" The Prophetic Figure of Ādam

in the Fāṭimid Tradition "


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The purpose of this paper is to present a brief survey of the Ismāʿīlī view of the prophetic figure of Ādam in the Fāṭimid tradition, including those vies of the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlīs and the later Ṭayyibīs who inherited the former's doctrinal and intellectual legacy.

According to the traditional Muslim view of history, Ādam is believed to have been the first prophet as well as " the father of human kind " ( Abū al-Bashar), with whom human history began[1]. Here considering the Ismāʿīlīs' view of history, which is divided into several cycles according to their doctrine, we can raise the following questions: what is the role of Ādam in human history and how did he start it?

Concerning the issue of the role of Ādam seen from the Ismāʿīlī view of human history, H. Corbin's study provides a great deal of information on the Ṭayyibī version of Ādam's legend, for example, his pre-historical presence in the hierarchy of celestial hypostases, and his fall from his heavenly abode, namely, " the drama in heaven."[2] However, Corbin used later sources of the Ṭayyibīs to describe not only the later Ṭayyibī doctrine on Ādam and human history but also a model of these themes in the Fāṭimid tradition as a whole[3]. In order to investigate the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī interpretation of the figure of Ādam, I believe, it is necessary for us to examine some appropriate sources from the classical Fāṭimid period as well as from the later Ṭayyibī period.

To this end, we will analyze in this paper material from two sources. One of them is from the classical Fāṭimid period: the 9th chapter from Kitāb al-Riyāḍ by a notable Fāṭimid dāʿī ( missionary ), Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī ( died after 411/1021 )[4]. This chapter of al-Riyāḍ records the debate about Ādam's prophecy among Iranian Ismāʿīlī thinkers of the 4th/10th century, namely, Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī ( d.322/934-5 ), Abū Yaʿqūb al-Sijistānī ( 4th/10th c. ), and the author al-Kirmānī himself[5].

The other is from the 7th/13th century. The name of the text is Risālat al-

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*Īḍāḥ wa-al-Bayān fī al-Kashf 'an Masā'il al-Imtiḥān* written by a Ṭayyibī *dā'ī*
Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd ( d. 669/1298)[6] . The text gives us a
brief summary of the Ṭayyibī interpretation of Ādam's legend. It is hoped that
the analysis of these materials will shed some light on Ādam's role in human
history according to the Fāṭimid tradition.

## II. The debate about the prophetic figure of Ādam in al-Kirmānī's *Kitāb al-Riyāḍ*

Before examining the prophetic figure of Ādam, let us remind ourselves of the
scheme of human history in Fāṭimid Ismā'īlism[7]. According to Fāṭimid Ismā'īlī
doctrine, as we mentioned briefly in the last section, human history is divided
into seven eras or cycles ( *adwār,* sg.*dawr* ), each of which is inaugurated by a
*nāṭiq* or a speaking prophet. In the most general interpretation, each of these
*nāṭiq*s abolishes the sacred law ( *sharī'ah* ) of the previous era and introduces
a new law into his own cycle.

There is, among Ismā'īlī thinkers, a consensus about the indentity of the
seven *nāṭiq* in this scheme of human history; they are Ādam, Nūḥ, Ibrāhīm, Mūsā,
'Īsā, Muḥammad and the awaited Qā'im. Nonetheless, we can point to the
exceptional nature of two of the figures in the afore-mentioned pattern of
history. Those exceptional figures are Ādam and Qā'im. For, as the first man on
the earth, Ādam can not be thought to have abolished the sacred law of the
previous cycle, while Qā'im should not be expected to introduce a new sacred law
but to reveal a inner meaning of all the laws, that is, the esoteric truths
(*ḥaqā'iq* ). To sum up, these two figures would not fulfill one of two prophetic
roles, respectively: the abolishment of the law of the previous cycle and the
introduction of the new law.

These two exceptional figures, namely Ādam and Qā'im, attracted much attention
from Iranian Ismā'īlī thinkers in the 4-5th/10-11th centuries. Thus, the
following question regarding the prophetic role of Ādam was raised: did Ādam

bring the *shari ah* or not? [8] The beginning of the dispute over this doctrinal

issue, among others, was reportedly set off by the "founder of Ismāʿīlī

philosophy," Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Nasafī( d. 332/943 ), in his book entitled

*al-Mahṣūl*, which is no longer extant[9]. Therefore, it may be necessary to look

briefly at al-Nasafī's view of Ādam before going on to a discussion of *al-Riyāḍ*

's contents. According to al-Nasafī ( here I follow W. Madelung's and H. Halm's

investigations ), Ādam did not introduce a sacred law [10] . Therefore, the first

lawgiver was Nūh, since Ādam did not have at his disposal either *sharīʿah* or

*tanzīl* ( revelation ).

We should further preface our analysis of the contents of *al-Riyāḍ* with Abū

Hātim al-Rāzī's view of Ādam, which is in fact the antithesis of al-Nasafī's.

Al-Nasafī claims that Ādam did not abolish the law but that he was the first

*nāṭiq* who brought a sacred law. He writes as follows;

> He was the first man who regulated precepts ( *sunan* ) in the religion such
>
> as the command ( *amr* )and the prohibition ( *nahy* ), and the first man who
>
> established regulations ( *rusūm*) for benefit ( *istifādah* ), as all the *nāṭiqs*
>
> ʃ regulated [ precepts ] in their external laws ( *ẓāhir sharāʾiʿ-hum* )...[11]

The basis of his doctrine on Adam is his own view of the sacred law ( *sharīʿah* ).

That is to say, the religious mission ( *daʿwah*) is based on *sharīʿah* , just as

*taʾwīl* ( interpretation ) needs *tanzīl* ( revelation ) and *bāṭin* ( esoteric

aspect of religion ) needs *ẓāhir* ( exoteric aspect )[12]. Therefore, according to

al-Rāzī, since the *sharīʿah* is needed for the existence of the *daʿwah* or

religious mission, *sharīʿah* was necessary even in the primordial age of history,

i.e. the cycle of Ādam. For this reason, it cannot be believed that Ādam had no

sacred law.

The above argument reflects al-Rāzī's view of *sharīʿah*, the sacred law. We

will also recognize that different views on *sharīʿah* are reflected in the

following dispute between al-Sijistānī and al-Kirmānī. With regard to this

point, let us first examine al-Sijistānī's view of Ādam. Supporting the thesis of al-Nasafī and opposing that of al-Rāzī, al-Sijistānī holds that Ādam had no *sharī‘ah*[13]. Thus, al-Sijistānī sets forth his own thesis on the *raîson d'être* of *sharī‘ah* as a basis of his argument. According to al-Sijistānī, *sharī‘ah* is necessary in order to prevent the people from neglecting the order of the religious hierarchy ( *ḥudūd* ), or from following an antagonist ( *ḍidd* ), that is, a satanic figure opposed to a *nāṭiq*. In other words, *sharī‘ah* is needed for preventing people's disobedience to the religious order. However, al-Sijistānī states that in the era of Ādam all the people occupied their proper ranks in the hierarchy. And it cannot be maintained that the people who occupied their ranks in a proper way should have been opposed to each other. Because of this fact, it was not necessary for Ādam to introduce *sharī‘ah* .

In supplement to the above argument, al-Sijistānī further asserts that Ādam could lead his people to the real recognition of *tawḥīd* , or the unity of God, without imposing any external ( *ẓāhirī*) religious guideline[14]. And al-Sijistānī states that the external religious practices and guidelines are hindrances to recognizing the *tawḥīd*. In his words:

Indeed the imposition of the acts ( *a‘māl* ) and instructions ( *ishārāt* ) expels many people from *tawḥīd* and places them in anthropomorphism ( *tashbīh* )[15].

Likewise, according to al-Sijistānī, there will be no *sharī‘ah* in the cycle of the coming *nāṭiq* , Qā’im, because of abolition of the sacred law ( *raf‘ al-sharī‘ah* )[16]. He then goes on to state that this deed will not make human kind ignorant about *tawḥīd* . To sum up, in Ādam's cycle there was no *sharī‘ah* , as there will be no *sharī‘ah* in Qā’im's cycle. On this point of the lack of *sharī‘ah* , the cycles of Ādam and Qā’im share a common characteristic.

Let us now look at al-Kirmānī's position on this subject. In opposition to the argument made by al-Sijistānī, al-Kirmānī asserts that Ādam did indeed bring

sacred law, *sharī‘ah* . As for the issue of the necessities of *sharī‘ah*, al-Kirmānī states that *sharī‘ah* is necessary for maintaining the order of human society. Therefore we can say that al-Kirmānī's emphasis on *sharī‘ah*'s function is different from al-Sijistānī's, i.e. maintaining the religious order. According to al-Kirmānī, people need the regulations ( *rusūm* ) which protect human life and property, impose sexual morality and give the people examples to be followed[17]. Furthermore, regarding the relationship of the external religious practices and the recognition of *tawḥīd*, al-Kirmānī points out that the former are not concerned with the latter but are needed for other purposes. He writes:

Indeed, as for the religious practices ( *a‘māl* ), their object ( *maʿnī-hā* ) does not belong [ only ] to *tawḥīd* ; rather, the object does belong to the remedy of the soul ( *taqwīm al-nafs* ) with worship (*‘ibādah* ) and imitation (*tashbīh* ) of the higher angels ( *al-malaʾ al-aʿlā* )[18].

Al-Kirmānī then claims that if the religious community ( *millah* ) has neither religious practices nor rituals ( *manāsik* ), the human soul will perish[19]. In other words, external religious practices are necessary for maintaining the wholesome state of the human soul.

In addition to the above discussion of the *sharī‘ah* , al-Kirmānī relates to us his own view of the roles of Ādam and Qāʾim in human history. According to al-Kirmānī, the people in the age of Ādam recognized the *tawḥīd* of God, but they lacked the "worship " (*‘ibādah* ) of God and the recognition of the religious hierarchy ( *ḥudūd* ); this state of affairs is insufficient in terms of the religious practices that should be devoted to God[20].

For the above-mentioned reason, God dispatched Ādam to those people in order that he might summon them to both the work(*‘amal*, external religious practice ), and the knowledge (*‘ilm* ) which leads to recognition of the ranks of the religious hierarchy, since, through this recognition, the *tawḥīd* also becomes

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sound[21]. And, through this mission of Ādam, there began the process of actualizing the knowledge which will continue until the advent of Qā'im. Al-Kirmānī states that it is said that when Qā'im will appear, knowledge will reach the actual state ( *bi-al-fi'l* )[22]. To sum up, Ādam inaugurated the actualization of the truth, while Qā'im will complete this process in human history.

As for the roles of Ādam and Qā'im in human history, various scholars have pointed out two other concepts which are important for our understanding of these two figures[23]. These are the *dawr al-kashf* ( the cycle of opening of the truth ) and the *dawr al-satr* ( the cycle of concealment of the truth ), concepts referred to by al-Sijistānī, and especially in his work , *Ithbāt al-Nubūwāt*[24]. According to him, Ādam ended the *dawr al-kashf*, and inaugurated the *dawr al-satr*, which is also called the era of *naskh* ( abolition), *tabdīl* ( change ) and *taghyīr* ( alteration )[25]. This *dawr al-satr*, in which we live, will continue until the advent of Qā'im. By his advent, human history will enter a new era in which the hidden truths are revealed [26]. Thus, we see Ādam in the role of the inaugurator of the *dawr al-satr*, and Qā'im as both the terminator of this cycle and the inaugurator of the new era with the uncovered truths ( this can be regarded as the restoration of the *dawr al-kashf* ).

In the above argument unfolded by al-Sijistānī and al-Kirmānī, it should be recognized that Ādam played not only the role of inaugurator of human history, but also the role of the one who gives an orientation to its later development up to the advent of Qā'im. And, considering al-Rāzī's argument as well as al-Sijistānī's and al-Kirmānī's, we should remind ourselves of the fact that the nature of *sharī'ah* is an essential issue in this doctrinal dispute on Ādam. This point may indicate that valuable research can be done on the Ismā'īlī *dā'ī* s' view of *sharī'ah*.


III. The legend of Ādam in Ṭayyibī Ismā'īlism.

Now, let us proceed to an analysis of the legend of Ādam in Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlī tradition, which inherited from Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlism the doctrine of the recurrence of many cycles of seven imāms. In the *dāʿīs'* speculation, the number of imāms and cycles had the tendency to increase gradually. This tendency can be regarded as having reached a kind of zenith in Ṭayyibī thought. According to the Tayyinis, there had occurred many alternations of *dawr al-kashf* and *dawr al-satr* leading up to the ultimate salvation of human kind: the great resurrection ( *qiyāmat al-qiyāmāt* ), in reaching which 360,000 cycles of 360,000 years would be consumed[27]. Yet let us raise the following question: how does Ādam play a role in the cycle of these astronomical years, that is, " the grand cycle " *(al-kawr al-aʿẓam* )? To answer this question, we would like to present and analyze the interpretation of Adam's legend in an excerpt from *Risālat al-Īḍāḥ* by Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd.

For the purpose of this presentation, we would like to divide this excerpt from *al-Īḍāḥ* into three parts as follows [28]:

1. The supposed questions concerning the legend of Ādam.

2. The legend in historical time:

    a) The interpretation of the tree in paradise.

    b) The drama in *dār al-daʿwah* ( the domain of the religious hierarchy ) which is a metaphor for paradise.

3. The drama in *ʿālam al-ibdāʿ* ( the world of the premordial creation ) which is also a metaphor for paradise.

In the first part our author provides the orientation of this text. That is to say that the text was written to give answers to such questions on Ādam as: why did God prohibit Ādam from eating the fruit of the tree?; why did God permit the descendants of Ādam to eat it?; why does God reproach the people for sins for which they are not responsible?; etc[29].

In part 2-a), we are presented with the first interpretation of the legend of Ādam. To begin with, Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī shows us two aspects of the meaning of the tree in paradise: 1) the praiseworthy ( *maḥmūd* ) aspect ( this aspect

represents *al-ʿilm al-ḥaqīqī*, which Ādam was prohibited from diclosing to Iblīs, Satan ), and 2) the blameworthy ( *madmūm* ) aspect[30].

Part 2-b) interprets the fall of Ādam[31]. According to Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, Ādam fell from the highest rank of receiving *taʾyīd* ( spiritual support from God ) to the rank of receiving *taʿlīm* ( instruction ), and, finally, to that of *mustajīb* (candidate for initiation ), which is the lowest in the hierarchy[32].

However, afterwards, upon his repentance( *tawbah* ), Ādam could return to his previous rank of *taʾyīd*, without being under obligation to obey the *ẓāhirī* or external religious duties, which are imposed on the *mustajīb* s [33]. The reason why he coukld return to paradise is that his recognition of the truths( *maʿrifat al-ḥaqāʾiq* ) in the cycle of the opening of the truth, *dawr al-kashf*, enabled him to rise to this level. Nevertheless, in contrast to the good fortune of Ādam, his descendants cannot enter paradise, since they were born in the midst of the cycle of concealment of the truth, *dawr al-satr* , which was inaugurated by Ādam. Moreover, they must observe the *ẓāhirī* guidelines of religion.

In addition to the above interpretation, Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī provides another version of Ādam's fall in part 3, the story of which takes place in *ʿālam al-ibdāʿ*[34]. The Ādam of part 3 should be distinguished from the Ādam of part 3 of the text. This Ādam is called *Ādam rūḥānī* ( spiritual, primordial Ādam ), who was in the celestial hierarchy of the pre-historical era, and who also is regarded as the creator or planner of our cosmos[35].

From this point of view, the tree in paradise represents " the rank of the first emanation "( *rutbat al-inbiʿāth al-awwal* )or the second hypostasis in the celestial hierarchy[36]. *Ādam rūḥānī* , who occupied the third rank of this hierarchy, tried to make himself equal to the second hypostasis, since he was seduced into doing so by his own evil imagination ( *wahm-hu al-fāsid* ) which is represented by the figure of Iblīs[37]. Because of this arrogant deed, i.e. making himself equal to the superior rank, he fell from the third rank to the tenth. This is the drama of of Ādam's sin.

The fate of Ādam resulting from this sinful deed is the prototype of the fate of his descendants. According to Ḥusayn b.ʿAlī, his descendants on the earth are divided into two groups: 1) the people who imitate his arrogance and selfishness, that is, the party of Iblīs, and 2) another group of people who have repented; they will ascend to paradise, following the model of Ādam, who himself returned to paradise[38].

In following the above contents of al-Īḍāḥ to this point, we can perceive two motifs in this text which are not contained in al-Kirmānī's al-Riyāḍ: Ādam's fall from the rank of the hierarchy ( whether it is the terrestrial one or the celestial ); his and his descendants'return to the paradise consequent upon their repentance[39].

However, in another text from the classical Fāṭimid period, that of al-Sijistānī's Ithbāt , we can find the second motif, the " repentance "( tawbah ) of Ādam: al-Sijistānī tries to relate this word's esoteric meaning to Ādam's return to his previous state[40]. In addition to this " repentance," we should not ignore the two cycles of history, namely, dawr al-kashf and dawr al-satr . This division of history can be found in both the text of Ḥusayn b.ʿAlī and that of al-Sijistānī. These similar points ( the " repentance " motif and the terminology of cycles ) may suggest that it would be worthwhile to investigate the process of the formation of Ādam's legend and to search for the " missing link " of the prophetic figure of Ādam between the two traditions which form the Fāṭimid tradition as a whole.

End notes

1) See J. Pedersen, " Ādam," in *El* ² ,vol.1, pp. 176-8. By the term " human hitory " we mean in this paper " history of human kind." In our context this term does not imply " secular history " which is to be contrasted with " sacred history."


2) For example, see his *Histoire de la philosophie islamique* , 2nd ed.,( Paris: Gallimard, 1986 ), pp. 122-139; idem., "Cyclical Time in Mazdaism and Ismailism," tr. R. Manheim, in *Man and Transformation: Papers from the Eranos Yearbooks* vol.5 ed. J. Campbell, ( New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1964 ), pp. 115-172, reprinted in his *Cyclical Time and Ismaili Gnosis,* ( London: Kegan Paul, 1983 ), pp. 1-58.


3) For example, see his *Histoire* , pp. 128-131.


4) Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī, *Kitāb al-Riyāḍ*, ed. ʿA. Tāmir, ( Beirut: Dār al-Thaqāfah, 1960 ), chap.9: pp. 176-212. This work will be cited as *al-Riyāḍ*. For bibliographical information, see I. K. Poonawala, *Biobibliography of Ismāʿīlī Literature,* ( Malibu: Undena Publication, 1977 ), p. 97.


5) On the contents of this book, see W. Ivanow, "An Early Controversy in Ismailism," chap.in *Studies in Early Persian Ismailism,* 2nd ed., ( Bombay: the Ismaili Society, 1955 ), pp. 87-122.


6) This excerpt is edited and presented in B. Lewis, "An Ismaili Interpretation of the Fall of Adam," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies,* 19 ( 1938 ), pp. 698-704. This work will be cited as *al-Īḍāḥ*. For bibliographical information, see Poonawala, op. cit., p. 164.

7) On the Ismāʿīlī scheme of human history in general understanding, we follow W. Madelung, "Aspects of Ismāʿīlī Theology: the Prophetic Chain and the God beyond Being," *Ismāʿīlī Contribution to Islamic Culture*, ed. S. H. Nasr, (Tehran: Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy, 1977 ), pp. 55-4; H. Halm, *Kosmologie und Heilslehre der frühen Ismāʿīlīya*, ( Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1978 ), pp. 18-37.

8) This problem regarding the prophetic role of Ādam concerns the interpretation of the meaning of the Qurʾānic term " *ulū al-ʿazm* " ( the possessors of the firm resolution ) ( Q.46:34 ). These can be regarded as the great prophets who have specific task concerning sacred law ( *sharīʿah* ). For example, according to Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *ulū al-ʿazm* means " the lawgivers who abrogate the *sharīʿah* of their predecessors." S. M. Stern, " Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī on Presian Religion," chap. in *Studies in Early Ismāʿīlism*, ( Jerusalem/Leiden: The Magnus Press/E. J. Brill, 1983 ), p. 32.

9) On al-Nasafi, S. M. Stern states as follows: "...He founded Ismāʿīlī philosophy by adopting a form of the current Islamic Neoplatonism..." Stern, " The Early Ismāʿīlī Missionaries in North-West Persia amd in Khurasan and Transoxiana," in his *Studies in Early Ismāʿīlism*, p. 219 ( This article is originally published in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* , 23 ( 1960 ), pp. 56-90 ). On *Kitāb al-Maḥsūl* and the debate about it, see P. Walker, " Al-Nasafī and his *Maḥsūl*," " The Debate on the *Maḥsūl*," chapters in " Abu Yaʿqūb al-Sijistānī and the Development of Ismaʿīlī Neoplatonism " ( Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1974 ), pp. 68-80, pp. 81-108. In order to criticize *al-Maḥsūl*, Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī wrote a book titled *Kitāb al-Iṣlāḥ* ( The Book of Correction ), against which Abū Yaʿqūb al-Sijistānī wrote a book titled *Kitāb al-Nuṣrah* ( The Book of Aid ), the contents of which can be known through the quotations in *al-Riyāḍ*. See Walker, p. 92.

10) See Madelung, " Das Imamat in der frühen ismailitischen Lehre," *Der Islam,* 37 ( 1961 ), pp. 102-3; Halm, *Kosmologie,* pp. 101-2.

11) *Al-Riyāḍ,* P. 176.

12) Ibid., p. 177.

13) The account of this paragraph is based on ibid., p. 190.

14) Ibid.

15) Ibid., p. 194.

16) Ibid., p. 198.

17) Ibid., p. 190.

18) Ibid., p. 195.

19) Ibid., p. 196.

20) Ibid., p. 198-9.

21) Ibid., p. 199.

22) Ibid., P. 197.

23) For example, see Walker, "Eternal Cosmos and the Womb of History: Time in Early Ismaili Thought," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 9 ( 1978 ), p. 364-5; Halm, *Kosmologie,* pp. 99-100 ( However, in discussing these two

cycles, Halm mentions only Qā'im ). On these two cycles in the doctrine of the Ṭayyibīs, which we will discuss in the next section, see Corbin, *Histoire*, pp. 131-5.

24) Al-Sijistānī, *Ithbāt al-Nubū'āt*, ed. 'A. Tāmir ( Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1966 ). This work will be cited as *Ithbāt*.

25) *Ithbāt*, p. 131, p. 183. See also Walker," Abū Ya'qūb al-Sijistānī," p. 184-5; idem, " Eternal Cosmos," p. 365.

26) *Ithbāt*, p. 182, p. 192, etc. See also Halm, *Kosmologie*, p. 100; Walker, " Eternal Cosmos," p. 365.

27) On the Ṭayyibī scheme of history, see Corbin, *Histoire*, pp. 128-136; idem, "Cyclical Time," pp. 37-47; Madelung, "Ismā'īlīya," *EI* ² , vol.4, pp. 204-5.

28) The editor of this text, B. Lewis, states that this account of the Qur'ānic legend of Adam is divided into two parts as follows: the first concerns "the real or historic world "; the second concerns "the 'ālam al-ibdā'," or immaterial world which precedes the creation. See Lewis, "...the Fall of Adam," p. 693. In this paper, we divided the first part into two sub-parts a) and b) in consideration of the difference of interpretation of the legend. *In interpreting the text, we referred to Lewis' free translation ( Ibid., pp. 692-7).*

29) *Al-Īḍāḥ*, pp. 689-699, line 12.

30) Ibid., p. 699.

31) Ibid., p. 700, line 18--p. 702, line 4. *Preceding the fall of Adam, the tale of Abel ('Hābīl) and Cain (Qābīl) is interpreted ( p. 700, line 4 - line 11). According to Husayn b. 'Alī, Qābīl's envy at Hābīl's rank of waṣī was inflamed by Iblīs, and, consequently, Qābīl killed his brother.*

32) Ibid., p. 701.

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33) Ibid., p. 701-2.

34) Ibid., p. 702, line 4- p. 704, the last line.

35) Ibid., P. 702.

36) Ibid.

37) Ibid.

38) Ibid., p. 703-4.

39) Halm indicates the similarity of the Ismāʿīlī legend of Ādam's sin and fall to the Gnostic myth of *Demiuorgos*'( the creator of our cosmos, " Demiurge ") arrogance. In addition, he pointes out that in al-Kirmānī's thought this mythical motif is pushed aside by the scheme of the ten intellects which he introduced to the Ismāʿīlī cosmological doctrine. Halm, *Kosmologie,* pp. 84-5. On the interpretation of the role of the intellects, cf. also H. Landolt, " Suhrawardī's "Tales of Initiation"," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 107 ( 1987 ), p. 484-5.

40) *Ithbāt,* pp. 184-5. See also Halm, *Kosmologie,* p. 114, p. 118.