day, we shall call all men to their Imām; and so, whoever have their books given to them in their right hands, those will read their books, and will not be wronged a mite; and whoever is blind in this world, he will be blind in the world to come, and more out of the way."* Praise be to God who has taught us, and informed us, and ennobled us, and made us to see, in that he has directed us to the way of the profession of unity, and has put us, by causing to follow the Imāms of truth, among the most distinguished of his servants! And benediction, and peace, and salutation, and honoring, be to the memory of our Friend, the Imām of the time, the point of the circle of religions, the Kibleh of the people of the faith, and the plain way to the Gardens, the affirmed as to his existence by argument and proof, the verity of verities, and the end of ways, and the acme of the intention of created things, and the cause of the existence of the Tāly and the Sābik,† the firm bond of alliance with God, and his clear light, and his certain truth, and his preceptive Book, and his prolonged shadow, and the watering-reservoir of him, and his blessed Place of standing,‡ and his knotted standard, and his Amr by which existence appears, and his Word from which the worlds come forth, and to which they return, the proposed end, the perfection of the knowledge of whom has to do with the ordaining of laws and creeds, the showing of whose rank is that which is intended by the manifestation of occasions and causes, for whose sakes intellects and souls are made fast,§ and on whose account is the manifestation of that which is objective to the intellect and that which is objective to sense, around whom is the circling of the celestial spheres and the envelopes, and from whom proceeds the sustenance of spirits and bodies, and through whom is the remaining of the Corner-stones and the things generated, and to whom pertains the consolidation of causes and things caused, of whose familiarity the

worlds* are the manifesters, and of whose sanctity they are the place,† and of the lights of whose divinity they are the place of appearing, and of the mysteries of whose humanity they are the hiding-places,‡ and of the suns of whose glory they are the rising-places, and of the moons of whose perfection they are the setting-places,§ by the following of whom elevation is attained, and through the love of whom abiding is perpetual, and by the knowledge of whom there is salvation from the obscurities of El-Hāwiyeh, and arrival at high degrees, and deliverance from the snare of polytheism and disobedience, and rectitude in the open way of direction and faith, to whom the Prophets and the Envoy's point, and in whom the courses and the paths come to an end. So then, be is the iden of the Book, and the import of the Address,¶ and the way of right judgment, and the hidden sense of the Veil, and the Gate of Gates. And he is the divine effusion, and the other consummate out-pouring,¶ And to him belongs light, and darkness, and the causing to exist, and annihilation. By obedience to him is perfection, and the reaching to the most exalted of states; and by disobedience to him is irreclaimableness, and falling into the pit of ruin. No companion is without him, and no place dispenses with him; and his effusion is not severed from things produced; and from his science escapes not the weight of a mite, either in the earth or in the heavens; and he exempts not from his sovereignty either things which move or things which are at rest, or things outward or things inward. So then, let worthiness to be glorified, and worthiness to be hallowed, be ascribed to his noble presence! And let there be a hallowing and an exalting of his eternal majesty, and a magnifying and a praising of his great throne!

And to his side we betake ourselves, and with knowledge of him we wake to attention, and to gratitude to him we

* The eight higher worlds and the seven lower, mentioned above.

† The embodiment.

‡ Meaning, whose manifested divinity they show, and whose concealed divinity they hide. But let it be carefully observed, that the divinity here ascribed to the Imām is only a derived divinity.

§ Meaning, whose rising, sun-like glory they exhibit, and whose setting, moon-like light they shroud. There is allusion, in this and the preceding clause, to the distinction between the Imām making himself known, and the Imām withdrawing into seclusion, which is clearly expressed in the preceding sermon. See pp. 316-17.

¶ The revelation by Gabriel. See p. 312.

¶ Meaning the effusion of God, and that of the Amr.

* Kurān, Sur. xvii. vv. 72-4.

† Meaning the Amr, or Word, but in a secondary sense. See below, and pp. 301-2.

‡ See note † p. 301.

§ Meaning, embodied.

give utterance, and to his mercy we render thanks, and in the profession of his unity we believe, and to his Enclosures we yield obedience, and to his Nāṭiqs* we give credit. And their Aṣṣes we acknowledge, and their Imāms we know for certain. And with their direction we have contracted, and upon their gladdening with intimacy and secret converse we rely, and in the open way of their counsel we stand fast, and in the light of their lights we see, and in the love of them, and friendship to them, we die and live, and in obedience to them we go on journeys. And if they had not benignantly bestowed upon us their long-suffering, certainly we should not have perceived the enactments of the time, and the Mediators of the Merciful, and the Gate of God, the Knowing One, the Omniscient.

And know thou that every Imām of the time is according to the time; who is the first and the last, the outward and the inward; who is knowing to every thing.

This, then, is a part of the hidden things of the sciences of religion, and the mystery of certain knowledge, and the faith of the believers, and the light of the Rightful, and the tenets of those who profess unity, and the crown of those who have knowledge, and the end of the patient, and the mark of every one who has an aim, and the watering-place of every one who goes to water. So hold thou on to it with the holding on of him who hopes to have it on the day of return;‡ and provision thyself with it, for it is the best of provisions for the way. And it is that which is most important of the sciences, and that which is the highest of them. And thou shalt not communicate it except to those to whom it is suited.

And praise be to God who has directed us hereto! and we should not have been to be directed, if God had not directed us. And do thou, O God, bless our chief Muḥammed; and his Family, the good, the pure, with a benediction abiding to the day of doom! And God is our sufficiency, and well is he the Guardian! And well is he the Friend! And well is he the Defender! And let peace be to the Messengers! And praise be to God, the Lord of worlds!

* As the representative of the Amr, the Imām is here said to have his Nāṭiqs; while immediately afterwards is recognized his relation of successor to the Nāṭiq, in the Ismā'īlī hierarchy.

‡ The day of final account.

MISCELLANIES.

in the renunciation of conveniences, and the taking to utilities; and no knowledge except by the profession of unity; and no clean purification, and no attaining, except by perseverance; and no coming up except by the Imam; and no obedience except by the friends; and no disobedience except by following the adversaries; and no direction, and no being a Muslim, except by submission to the rightful Imams; and no faith except by love to the pure people of the Family;* and no religion except the religion of the Lords of disclosure and allegory; and no belief except the belief of the Masters of wisdom and the letter of revelation; and no doctrine except the doctrine of the Dā's of Isma'īl.

These things are the cream of my doctrine, and my belief on my setting out and my return; and the refined gold of my faith, and the credence of my heart. And therewithal I submit to God in my inmost soul, and my open doing, and hope for the end of the attainment of things desired. And I am fixed in what my tongue has uttered in the presence of my chiefs and my brethren. And we read, "Upon those who believe, and who perform good actions, there rests no guilt in respect to that which they eat, provided they stand in awe, and believe, and perform good actions, and after that stand in awe, and believe, and after that stand in awe, and do virtuously; and God loves those who do virtuously."[†]

The Memorial of the talker with God Mūsa,—let peace from both of them be to us! The Allegorical Sense of the Blessed Belief. "He it is who has sent down to thee the Book, of which some verses are explicit, which are the mother of the Book, and others not precise. So then, as for them in whose hearts is wandering, they follow that which is not precise, pertaining to it, from desire to seduce, and from desire to allegorize it; while no one knows its allegorical sense, except God and those who are firmly established in science, who say, 'We believe in it; all is

* The Family of Muhammad.

† Kurān, Sur. v. v. 94.

from our Lord;' and only the possessors of hearts reflect."* I hold fast to the Possessor of majesty and omnipotence, and I fortify myself in the King of the visible realm and the invisible, and I entrust myself to the Living One, who dies not, our Deity, and the Deity of those who discover to us, and our Lord, and the Lord of our superiors, and our Friend, and the Friend of our friends. And I acknowledge that there is no outward without its inward; and no form without its perfect idea; and no rind without its core; and no Light without its Veil;† and no Knowing One without his Gate; and no law without its way; and no way without its verity; and no verity without its letter of revelation; and no letter of revelation without its allegorical sense; and no allegorical sense except to the firmly established in science; and no being firmly established in science except to the allegorizers.

So then, as for our saying God, its allegorical sense is the Word. And the allegorical sense of the world is a place for manifesting the divine greatness. And as for the coming into existence, it is the posteriority of the caused to the cause, and the latter's preceding the former, agreeably to convincing proofs, *a priori* and *a posteriori*, with reference to order, by argument from order of time, not order of place. And as for potentiality, it is the essence of the being in need, and the ordaining of the realization of the relation of cause to effect. And "the essentially Necessary" implies the absurdity of defining by that which is devoid of quality. And as for the Ma'nā's; being established as pre-existent and eternal, and the hallowing of the self-existent Necessary, and the exempting of him from his qualities, it is that we abstract from him every thing which occurs to our minds, and is fixed in our perceptions; and we know that

* Kurān, Sur. iii. v. 8. El-Baidhawī explains the expression "mother of the Book," in this passage, to mean "its root, that to which the rest of it amounts." This orthodox commentator is obliged to admit that an allegorical sense pertaining to some verses of the Kurān, is here recognized; but he claims that there are points left indelible because God reserves to himself the knowledge of them, and that man has no concern with the allegorical sense, except where it becomes necessary to lean upon it with reference to faith or practice. See *Bidhāwī's Comm. in Corānān*, vol. i. pp. 145-8.

† The Veil of the Lamitan system seems to be the human person of the Imam, while the so called Light is the veritable *Insān ḥaqq* himself.

‡ I. e. The Idea, the absolute Deity.

he is above the reach of the choicest of our perceptions and our conjectures; and his unreachd qualities take us out of the ditch of sentimentalizing and the profession of vacuity, while they save us from the fetter of anthropomorphism and assimilation.

And as for prophecy and communication by message, they are the manifestation of the Word in the Veil, and the setting up of the Guide, and the Conductor, and the Gate, to the open way of truth and the path of rectitude. And as for the Prophet, he is the informer with regard to fundamentals, calling to that to which the Envoy* calls. And as for the Envoy, he is the Nātik, calling to the two Roots, the Sābik and the Tāly, and the three Branches, the Jedd and the Fath and the Khiyāl,† which make the higher five, comprising perfection. The Nātik is an outward, of which the inward is the Tāly, to which latter it pertains to train and manage, while the opposite is the case in regard to composing and putting together. And as for the confirmation of communication by message, by means of proof and analogy, it is the allegorical sense of the Asās,‡ and the manifestation to the intelligent among men of ideas composed by the Nātik. And as for the sending down of the Leaf and the Book, and Jibril's bringing the Address, it is the coming of aid to the Nātik from the Sābik, and its directing with reference to composing, and its assisting in the writing out. The embodiment of form objective to the intellect is necessary; and the Address is the verification of things determined by the intellect. And as for the favorite angels, they are the knowing, active forces in the upper and lower worlds. And as for their glorifying night and day, and their ascribing of dominion for people of the faith, with asking of forgiveness, it is the continuing of those forces to order the succession of the Amrs, and the manifestation of the properties thereof, in their known place, without intermission.§ And the Karūbis are the forces

* Muḥammed.

† The Jedd, or the Primogenitor, the Fath, or the Opening, and the Khiyāl, or the Image, are here, evidently, used as names of the Primitive Hiyūl, the Circumambient, and the Stellar Spheres. ‡ See note * p. 298.

§ What is here allegorized will be best understood by another quotation from Zak-Shahrastānī's statement of the belief of the Sabians in regard to the so called Spirituals. He says, "And they create in hallowing and glorifying, not disobeying God as to that which he commands, and doing that which they

which support the Nātiks in composing the letter of revelation. And the Spirituals are the forces which belong to the Asās in the disclosure of the allegorical sense. And as for religions and laws, they are the institutions of divine intelligences for the good estate of earthly bodies, in order to the perfecting of the sciences of human souls; which are six, while seven is the number of the days of the week.*

And as for the sepulchre, it is corporeal form and the enveloping Palaces. And as for the punishment of the sepulchre, it is the impression made upon the soul by the shackle of that which comes to it of Hiyūly-forms, opposed to its natural properties; which is in the way of fettering. And the comfort of the sepulchre is the loss of the impression made upon it thereby, and its taking refuge in the verification of the apprehensions pertaining to its Palace-like instruments;† which is by the power of abstraction. And as for the fixing by Munkir and Nakir, it is the mastery of the forces of passionate desire and anger. And as for the gathering, it is the hastening of souls in pursuing the route of their impediments, and their decamping to the rear-guard of their instruments,‡ and the conclusion from premises of creatures, in respect to their days, and the verity of the idea of a day which calls all men to their Imām. And as for the awakening, it is the manifestation of souls in world after world, in accordance with their acquirements of wrong and crime. And as for the allegorical sense of the resurrection, the resurrection of individual souls is separation from the apprehensions of sense, and corporeal instruments; and the resurrection of laws and religions is the appear-

are commanded. And we depend upon them as our administrators, so that they are our lords, and our directors, and our saviors, and our intercessors before God; while he is the Lord of lords, and the God of gods." See Zak-Shahrastānī's *Book of Heliq*, and *Philoa*, Sects, p. 263. The next sentences show that by "the Amrs" are here intended the reinforcements which the Amr transmits to the Nātiks and Asās, or Prophets and Legates, of the seven periods.

* This seems to indicate that the Prophet of the seventh period was not considered as having established the new order of things, when this scenario was composed.

† By which are intended the scenes.

‡ This and the "pursuing the route of their impediments" are expressions borrowed from the operations of an army in the field, to signify a victory gained by souls over all the obstacles of corporeal form.

ance of the Kāim* of the time; and the resurrection of the period in the Universal Soul's showing itself in the well-doings of individual souls; and the resurrection of resurrections is the perfection of deliverance and salvation, and the relief of all souls from being made to emanate, and their reaching the world of the Holy One, and the place of Lights, and the ending of the prolongation of the hours of the Great Day, and the coming together of the planets, after their separation, at the point of the first equinoxe in revolution; and the resurrection of the whole is the consummation of the two awakenings,† and the closing together of the two zones,‡ and the reversion of science and power to the Universal Soul, in the two worlds, and the coming to nothing of articles, and the failure of difference in fundamentals, and the Hijāly's putting off the clothing of form, and the Soul's dispensing with the efficiencies of necessity,§ and the Knowing One's becoming alone as to his sort and his principle,¶ and the verification of his saying. "And to him shall all command revert."^{¶¶}

And as for the Book, it is the tablet of secret thought, and the place of that by which the soul is determined in respect to holding to be true and imagining. And as for the reading of it, it is the soul's eyeing and regarding its objects of knowledge akin to itself. And if they are proved sciences and decisive verities, the soul takes hold of them by the right hand, because they pertain to the higher alternative of direction and certain knowledge; and if they are the imaginings of conjecture, and the accreditings of supposition, and the doubtings of syllogism, and the beliefs of the following of authority, the soul takes hold of them by

* I. e. The Taker of his stand, meaning the manifestation of the Amr in each new Prophet. See note † p. 301.

† Probably, the awakening by Munkir and Nakir, (see note ‡ p. 288.) and the awakening for final judgment.

‡ Meaning the two zones called, in the astronomy of the Arabs, "the zone of primary motion," a circle intersecting the earth near the north and south poles, which regulates the motion of all the heavenly bodies together, from east to west, around the earth, every twenty-four hours; and "the zone of secondary motion," a circle, intersecting the earth at other than the polar points, which regulates the revolutions of the sun and stars from west to east, around the earth, in varying periods. See *Prolegomena Elementa Astronomica*, pp. 15-16, 48.

§ See p. 292.

¶ Kurān, Sur. al. v. 122.

¶ See note † p. 308.

the left hand,* because they pertain to the lower alternative of conjecturing and error. And as for the reckoning, it is that the superior Universal Soul stands by inferior individual souls, in respect to that which emanates from them of sayings and doings, and sciences and operations, whilst they use the instruments of form, and outward shapes, with the four compound forces, out of which are made up the forces of man, which are the angelic, and the brutal, and the bestial, and the Satanic. And so, if the angelic increases, and the force of certain knowledge predominates, they merit the good of compensation, and are safe from the evil of penalty, and are elevated, as devotees, to the inner court of the invisible realm of the celestial spheres, to have command of worlds beneath which the Regal Powers have sway, and are raised by degrees to their spiritual mansion, and their world of light; and if one of the three [other] forces predominates, and hinders them from experiencing resurrection, they merit the torment of penalty, and return into the defile of the place of return, and are brought back to the long zig-zag, and to base, hideous form, and are dismissed to a shade in three parts,‡ and are imprisoned in the caverns of abjectness and weariness. And as for the Balance, it is the medium which the intellect makes use of in order to apprehension, and discernment, and preference between the incoherencies of falsehood and the accordances of that which is precious. And as for that which is weighed, it is views and firmly established beliefs, as respects sayings and doings, and sciences and operations. And as for the weigher, it is the intellect, the apprehender, the comprehender, the discerner between the composite and the simple. And as for the Sitr,§ it is the intermediate between progression and attainment, shared in common, and the soul's way of transit to the upper world, from the lower

* The taking hold by the right hand, or by the left, in this passage signifies good, or evil usage. The language is borrowed from the scene of the judgment-day, as anticipated by the Muslim, when the good man will have his book of accounts put into his right hand, and the bad man will be made to take it by the left hand. See *Tableau Général de l'Empire Ottoman* par M. De St. Orléans, Tome I. p. 47.

‡ Meaning the regions of the planets.

§ Meaning that they became embodied in minerals, plants, or animals. See p. 311.

¶ See note † p. 309.

opposed thereto, between that which is corporeal and that which is spiritual, a place of twisting for minerals, a place of bending for plants, a place of stooping for animals, a place of erect standing for spiritual men and deities.*

And as for the idea of the Garden, it is the eight worlds, of which the first is the Garden of the Balance, which is the station of man; and the second, the Garden of 'Adnn, which is the station of angels; and the third, the Garden of eternal life, which consists of the worlds of the celestial spheres; and the fourth, the Superior Garden, which consists of the worlds of spirit abstracted from the enveloping worlds; and the fifth, the Garden of Firdaus, which consists of the worlds of the Soul-like; and the sixth, the Garden of comfort, which is the world of science; and the seventh, the Garden of Ridwān, which is the world of the Intelligence; and the eighth, the Garden of the place of aid, which is the world of the Divine Amr, from which the worlds come forth, and to which is their return.† And as for the gradations of the Garden, they are the degrees of sciences, and the measures of perceptions, in every known Place.‡ And as for the delights, and the enclosures, they are the whirling about of souls in the inner court of their acquirements of knowledge, and their anxiety on reaching their places of witness,§ and their stopping-places. And as for the couches, and the shades, and the cushions, and the mantles, they are the places of manifestation of souls in rival forms, and their putting off disagreeing forms, and clothing themselves in suitable impersonations. And as for the water-pitchers, and the goblets, and the butler, and the wine-chalice, and the wine, they are instruments of the apprehensive faculties, and helps to the comprehension of the sciences of the invisible realm and the angels. And the butler is the Imām of the circling period; and the wine-chalice is that which the Nūtik composes of the outward;

* Here is allegorized that sort of intermediate state represented in the Muslim creed by the bridge over Hell, which the good pass with the speed of lightning, while the bad are precipitated from it into the flames below. It is explained to mean the scene of the progress of souls through this world, in its various stages of mineral, vegetable, and animal embodiment.

† All this may be understood by reference to the system of cosmogony, detailed in the first piece contained in this document.

‡ Place of the reinforcements of the Amr. See p. 301.

§ See note † p. 307.

and the pure wine is the allegorical sense of the letter of revelation, and the disclosure of the bidden.

And as for the Fire, it is the seven worlds, namely, the three things generated and the four Corner-stones; of which the first is Leza, which is the Globe of Ether; after which is El-Jehim, the centre of Air and Freezing Cold; after which is Es-Sa'ir, the mausion of Water; after which is El-Hāwiyeh, the place of sepulture; after which is Jehennam, the world of animals other than man; after which is Sakar, the station of plants; after which is Sejjil, the place of dead minerals. And its descents are the forms of its hideous impersonations, and its gross, heavy envelops. And its people are the individual souls which profess false religions and depraved beliefs. And as for the punishment and the penalty, it is that which one experiences of sufferings and pains and diseases, and separation from things habituated to, by the inroad of misfortunes and calamities. And as for the Zubāniyeh,* the helps of El-Jehim, they are the forms of doubts and ignorances, and the impersonations of errors and phantasms, and the manifesters of false views and failures. And Mālik† is the impersonation of composite ignorance. And as for the being qualified with badness, that is the being collared with the serpent and the scorpion, and the change of skins, and the being folded to breaking, and the being brought back to the lowest of two low states,‡ and the being conducted into the zig-zag of Es-Sa'ir, and the tree Zakkūm,§ and the becoming akin to the Adversaries,¶ and the gathering of the fruits of infidelity and repugnance, and the feeding on the *dhart*;‡ and putrefaction. And the belief of that which fits not the intellect, and religion, and the following of authority, are the People of uncertainties and conjecturing,** and the drink of hot water, and the sentences adverse to the certain truth.

* Demons of the Muslim Hell.

† A note to the original manuscript, in Arabic, interprets this to be the name of "the barbed and feathered arrow of the porter of Hell."

‡ Meaning, to El-Jehim. See above.

§ The Tree of Hell.

¶ A name given to the Spirits of Hell.

‡ The *dhart* is said to be a plant of heating qualities, found on the shores of the Dead Sea. See Ibn Beitar's *Med. und Nahrungs-mittel*, Bd. II. p. 145.

** A name given to the Spirits of Hell.

And as for the coming to an end, and the return to God,—let him be exalted! it is the terminating of all the relations and connections which are between things simple and things composite, of the spiritual and corporeal worlds, and things subtle and things gross, in the four Upholding Hoofs,* the traces of the Word, in the order indicated, by means of the letters of God conjoined with the Amr;† which is the idea of the return of things composite, having relation to number, to Unity; which is anterior to Ether, which is the principle of number, and its origin, and which is the principle of the perfect, the deficient, and the redundant.‡

And as for the seeing of him,—let him be exalted! it is the knowledge of the rank of the Imām, and the witnessing of his lights, comprehending that which is special and that which is general, and the regarding of his traces, embracing ideas and corporeities.

And as for the allowed, it is that which is necessary to be manifested and laid open. And as for the forbidden, it is that which is necessary to be concealed and hidden. And obedience is the entering into covenant with the Kāim of the time. And disobedience is the inclining to the Imāms of error and hostility. And as for prayer, it is the connection of the Dā'i with the House of peace, through paternal connection, in respect to religiousness, with the Imām.§ And alms is the coming of wisdom to him who is worthy, and the guiding of the inquirer to the open way of truth. And fasting is the abstaining from disclosure of the verities of legal enactments, in the presence of others than those to whom they are suited, during the period of disclosure. And as for the going into retirement,¶ it is the Imām's hiding himself by means of his Veils,‡ and his concealing himself by means of some of his Dā'is and his Hujjabs, that is, night, which is the Imām's veiling himself by his Veils from sight.

* The four elements.

† See note * p. 300.

‡ See note § p. 308; and it is worthy of notice in that connection, that the relations of number as even, and odd, in the two opposite respects of too little and too much, are referred to in the last clause of this sentence.

§ On the relation of the Dā'i to the Imām, see p. 282.

¶ This is one of the duties obligatory upon the Muslim. It is defined to consist "in remaining several days and nights in the interior of a mosque, there to fast, pray, and meditate, in an unbroken and complete collectiveness of mind." See D'Osson's *Traité Général de l'Empire Ottoman*, Tome ii. p. 7.

‡ See note † p. 311.

And day is that which proves the period of disclosure, that is, the breaking of fast, which is the manifestation of the Imām behind a Veil, and his causing souls to know without a Gate. And as for the breaking of fast, it is the coming out to view of the divine ideas, and the knowledge of the verity of the circumstances of the Place of return;* which is its manifestation without a Veil with which it veils itself, and without a Gate by which entrance is made to it; and the manifestation of guarded secrets and reserved sciences. And as for pilgrimage, it is correct motive in respect to love of the Seignors, the Imāms, and constancy in friendship for the people of the Family, the Family of science and wisdom. And the setting out is the cutting off of speculation, to the neglect of that which is beside them. And the provision for the way, and the pack-camel, is the asking to be reinforced with their idea.† And the entering upon the sacred territory is departure from the doctrines of the Adversaries, and the acquiring of receptivity and preparation. And as for the stopping on 'Arafah and Muzdelifah,‡ it is the being intent upon the canons of wisdom and knowledge. And as for the idea of the slaying and the shearing,§ it is the putting an end to falsehood by the manifestation of the truth. And the casting of stones at intervals of three thousand paces¶ is the rejection of doubting and supposing and conjecturing, as respects sciences and operations. And the kissing of the Black Stone‡ is acceptance of the call from the aided Nātik. And the going around the corners** is the knowledge of the groups of seven pertaining to the relation of cause to effect.

* A name applied to the Imām, as one who brings back the Amr to the world, by virtue of those reinforcements from the Amr which are the essential part of his being.

† Meaning to have the true idea of the Imām formed in the mind.

‡ A locality near Mekkeh, one of the sacred stations of the Muslim pilgrim, where he spends the night after visiting 'Arafah. See D'Osson's *Traité Général de l'Empire Ottoman*, Tome ii. p. 72.

§ Meaning of animals for the sacrifice offered in connection with pilgrimage to Mekkeh.

¶ A ceremony several times repeated by the Muslim pilgrim, in memory of Abraham's putting demons to flight, by throwing stones at them, who tempted him to disobey God. See D'Osson's *Traité Gén. de l'Empire Ottoman*, Tome ii. pp. 74, 75.

** The black stone on one corner of the Ka'beh which is kissed by the pilgrim in making the tour of the Ancient House. See Burckhardt's *Travels in Arabia*, vol. i. p. 248.

** Of the Ka'beh.

And the Makâm and Zemzem* are the call to that which is inward and the call as to that which is outward. And the running between Marweb and Safi is the performance of the covenant with faithfulness. And the finishing of pilgrimage by the complete visitation of the sacred spots, is the responding to the Mâdhûnis with respect to the general call. And the going against an enemy and holy warfare are the scrutinizing of the arguments of those who are repugnant, and the bringing to nought their sayings by intellectual proofs and decisive arguments. And as for the commission of adultery, it is the responder's being brought into connection without a witness, and the laying open of things before the choosing to enter into covenant. And the practice of usury is the passionate desire for enrichment, and the seeking of things perishable by the divulging of secrets. And obscenity is the mentioning of commendable actions as pertaining to the obstinate disobedients, and the reference of fair deeds to the hostile transgressors. And depravity is the exchange of the Knowing One for the Ignorant. And transgression is the preferring of that which is excelled above that which excels. And justice is the abandoning of that which is deficient, when the perfect exists. And fair doing is the science of the comprehensiveness of the Imâm, and his sovereignty over that which is inward and that which is outward, or which appears and which hides itself. And the giving to a relative is love of the Family of the Envoy, and friendship for the posterity of the Immaculate,† and the extolling of the Hâshimites, and the declaration of the imamsip of the Fâjimité Imâms. And injustice is the making others than the people of the Family the depositories of the imamsip, and the falling away from the Knowing One, the Living One, and the imitating of the Ignorant, the Lifeless. And as for the killing without right and evidence, it is the contending for victory without science, and the striving to put to rout without proof. And games are the sciences of the Party of the Outcasts, and the things believed by the Party of the Externalists, which prevent souls

* The Makâm, or Makâm Ibrahim, i. e. The station of Abraham, supposed to mark the spot where the patriarch stood to build the original Ka'bah, is a small building which the Muslim pilgrim passes immediately before reaching that inner shrine of the Mosque. The well Zemzem is situated near by, but farther from the Ka'bah. See Burckhardt's *Travels in Arabia*, vol. I, pp. 114-7.

† Meaning Lu being admitted to the fraternity.

‡ A name applied to Fâjimité.

from inquiring into verities, and from contemplating things which are recondite, and interdict the following of the rules of the ignorant, and the institutions of the Adversaries and the repudiating zealous. And the forbidden intoxicating draught is that which diverts the intellect from direction toward the knowledge connected with inquiry concerning the Imâm, and the witnessing of his lights, comprehending the special and the general, and the regarding of his traces, embracing ideas and corporeities.

And as for the Jinns, they are the Hiders of themselves from the eyes of the aliens, but the Attendants upon the perfect, the good, who expand wings of mercy over the inhabitants of the metropolises. And as for the 'Ifrits and the Ghûls, they are the accused, obstinate Adversaries, of the species of the gainsayers and the repugnant,—let the curse of God and of the angels be on them all! And as for Iblis he is the undertaker of hostility to the manifest Imâm of the age, through envy and hatred.

This is the allegorical sense of my belief with respect to religion, and the refined ore of my holding with respect to the summing up of the substance of certain knowledge; which is the religion of the Noble Envoy, and the creed of our father Ibrâhîm, and the doctrine of the great Annunciation, and the belief of the people of the Noble Family. "So then, whoever changes it, after that he has heard it, the fault thereof rests only upon those who change it. Verily, God is one who hears, one who knows."

As for the pious, verily they are beheld taking comfort upon couches; in their faces is discerned the brightness of comfort; they have given them to drink pure wine sealed, of which the seal is a perfume of musk. And let those be eager, then, for that, who are eager for gladness, and joy, and happiness, and resurrection.

The Memorial of the Spirit of God 'Isa and his Legatee Shemûn,—let peace from both of them be to us! The Knowledge of the rank of the Imâm,—let the most distinguished peace, and the most perfect salutation, be to his memory † which is the hidden sense of alms.

* Kurân, Sur. ii. v. 177.

It is a saying of his,—let him be exalted! "And we have indeed ennobled the sons of Adam, and borne them upon the land and upon the sea, and bestowed on them good things, and distinguished them above many of those whom we have created, with distinction. On a certain day, we shall call all men to their Imam; and so, whoever have their books given to them in their right hands, those will read their books, and will not be wronged a mite; and whoever is blind in this world, he will be blind in the world to come, and more out of the way."* Praise be to God who has taught us, and informed us, and ennobled us, and made us to see, in that he has directed us to the way of the Professions of unity, and has put us, by causing to follow the Imams of truth, among the most distinguished of his servants! And benediction, and peace, and salutation, and honoring, be to the memory of our Friend, the Imam of the time, the point of the circle of religions, the Kibleh of the people of the faith, and the plain way to the Gardens, the affirmed as to his existence by argument and proof, the verity of verities, and the end of ways, and the come of the intention of created things, and the cause of the existence of the Tâly and the Sâbik,† the firm bond of alliance with God, and his clear light, and his certain truth, and his preceptive Book, and his prolonged shadow, and the watering-reservoir of him, and his blessed Place of standing,‡ and his knotted standard, and his Amr by which existence appears, and his Word from which the worlds come forth, and to which they return, the proposed end, the perfection of the knowledge of whom has to do with the ordaining of laws and creeds, the showing of whose rank is that which is intended by the manifestation of occasions and causes, for whose sakes intellects and souls are made fast,§ and on whose account is the manifestation of that which is objective to the intellect and that which is objective to sense, around whom is the circling of the celestial spheres and the envelopes, and from whom proceeds the sustenance of spirits and bodies, and through whom is the remaining of the Corcor-stones and the things generated, and to whom pertains the consolidation of causes and things caused, of whose familiarity the

* Kurân, Sur. xvii. vv. 70-4.

† Meaning the Amr, or Word, but in a secondary sense. See below, and pp. 301-2.

‡ See note † p. 301.

§ Meaning, embodied.

worlds* are the manifesters, and of whose sanctity they are the place,† and of the lights of whose divinity they are the place of appearing, and of the mysteries of whose humanity they are the hiding-places,‡ and of the suns of whose glory they are the rising-places, and of the moons of whose perfection they are the setting-places,§ by the following of whom elevation is attained, and through the love of whom abiding is perpetual, and by the knowledge of whom there is salvation from the obscurities of El-Hâwiyeh, and arrival at high degrees, and deliverance from the snare of polytheism and disobedience, and rectitude in the open way of direction and faith, to whom the Prophets and the Envoys point, and in whom the courses and the paths come to an end. So then, he is the idea of the Book, and the import of the Address,¶ and the way of right judgment, and the hidden sense of the Veil, and the Gate of Gates. And he is the divine effusion, and the other consummate out-pouring,‡‡ And to him belongs light, and darkness, and the causing to exist, and annihilation. By obedience to him is perfection, and the reaching to the most exalted of status; and by disobedience to him is ir reclaimableness, and falling into the pit of ruin. No companion is without him, and no place dispenses with him; and his effusion is not severed from things produced; and from his science escapes not the weight of a mite, either in the earth or in the heavens; and he exempts not from his sovereignty either things which move or things which are at rest, or things outward or things inward. So then, let worthiness to be glorified, and worthiness to be hallowed, be ascribed to his noble presence! And let there be a hallowing and an exalting of his eternal majesty, and a roughening and a praising of his great throne!

And to his side we betake ourselves, and with knowledge of him we wake to attention, and to gratitude to him we

* The eight higher worlds and the seven lower, mentioned above.

† The embodiment.

‡ Meaning, whose manifested divinity they show, and whose concealed divinity they hide. But let it be carefully observed, that the divinity here ascribed to the Imam is only a derived divinity.

§ Meaning, whose rising, sun-like glory they exhibit, and whose setting, moon-like light they shroud. There is allusion, in this and the preceding clause, to the distinction between the Imam, knowing himself known, and the Imam withdrawing into reclusion, which is clearly expressed in the preceding sermon. See pp. 318-19.

¶ The revelation by Gabriel. See p. 312.

‡‡ Meaning the effusion of God, and that of the Amr.

give utterance, and to his mercy we render thanks, and in the profession of his unity we believe, and to his Enclosures we yield obedience, and to his Nāṭiks* we give credit. And their Aśises we acknowledge, and their Imāms we know for certain. And with their direction we have contracted, and upon their gladdening with intimacy and secret converse we rely, and in the open way of their counsel we stand fast, and in the light of their lights we see, and in the love of them, and friendship to them, we die and live, and in obedience to them we go on journeys. And if they had not benignantly bestowed upon us their long-suffering, certainly we should not have perceived the enactments of the time, and the Mediators of the Merciful, and the Gate of God, the Knowing One, the Omniscient.

And know thou that every Imām of the time is according to the time; who is the first and the last, the outward and the inward; who is knowing to every thing.

This, then, is a part of the hidden things of the sciences of religion, and the mystery of certain knowledge, and the faith of the believers, and the light of the Rightful, and the tenets of those who profess unity, and the crown of those who have knowledge, and the end of the patient, and the mark of every one who has an aim, and the watering-place of every one who goes to water. So hold thou on to it with the holding on of him who hopes to have it on the day of return;† and provision thyself with it, for it is the best of provisions for the way. And it is that which is most important of the sciences, and that which is the highest of them. And thou shalt not communicate it except to those to whom it is suited.

And praise be to God who has directed us hereto! and we should not have been to be directed, if God had not directed us. And do thou, O God, bless our chief Muhammed, and his Family, the good, the pure, with a benediction abiding to the day of doom! And God is our sufficiency. And well is he the Guardian! And well is he the Friend! And well is he the Defender! And let peace be to the Messengers! And praise be to God, the Lord of worlds!

* As the representative of the Amr, the Imām is here said to have his Nāṭiks; while immediately afterwards is recognised his relation of successor to the Nāṭik in the Isma'īlī hierarchy.

† The day of final account.

MISCELLANIES.
