The name of Afdal al-Din Muhammad b. Hasan Maraqa Kāshānī is comparatively little known in the Russian as well as European scholarship. Meanwhile, the works of this interesting figure, the original thinker and a wonderful poet, whose ruhā'ī (often wrongly ascribed to Ḥumayyun (ca. 1539–1571/1048–1123)) are well-known in Iran and abroad, are undoubtedly worthy of orientalist notice. Afdal al-Din Kāshānī entered the history of Persian prose as the author of small, but stylistically flawless, capacious and original tracts on various philosophical and logical questions. He also did several wonderful translations of works by Aristotle and Hermes Trismegistus from Arabic to Persian.

The SPOS manuscript collection possesses five manuscripts of Kāshānī’s works [1]. The present paper aims at presenting one of them — “The Book of Everlasting” (ruhā’ī)-I would like to point out that this research is of preliminary character and it does not claim to be a detailed study of the questions, discussed by Kāshānī in his work.

The data available on Afdal al-Din Kāshānī’s life can barely be described as exhaustive. Kāshānī’s works known to us contain no autobiographical information that could shed light on the details of his life [2]. As for the data given in ta’līkāv, or other biographical or historical sources, they are quite scarce and moreover often doubtful when it comes to their reliability and therefore require careful treatment and examination [3].

Until now among the researchers there is no agreement on the birth and death dates of Kāshānī. Obviously, Afdal al-Din Kāshānī was born either in 592/1190-7 or in 592/1195-6 and died approximately in 667/1268-9 [4].

According to the data in some earlier sources, Kāshānī was Nāṣir al-Dīn Tūsī’s (579–672/1201–74) uncle [2]. For instance, “The Assembly of the Eloquent” contains the following abstract:

"I am told to be Nāṣir al-Dīn Tūsī’s uncle. At any rate, Nāṣir al-Dīn showed endless love and sincere attachment to Bībī Afdal for his wisdom, perfection, high rank and magnificence. And during the times of Bībī al-Dīn’s distemper Kāshānī was saved owing to Bībī’s efforts" [6].

K. Vasiltsov

AFDAL AL-DĪN KĀSHĀNĪ AND HIS TREATIES
“THE BOOK OF EVERLASTING” (ruhā’ī)

(BASED ON THE MS B 2496 FROM THE SPIOS COLLECTION)

In this respect one more curious fact may be recollected — some early sources mention comrade, which presumably took place between Nāṣir al-Dīn Tūsī and Kāshānī. For instance, according to Riyād al-adīrīn (“The Gardens of the Mystics”) Nāṣir al-Dīn wrote the following lines to Bībī Afdal:

As soon as the pearl of the soul becomes joined with the body shell
It takes the human shape through the water of life
Having achieved completeness, the pearl destroys the shell
Without a doubt, Bībī Afdal was not behind in a certain aspect.

According to other sources, owing to Nāṣir al-Dīn Tūsī’s efforts and mediation Kāshānī escaped the fate of Bābādagh lusted by Mongol troops in 656/1258. Allegedly, it was done to protect Afdal al-Dīn from the possible troubles, which could occur if Kāshānī were seized by Mongols by force [7].

I do not attempt to assess the given sources from the point of view of the data reliability. A reference should be made to the opinion of J. Rypka, a Czech scholar, who said that any statement of kindred or friendly relationships between Tūsī and Kāshānī could not be confirmed by any reliable factual evidence and therefore can hardly be seriously considered [8].

What concerns Nāṣir al-Dīn Tūsī himself, this medieval scholar mentions in his autobiography that in his youth he studied different sciences under Kāshānī al-Dīn Muhammad b. Hasan Maraqa Kāshānī, who was one of Afdal al-Dīn Kāshānī’s students:

“Then it happened that one of the students of Afdal al-Dīn Kāshānī — may God have mercy on him — came to the region. His name was Kāshānī al-Dīn Muhammad b. Hasan, who had acquired a first-rate knowledge in a variety of philosophical subjects, especially in the art of mathematics; he had previously been a friend and acquaintance of my father. My father suggested that I should learn from him and frequent company; so I began to study mathematics with him” [9].

In his famous work “The Collection of Mysteries” (Mu'jam al-flā'īn) Haydar Amali mentions Kāshānī, "as one of those who, having deepened philosophy and the ethical sciences, renews the way of the men of God. ‘Afdal al-Dīn,’ he says, ‘was one of the greatest’” [18].

Nāṣir al-Dīn Tūsī and other famous Muslim philosophers and scholars such as Qūṭ al-Dīn Shārānī [19] and Mullā Sadr (Ṣadr al-Dīn Shārānī) (ca. 797–80—1550/1551–1640/1290) following him, spoke of Kāshānī’s works in logic, considering him one of the best authorities in this field [21].

Undoubtedly, Kāshānī is worth being considered the most outstanding stylist ever known in Persian literature. According to S. J. Naṣr, the corpus of Bībī Afdal’s works “is one of the greatest creations of its kind in Persian prose.” He also says that their artistic merits made many authorities in the sphere of Persian literature speak of his (Kāshānī’s — K. F. ) treatises as of some kind of a miracle (resal) for their ability to convey the most complex philosophical questions in popular and flowing Persian language, which only can be approached in the realm of Sufi philosophy [22].

Kāshānī was not so prolific as for instance, the Rūhā’ī of Bābādagh is full of his teachings, he has students and followers whom he calls brothers in faith (al-dāhirī, al-qādirī) [10]. Bībī Afdal’s death was followed by Kāshānī’s mourning. In the recollection, apart from the grave of Kāshānī himself, there is a grave of the governor of Zanzibar (Zanzibarī, Zanzībarī) who is considered the devoted students. Later, Kāshānī’s mausoleum, as Iranian researcher S.H. Naṣr points out, became one of the most popular places of pilgrimage in Central Iran [14].

Bībī Afdal was an outstanding artist and a master of expression, who managed to join various subjects in his works — from the most complicated and intricate questions of logic to contemplations on the art of music — elegance and brevity of style with subtlety and acuteness of mind. His popularity as a philosopher and poet spread beyond the limits of Kāshānī during his lifetime. It is worth mentioning, that it is to Nāṣir al-Dīn Tūsī who was granted the honorary title “the teacher of mankind” by his contemporaries that the tradition ascribes the following lines:

Πίλος, πατρίς, πώς οι οποίοι με έμπνευσαν
Πάντα έναν, δεν κυριαρχούσα βία
Φροντίζει, έναν σπουδαίο πίνακα
Έντονα ο θάνατος τραγούδαν

Πάντα, ποίημα για τα στοιχεία του
(Πίλος, πατρίς, πώς οι οποίοι με έμπνευσαν)

Πάντα έναν, δεν κυριαρχούσα βία
Φροντίζει, έναν σπουδαίο πίνακα
Έντονα ο θάνατος τραγούδαν

Πάντα, ποίημα για τα στοιχεία του
(Πίλος, πατρίς, πώς οι οποίοι με έμπνευσαν)

Πάντα έναν, δεν κυριαρχούσα βία
Φροντίζει, έναν σπουδαίο πίνακα
Έντονα ο θάνατος τραγούδαν

Πάντα, ποίημα για τα στοιχεία του
(Πίλος, πατρίς, πώς οι οποίοι με έμπνευσαν)
quotes from "Elixir of Happiness" (سیاروی انیمیلاس) of Abu Hamid al-Ghazali.

With the exception of translations, in his treatises Kāshānī never mentions the names of Muslim thinkers whose compositions he used as sources while writing his own treatises. He does not mention the authors whose views differed from his own ones or with whom he could argue. This does not mean that Kāshānī was an exception original author, only a side in the eclectic life of his time. Kāshānī's works demonstrate his broad mind and erudition. Bābā Afdal was perfectly acquainted with classical heritage of Muslim philosophy, first of all with the teachings of Ibn al-Mu'alla (d. 1369), Ibn Sinā (d. 1377), Ibn Abī'l-Ra'bīʿ (d. 1375), Ibn Sīnā and al-Ghazali. The researchers' views differ regarding the nature of Afdal al-Dīn's teaching. S. M. Alī in his work dedicated to the study of Arabic and Persian philosophical terminology points out that Kāshānī's teaching displays his inclination to rational philosophy, i.e. the tradition of "Orientalism"[26]. The French researcher H. Corbin holds a different opinion. In his work he emphasizes mystical orientation in Bābā Afdal's heritage [29]. The idea of Kāshānī's close ties with lālīdī circles is quite popular. In this connection one may refer to the famous modern researcher S. J. Badakhshāni, who, in his commentaries to the edition of Nūr al-Dīn Šīrīn's autobiographical work Sūr wa Sūlitū ("Contemplation and Action"), points out Kāshānī's affiliation with philosophical traditions of Ismā'īlī Islam. He writes:

"The Sīra'īlī orientation of some of his writings, especially in relation to the esoteric exegesis of the Qur'ān is evident [30]."

In Nāpī's opinion, Kāshānī was a practicing Sīra'īlī to which the title included in the author's indicate he could testify [31].

The question of Kāshānī's formal belonging to a definite philosophical school is not so crucial for characterization and assessment of his creative work in general. Nevertheless, speaking of major tendencies in the theoretical thought development at the eastern parts of al-Andalus in 6th–12th centuries, one should mention the integration tendency among different intellectual traditions, which pre-adjusted the prophets (nabū), in other words, his translation of the Qur'ānic passages, which, if not applied to man, becomes amalgamation of different sciences [46]. Summarizing this section, Kāshānī notes:

"The Book of Everlasting" is a relatively small work. However, the certain brevity of style can be attributed to one of the distinctive features of Kāshānī's heritage. A number of researchers consider this work to be one of the most original and significant among his writings [39]. It is worthy of noting that several centuries after Bābā Afdal died, Sadr al-Dīn Šīrīn translated "The Book of Everlasting" into Arabic under the title "The Elite of the Gnostics" (تبت‌العالی) [40].

The treatises consists of a brief introduction and four chapters (تبت‌العالی). In the introduction Kāshānī defines the aim of the book and its reader:

K. VASILYEV. Afdal al-Dīn Kāshānī and His Treatise "The Book of Everlasting"

"As for the division of knowledge one should know that there exist two parts of knowledge, one of them being worldly, and the other one — afterworldly" [43].

This worldly knowledge is subdivided into three sections: knowledge of speech (بکار), knowledge of actions (إنتساب) and knowledge of the world (رد)) [44].

The general section of the knowledge of speech consists of two levels, i.e. general (بکار) and specific (إنتساب) [45].

The knowledge of actions is divided into four parts. Firstly, the actions connected mostly with different parts of body and spiritual and social skills dealing with them, for instance jeweler's art (بکار) or blacksmith's work (بکار) and other skills [45]. Secondly, the movements of a more specific character, i.e. writing and secretarial work (بکار) and the art of alchemy (بکار). Thirdly, the actions, related to the welfare of the world in other words, the world of politics (بکار), trade (بکار) and science (بکار) such as medicine and divorce (بکار) and marriage (بکار) [46].

The next level in the hierarchy of knowledge is the knowledge of the systematic understanding of the knowledge of the discipline, its definition (بکار), various science of numbers, geometry and the knowledge of stars (بکار) and their own science (بکار). Kāshānī here relies on the knowledge of astronomy, medicine and the knowledge of nature (بکار) [47].

For the latter, it is further subdivided into elucidation of the essence of the elements (بکار), elucidation of the essence of complex substances (بکار) and elucidation of the essence of different substances (بکار). This is also described in the testimoni (بکار) of God and the manifestation of his uniqueness and his omnipresence in this world (بکار) [48].

The main purpose of this book is to instruct the reader on his knowledge of this world (بکار) and its afterworld (بکار) [49].

"These three sciences that we call "worldly", are of such a kind, that their benefit arrives until man is alive" [47].

The second part of the knowledge is the other world. They are divided into the science of the horizons and souls (بکار) and the science of the other world (بکار) [49]. Regarding their usage scope, Kāshānī says the following:

"Like this worldly knowledge is hardly usable in the other world, the afterworld knowledge is not efficient in this world, unless to a small extent" [49].

Thus, this knowledge is useful only after one's death, which, as a result, determines its value:
The general level is like the hearing through which the people's speech is heard, seeing through which people's deeds are seen, and remembering through which the states of the world mankind is known. The specific level is like hearing through which the words of God are heard, seeing through which God's court and deeds of God are seen, knowing through which the states of the afterworld can be known [57].

In the fourth section (fol. 9b–7a) "On the description of the world of the horizons and souls" (الإنسان الباطني من البحور والجنود) it is said that God's signs (الآيات) in the horizons and in the souls are like a treasury with gates locked which can be unlocked with a key to the human world (العالم البشري). As our author has it, if all of God's creations were a key and opened the gates of the horizons and souls, the whole world would be illuminated [58].

Thus, the wise men become aware from this that there exists a governor (الخليفة) in man's world, a wise and powerful master, who is the ruler and prince of the whole of the world. And all these nine signs belong to his sovereignty and they act in correspondence with his will [59].

Therefore, the author concludes, God (الله) of the small world (المحمد) is unique, and his name is perceiving soul (الروح المحتذية). The seventh folio (fol. 9b–11a) "On the explanation that another world is formed in the form of this world" (العالم الباطني في شكلة العالم) is devoted to comparison of the manifest signs of the "big world" and man's world:

Every thing from the composition of speech that comes from the door of taste from hearing for those who have no hearing is incapable of taking. Through this mirror it is evident that the composition of plants on earth falls from heaven for what does not fall from heaven does not grow on earth [60].

In the ninth folio (fol. 12b–15a) "On that world sovereigns that are nonmanifest of this world in the measure of man's world" (العالم الباطني في شكله بجانب العالم البشري) Kāshānī shows the signs of the man's world which are visible with the eye of the heart (الفطرة) to correspond to the nine spiritual signs (الآيات المُلهمة). The author enumerates their correspondence and gives the interpretation of the numbers 1, 10, 100, 1000 as the allegories of man's powers (thought, memory, speech, writing) [61].

In the conclusion to this folio Kāshānī repeats that while discussing the completeness and perfection of man he is aiming at recognizing God's signs in the "big" world through the recognizing of the human world. The fifth section of the chapter (fol. 7a–8a), entitled "On God's reason to the creations" (رسالة رؤية خلقه) is devoted to the description of the other world, which, according to our author, is the book (كتاب), the magic pen (بجع) and the Kawthar (كواثر). The Kawthar is described as the special source of knowledge. To ascertain the existence of the governor (الخليفة) of man's world (العالم البشري) the governor of the "big" world one should first recognize his servants (الخليف) in the world of the horizons and souls. The second group consists of thought, memory, ability to speak rationally (لفظ) and the ability to write (كتابة). Their peculiarity is that they are dependent on each other and on the external objects. The second group consists of thought (تفنن) and memory (ذكر). It is the ability to think anything it wishes, the memory is able to preserve what it wishes, etc. Besides, there are many things interconnected: whatever words pass through the memory and the memory in its turn transfers it to rational speech, and the latter, naturally gives it to writing. Enquiring different powers of man and their functions, Kāshānī points out that each of them turns to incapability (التمكن) of the function of the other, for instance, the thought is incapable of listening and speech is incapable of small:

Like every bodily sign in the man's world is connected with the spiritual signs, the endurance and the welfare of the body of man in the spiritual sense [...] And if this connection between the spiritual and the bodily breaks, these bodies would be dead and nonworking, and not an officer or welfare will come from them. In the same manner if the bodies of the spheres and the four pillars would have no connection with that worldly spirits, they would produce neither good, nor art and could not execute God's orders in the manifest of the bodies if they are not connected with the spirits of the other world [68].

The nonmanifest of this world is constituted by four souls (أرواح): the highest soul ( الروح الأعلى) is Isrā'īl; the remembering soul (روح الذاكرة) is Mīkāl; the rationally speaking soul (روح الرأي) is Yāzīd; and finally the writing soul (روح الكتاب) is Arzāf [69].

None of God's creations possesses the science of numbers except for man. The situation with the knowledge of names is the same, as the pronouncement of a name roots in the knowledge of the thing and name and knowledge of it roots in its ex-
"مFabri (20a–21a) "On the explanation of the beginning and the end" (تشویق از آغاز و خاتمه) که رافائل باگی نیز آن را تکرار و تکرار کرده است. "مFabri" را می‌توان با "مFabri" ترجمه کرد.

"The priority and beneficence in time is like something which is prior and comes before another thing in moment and time. Such priority is not true and correct for the true and correct priority and beneficence is through selfhood of self" [74].

This allows که تاکنون فلسفه که به نوزادان و معیارهای انسانی تعلیم و تربیت داده می‌شود، در انتظار می‌باشد که آنچه در دنیای انسانی از دیدگاه خود و به دلیل عوامل اجتماعی و سیاسی، تلفیقی به گونه‌ای که در زبان فلسفه به آن "ذات" گفته می‌شود، بازخوانی و توسعه یافته‌باشد.

The fifth fabij (21a–23b), entitled "On the origin of man" (تشویق از آغاز و خاتمه) is devoted to the questions of the cre- ation of man, the purpose and the aim of this creation, the spiritual and the bodily substance. This section begins with enumeration of the most significant souls of the whole and their functions.

Know that, as we have said before, there are four absent souls that are this world sovereignty: the highest soul named ی. The second soul that goes to a body, and an opportunity for the growth of the soul and their functions. He who does not have an enemy, is not looking for a weapon to fight him. He does not see the chains of the enemy's malicious intent and does not take pleasure in defeating him [90].

The tenth fabij (27b–29a) "How the things said in these sections demonstrate the benefit of this chapter" (تشویق از آغاز و خاتمه) summarises the material of the second and third chapters. He repeats the idea that a man is two-faced (پیکونا) the first face is the bodily face and the second face is the spiritual face (زمانی). The second chapter (پیکونا) the second face is the spiritual (زمانی) lasting and endless (زمانی) [91]. Consequently to seek the origin of man one should seek the origin of both substances (پیکونا) [92]. As for the former, it is an unconditioned body (پیکونا), which does not have any attributes (پیکونا) except for quantity (پیکونا). Then there is compound body (پیکونا) that have potency of taking nourishment (پیکونا) and then animals that add to it the perception (پیکونا) and voluntary movement (پیکونا) and the third stage is vegetative body (پیکونا) that have potency of taking nourishment (پیکونا) and finally human soul (پیکونا). In case it performs action the acting soul (پیکونا) has knowledge and writing soul (پیکونا) Associating in knowing (پیکونا) the soul becomes thinking soul (پیکونا) [94]. Then که تاکنون فلسفه که به نوزادان و معیارهای انسانی تعلیم و تربیت داده می‌شود، در انتظار می‌باشد که آنچه در دنیای انسانی از دیدگاه خود و به دلیل عوامل اجتماعی و سیاسی، تلفیقی به گونه‌ای که در زبان فلسفه به آن "ذات" گفته می‌شود، بازخوانی و توسعه یافته‌باشد.

The fourth chapter of the treatise (29a–39a) "On the recognition of the angels" (تشویق از آغاز و خاتمه) consists of ten fabij and it is dedicated to the eschatological questions.

In the first fabij (29a–30b) "That the recognizing of the end is connected with the recognition of the beginning" (تشویق از آغاز و خاتمه) که رافائل باگی نیز آن را تکرار و تکرار کرده است. "مFabri" را می‌توان با "مFabri" ترجمه کرد.

For he who knows where he comes from also knows where he will go [97].
As Bábá Afdál points out, in order to learn the science of the end (الفراض) two introductions (المعرف) should be made. First of all, one must understand material self-transmutation (التحريف) and changes (التحريف). It concerns both the bodily and the spiritual substances. Secondly, the changing thing needs to be separated from various levels (النحو) of the other [98].

The second fact (fols. 30b—31a) “On the path of recognizing (المعرف) the end (الفراض)” is dedicated to the explanation of the notion the author writes:

"The completeness of the work of everything is for it to return to the root and its native state and to get pure from the alien and improper states. This native state and the root are to be achieved life elsewhere except in the shelter. The shelter of soul is the other world. And until the soul reaches its limits it will not cease” [99].

The third section of the chapter (fols. 31a—32b) is entitled “On the explanation that the human soul is a captive and slave [due to the connection] with the body.” [98]

Here Káhiyé agitates about the soul as about an animal whose three legs are bound (محمّدة) and one is free (الفرصة). This will be discussed further. In the sentence: ‘The material body corresponds to the soul’, no nourishing potency (النحو) is known and finally perfection (النحو) is achieved. The free leg is thought (النحو) for a man to be able to think (ويمكن أن يفكر). The second leg is the man’s soul (النحو) of the body, which is nourished (ويمكن أن يفكر) and the foot (النحو) of the soul, which is connected (النحو) to the material body. The leg of the body is the soul, which is imperishable and true. The root of human wisdom is knowledge (النحو) and wisdom (النحو)، and the root of knowledge is the mind (النحو) and ignorance (النحو) [102]. Káhiyé remarks:

"Certainty and wisdom are the perfection of the knowledge and the limit of the competence. A simple soul not possessing the knowledge and ignorance is like clean paper which if written on with knowledge and ignorance (النحو) and demonstrated (النحو) and falsified (النحو) in the body in such a way that it is always veiled (النحو) from seeing the secret (النحو) and the work (النحو) of that world. Three types of physical defects prove the existence of these three chains. The chains, keeping the tongue from speaking indicate deafness, as the tongue is the viceroy (النحو) of the ear (النحو). The heart keeps the hand from writing, indicate blindness for a hand is the viceroy (النحو) of the eye (النحو). The last chains indicate the inverness (النحو) of soul, which in its turn is the body viceroy."

The seventh fact (fols. 36a—37a) “On the explanation of death(النحو)" is devoted to the clarification of the fact that like life exists in two ways — bodily and spiritual, there are also two forms of death:

"One is just the death of body, like non-existence of senses and movement and the other is spiritual, like not obtaining certainty and wisdom” [104].

Concerning the spiritual life (النحو) of the deceased, Káhiyé remarks that it is unceasing, and is a reading of God’s book, i.e. the signs in the heavens and souls, is not an easy task for everyone is capable of becoming aware of the Creator through the selfhood of self (النحو). God sent prophets (النحو) to help people, so that the prophets led people to the knowledge of the God’s signs so that they become aware of the reality of the work of God.

In the fifth fact (fols. 34b) “On the explanation of the world’s horizon (النحو)”, Káhiyé gives the description of macrocosm in brief. He writes:

"Know, that the Real created the sky like a bridge between this world and the other world and decorated the four pillars — fire, air, water, earth — with the symbols of the yearly cycles. On the symbol of fire, then summer has the symbol of air, thirdly, with the symbol of earth and fourthly the spring has the symbol of water” [101].

At the end of this fact it is stated that the end (النحو) of the bodily life is the beginning (النحو) of the spiritual one [106]. The next section of the fourth chapter (fols. 37b) is entitled “On the Most High God’s forgiveness (النحو)”. Here Káhiyé states that the soul undergoing changes also obtains the proof of forgiveness of sins. For instance, when a child becomes a youth and strengthens his body, he gets forgiveness for the child’s weaknesses and feebleness. Likewise the soul having become sensible and having awoken is forgiven for its sin of ignorance and instead of bodily food it obtains different knowledge. Thus Káhiyé concludes that the angel of death taking the soul from the earth is a vegetable soul, which due to God’s forbearance gives an enormous help to all inhabitants of the earth. Rather than the soul becoming a vegetable soul, the angel of death strengthens the body of the soul, which is local and abides in the world.

As for me I did not aim at giving a detailed comparative historical and philosophical analysis of this treatise, I would like to mention that the author would like to say a few words about the peculiarities of the medieval Muslim theoretical thought in general and philosophy in particular. It is worth to mention that the philosophy of classical Muslim philoso-

"Oh, the copy of the Divine Book, that is you! The specimen of the almighty, that is you! Out of nothing exists in the world. Search for everything in yourself for you contain it all” [110].

Káhiyé describes self-knowledge as a special source of knowledge. In this sense he interprets the following verse: "We shall show them Our signs in the heavens and in themselves..." (41:53). This thesis is closely connected to Bábá Afdál’s conception of man as the perfect creation of God, which also occurs in the ND: "Man is the perfect creation of God, and the other worlds are..." (8:13). There are lots of indications in the Qur’an: "And when thy Lord said to the angels, ‘I am setting in the earth a vice-

"And to the last (fols. 92b—93a) entitled “On the explanation of the interconnection between all the three chapters”. Káhiyé gives grounds for the way of the material presentation which he have chosen in this work and also keeps the people whose souls are not free from hadd (النحو), envy (النحو), etc. from reading his book.

Besides, the man’s earthly life, his actions, thoughts, words make him happy or miserable in the other world. Therefore, every action is important. Last Day is regarded as absolutely essential for the whole being of the man. Taking the above-mentioned into account, let us go to the last section of the treatise.
The first of the created are intellect and soul. And mind turning spheres followed them. Passing those there come four pillars. Then minerals, plants and animals [112].

The angels, who constitute forces that rule the world, play crucial role in the Khaṣṣāt’s cosmogony. In the ques-
tions of eschatology Bābā Aţfâl confers to the Islamic tradition by insisting on the immortality of the soul. It is interesting to look to the arguments given by the author to prove this idea. Khaṣṣāt proceeds from the identity of knowledge and existence (budūd). In his work “Treatise About the End of Path” he writes: “Whatever is khaṣṣāt writes: “Whatever is dā’ât, man possesses during his life is equivalent to the existence of a death as a spiritual existing in the human soul. However, this knowledge (existing) does not blot the soul while the body lives. Hence Khaṣṣāt draws a conclusion that after the correlative death the soul continues to live. All in all Khaṣṣāt understands the death not as disappearance and destruction of man but as a transition from one state to the other, re-
turning to one’s home, the beginning of a new eternal life. This is what Bābā Aţfâl said in his rahbâ s discussing this question:

Animals (originates) from plants and plants — from pillars. The pillars are the trace of the turning spheres wheel. The wheel exists due to the soul, and the soul — due to body. Intellect is the light of the grace of love [111].

In a similar way Bābā Aţfâl describes the creation of the world in one of his other poems: 4.

N o t e s

1. See notes 26—7.
3. In the present work I used extracts from tabâfsur, which were collected by N. Taqwi and published in the foreword to the edition of Al-Mafżûl II of Mas’ûdî (The Benefit for the Beneficiaries) (Tehrân, 1310). I also used Al-Mafżûl of Khaṣṣāt, Al-Mafżûl II of Mas’ûdî, Encyclopedia of Islam (Moscow, 1991), pp. 31—2. See also Al-Mafżûl of Khaṣṣāt, Encyclopedia of Islam (Moscow, 1991), pp. 31—2. See also ibid., pp. 31—2.
5. See: Kâğıţ, Maqasàd-i, pp. 83—110.
6. See: ibid. There is a separate edition of this book, published by H. İsfâhânî (Tehrân, 1311). Also see: Kâğıţ, Siwa Pirâb-în-i Sâhib-î Idrísr (The Book of Inheritance, and Ornaments of Worthy Sovereigns), The SPOSS microfilm edition (1344), 1131218. Cited by: Kâğıţ, Maqasàd-i, pp. 398—458. Also see about him: ibid., Encyclopedia of Islam (Moscow, 1991), pp. 21—3; İslam, Khaṣṣât-I (About the Sough), the SPOSS microfilm edition A 3460, fol. 63a—83a. See: idem, Maqasàd-i, pp. 133—44. There is a separate edition published by İsfâhânî (Tehrân, 1313). As for the English translation is also available: O. S. Morgenstern, ed., Arabicized Atarûdî, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (April, 1962). Also see: Kâğıţ, Râhishaûf (The Apple Treatise), The SPOSS microfilm edition A 344, fol. 94a—101a. According to Islamic tradition this work was dictated by Aristotle to his students when he was on his deathbed. According to the legend, during this speech Aristotle was holding an apple name hence the name of the tractate.
30. See: Nāṣir al-Dīn Tūsī, Sūrya wa nādīk, p. 56.
32. In the medieval Islamic literature there were two main terms: žāfa'ūla and žāla'a, to indicate philosophy as a separate branch of science. The former was used for the philosophy of thinkers who followed antique models of philosophy or the antique philosophy itself. The word žāla'a (lit., “wisdom”) is mentioned in the Qur'an 20 times. The word derives from the root ẓ-y-l, žālā’ (lit., “a wise man”) is one of the “most beautiful names” of Allāh. About the usage of these terms see: Nasr, “The meaning and role of ‘philosophy’ in Islam”, Studies Islamiques, XXXVIII (Paris, 1973), pp. 57–81; O Leaman, A Brief Introduction to Islamic Philosophy (Poltay Press, 1999), pp. 157–9. In his works Kāğıtālī uses the term žāla'a; the word žāfa'ūla is found only in the Aristotelian translations.
34. "Kāğıtālī" or al-Kāği'tālī, lit., “Eastern translation” is a mystic and philosophical doctrine, developed by Shāhīd al-Dīn ShāhNawāzī. See: ibid., p. 118.
38. For a brief characteristic of Bihāl Aftāl teachings see Nair, "Aftāl al-Dīn Kāğıtālī", pp. 258–63.
41. Fol. 1a.
42. The term žāla'a, together with the general meaning “knowledge” is used to indicate a certain science. In this case we translate it as "science", and sometimes — "art" depending on the context. In the modern Persian language žāla'a is used to indicate "religious knowledge".
43. Fols. 1ab.
44. Fol. 1b.
45. In this context we translated żāla'a as jeweller's art. Lit. żāla'a means "goldsmith'.
46. Fols. 2ab.
47. Fol. 2b.
48. Fol. 3a.
49. Ibid.
50. Ibid.
51. This qāf is entitled "On the contradiction between the madhhāba'". In this case, as we can assume regarding the context, Kāğıtālī interprets the term madhhāba' in a broad sense as a belief or religious trend.
52. To this category Kāğıtālī attaches the ineffectualists, the deviators (sādīqīn), the acrostics (za'īn), the pseudologists (ṣāfī). These terms do not have exact definitions, which gave grounds for polemics between the different representatives of theological schools regarding their usage. The notion of the ineffectualists means those who deny the Creator of his attributes, names and characteristecs (see: Islam. Entstehungsdehisizh slawr', p. 167). The "the deviators" in the Qur'an (4:180, 20:26, 41:40) and the akhūfī is used in the meaning of renegades (see: ibid., p. 96). Acrostics are those who deny the Divine creation of the world in time (ibid., p. 57).
53. Fol. 3a.
54. Fol. 3a.
55. Prophet (ṣūr) as a man "to whom Allāh speaks", he receives a revelation from God (see: Islam. Entstehungsdehisizh slawr', p. 184). In the Qur'an it is one of the indications of Muhammad together with "messenger" (ṣūr) and "sent" (ṣūr). In this case Kāğıtālī uses the word żūr to indicate the ancient prophets, preceding Muhammad and consequently is an epithet for Muhammad.
56. Fol. 4a.
57. Fol. 4b–5a.
58. Fol. 5b.
59. Fol. 6a.
60. Allegorical labelling of man as the “smaller book” or "outina" was widely used in Muslim mystical literature. For instance, a well-known Central Asian thinker of 17th c. Arsl al-Dīn Nasułow writes:  mercenaries that God, having created everything existing, gave the name (sudr), for the world is a sign (ʿilām) of his might. Knowledge, will and might exist in the being of the world. And as a sign and a scripture (nīma) as it is a sign; He called it world and as is in a scripture He called it a book (žūr). Then He ordered everyone who reads this book, will perceive me, and knowledge, and will, and might. We were too small, the book was too big and our rights could not embrace the edges of the book and its pages. The teacher (auspicy) seeing our forlornness, created a list of that world and rewrote the shorter version of the book. The first one he called the great world, the second — the smaller world, the first one he called great book, the second was called the smaller book. Everything what was in the great book he wrote without additions and omissions so that everyone who read the smaller book could read the great book.'

61. Fols. 8b–9a.
62. Ibid.
63. Fol. 9b.