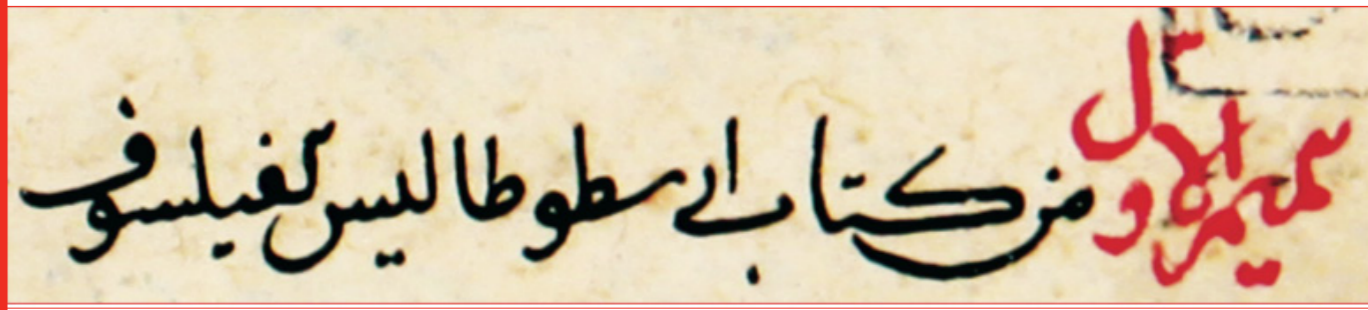
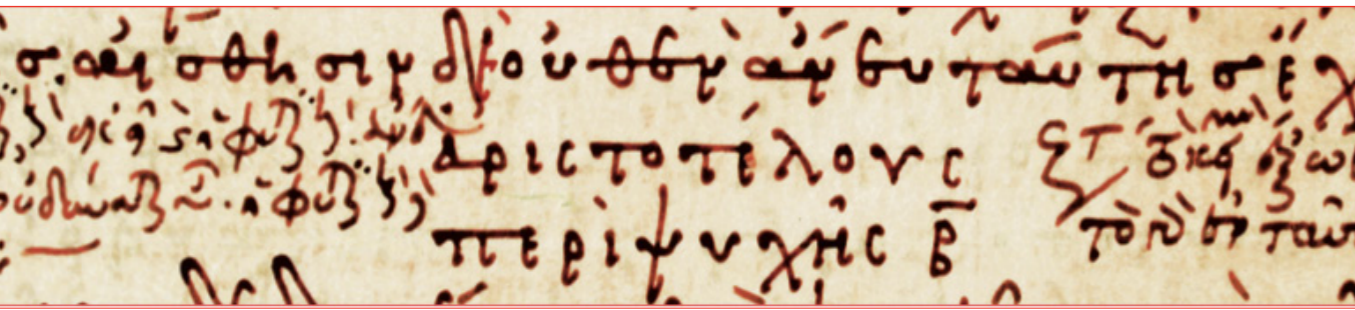


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2014



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# Studia graeco-arabica

The Journal of the Project

*Greek into Arabic*

*Philosophical Concepts and Linguistic Bridges*

European Research Council Advanced Grant 249431

4

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2014



Published by  
ERC Greek into Arabic  
*Philosophical Concepts and Linguistic Bridges*  
European Research Council Advanced Grant 249431

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Service Provider: Università di Pisa, Area Serra - Servizi di Rete Ateneo

ISSN 2281-2687

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Registration at the law court of Pisa, 18/12, November 23, 2012.

Editor in chief Cristina D'Ancona.

#### *Publisher and Graphic Design*



Via A. Gherardesca  
56121 Ospedaletto (Pisa) - Italy

#### *Printing*

Industrie Grafiche Pacini

#### *Cover*

Mašhad, Kitābhāna-i Āsitān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 300, f. 1v  
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, grec 1853, f. 186v

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2014

# Kalām and Falsafa Integrated for Divine Unity

Sa'īd b. Dādhurmuz's (5<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> century) Risāla fī l-Tawḥīd

Veysel Kaya\*

## Abstract

This study is an attempt to set the backdrop for an Arabic manuscript which was copied in the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> century. It contains a treatise by a certain Sa'īd b. Dādhurmuz, whose name does not feature in any biographical source whatsoever. Sa'īd b. Dādhurmuz wrote the treatise upon receiving a request from a friend to write on *tawḥīd* (unity), a fundamental theme in classical Islamic theology and philosophy. The treatise, like the other works by the author in the same *maḡmū'a*, does not mention any title or a name, although it is clear that the author depends upon many sources belonging to different discourses in Islamic thought. In order to elucidate the character and method of the *R. Fī l-Tawḥīd*, both *falsafa* and *kalām* must be taken into account. As for his philosophic affiliation, Sa'īd b. Dādhurmuz belongs to the tradition of al-Kindī (d. after 252/866), and gets especially close to Abū l-Ḥasan al-Āmirī (d. 381/992), as shown by his quotations of Greek sources typical of the circle of al-Kindī. In *kalām*, as shown by his discussion of the origin of the world and God's attributes, he strictly follows Mu'tazilite theology. All in all, the treatise exhibits a combination of the two disciplines as they developed in the 4<sup>th</sup>/5<sup>th</sup> century AH. In this paper, I only address the aspects which help to contextualize the main topics of the treatise, without providing the full survey which I am planning for a future extensive study of Sa'īd b. Dādhurmuz and his work.

## 1. The Making of Sa'īd b. Dādhurmuz

The İnebey Manuscripts Library in Bursa, a province in Turkey which was the first capital of the Ottoman Empire, houses an Arabic *maḡmū'a* which contains several treatises (*risālāt*) authored by a certain Sa'īd b. Dādhurmuz.<sup>1</sup> It has been copied by an anonymous scribe in 471/1079 and, according

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\* I am indebted to several people for their contribution. Cristina D'Ancona has encouraged me and gave me guidance since I started working on my draft. Wilferd Madelung took the trouble to read the Arabic text and shared his valuable insights with me. Cecilia Martini Bonadeo and M. Cüneyt Kaya provided me with important materials that turned out to be essential. Kenan Özçelik helped me to "boost up" my Persian. Osman Nuri Solak helped me to acquire the copies of the manuscripts in İnebey Yazma Eserler Kütüphanesi. Lastly, I would like to thank the two anonymous referees who significantly contributed to the draft.

<sup>1</sup> The *maḡmū'a* which contains the treatises is catalogued under the collection of Ulucami, no: 1543. The binding is of the typical "Çaharküşe"-style with marbled paper (*ebri*) covering the boards. The style of *ebri* is called *battal* or *tarz-ı kadim*, and the fading colour of the *ebri* on the front and the back boards shows that the bookbinder did not use the *lâke* technique. This indicates a later repair, probably in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (I am indebted to Hicabi Gülgen for this information). The writing support is paper, and the page dimension is 198 x 155. The folios are numbered with both Arabic numerals (1, 2...) and Eastern Arabic numerals (١, ٢...); the latter is the correct one. The name of the copyist is not mentioned anywhere. Two dates are given in the colophon: "25 Ramaḡān 471", and "Rüz-i İsfandārmud Māh-i Ardibihīšt 469" (f. 75 v); see *infra*. The *waqf* seal, on the folios 2 r, 2 v, 77 v, 91 r and 119 r, reads, "لا اله إلا الله محمد رسول الله واقف الكتاب الحاج السيد عبد الله في البروسة في الجامع الكبير سنة مئتين بعد ألف" (Bursa-Ulucami-1200). The script is naskh and the diacritics are frequent, although not always present. There is one column for each page, containing mostly 16, but sometimes 17 lines. There are no catchwords. The marginal notes are occasional, by the same hand as the main text, and it is clear that the copyist uses them to correct the main text and not to comment on it. In addition to the three treatises of Sa'īd b. Dādhurmuz, the *maḡmū'a* contains two texts which are written by two different hands. The first (ff. 76 r - 90 r) is the treatise '*Uyūb al-Nafī*' by the *ṣūfi* Abū 'Abd al-Raḡmān Muḡammad al-Sulamī (d. 412/1021) and the

to the shelfmark of the manuscript, it once belonged to the famous Ottoman *reisülküttab* (the chief of the secretaries/clerks) Abū Bakr Rustam b. Aḥmad al-Širwānī (d. 1135/1723), whose personal library allegedly housed rare books on diverse subjects.<sup>2</sup> The guard-leaf of the codex, which records all the titles of the *maǧmūʿa*, attributes three treatises to Saʿīd b. Dādhurmuz: a *Risāla fī Fadl al-āḥira ʿalā l-dunyā*, *Treatise on the Superiority of the Hereafter over this World* (f. 2 v - 37 r), a *Risāla fī l-Nafs wa-l-rūḥ*, *Treatise on Soul and Spirit* (f. 37 v - 52 r), and a *Risāla fī l-Tawḥīd wa-l-ḥikma al-ʿāliya*, *Treatise on Unity and High Wisdom* (f. 53 v - 76 r),<sup>3</sup> which is the subject of this study.<sup>4</sup> What attracts attention from the outset is the unusual name of the author, “Saʿīd b. Dādhurmuz”. First, the name is not accompanied by any *nisba* pointing to his origins. Second, while the first item is a very common Arabic name, that of his father is rather peculiar, implying a non-Arabic genealogy. In fact, the name دادهرمز points to the pre-Islamic Sasanian era.<sup>5</sup> Studies on the pre-Islamic Sasanian names prove that it was commonly used in the Middle-Iranian language (Pahlavi).<sup>6</sup> As for the classical Arabic sources, the name notably surfaces in Ibn al-Nadīm’s *K. al-Fihrist*, in the section on Manichaeism (*al-Mānawīyya*). According to the information given by Ibn al-Nadīm, in the time of caliph Walīd I (r. 86-96/705-715), a certain Zād-hurmuz (زادهرمز) separated from his community and caused a schism because of his views on leadership.<sup>7</sup>

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scribe is Muḥammad b. ʿUṭmān al-Waḥšī al-Kamīnī; no date is given. The other work and the last item of the whole *maǧmūʿa* is the *Kitāb al-Ādāb li-ulī l-Albāb* by a certain Abū Muḥammad Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb al-Dahabī (ff. 91 r - 120 v). The scribe and the date of *istinsāḥ* are unknown.

<sup>2</sup> B.M. Tahir, *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, Matbaʿa-i ʿĀmiri, I-III. Istanbul 1333/1914, I, p. 233: “Mütenevvi’ ve nefid kitāblara mâlik idi”.

<sup>3</sup> It was Hellmut Ritter who first drew attention to these treatises, although he said he could not identify the author: H. Ritter, “Philologika. XIII. Arabische Handschriften in Anatolien und Istanbul (Fortsetzung)”, *Oriens* 3 (1950), pp. 31-107, in part. pp. 61-2. On the basis of Ritter’s article, Fuat Sezgin enlists Saʿīd b. Dādhurmuz among “the writers on theology in the Abbasid times”: F. Sezgin, *Tārīḥ al-Turāt al-ʿArabī*, Idāra al-Ṭaqāfa wa-l-Našr, Riyadh 1991, IV, p. 54. Along with the three treatises by Saʿīd b. Dādhurmuz mentioned above, the guard-leaf, which lists the contents of the *maǧmūʿa*, also gives the titles of other works, which are not present in the *maǧmūʿa* itself. Apparently these were extracted from the original codex to which the guard-leaf belonged, and were replaced by the two works which feature in the *maǧmūʿa* as it has come down to us. The titles listed in the guard-leaf include (i) al-Kindī’s *Ṭabīʿat al-Falak muḥalifa li-ṭabāʿī al-anāšir* [n. 121 in Atiyeh’s list, see below]; (ii) al-Kindī’s *Qawl al-Hudūd* [n. 29 in Atiyeh’s list]; (iii) the Arabic version of Aristotle’s *De Sensu et sensato*, labelled *Kitāb fī l-Hiss wa l-maḥsūs li-Šāḥib al-mantiq* (see the article by R. Hansberger in this volume, pp. 301-14); (iv) the pseudo-*Theology of Aristotle*, whose translation is erroneously ascribed to Ḥunayn ibn Iṣḥāq: *Kitāb fī l-Rubūbiyya al-musammā bi-l-rūmiyya bi-Tʿulūḡiyyā tarḡama Ḥunayn b. Iṣḥāq*. These titles were struck out in the guard-leaf. Some additional information on titles (i) and (ii) may be useful. (i) G.N. Atiyeh, *Al-Kindī: the Philosopher of the Arabs*, Islamic Research Institute, Rawalpindi 1966 (Publications of the Islamic Research Institute, 6), p. 180, lists as n. 121 an *Epistle on the Exposition that the nature of the heavens is contrary to that of the four elements* (*Risāla fī l-Ibāra ʿan inna ṭabīʿat al-falak muḥalifa li-ṭabāʿī al-anāšir al-arbāʿa*). This text is edited: *Rasāʾil al-Kindī al-falsafīyya*, ed. M.ʿA. Abū Rīda, Dār al-Fikr al-ʿArabī, I-II, Cairo 1950-53, II, pp. 40-6; English trans. by H. Khatchadourian, “Al-Kindī’s *Treatise on the Distinctiveness of the Celestial Sphere*”, *Islamic Studies* 4 (1965), pp. 45-54. (ii) This text is the well-known *Epistle on the Definitions of the things and their descriptions* (*Risāla fī l-ḥudūd al-ašyā wa-rusūmihā*), ed. Abū Rīda, I, pp. 165-80; edition, accompanied by a French translation, also in al-Kindī, *Cinq Épitres*. Centre d’Histoire des sciences et des doctrines. Histoire des sciences et de la philosophie arabes, CNRS-Éditions, Paris 1976, pp. 1-69. If the list of the guard-leaf can be traced back to the original collection, this points to the school of al-Kindī: typically, both the pseudo-*Theology* and the *K. al-Hiss wa-l-maḥsūs* originated in that circle, and the two works by al-Kindī tell the same story.

<sup>4</sup> Throughout this article, I refer to the sections of the *R. Fī l-Tawḥīd* with numbers between curly brackets.

<sup>5</sup> The *Lughat-nāma* of Dehkhoda gives the brief information: “Dādhurmuz, one of the judges in the Sasanian period. His fame and judicial views are told in the book *Mātikān-i Hazār Dātestān* (*The Book of a Thousand Judgments*)”.

<sup>6</sup> S. Zimmer, “L’interprétation des noms propres moyen-iraniens: questions de méthode”, in W. Skalmowsky - A. van Tongerloo (eds), *Medioiranica. Proceedings of the International Colloquium organized by the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven from the 21st to the 23rd of May 1990*, Peeters, Leuven 1993, pp. 193-206, in part. 195; 196; 201 (as “Dād-Ohrmazd”).

<sup>7</sup> Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, ed. R. Taǧaddud, Marvi, Tehran 1971, pp. 397-8. For another interesting figure belonging to

There are no biographical data on Saʿīd b. Dādhurmuz, nor any reference is given to his name in the well-known *ṭabaqāt* or *muʿ ḡam* genre that I have been able to consult during my research for this paper.<sup>8</sup> The only certain date which we have is that of *istinsāḥ* in the colophon of the *R. Fī l-Tawḥīd*, namely 471 AH. We also know that in his *R. fī Faḍl al-āḥira ʿalā l-dunyā* the author quotes tacitly some passages from Ibn al-Miskawayh's (d. 421/1030) *Ṭahḍīb al-Aḥlāq*, which is thought to have been written *circa* 375 AH.<sup>9</sup> This leaves us with a span of approximately one hundred years in our attempt to locate the writings of Saʿīd b. Dādhurmuz in a particular point in time. However, the contents of the treatises of Saʿīd b. Dādhurmuz do not provide any clue whatsoever in order to relate them to any historical event. Early in the *R. fī Faḍl al-āḥira ʿalā l-dunyā*, when he explains the motive behind the composition of this work, he relates he heard someone arguing for an unacceptable theory in a debate session (*maḡlis al-munāzara wa-l-mudakara*).<sup>10</sup> That person, Saʿīd b. Dādhurmuz narrates, had contended that all sciences, no matter if religious or secular, are in fact sought for worldly wishes such as wealth, ostentation, charisma etc., something which was true also for books in any discipline or science, even when the author indulged in boasting that his only wish was to achieve the contentment of God. Then, Saʿīd b. Dādhurmuz goes on to explain why the afterlife surpasses the worldly life.

The overall tone of the writings of Saʿīd b. Dādhurmuz is noticeably mystic, that is, pertaining to *ṣūfī* literature. He occasionally draws on the interpretations given by major *ṣūfī* figures when he quotes Quranic verses.<sup>11</sup> The *ṣūfīs* are included in the category of the *ḥukamāʾ* (sages)<sup>12</sup> in the “hierarchy” of the followers of the true path – a phrase which occurs several times in his writings – namely prophets (*anbiyāʾ*), sages (*ḥukamāʾ*), devotees (*ṣālihūn*) and scholars (*ʿulamāʾ*).<sup>13</sup> Nonetheless, if one takes into account the whole picture that his writings portray, it appears that to lavishly link him to any particular school of thought would be a mistake. Close examination of the treatises uncovers many instances in which the author relies upon a vast array of literature that was available to him. Some Quranic verses that he cites are accompanied by the interpretations of the scholars of *tafsīr*.<sup>14</sup>

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Zoroastrianism in Abbasid times, bearing a similar name (Day-Ohyrmazd), see A. Tafazzoli, “Abāliš”, <http://www.iraniconline.org/articles/abalis>.

<sup>8</sup> I was very hopeful of finding something in Yaʿqūt al-Ḥamawī's (d. 627/1229) *Muʿ ḡam al-Udabāʾ*, since Yaʿqūt lived one century after Saʿīd b. Dādhurmuz and had more chances than any other biographer to access information on Iranian writers. But I have found nothing. There are, however, some similar Iranian-origin personalities with whom we can compare him. For instance, there is Saʿīd b. Ḥamīd b. al-Baḥtikān, whom Yaʿqūt describes as follows: “secretary, poet, and letter-writer, he has an ancient Iranian origin; he is a fanatic of [Persians] against Arabs, and has a collection of *risālas*”: Yaʿqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿ ḡam al-Udabāʾ*, I-VII, ed. I. ʿAbbās. Dār al-Ḡarb al-Islāmī, Beirut 1993, III, p. 1366.

<sup>9</sup> M. Arkoun, *L'humanisme arabe au IV<sup>e</sup>-X<sup>e</sup> siècle: Miskawayh, philosophe et historien*, Vrin, Paris 1982, p. 116.

<sup>10</sup> Saʿīd b. Dādhurmuz, *Risāla fī Faḍl al-āḥira ʿalā l-dunyā*, ff. 3 r - 3 v. For information on the nature of these debate sessions and those attending them, see J.L. Kraemer, *Humanism in the Renaissance of Islam*, Brill, Leiden 1986, p. 58.

<sup>11</sup> For instance, apropos the verse 3:79 (كُونُوا رِبَانِيّينَ), he follows the *tafsīr* of al-Sulamī and cites the words of al-Wāsiṭī and Ḡunayd: see Saʿīd b. Dādhurmuz, *R. fī Faḍl al-āḥira ʿalā l-dunyā*, f. 10 r, and cf. Abī ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Sulamī (d. 412/1021), *Tafsīr al-Sulamī wa huwa Ḥaqāʾiq al-tafsīr*, ed. S. ʿUmrān, Dār al-Kutub al-ʿilmiyya, I-II, Beirut, I, p. 104.

<sup>12</sup> According to Saʿīd b. Dādhurmuz, the sages are the holders of a godly wisdom; thus, their words of wisdom must be regarded as noble speeches. For instance, he quotes from one of those sages (*bā ḍ al-ḥukamāʾ*) saying: “There are servants of God in this world. When they look, they reflect. When they reflect, they understand. When they understand, they know. When they know, they practise. And when they practise, they benefit. When they benefit, they help. When they help, God draws the curtain between Him and them, thus, with the eyes of their heart they observe the Knower of the Unseen”. After this quotation, Saʿīd b. Dādhurmuz comments: *ḥādīth kalām šarīf*, namely, “this is a noble speech” (*R. fī Faḍl al-āḥira ʿalā l-dunyā*, f. 12 r). This saying is attributed to the well-known mystic Ḍunnūn al-Miṣrī: see Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī (d. 430/1038), *Ḥilya al-awliyāʾ*, Dār al-Kutub al-ʿilmiyya, I-X, Beirut 1988, IX, p. 374.

<sup>13</sup> Saʿīd b. Dādhurmuz, *R. fī Faḍl al-āḥira ʿalā l-dunyā*, f. 6 r; *R. fī l-Tawḥīd*, f. 54 v: see {2} below.

<sup>14</sup> Saʿīd b. Dādhurmuz, *R. fī Faḍl al-āḥira ʿalā l-dunyā*, f. 10 r: “One of the *mufasssīrūn* said...”. Judging from the similarities between the texts, this *mufasssīr* might be al-Sulamī, or al-Wāsiṭī, from whom al-Sulamī quotes.

As to the field of *adab*, the poems of renowned Arab poets such as ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 40/661), Ṣāliḥ b. ‘Abd al-Quddūs (d. *circa* 167/783), and Abū Nuwās (d. *circa* 198/813) are mentioned in due contexts.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, quotations from the works of Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ (d. *circa* 139/756), an eminent man of belles-lettres in the second century AH, are used to buttress the nobility of reason in religious matters.<sup>16</sup> Sa‘īd b. Dādhurmuz does not limit himself to referring to the Islamic sources: indeed, he benefits from the literary heritage of other cultures. For example, he uses a part of the story of *Bilawhar and Būdāsif* (قصة بلوهر وبوذاسف), an Islamic version of the Buddhist tale which records a conversation between a king and a sage on the meaning of life.<sup>17</sup> He proves to be familiar with the vocabulary of the secular sciences, as shown by his enumeration of the tools used by engineers and astrologists, that is, compass (البركار), ruler (المسطرة), triangle (الكونيا), astrolabe (الأصطرلاب), globe (الكرة), and armillary sphere (ذات الحلق).<sup>18</sup>

All this points to multifarious and erudite knowledge, as one would expect from an ideal intellectual and polymath of an age that has been labelled “Renaissance of Islam”.<sup>19</sup> Still, if there was one school of thought where to locate our author more properly, it would be that of the followers of al-Kindī’s tradition. As will be seen in the present inquiry into the philosophical background of the *R. Fī l-Tawḥīd*, Sa‘īd b. Dādhurmuz joins “the Kindīan project” in demonstrating the fundamental truth of Islamic theological dogma, i.e. *tawḥīd*, with the help of Greek philosophical texts.<sup>20</sup> In our endeavour to contextualize his writings in the general course of Islamic thought, we are lucky enough to find other sources of inspiration which are much closer to his time: Ibn Miskawayh, and especially Abū l-Ḥasan al-‘Āmirī. The similarity of Sa‘īd b. Dādhurmuz’s style of writing to that of al-‘Āmirī is very noticeable; in particular, those who are acquainted with his works might easily recognise in Sa‘īd b. Dādhurmuz terms and sentences which are reminiscent of al-‘Āmirī’s special vocabulary. This vocabulary includes *ḥāṣṣiyya*,<sup>21</sup> *al-ḡawhar al-insiyy*,<sup>22</sup> *al-kamāl al-insiyy*,<sup>23</sup> *al-sā‘āda al-abadiyya*,<sup>24</sup> *al-lā-wuḡūd*,<sup>25</sup> etc. In many cases, Sa‘īd b. Dādhurmuz appears to be a commentator of the philosophical writings of al-‘Āmirī, a conclusion which is not reached only on the grounds of his quotations from the latter’s works that will be discussed below: indeed, the main philosophical and theological stances that he adopts on several crucial issues show his close relationship with al-‘Āmirī. Thus, we can surely add the name of Sa‘īd b. Dādhurmuz to the list given by Mojtaba Minovi in his famous article on the followers and transmitters of al-‘Āmirī.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Sa‘īd b. Dādhurmuz, *R. fī Faḍl al-āḥira‘ alā l-dunyā*, ff. 22 r, 28 r, 29 r respectively.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 34 r (*qāla ba‘ḍ al-ḥukamā*). The quotation is from *al-Adab al-Ṣaḡīr*.

<sup>17</sup> Sa‘īd b. Dādhurmuz, *R. fī l-Nafs wa-l-rūḥ*, 37 r. Cf. D. Gimaret, *Le Livre de Bilawhar et Būdāsif selon la version arabe ismaélienne*, Dar al-Machreq, Beirut 1986, p. 12.

<sup>18</sup> Sa‘īd b. Dādhurmuz, *R. fī Faḍl al-āḥira‘ alā l-dunyā*, f. 19 v.

<sup>19</sup> To get an idea of such ideal types and general atmosphere of the age, see Kraemer, *Humanism in the Renaissance of Islam*, pp. 1-30.

<sup>20</sup> P. Adamson, *Al-Kindī*, Oxford U. P., New York 2007 (Great Medieval Thinkers, 9), p. 25; C. Martini Bonadeo, *‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baḡdādī’s Philosophical Journey. From Aristotle’s Metaphysics to the Metaphysical Science*, Brill, Leiden - Boston 2013 (Islamic Philosophy, Theology and Science. Texts and Studies, 88), pp. 45-8; 58.

<sup>21</sup> Sa‘īd b. Dādhurmuz, *R. fī Faḍl al-āḥira‘ alā l-dunyā*, ff. 16 r, 32 v; *R. Fī l-tawḥīd*, f. 56 r: see {5} below.

<sup>22</sup> Sa‘īd b. Dādhurmuz, *R. fī Faḍl al-āḥira‘ alā l-dunyā*, ff. 15 v, 32 r.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 23 v.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 36 v.

<sup>25</sup> Sa‘īd b. Dādhurmuz, *R. Fī l-Tawḥīd*, f. 56 v: see {5} below.

<sup>26</sup> M. Minovi, “Az Ḥazāin-i Turkiyya-2”, *Maḡalla-i Dāniškada-i Adabiyyāt* 4/3 (1957), pp. 53-89; in part. pp. 68 f. For an up-to-date biographical study on al-‘Āmirī, see E. Wakelnig, “Die Weiterführung der neuplatonischen Ansätze”, in U. Rudolph - R. Würsch (eds), *Philosophie in der Islamischen Welt. 1 8.-10. Jahrhundert*, Schwabe, Basel 2012, pp. 170-85.



Below are the comparison tables between Sa'īd b. Dādhurmuz's *R. fī l-Tawhīd* and one of al-Āmirī's works, which indicate how the former's text evolves into a commentary of the latter. Further parallels between the two authors will be shown in the following pages.

<i>R. fī l-Tawhīd</i>	al-Āmirī, <i>K. al-Amad' alā l-abad</i>
وقال بعض الحكماء ما زلت أشرب فلم أرو حتى عرفت الباري تعالى فرويت من غير شرب وقال غيره إذا حسبت أنك عرفت كل شيء فاعلم أنك لم تعرف شيئا ما لم تعرف الله تعالى حق المعرفة وقال غيره عرفت ربي بربي ولو لا ربي ما عرفت ربي أراد به نور الهادي له إليه	من الحكايات المشهورة عن أفلاطون أنه كان يقول لأصحابه إنكم إن عرفتم كل شيء فلا تحسبوا أنكم عرفتم شيئا ما لم تعرفوا الله عز وجل ثم من الحكايات المشهورة عن أرسطاطاليس أنه كان يقول كنت قبل اليوم أشرب وأظمأ حتى إذا عرفت الله عز وجل فرويت بلا شرب <sup>27</sup>
ولا يشك أن وحدانية الباري تعالى لن تكون شبيهة بواحدة من الوجدانيات الأخر إذ هي بأسرها مخترعة بأمره تعالى جده فمن الواجب إذن أن نعلم أن وحدانيته تعالى مباينة للوجدانيات الأخر لانتفاء عامة جهات الكثرة عنها	كذا أيضا وحدانيته ليست تشبه وحدانيات شيء من موجودات العالم إذ الوجدانيات العالمية معرضة للتكثير إما بأجزائها وإما بمعانيها وإما بنظائرها <sup>28</sup>
ثم علم أن كل واحد منها ذو أجزاء متصورة وذو أبعاض متناسقة وذو شكل مصور وكل ما تعلق وجوده بشيء من هذه الأفعال فمن الممتنع أن يكون أزليا وإجب الذات فهي إذا محدثة مصنوعة فالموجود المحض إذا هو الذات المتعالي عن انطلاق اللاوجود عليه	وإن معنى الحق أن وجوده بحيث يمتنع انطلاق أن لا وجود عليه <sup>29</sup>

Another citation comes from Ibn Miskawayh's *Tabdīb al-Ahlāq*:

<i>Risāla fī Faḍl al-āhira 'alā l-dunyā</i> <sup>30</sup>	Ibn Miskawayh <sup>31</sup>
وقد قال الحكماء إن آخر المراتب في الفضائل أن تكون أفعال الإنسان كلها إليها وهذه الأفعال هي الخير المخض والفعل إذا كان خيرا مخضا فليس يفعله فاعله من أجل شيء آخر غير الفعل نفسه وذلك أن الخير المخض هو غاية متوخاة لذاتها أي هو الأمر المطلوب نفسه المقصود إليه لذاته والأمر الذي هو غاية ولا سيما غاية في نهاية النفاسة ليس يكون من أجل شيء آخر	وآخر المراتب في الفضيلة أن يكون أفعال الإنسان كلها أفعال إلهية وهذه الأفعال هي خير محض والفعل إذا كان خيرا محضا فليس يفعله فاعله من أجل شيء آخر غير الفعل نفسه وذلك أن الخير المخض هو غاية متوخاة لذاتها أي هو الأمر المطلوب المقصود لذاته والأمر الذي هو غاية في نهاية النفاسة ليس يكون من أجل شيء آخر

<sup>27</sup> Al-Āmirī, *K. al-Amad' alā l-abad*, ed. Y. Kara, Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı, İstanbul 2013, pp. 41-3.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p. 47. The uniqueness of God's oneness if compared to other degrees of unity which appear in created things is similarly emphasized in the pseudo-*Theology of Aristotle*: see 'A. Badawī (ed.), *Aflūṭīn'ında l-'Arab, Plotinus apud Arabes*. *Theologia Aristotelis et fragmenta quae supersunt*, Dār al-Nahḍa al-Miṣriyya, Cairo 1966 (repr. Kuwait 1977), p. 148.

<sup>29</sup> Al-Āmirī, *K. al-Amad' alā l-abad*, p. 47 Kara.

<sup>30</sup> Sa'īd b. Dādhurmuz, *R. fī Faḍl al-āhira 'alā l-dunyā*, f. 37 r.

<sup>31</sup> Ibn Miskawayh, *Tabdīb al-Ahlāq*, Dār al-Kutub al-'ilmiyya, Beirut 1985, p. 74.

A question remains open about the author. What was his geographical, historical, and social affiliation? In what follows, I lay out some reasons why I tend to include him among the officials – bureaucrats, courtiers, or secretaries – active in Northern/Eastern Iran under one of the dynasties at the dawn of the Seljuq state. Naturally, far from having any kind of certainty, this is only an educated guess.

i. As stated before, there are two dates given in the colophon: “25 Ramaḍān 471” and “Rūz-i Isfandārmud Māh-i Ardībihišt 469” (f. 75 v). The first is the hijri date, and the second is the Persian one. The years do not correspond to each other, but the months and dates do. In this case, it is very likely that the scribe is using a tax (*haraḡī*) calendar. We know that in ‘Abbāsīd chancery tax collection was regulated by the Persian calendar, not according to the Zoroastrian eras, but according to the hijri years. So, there were cases in which the taxational years were regulated and corrected for practical purposes. This may suggest that the treatises came from the pen of a secretary official.<sup>32</sup>

ii. The variety of the sources the author draws on in his writings indicates that he had a rich library ready to hand. It is very likely that this library, rather than being a personal one, was that of a patrician, a vizier, or a ruler.<sup>33</sup>

iii. The author uses a meticulous and careful language when he aims at criticizing the views that are even the most opposite to his own opinions. For instance, when he hears too extreme a view which was voiced in a debate session, e.g. that “every science, whether it is religious or secular, is sought to gain worldly wishes”, he initially interprets these words as “figurative speech and careless words” of his speaker (*wa-in kāna rubbamā ṣadara dālika ‘an qā’ilihī ‘alā sabīl al-maḡāz wa-l-tasāhul fi l-kalām*),<sup>34</sup> in an evident attempt not to offend anyone. This might be a sign that he is not a *ṣūfi* writing in isolation, away from the élite of the community: on the contrary, this is the behaviour of a person with close ties to those attending the session, that he must maintain in the future. This attitude is comparable to the intellectual mysticism of Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī (d. 414/1023). Moreover, Sa’īd b. Dādhurmuz’s statement in the foreword of the treatise, “...the sciences such as lexicography, grammar, poetry, prosody, letter writing, secretariat, stories, narratives, tales, calculation, which are being used by secretaries and bookkeepers in *maḡlis*es and *dīwāns*, are [valuable because they are] helpful to acquire religious sciences, even if they are not sought for themselves...”<sup>35</sup> looks like a self-defence of the author to legitimize his own profession.

iv. We must bear in mind that the pioneers of the literary genre to which our author belongs – al-‘Āmirī, Ibn Miskawayh, and al-Tawḥīdī – were all secretaries, courtiers, or so. It is reasonable to assume that their writings were found and spread in an environment of the same kind. It might be regarded as a meaningful coincidence that the last owner of Sa’īd b. Dādhurmuz’s writings in the Ottoman period was al-Širwānī, himself a secretary.

v. In pre-Islamic Sasanian society, a social class called *dibīrs* (scribes and secretaries) held important positions with different duties. There were special schools to train them, and they were expected to be prominent in various sciences. Thus, scribes and copyists usually remained unknown, their names being

<sup>32</sup> I owe this explanation to Prof. François de Blois and Eleonora Bacci. For further information, see F. de Blois, “Ta’riḡh”, in *Encyclopedia of Islam* II, Brill, Leiden 2000, X, pp. 257-302.

<sup>33</sup> For more information on the scientific activities provided by the patrons, see R.W. Bulliet, *The Patricians of Nišapur. A Study in Medieval Islamic Social History*, Harvard U. P., Cambridge Mass. 1972; see p. 194 for an example of a library of this kind, founded by a member of the Bāhirī family.

<sup>34</sup> Sa’īd b. Dādhurmuz, *R. fi Faḡl al-āḡira ‘alā l-dunyā*, f. 3 r.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 3 r. For more information on *dīwāns* and the positions of secretaries thereof, see H. Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig. Die Buyiden im Iraq (945-1055)*, Steiner, Wiesbaden 1969, pp. 227-327.

rarely mentioned.<sup>36</sup> Due to this general fact, except for monumental figures such as Ibn al-Muqaffa', Ibn Miskawayh etc., other "average" secretaries like our author might have been forgotten in the depths of history.

vi. It was customary for secretaries (*kuttāb*) to lean toward Mu'tazilite thought, although this started to fade away from the 5<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> century onwards in the Buwayhid period.<sup>37</sup> As will be made clear below, Sa'īd b. Dādhurmuz had strong mu'tazilite tendencies, to the point that he labelled the Aš'arites *abl al-bid'a*, because of their views on the attributes of God. It is known that Seljuqs promulgated Sunnism from the beginning of their rule. In the *Siyāsatnāma*, the famous Seljuq vizier Nizām al-Mulk states: "In the days of Mahmud, Ma'sūd, Tughril, and Alp-Arslan no Zoroastrian or Jew or Rafidi would have had the audacity to appear in a public place or to present himself before a great man. Those who administrated the affairs of the Turks were all professional civil servants and secretaries from Khurasan, who belonged to the orthodox Hanafi or Shafi'i sects. The heretics of Iraq were never admitted as secretaries and tax collectors; in fact the Turks never used to employ them at all; they said, 'these men are of the same religion as the Dailamites and their supporters; if they get a firm footing they will injure the interests of the Turks' (...)".<sup>38</sup> According to this setting, Sa'īd b. Dādhurmuz perfectly fits to be identified as a Dailamite of the 5<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> century.

## 2. Philosophical Background

Sa'īd b. Dādhurmuz's acquaintance with philosophical literature is evident at a first glance, and is shown by several quotations. Often introduced with the Arabic phrase "it has been said that..." (*qīla*), the passages quoted are so skilfully absorbed in the general flow of the discussion that they do not constitute some abrupt insertions into the text. In this regard, the quotations from the writings of al-Kindī (*Fī l-Falsafa al-ūlā*), the Pseudo-Alexander of Aphrodisias – in fact, Proclus (*Mā stabraḡahū al-Iskandar al-Afrūdīsī min kitāb Aristūṭālīs al-musammā bi Uṭūlūḡiyyā*)<sup>39</sup> – and the Pseudo-Aristotle – once again, Proclus (*Kitāb al-Īdāh fī l-ḡayr al-mahḡd*) – can be detected only through close inspection.<sup>40</sup>

1. al-Kindī, *Fī l-Falsafa al-ūlā*, in *Rasā'il al-Kindī al-falsafiyya*, ed. M. 'A. Abū Rīda, Dār al-Fikr al-'arabī, I-II, Cairo 1950-53, I, p. 162.

Sa'īd b. Dādhurmuz, <i>R. fī l-Tawḡīd</i> , p. 100.20-21	al-Kindī, <i>Fī l-Falsafa al-ūlā</i> , p. 162.10-11 Abū Rīda
فبالوحدة قوام الكل ولو فارقته الوحدة التي بينا معناها وهو الوجود العام لهذا الكل لدثر وعدم مع مفارقتة الوحدة بلا زمان	فبالوحدة قوام الكل لو فارقت الوحدة عادت ودثرت مع الفراق معا بلا زمان

<sup>36</sup> A. Tafazzolī, *Sasanian Society*, Bibliotheca Persica Press, New York 2000, pp. 18-37. Tafazzolī states: "after the Arab conquest of Iran, the Muslim rulers did not dispense with Iranian secretaries, who continued their service in different government offices. Islamic sources abound with the names of such Iranian secretaries enjoying admiration and esteem" (p. 37).

<sup>37</sup> R. Sellheim - D. Sourdel, "Kātib", in *Encyclopedia of Islam* II, Brill, Leiden 1997, IV, pp. 754-7.

<sup>38</sup> A. Bausani, "Religion in the Saljuk Period", in J.A. Boyle (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran*. Volume 5. *The Saljuq and Mongol Periods*, Cambridge U. P., Cambridge 1968, p. 292 (quoting from *Siyāsatnāma*).

<sup>39</sup> During the translation movement of Greek works into Arabic, some of Proclus' texts were attributed to Alexander of Aphrodisias, as highlighted by G. Endress, *Proclus Arabus. Zwanzig Abschnitte aus der Institutio Theologica in arabischer Übersetzung*, Imprimerie Catholique, Wiesbaden-Beirut 1973.

<sup>40</sup> To see the context in which these works are produced and for further studies on the subject, see C. D'Ancona, "Greek into Arabic: Neoplatonism in Translation", in P. Adamson - R.C. Taylor (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Arabic Philosophy*, Cambridge U. P., Cambridge 2004, pp. 10-31; Ead., "Greek Sources in Arabic and Islamic Philosophy", <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/arabic-islamic-greek/>.

2. M. Arkoun, "Textes inédits de Miskawayh (m. 421)", *Annales Islamologiques* 5 (1963), pp. 181-205, in part. p. 201; quoted here after the edition of the Arabic version of Proclus' *Elements of Theology* by G. Endress, *Proclus Arabus. Zwanzig Abschnitte aus der Institutio Theologica in arabischer Übersetzung*, Imprimerie Catholique, Wiesbaden-Beirut 1973:<sup>41</sup>

Sa'īd b. Dādhurmuz, <i>R. fī l-Tawhīd</i> , p. 100.22-25	<i>Proclus Arabus</i> , p. 19.1-5 Endress
كل شرح ومرتبة إنما يبدأ من واحد ويأتى إلى كثرة ملائمة لذلك الواحد وكل شرح ومرتبة ذات كثرة فهي صاعدة مترقية إلى واحد فاذن الواحد هو بدء مخرج الكثرة الملائمة له فلذلك صار إلى كثرة نظما واحدا وشرحا واحدا فإن لم يكن الواحد متميزا لم يكن كثرة ولا نظم ولا شرح البتة	كل شرح ومرتبة إنما يبدأ من واحد وينتهي إلى الكثرة الملائمة لذلك الواحد وكل شرح ومرتبة ذات كثرة فيه صاعدة مترقية إلى واحد ونقول أيضا إن الواحد هو بد ومخرج الكثرة الملائمة له فلذلك صار للكثرة نظم واحد وشرح واحد فإن لم يكن الواحد متميزا لم تكن الكثرة ولا شرح البتة

3. *Kitāb al-Īdāh li-Aristūṭālīs fī l-ḥayr al-mahḍ*, in 'A. Badawī (ed.), *al-Aflātūniyya al-muḥḍaṭa 'inda l-'arab*, Maktabat al-Nahḍa al-Miṣriyya, Cairo 1955 (repr. Kuwait 1977), pp. 8-9:<sup>42</sup>

Sa'īd b. Dādhurmuz, <i>R. fī l-Tawhīd</i> , p. 104.1-10	<i>K. fī l-ḥayr al-mahḍ</i> , pp. 8.11-9.7 Badawī
الواحد الأول والحق المحض تعالى اسمه أعلى من الصفة وإنما عجزنا عن صفته لتفرده بالوحدانية المحضة لأنها فوق كل الوحدانية وإنما وصفت العلل الثواني التي استنارت من فوق من العلة الأولى وذلك أن العلة الأولى لا يستنير من نور آخر ولا يستمد من حق آخر لأنها هي الحق الأول والنور المحض الذى ليس فوقه نور ولا حق ومنها تفيض النور على ما دونه من العلل الثواني فمن أجل ذلك صار الأول وحده يفوت الصفة وكل شيء إنما يعرف من تلقاء علته ويوصف من تلقاء ما فوقه وليس فوقه شيء وإذا كان الشيء علة فقط وليس بمعلول لم يعلم صفته فالعلة إذا لا يوصف لأنها أعلى من الصفة وليس يبلغها المنطق وذلك أن الصفة لا يكون إلا بالمنطق ولا يكون المنطق إلا بالعقل والعقل بالفكر والفكر بالوهم والوهم بالحق الأول والواحد المحض فوق هذه الأشياء كلها لأنه علته ومبدعها ولذلك صار غير واقع تحت الحواس والوهم والفكر والمنطق، فليس إذا بموصوف، فنفي الصفات إذن عنه تعالى إثبات له من حيث هو فتبارك الله أحسن الخالقين	إن العلة الأولى أعلى من الصفة وإنما عجزت الألسن عن صفتها من أجل وصف أنيتها لأنها فوق كل علة واحدة وإنما وصفت العلل الثواني التي استنارت من نور العلة الأولى وذلك أن العلة التي تنير أولا تنير معلولها وهي لا تستنير من نور آخر لأنها هي النور المحض الذي ليس فوقه نور فمن ذلك صار الأول وحده يفوت الصفة وإنما كان كذلك لأنه ليس فوقه علة يعرف بها وكل شيء إنما يعرف ويوصف من تلقاء علته فإذا كان الشيء علة فقط وليس بمعلول لم يعلم بعلة أولى ولا يوصف لأنه أعلى من الصفات وليس يبلغه المنطق وذلك أن الصفة إنما تكون بالمنطق والمنطق بالعقل والعقل بالفكر والفكر بالوهم والوهم بالحواس والعلة الأولى فوق الأشياء كلها لأنها علة لها فلذلك صارت لا تقع تحت الحس والوهم والفكر والعقل والمنطق فليست إذا بموصوفة

<sup>41</sup> See Endress, *Proclus Arabus*, p. 19 (of the Arabic section); the title runs: *Mā stabra ḡahū al-Iskandar al-Afrūdīsī min Kitāb Aristūṭālīs al-musammā bi-Uṭūlū ḡiyyā*; see also Y. 'A. Kordfiruzjāyī, "Risāla-ay Muntashir Na-Shodah Az Iskandar", *Ma'ārif-i 'Aqlī* 2 (<http://maarefaqli.nashriyat.ir/node/401>).

<sup>42</sup> See also *Risāla li-Aflātūn al-ilāhī fī l-radd 'alā man qāla inna al-insān talaṣā wa-funiya*, in 'A. Badawī (ed.), *Aflātūn fī l-Islām*, Dār al-Andalus, Beirut 1982, p. 339.

4. ‘Abd al-Laṭīf b. Yūsuf al-Baġdādī, *Min Kitāb fi ‘ilm mā ba’d al-ṭabī‘a*, in ‘A. Badawī (ed.), *Aflūṭīn ‘inda l-‘arab. Plotinus apud Arabes. Theologia Aristotelis et fragmenta quae supersunt*, Dār al-Nahḍa al-Miṣriyya, Cairo 1966 (repr. Kuwait 1977), p. 233:<sup>43</sup>

Sa’īd b. Dādhurmuz, <i>R. fi l-tawḥīd</i> , p. 104.13-14	‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baġdādī, p. 233.14-17 Badawī
إن الأشياء التي قد بلغت النهايات فليس ينبغي أن يسمى باسم الأشياء الواقعة تحت النهايات، والموصوف إذا بلغ أقصى نهايته لا يمكن أن يرد، فيوصف بنهايته	الأشياء التي قد بلغت نهايتها ليس ينبغي أن تسمى باسم الأشياء الواقعة تحت النهايات فإن من أراد أن يمدح الخير ليس يقدر أن يقول إنه خير ومن أراد أن يمدح اللذة التي هي خير لا يقدر أن يقول إنها لذة خير لأنها نهاية الشيء الموصوف فالموصوف إذا بلغ أقصى نهايته لم يمكن أن يزيد فيوصف بنهايته

This list can easily increase, given that there are at least six more sections which similarly start with the verb *qīla* – a task which awaits future studies. Nevertheless, the very fact that the author uses the sources mentioned above gives the impression that he has close ties with what some call “Kindī’s metaphysics file”,<sup>44</sup> i.e. the Arabic philosophical texts which were used or produced in the circle of al-Kindī to foster his project of intertwining the Greek philosophical tradition and Islamic monotheism. In particular, Sa’īd b. Dādhurmuz’s ties with al-Kindī himself can be ascertained by several facts, such as his use of al-Kindī’s distinction between human knowledge into the two categories of “sensory items” (*wuġūd ḥissī*) and “intellectual items” (*wuġūd ‘aqlī*),<sup>45</sup> or his adoption of al-Kindī’s definitions for some terms,<sup>46</sup> or again, last but not least, the fact that the scribe of our manuscript lists Sa’īd b. Dādhurmuz’s works together with other titles which mostly belong to al-Kindī (see above, p. 66 with n. 3). Nonetheless, we should not leave out the possibility that the author might have got acquainted with al-Kindī’s ideas through al-‘Āmirī.

As happens with his predecessors al-Kindī and al-‘Āmirī, an interesting feature in Sa’īd b. Dādhurmuz’s attitude towards the philosophical background of his time is his selective approach. We do not see him fully immersed in Neoplatonic ideas and concepts in every item dealt with in the *R. fi l-Tawḥīd*. For instance, the treatise completely discards Neoplatonic cosmology, which posits a hierarchical scheme of beings starting from the first Intellect to the tenth, the Agent Intellect (*al-‘aql al-fā‘āl*). As is known, the idea of divine intellects was a theory which neither al-Fārābī nor Avicenna abandoned in their philosophical systems,<sup>47</sup> in spite of the obvious contradiction between this theory and Quranic views about the universe. It might be also for this reason that Sa’īd b. Dādhurmuz does not lay emphasis on another substantial concept of Neoplatonic philosophy, that is, *nafs* (soul).

<sup>43</sup> For an analysis of the relevant chapter in al-Baġdādī’s book see Martini Bonadeo, *Al-Baġdādī’s Philosophical Journey*, pp. 266 f.

<sup>44</sup> The expression has been coined by F.W. Zimmermann, “The Origins of the so-called *Theology of Aristotle*”, in J. Kraye - W.F. Ryan - C.B. Schmitt (eds), *Pseudo-Aristotle in the Middle Ages: the Theology and Other Texts*, The Warburg Institute, London 1986, pp. 110-240; see also Martini Bonadeo, *Al-Baġdādī’s Philosophical Journey*, pp. 267-8.

<sup>45</sup> Sa’īd b. Dādhurmuz, *Faḍl al-āhira ‘alā l-dunyā*, f. 6 r. Cf. al-Kindī, *Fi l-Falsafa al-ūlā*, pp. 106-7 Abū Rīda (quoted above, n. 3).

<sup>46</sup> For instance, his definition of *yaqīn* (certainty) is the same as al-Kindī’s: *Faḍl al-āhira ‘alā l-dunyā*, f. 8 v; cf. al-Kindī, *Fi Ḥudūd al-aṣyā wa-rusūmihā*, p. 171 Abū Rīda (quoted above, n. 3).

<sup>47</sup> H.A. Davidson, *Alfarabi, Avicenna and Averroes, On Intellect*, Oxford U. P., Oxford 1992.

There is only a weak allusion to it, yet in its relation to the faculty of human intellect: see {27} below. Be this as it may, one should not underestimate some other Neoplatonic tones of the treatise, like the notion of Intellect as the first creation and the first effect of God: see {23; 27}.<sup>48</sup> The author does not provide a detailed explanation of the issue. The only idea which is emphasized is that the Intellect is a single substance of absolute simplicity, so that its essence, its act of intelligence and its intelligibility are all the same.<sup>49</sup> Sa'īd b. Dādhurmuz's familiarity with philosophical works reveals itself mostly when he discusses the topics he regards as substantial parts of the issue of the unity of God, such as God as the First Being, God's uniqueness in the qualities of "thatness" (*anniyya*) and "oneness" (*wahdāniyya*), and the kinds of the "one" (*al-wāhid*).

Sa'īd b. Dādhurmuz brings forward his treatment of the concept of *anniyya* as he posits that there is necessarily a creator who has brought the universe into existence: see {6}. According to his reasoning, accepting such a fundamental fact is not enough: everyone must deepen his/her knowledge of the *anniyya*. The first principle of such knowledge is that every single being has its own *anniyya*, distinct from the *anniyya* of others. This necessarily entails that *anniyya* should not be taken as a common quality that is predicated upon all beings. For the same reason, God too has His own *anniyya*, which substantially differs from all other beings. In order to be aware of this distinctive characteristic of the *anniyya* of God, one must have knowledge of the *anniyya* of all beings. What distinguishes the *anniyya* of God from that of other beings is that His *anniyya* exists eternally by His essence; thus, it necessarily continues to exist forever by His essence. Therefore, for the First Creator, existence is something that comes from, or is necessitated by His essence (*fa-l-wuḡūd idan dātīyyun li l-mubdi' al-awwal*).

At this point, our author makes his stance clearer about what connotation he has specifically in mind by using *anniyya*, when this word is tellingly replaced by a more "Arabic" word, that is, *wuḡūd* (existence).<sup>50</sup> The First Creator does not receive His *wuḡūd* from others; rather, He is the one who grants *wuḡūd* to other beings. After all, He, the Exalted, is the *wāḡib al-wuḡūd* (necessary Being). The author reaffirms his views about *anniyya*, applying them this time to *wuḡūd*: the *wuḡūd* of any other being cannot be the same as His *wuḡūd*, or even at the same level (*rutba*) of His *wuḡūd*. Hence, from the treatise of Sa'īd b. Dādhurmuz on unity one gets the idea that the term *anniyya* has a more defined meaning than it had in the formative period of the Graeco-Arabic translations.<sup>51</sup> In this context, there is textual evidence which connects the stance of our author to the writings of Abū l-Ḥasan al-ʿĀmirī, whose ideas on the issue seem to be conveyed by Sa'īd b. Dādhurmuz. In his treatise *Faḍl al-āḫira ʿalā l-dunyā*, the latter relates that according to some scholars knowledge about the Creator falls into three parts. First, there is the knowledge of His *anniyya*, and this kind of knowledge

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Badawī (ed.), *Aflūṭīn ʿinda al-ʿArab*, p. 209.

<sup>49</sup> This tenet is reminiscent of the pseudo-*Theology of Aristotle*, p. 22.3-4 Badawī, which is also quoted by al-Fārābī in the *K. al-ḡamʿ* as a statement by Aristotle: see al-Fārābī, *L'armonia delle opinioni dei due sapienti, il divino Platone e Aristotele*, Introduzione, testo arabo, traduzione e commento di C. Martini Bonadeo, prefazione di G. Endress, PLUS, Pisa 2008 (Greco arabo, latino. Le vie del sapere, 3), p. 74.8. With this tenet, Sa'īd b. Dādhurmuz gets closer to the ideas on the Intellect of the Ismaili thinker Abū Yaʿqūb al-Siḡistānī: see P.E. Walker, *Early Philosophical Shiism. The Ismaili Neoplatonism of Abu Yaqub al-Sijistani*, Cambridge U. P., Cambridge 1993, pp. 87-94, esp. p. 90. For a comparison of al-ʿĀmirī's ideas about Intellect with the Arabic version of Proclus see E. Wakelnig, *Feder, Tafel, Mensch. Al-ʿĀmirī's Kitāb al-Fuṣūl fī l-maʿālim al-ilāhiya und die arabische Proklos-Rezeption im 10. Jh.*, Brill, Leiden - Boston 2006 (Islamic Philosophy, Theology and Science. Texts and Studies, 67), p. 302.

<sup>50</sup> Elsewhere Sa'īd b. Dādhurmuz clearly states that "thatness signifies the very existence (*al anniyya allatī hiya dālla ʿalā naḡs al-wuḡūd*)": {20}.

<sup>51</sup> For an up-to-date discussion of the term, considering its earliest usage in Arabic, see C. D'Ancona, "Platonic and Neoplatonic Terminology for Being in Arabic Translation", *Studia graeco-arabica* 1 (2011), pp. 23-45.

enables people to avoid atheism (*taʿtīl*); second, the knowledge of His oneness (*waḥdāniyya*) enables people to avoid polytheism (*širk*), and lastly, the knowledge of His attributes (*ṣifāt*) enables them to avoid anthropomorphism (*tašbīh*). This account which Saʿīd b. Dādhurmuz relates as such is almost identical to a quotation of Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī from one of al-ʿĀmirī’s works.<sup>52</sup> However, at variance with al-Tawḥīdī,<sup>53</sup> Saʿīd b. Dādhurmuz provides a more detailed account of al-ʿĀmirī’s argumentation. He continues: “if someone does not thoroughly know the first item among these principles of belief, he or she may not proceed to the second, or third item. For instance, if he or she does not fully understand the existence (*anniyya*) of God, he or she does not need to look into the issue of oneness. Unless he or she knows His oneness, he or she is not in the position to delve into the issue of His being above parts or resemblances.”<sup>54</sup>

Our author’s usage of the term *anniyya*, then, is intrinsically related to his usage of *waḥdāniyya*. Both terms are conditioned by their application to the essence of God, and only afterwards are they compared to the meaning they have in other beings. The consequence is the distinction between the *anniyya* and the *waḥdāniyya* of things in general. Saʿīd b. Dādhurmuz draws attention to the fact that the knowledge about the *waḥdāniyya* is similar to the knowledge about the *anniyya*: see {9} below. Accordingly, every single worldly being has its own special oneness and, undoubtedly, the oneness of God cannot be similar to any of those onenesses. This is because their onenesses are totally created by the command of God. The characteristic of the createdness entails another aspect which constantly attaches to their essences, that is, multiplicity (*katra*). Every existent meaning or thing, even though oneness might be predicated of them, cannot have the “oneness” in the true sense, an attribute which only belongs to the True One (*al-ḥad al-ḥaqq*).

As regards the existences and onenesses of things, if we look at the whole picture of the *Risāla fī l-Tawḥīd*, the First Creator is the only being who grants them these two essential qualities.<sup>55</sup> An ontological approach to beings in general as such suggests a distinction between their essence and existence. To put it in a rough formula, the Kindian school appears to hold that the essence/identity of things is expressed by words such as *waḥda*, *waḥdāniyya*, while their existence is expressed by *anniyya* and *wuḡūd*.<sup>56</sup> As a matter of fact, the topic of God and His creating act as the donor of both the essence of things and their existence is taken especially by some *mutakallimūn* who come after the 5<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup>

<sup>52</sup> *Rasāʾil Abi l-Ḥasan al-ʿĀmiri wa ṣaḍarātuhū al-falsafiyya*, ed. by S. Ḥalifāt, Manšūrāt al-Ġamiʿa al-Urdunniya, Amman 1988, p. 473 (quoting from al-Tawḥīdī’s *al-Baṣāʾir*).

<sup>53</sup> In his quotations from al-ʿĀmirī, al-Tawḥīdī frequently omits the contexts. See *Rasāʾil Abi l-Ḥasan al-ʿĀmiri*, p. 75 Ḥalifāt.

<sup>54</sup> Saʿīd b. Dādhurmuz, *Faḍl al-āḥira ʿalā l-dunyā*, f. 16 r-v. In his *al-Taqrīr li-awḡub al-taqdīr* al-ʿĀmirī states: “we had spoken in great detail about God’s *anniyya*, *waḥdāniyya* and attributes (*ṣifāt*) in our work called *al-Irṣād li taṣḥīḥ al-ʿitiqād*”. Thus, it is very likely that Saʿīd b. Dādhurmuz quotes directly from this lost work of al-ʿĀmirī. See *Rasāʾil Abi l-Ḥasan al-ʿĀmiri*, p. 305; 472 Ḥalifāt.

<sup>55</sup> This general idea, which is omnipresent in the treatise, is stated in as many words: ... *al-muḥaqqiq li-anniyyāt al-ʿālam wa-waḥadātihā* {15}. On the contrary, God receives neither His oneness nor His existence from others: *al-wāḥid al-ḥaqq bi l-ḍāt alladhī lam yastafid al-waḥda wa-l-wuḡūd min ḡayrihi*: see {16} below, and compare *Kitāb al-Īdāḥ li-Aristūtālīs fī l-ḥayr al-maḥd*, in ʿA. Badawī (ed.), *al-Aflātūniyya al-muḥdāta ʿinda l-ʿArab*, Maktabat al-Naḥḍa al-Miṣriyya, Cairo 1955 (repr. Kuwait 1977), pp. 32.5-33.2, and al-Kindī, *Fī l-Falsafa al-ūlā*, pp. 161.5-162.4 Abū Rīda (quoted above, n. 3); that al-Kindī depends upon the Arabic Proclus on this point has been demonstrated by Endress, *Proclus Arabus*, pp. 244-5 (quoted above, n. 38); see also C. D’Ancona, “Al-Kindī et l’auteur du *Liber de Causis*”, in Ead., *Recherches sur le Liber de Causis*, Vrin, Paris 1995 (Études de philosophie médiévale, 72), pp. 156-94.

<sup>56</sup> A.L. Ivry points out that the term *waḥda* in the vocabulary of al-Kindī indicates the identity and being of things: Ivry, “Al-Kindī and the Muʿtazila. A Philosophical and Political Reevaluation”, *Oriens* 25/26 (1976), pp. 69-85, in part. p. 79.

century, as a criterion to classify the different positions in the issue of the essence-existence distinction. Hence, the problem of the essence-existence distinction is addressed in the context of the classical kalāmīc discussions on the non-existent (*ma'dūm*). As stated by Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1206), there are mainly two stances on the issue of the non-existent: (1) most *mutakallimūn* hold that the non-existent is neither a thing, nor self (*ʿayn*) nor an entity: it is pure nothingness, and God is the giver of existences and essences to the things He creates. (2) al-Šaḥḥām (d. circa 270/883) and his followers among the Muʿtazila hold that the possible (*mumkin*) non-existents are things, selves and entities even before they acquire their existence: the agent (*fāʿil*) has nothing to do with making them entities; its effect consists only in giving them their existences. Their famous statement “the non-existent is a thing” clearly depends upon this doctrine.<sup>57</sup> As appears from al-Rāzī’s exposition, most theologians are of the opinion that things are amenable to acquiring both their existences and essences from the Creator, a position that makes them closer to the position of philosophers in general, as well as to that of al-ʿĀmirī and Saʿīd b. Dādhurmuz in particular. With his studies on the distinction between essence and existence in Avicenna, Robert Wisnovsky has already demonstrated that Avicenna is very close to the Sunnite *mutakallimūn* of the 4<sup>th</sup>/10<sup>th</sup> century in his views on the relationship between things and their existences.<sup>58</sup> In a nutshell, both Avicenna and the Sunnite *mutakallimūn* hold that things and their existences are co-implicated (*mutalāzīm*), that is, one cannot be found without the other. The Muʿtazila part company both with the *mutakallimūn* of the *Ahl al-Sunna* and the Muslim philosophers, because of their most-used principle “the essential qualities of a thing may not come from an outside agent”.<sup>59</sup> According to this Muʿtazilite understanding of creation *ex nihilo*, God’s creating effect only consists in giving to the things their existences, setting Himself free from dealing with their essences which are already achieved at the time of their creation. In consequence, complying with al-Rāzī’s scheme, the whole range of views can be grouped as follows:

1. Those who oppose the creation *ex nihilo* and hold that God is the giver to things their existences and essences (Avicenna).
2. Those who support the creation *ex nihilo* and hold that God is the giver to things their existences and essences (al-Kindī, al-ʿĀmirī, Saʿīd b. Dādhurmuz; the Sunnī *mutakallimūn*).
3. Those who support the creation *ex nihilo* and hold that God is the giver to things only their existences, not their essences (the Muʿtazila).

<sup>57</sup> Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *al-Riyāḍ al-mūniqa fī ʿarāʾiḥ al-ʿilm*, ed. A. Ğumʿa, Markaz al-Našr al-ġāmīʿī, Kairouan 2004, pp. 128-9.

<sup>58</sup> R. Wisnovsky, “Notes on Avicenna’s Concept of Thingness (*šayʿiyya*)”, *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy* 10 (2000), pp. 181-221. However, Wisnovsky’s assumption that al-Māturīdī (d. 333/944) was the inventor of the term *šayʿiyya* (p. 195) is probably wrong: the term most likely has an earlier Muʿtazilite history. Dādhurmuz includes *šayʿiyya* in the essential attributes of beings, such as existence, occupation, prevention, volume and place (see {47} below), and this is due to his Muʿtazilite background.

<sup>59</sup> What I refer to as “essential qualities” is understood by the Muʿtazila as those qualities which make things be as they are. In the Muʿtazilite literature, these are generally referred to as *šifāt al-aġnās* (literally “the attributes of genera”). Thus, they set the ontological rule that “the attributes of genera are not bound by the effect of the agent” (صفات الأجناس لا تحصل بالفاعل), or that “the attributes of genera are not caused” (صفات الأجناس لا تعلق بغير معلل). See al-Qādī ʿAbd al-Ġabbār, *al-Muġnī: al-Maḥlūq* (VIII), ed. by T. al-Ṭawīl - S. Zāyid, al-Muaʿssasa al-Miṣriyya al-ʿĀmma, Cairo 1965, p. 68; al-Buḥḥānī (d. 424/1033), *Ziyādāt*, in C. Adang (ed.), *Bašran Muʿtazilite Theology: Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. Khallād’s Kitāb al-uṣūl and its Reception. A Critical Edition of the Ziyādāt Sharḥ al-uṣūl by the Zaydī Imām al-Nāfiq bi-l-ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib Yahyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. Hārūn al-Buḥḥānī*, Brill, Leiden - Boston 2011 (Islamic History and Civilization, 85), p. 43; Ibn Mattawayh, *al-Taḍkira fī Ahkām al-ġawābir wa l-ʿarād*, ed. by S.M. Luṭf - F.B. ʿŪn, Dār al-Ṭaqāfa, Cairo 1975, p. 81.



The most intriguing aspect of these discussions is the unique position of Sa'īd b. Dādhurmuz who, parting company with his predecessors, strives to maintain the stance of the Kindīan tradition (along with al-Āmirī), but at one and the same time wants to keep himself as close as possible to the Mu'tazilite *kalām*, as will be shown in what follows. No matter how he achieves merging two conflicting attitudes, Sa'īd b. Dādhurmuz is neither so Mu'tazilite as to hold that the non-existent is a thing, nor is he so much a philosopher as to hold the eternity of the world.

While going deeper into his argumentations on the unity of God, Sa'īd b. Dādhurmuz's analysis of the issue continues to follow the Aristotelian tradition in the form given to it within the circle of al-Kindī. The main concern of the author is to demonstrate that God is the only being who deserves to be called "the True One" (*al-wāḥid al-ḥaqīqī*) in the real sense of the word. Basing himself on this precept, the author engages in a lengthy discussion on how we should perceive the uniqueness in His unity: see {8; 13-19} below. Similar to al-Kindī, he emphasizes that the One must be the First (*awwal*), and by no means "one" as a number (*ʿadad*).<sup>60</sup> The One must be in the position of a donor (*mufīd*), not of a receiver (*mustafīd*). All that exists beside Him has the trait of afterness and otherness. His oneness is of necessity related to the fact that He is pure existence (*wuġūd faqat*). All in all, His unity does not resemble any other beings whose unity is relative in any given aspect.<sup>61</sup>

Within the Arabic philosophical literature of the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries AH, it was customary to list the different senses of "one" (*wāḥid*), in order to ascertain to which sense of oneness the True One belongs. It was, without doubt, Aristotle's discussions of the issue in several places of his works that gave grounds for these texts.<sup>62</sup> Among such authors who tackled the issue of the "senses of the one" are al-Kindī<sup>63</sup>, al-Fārābī<sup>64</sup> (d. 339/950), al-Āmirī<sup>65</sup>, Abū Sulaymān al-Siġistānī<sup>66</sup> (d. circa 391/1001), Hamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī<sup>67</sup> (d. circa 411/1020). Among these, al-Siġistānī and al-Āmirī are unsurprisingly closer to Sa'īd b. Dādhurmuz. The latter initially mentions four senses of "one", i.e. homonymy (*istirāk*), connection (*ittiṣāl*), negation of the equal (*salb al-miṭl*) and indivisibility (*imtināʾ al-taġazzī*): see {13, 14} below. These senses are basically those indicated by al-Siġistānī, in spite of some differences in the wording due to the contexts. For instance, what Sa'īd b. Dādhurmuz refers to as *ittiṣāl* occurs as *al-muttaṣil* in al-Siġistānī, and what he labels *imtināʾ al-taġazzī* occurs as *wāḥid bi-mā nā annabū ġayr mutaġazzī*. Furthermore, some parallels exist in the examples of the senses of "one". For instance, as to the type of "one in genus", Sa'īd b. Dādhurmuz mentions the statement "the man and the horse are one thing in animality" (*al-insān wa-l-faras fī l-ḥayawāniyya*

<sup>60</sup> Cf. al-Kindī, *Fī l-Falsafa al-ūlā*, pp. 146-7 and 149 Abū Rīda.

<sup>61</sup> This attitude was very common in al-Kindī's age: see Ivry, "al-Kindī and the Mu'tazila", p. 75: "... while Davidson has shown in detail (...) the striking similarities between al-Kindī and Saadia, it is worth noting the parallels with Job's few but important physical remarks [in the *Book of Treasures*]. Thus Job contrasts the 'true unity' of God, due to His unique infinite nature, which admits of no increase or decrease, with the 'relative unity' of everything else, which is finite (...)"

<sup>62</sup> An essential discussion to consider for our study is Arist., *Metaph.*, Δ 6, 1015 b - 1017 b. For other places in Aristotle and their comparison with the Graeco-Arabic literature, see Kraemer, *Philosophy in the Renaissance of Islam*, pp. 181-4.

<sup>63</sup> Al-Kindī, *Fī l-Falsafa al-ūlā*, pp. 143-62 Abū Rīda.

<sup>64</sup> Al-Fārābī, *Kitāb al-Wāḥid wa-l-waḥda*, ed. M. Mahdi. Les Éditions Toubkal, Casablanca 1989.

<sup>65</sup> Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, *al-Imtāʾ wa l-muʾānasa*, ed. by A. Amīn - A. al-Zayn, Dār Maktabat al-Ḥayāt, I- III, Cairo 1953, II, pp. 88-9.

<sup>66</sup> Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, *al-Muqābasāt*, ed. M.T. Ḥusayn, Dār al-Adab, Baghdad 1989, pp. 253-6 (from a dictation of al-Siġistānī to his students *anno* 371 AH, which was recorded by al-Tawḥīdī). For an in-depth analysis of al-Siġistānī's view on this issue, see Kraemer, *Philosophy in the Renaissance of Islam*, pp. 179-84; 219-22.

<sup>67</sup> S.H. Nasr - M. Aminrazavi - M.R. Jozi (eds), *An Anthology of Philosophy in Persia*, I-IV, I.B. Tauris, London - New York 2008, II, pp. 203-4 (From al-Kirmānī's *al-Risāla al-Durriyya*).

šay' wāḥid), and the same example features in al-Siğistānī (*al-insān wa l-faras wāḥid fī l-ḥayawāniyya*). Again, Sa'īd b. Dādhurmuz's example "the now and the unity" (*al-nuqtā wa-l-waḥda*), which is placed by him as regards to the "oneness in indivisibility", is mentioned, this time, in relation to "oneness *per analogiam*" (*fī l-munāsaba*) in al-Siğistānī's text. Afterwards, Sa'īd b. Dādhurmuz's discussion turns towards the quotation by al-Tawḥīdī from one of al-ʿĀmirī's works. The explanation that our author provides after having outlined the senses of "one" is reminiscent of al-ʿĀmirī's: see {14} below.<sup>68</sup> Consequently, we must not miss the main reason for the Muslim followers of Aristotle, which lies behind placing so much emphasis on the senses of "one", that is, to demonstrate what kind of "unity" fits to the First Being and His sublime entity. This is the common interest shared by al-Kindī and his followers such as al-ʿĀmirī, al-Siğistānī and, finally, Sa'īd b. Dādhurmuz. The way in which Sa'īd b. Dādhurmuz deals with this tradition shows that he makes conscious decisions to amalgamate the Aristotelian heritage to the Islamic sphere.

### 3. Kalāmīc Background

Early in the *R. fī l-Tawḥīd* the author states that knowledge about God the Creator (*al-ʿilm bi-l-bārī*) is the noblest knowledge one can acquire. Then, with the help of some mystic narrations about the noble status of the knowledge of God, emphasis is placed on the idiom *mā rifatullāh*, a term whose usage is even attributed to the Prophet himself, who had purportedly described it as "the ability/strength of the human soul": see {1, 2} below. Addressing the question of how one acquires knowledge about God, the author places at the same level the prophets and all other wise people who imitate them, that is, sages (*ḥukamā*), the pious and scholars: all these are the privileged people who are granted by God a special light (*nūr*): see {2} below. Thus, it is a necessary task for other people to seek for different ways to obtain their shares in this high wisdom. In principle, the author posits three causes of knowledge: (i) the five senses, (ii) the rational faculties (*al-quwā al-aqliyya*), and (iii) argumentation (*istidlāl*) and demonstration (*burhān*). The *mā rifatullāh* is attainable either with the special light that is not available to common people, or through the method of argumentation and demonstration, the way which remains open for those who have nothing but the power of their reasoning in their hands: see {3} below. This is surely a methodological manoeuvre to enable the author to continue his discussion towards the construction of his own *kalām*.

Readers of Sa'īd b. Dādhurmuz's *risāla* will notice a shift of approach in dealing with the subject, when the author undertakes to elaborate more on the issue of the temporality and the origination (*ḥudūt*) of the world. Even though this intention reveals in itself that something 'kalāmīc' will go on in what follows, the 'Muʿtazilite spirit' does not leave the reader at the end of the treatise, even a single moment. The topics which are addressed by the author are, in broad strokes, such primary issues of classical Islamic theology as [several forms of] the argumentation from design, the origination of the world, the theory of generations (*akwān*), the attributes of God, and the permanence of the hereafter. As a matter of fact, one may be misguided by the negative approach of the author towards the method of *kalām* in the *Risāla fī Faḍl al-āḥira ʿalā al-dunyā* mentioned above. In that *risāla*, Dadhurmuz mentions three types of knowledge: (i) the knowledge by imitation (*taqlīdī*), (ii) the knowledge by conviction (*iqnāʿī*), and (iii) the knowledge by demonstration (*burhānī*). While it is only demonstrative knowledge that provides certainty, the knowledge by conviction, which Sa'īd b.

<sup>68</sup> Sa'īd b. Dādhurmuz says: إن الوحدة الجنسية متكررة بأنواعها والوحدة النوعية متكررة بأشخاصها; al-ʿĀmirī says: ويوصف بأنه واحد بالجنس وهو كثير بالأنواع ويوصف بأنه واحد بالنوع وهو كثير بالشخص (n. 65).

Dādhurmuz attributes to the method of *ḡadal* and *kalām*, gives but “a high opinion” and is unstable.<sup>69</sup> This critical stance on *kalām* was widespread among the *falāsifa*, especially in Dādhurmuz’s *milieu*.<sup>70</sup> Nevertheless, the unique eclectic position of our author seems to provide him with sufficient mechanisms to come up with an amalgamation of two conflicting discourses in the history of Islamic thought, as is apparent in his engagement with the classical issues of Islamic theology.

As an example, Sa’īd b. Dādhurmuz’s vocabulary for naming God exhibits a vast array of descriptions of God in relation to the function of the name in the given theological/philosophical context. To go into detail, these names can be grouped as follows: *al-Hāliq*, *al-Bārī*, *al-Ṣānī* (Creator), *al-Azalī*, *al-Qadīm* (Eternal), *al-Mubdī al-awwal* (The First Creator), *al-Anniyya al-mahḍa* (the Pure Thatness), *al-Huwiyya al-mahḍa* (The Pure Identity), *al-Awwal* (The First), *al-Awwal al-ḥaqq* (The True First), *al-Wāḥid al-ḥaqq*, *al-Aḥad al-ḥaqq* (The True One), *al-Wāḥid al-awwal* (The First One), *al-Ḥaqq al-mahḍ* (The Pure Truth), *al-Ḥaqq al-awwal* (The First Truth), *al-Nūr al-mahḍ* (The Pure Light), *al-Ḥayr al-mahḍ* (The Pure Good), and *al-‘Illa al-ūla* (The First Cause). Although all these names directly connote the essential aspects of the Divine, there is only one name that the author uses in a direct reference to the concept of existence, that is, *Wāḡib al-wuḡūd* (The Necessary Being). This name deserves attention, because it is one of the key terms for setting the character of the *risāla* in its proper kalāmīc background. In fact, as is often the case in classical *mutakallimūn*,<sup>71</sup> Sa’īd b. Dādhurmuz has several divisions of beings in mind. First and foremost, he divides beings into two parts: that which can be apprehended only by sense-perception, and that which is only apprehended when an action is produced: see {4} below.<sup>72</sup> It is apparent that the criterion of this distinction is our perception of beings, rather than beings *per se*. However, the author reminds readers of a fundamental precept of the contemporary philosophy, that is, all beings fall into two categories: the “necessary” and the “possible”: see {4} below.<sup>73</sup> As a

<sup>69</sup> Sa’īd b. Dādhurmuz, *Risāla fī Faḍl al-āḡira ‘alā al-dunyā*, f. 7 v. Cf. al-‘Āmirī, *al-Taqrīr li Awḡub al-Taqdīr*, in Ḥalīfāt, *Rasāil*, p. 329. Here, al-‘Āmirī talks about three ways (*ṭariqa al-taqlīd*, *ṭariqa al-iqnā*, *ṭariqa al-burbhān*) through which one can acquire the primal concepts (*al-mā’āni al-awwalīyya*).

<sup>70</sup> R.M. Frank, “*Kalām* and Philosophy. A Perspective from One Problem”, in P. Morewedge (ed.) *Islamic Philosophical Theology*, SUNY Press, Albany 1979 (Studies in Islamic Philosophy and Science), pp. 71-95, in part. pp. 72-4.

<sup>71</sup> No doubt, the most known division of beings in early theologians is that between “eternal” and “originated” (*qadīm-ḥādīt*). For an early example which belongs to an Ibādī writer, see Baṣīr b. Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb (d. 290/908?), *Kitāb al-Raṣf*, in A. al-Salimi - W. Madelung (eds), *Ṭalāt Rasā’il Ibādīyya*, Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 2011, p. 8: “Beings are divided into two parts; eternal (*qadīm*) and originated (*ḥādīt*); *ḥādīt* is the one which came to existence out of nothing (*mā kāna ba’da id lam yakun*); *qadīm* is God, the Originator”.

<sup>72</sup> This might also be inspired from al-‘Āmirī’s writings. At the very beginning of a work which in the manuscript bears the title *al-Maḡālis al-Sab’ bayna l-Ṣayḡ wa-l-‘Āmirī*, a text which in all likelihood is based on al-‘Āmirī’s oeuvre, the *muḡīb* contends: “a thing manifests itself either through itself, such as the perceptible things (*al-aṣyā’ al-maḡsūsa*), or through actions that come out of it (*āṭār ṣādīra’ anḥū*). Then, the First Truth manifests itself through these kinds of actions, since it is impossible for it to do that through perceptible things”. See *al-Maḡālis al-Sab’ bayna l-Ṣayḡ wa-l-‘Āmirī*, MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Raḡp Paṣa 1461, ff. 150 r-v. This notion is also stressed by Sa’īd b. Dādhurmuz: see {4} below.

<sup>73</sup> In his commentary on Aristotle’s *De Interpretatione*, al-Fārābī explicitly states the distinction of beings as “necessary” (*ḡarūrī*) and “possible” (*mumkin*), among other types of distinctions, such as actuality and potentiality: al-Fārābī, *Sharḡ al-Fārābī li-Kitāb Aristūtālīs fī al-‘Ibāra*, eds. W. Kutsch - S. Marrow, Dār al-Maṣriq, Beirut 1986, p. 164. It is apparent from this that later authors such as Avicenna and al-Ġazālī, when they categorise beings in a more systematical scheme, depend upon al-Fārābī: see for instance Abū Ḥāmid al-Ġazālī, *Maḡāsid al-Falāsifa*, ed. S. Dunyā, Dār al-Ma’ārif, Cairo 1961, p. 134. According to al-Ġazālī’s presentation of the views of the philosophers, such ontological divisions as “substance-accident”, “universal-particular”, “one-many”, “cause-effect”, “actuality-potentiality”, and finally “necessity-possibility” apply to all beings.

consequence of this division, “necessary being” suits God, because there is not even the possibility to think of a state in which He does not exist. This entails the consequence that God’s existence is eternal and everlasting. At this particular point, the notion of “necessary existence” comes to terms with the conception of God in the Islamic theology of the time. The kalāmīc works which belong to the 4<sup>th</sup>/10<sup>th</sup> century unanimously tend to see God’s attribute of eternal (*qadīm*) and necessary existence (*wāğīb al-wuğūd*) as correlative terms,<sup>74</sup> an idea which is formulated in the ontological rule “if the eternity is established for something, it is impossible for it to become non-existent” (*mā ṭabata qīdamuhū imtanā ‘a ‘adamuhū*).<sup>75</sup> Accordingly, Sa‘īd b. Dādhurmuz points to the necessity of the existence of God in terms of His independence from any condition that endows His existence: see {32; 47}. Furthermore, he adds that it is because of this that God differs from any other being. In other words, the “necessity of existence” is a criterion which singles out God from other existent beings. As is expected, this also exhibits a well-known tendency shared among theologians and the philosophers of the age as well.<sup>76</sup>

Apart from such a sublime understanding about the concept of God, Sa‘īd b. Dādhurmuz is aware that all existent beings except God have been subdivided into a sort of ontological ramification, i.e. that ‘*alam* (the world) must fall under one of these three categories. (1) The world is eternal as it is, and as has always been; (2) the world has originated itself; and (3) there is something outside of it which has brought it into existence.<sup>77</sup> In fact, all the three possibilities are taken into account in the

<sup>74</sup> Al-Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Ġabbār, *al-Muḥtaṣar fī Uṣūl al-dīn*, in *Rasā’il al-‘adl wa-l-tawḥīd*, ed. M. ‘Ammāra, Maṭba‘a Muṣṭafā Bābī al-Ḥalabī, I-II, Cairo 1961, p. 175; Buṭḥānī, *Ziyādāt Sharḥ al-Uṣūl*, in Adang (ed.), *Başran Mu‘ tazilite Theology* (quoted above, n. 58), pp. 41-2; 44; Abū l-Yusr al-Bazdawī, *Uṣūl al-Dīn*, ed. H.P. Linss, al-Maktaba al-Azhariyya li-l-Turāt, Cairo 2003, p. 20. The list could have surely been extended, if more works of the Aṣ‘arite *mutakallimūn* of the 4<sup>th</sup> century AH were available to us. As a matter of fact, al-Ġuwaynī frequently stresses the point that the previous Aṣ‘arite leaders (*‘amma*) agreed on the precept that God is necessarily existent while other beings are possible. See for example Abū al-Ma‘ālī al-Ġuwaynī, *al-Šāmil fī Uṣūl al-Dīn*, eds. F.B. ‘Ūn - S.M. Muḥtār, Munša‘āt al-Ma‘ārif, Alexandria 1969, pp. 535; 540; 609.

<sup>75</sup> For a discussion of the subject, see R. Wisnovsky, “One Aspect of the Avicennian Turn in Sunnī Theology”, *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy* 14 (2004), pp. 65-100, in part. p. 81.

<sup>76</sup> For an early instance in which God’s necessary existence is taken as a distinguishing feature of God, see al-Kātib al-Ḥwārazmī (d. 387/997), *Maḥāṭib al-‘ulūm*, Maktabat al-Kulliyāt al-Azhariyya, Cairo 1981, p. 81: “His special attribute is that He is necessarily existent while other beings are possibly existents”. It is of particular importance that al-Ḥwārazmī mentions this point when outlining the views of the philosophers on the divine science (*al-ilm al-ilāhī*) and this is of course in the Aristotelian-Neoplatonic sense of the *falsafa* from its origins. In the same milieu, the necessary existence as God’s characteristic attribute is also attributed to Empedocles, credited by al-‘Āmirī, *al-Amad*, p. 47, with the following doctrine: “God’s existence does not resemble the existences of others [because] God’s entity is necessarily existent while other beings exist by a contingent (*imkānī*) existence”. On the Neoplatonic roots of the Arabic “Empedocles” see U. Rudolph, *Die Doxographie des pseudo-Ammonius. Ein Beitrag zur neuplatonischen Überlieferung im Islam*, Steiner, Stuttgart 1989, pp. 37-39 (Arabic text); 130-42 (commentary), and D. De Smet, *Empedocles Arabus. Une lecture néoplatonicienne tardive*, Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Brussel 1998. Besides, the contemporary theologians such as al-Bāqillānī and al-Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Ġabbār were also aware of this point. In the context of the kalāmīc issue of the endurance of substances (*baqā al-ğawāhir*), both al-Bāqillānī and al-Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Ġabbār address the question as to whether substances should be regarded as necessarily existent, once taken for granted that God is the only one who deserves to be called “necessary being”. See al-Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Ġabbār, *al-Muğnī* XI, eds. M. al-Nağğār - A. al-Nağğār, al-Dār al-Miṣriyya, Cairo 1965, p. 432; cf. S. Schmidtke, “Early Ash‘arite Theology: Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī (403/1013) and his *Hidāyat al-Mustarshidīn*”, *Bulletin d’Études Orientales* 60 (2011), pp. 39-71, in part. p. 50.

<sup>77</sup> This categorization, which is typical of the kalāmīc understanding about the creation of the world, can be found in Muṭaḥhar b. Ṭahir al-Maqdisī (d. after 355/966), *al-Bad’ wa-l-tārīḥ*, ed. C. Huart, I, Leroux, Paris 1899 (repr. Maktaba al-Ṭaqāfa al-dīniyya, I-VI, Cairo, s.d.), I, p. 64.

*risāla*. First and foremost, as is expected from a committed *mutakallim*, the author explicitly excludes the option of the eternity of the world: see {34} below. Being an aggregate of bodies (*aḡsām*) and accidents (*ʿarād*), the world fully bears the feature of origination (*ḥadt, ḥudūt*) in any aspect: see {30}. As to substances, it is evident that they continuously subsist with interchangeable qualities that the classical kalām calls “the four generations” (*al-akwān al-arbaʿa*), i.e., motion, rest, compositeness and division. At this point, what makes bodies subject to origination is that they do not possibly happen to exist free from these four generations. Consequently, the world inevitably comes under the category of “originated beings”, according to the kalāmīc rule that what does not precede an originated being is likewise originated.<sup>78</sup> Saʿīd b. Dādhurmuz contends that one needs to elaborate more on the qualities of the above-mentioned “four generations” in order to strengthen his/her conviction that the world is not eternal. Accordingly, after a section devoted to the discussion of the origination of the generations (*ḥudūt al-akwān*), he tries to eliminate any doubt about the existence of these qualities: see {31}. Mere observation indicates that a body changes, and becomes another one: this is only possible if it is taken for granted that there are “meanings” which occupy bodies in order to make them change, i.e., to make them rest while they move etc. In fact, the ontologically unstable character of bodies which emerges as a result of their being subject to these generations is the corollary of the existence of an Unchangeable, Eternal Being. Hence, the notion of the four generations presented in the *risāla*, an idea which can be traced back to as early as the Muʿtazilite theologian Abū l-Hudayl al-ʿAllāf (d. circa 235/849), serves to set created beings apart from the distinctive status of God.<sup>79</sup> We must remember that in Muʿtazilite literature Abū l-Hudayl was credited with the formulation of the classical argumentation of the origination of the world based on four judgments, whose first includes the above-mentioned “four generations”.<sup>80</sup> In the age of our author, this theory is established as the most secure way to prove the origination of the world, as is clear in the relevant literature of the milieu.<sup>81</sup>

The reason behind putting so much emphasis on the temporality of the world is, without doubt, to pave the way for another crucial kalāmīc principle (which was stated above, in the third category), namely that there must be an Originator apart from the universe, who has brought

<sup>78</sup> This kalāmīc rule, which is also phrased as *muqārana al-ḥawādīt*, is one of the well-known precepts of the early *kalām*. The Muslim philosophers point to its critical role in kalām’s idea of the origination of the world: see Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī, *Kitāb al-Qiyās al-Ṣaḡīr*, in *al-Manṭiq ʿinda l-Fārābī*, II, ed. R. al-Aḡam, Dār al-Maṣriq, Beirut 1986, p. 46; Ibn Ruṣd, *al-Kaṣf ʿan Manābiḡ al-adilla fī ʿaqāʾid al-milla*, ed. M. ʿĀ. al-Ġābirī, Markaz al-Dirāsāt al-waḥda al-ʿArabiyya, Beirut 1998, p. 103.

<sup>79</sup> R.M. Frank, *The Metaphysics of Created Being According to Abū l-Hudhayl al-ʿAllāf*, Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut, Istanbul 1966, pp. 16-23. Frank, p. 18 n. 15, observes that “with both the Muʿtazila and the Ashʿāʿira, *al-akwān* is used almost universally to indicate the ‘accidents’ classed under *ḥaraka, sukūn, iḡtimāʿ* and *iftirāq*”.

<sup>80</sup> Ṣaḡdīw Mānakdim, *Taʿliq ʿalā ṣarḥ al-usūl al-ḥamsa*, ed. ʿA. ʿUṭmān, Maktabat al-Wahba, Cairo 1965, pp. 95 f.

<sup>81</sup> See for instance al-Māwardī’s (d. 450/1058) exposition of the argument, which is reminiscent of the method of Dādhurmuz: Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Māwardī, *ʿĀlām al-Nubuwwa*, Dār al-Kutub al-ʿilmiyya, Beirut 1989, pp. 9-10. Al-Māwardī briefly emphasizes that the body cannot be separated from all four accidents at one time, and that their coming to be from existence to non-existence (*li-wuḡūdihā baʿda ʿadamihā*) is a sign of their origination, a topic which seems to have inspired Saʿīd b. Dādhurmuz. For more information, see H.A. Wolfson, *The Philosophy of Kalam*, Harvard U. P. Cambridge Mass. 1976, p. 397. For another contemporary argumentation, which deals in the same manner with the origination of the four generations, see Ibn Bābawayh al-Qummī, *al-Tawḥīd*, ed. al-Sayyid Ḥāsim al-Ḥusaynī, Dār al-Maʿrifa, Beirut s.d., pp. 299 f. For this part of Ibn Bābawayh’s book, see also: H. Ansari, “Yak Matn-i Muʿtazili ba Riwayat Sheikh Ṣadūq”, <http://ansari.kateban.com/entryprint1862.html>. As to Ibn Bābawayh’s possible source, Ansari points to the Muʿtazilites within the circle of the famous Buwayhid vizier Ṣāhib b. ʿAbbād (d. 385/995).

all beings into existence. To prove the existence of such a creator, the classical kalām relies on an idea which is known as the argument from design (*niẓām*). In the *risāla*, the first instance in which Saʿīd b. Dādhurmuz introduces the argument is when he talks about a group of people (*qawm*) who content themselves to investigate the sensible world: see {5}. In the words of Saʿīd b. Dādhurmuz, those people hold that the observable universe with all the celestial bodies has emerged as the work of an intelligent, voluntary creator. The key word to establish this feature of the universe is *ḥāṣṣiyya*, a term which means that something is particularly fashioned by the agent to fulfil a purpose.<sup>82</sup> Therefore, all the things in the universe must depend upon the creative power of God – who is not subject to such particularization – in order to come into existence and stay in it in the way they are now. The consequence is the world as we observe it, that is, the fashioned particles, well-ordered portions, and formed shapes in the world. The second place in which the author presents a more sophisticated and focused analysis of the argumentation is where he discusses which one of the two sources of knowledge, i.e. tradition and reason, enables us to prove the existence of the Creator: see {28, 29}. First he rules out the two extreme opinions on the subject, that which supports the necessity of relying merely on transmitted knowledge (the Qurʾān and the Ḥadīth) and refusing any engagement of reason and its procedures (inference, syllogism and speculation), while the other gives rise to a methodology which is fully based on independent rational thinking. To deal with the situation, our author presents a way which champions the middle position (*al-maḍhab al-mutawassiṭ*), a stance which is reminiscent of the attitude of al-Māwardī’s (d. 450/1058) in his *ʿĀlām al-Nubuwwa*.<sup>83</sup> Believing in the harmony of religion and philosophy like his contemporaries,<sup>84</sup> he explicitly states that human beings become ready to achieve the true sciences and certainty by transmitted knowledge and rational speculation together – they should not exclude each other. Once this general methodological rule is established, one must embark on his/her journey to the knowledge of God by thoroughly thinking of the most available kind of creature, that is, the human body. Thus, Saʿīd b. Dādhurmuz draws the reader’s attention to the biological aspects of the human body which highlight the meticulous action of its Creator. In doing that, he uses the well-known vocabulary of the ‘argument’ from design typical of the kalām, such as *tarkīb*, *ihkām*, *taʿlīf* etc. Moreover, he specifically points to the fact that eyes are designed for seeing and ears for hearing etc., in order to prove that they must have been deliberately created this way. This is undoubtedly true at the micro-level; at the macro-level, the principle of particularization (*ihṭiṣās*) is also at work in that all celestial beings are organized and formed in due proportions. All these explanations by Saʿīd b. Dādhurmuz are surely meant to converge into the contemporary literature of the “argument from design”.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> Readers of al-ʿĀmirī are quite familiar with the term *ḥāṣṣiyya*, which frequently occurs in his works. In his *al-Tabṣīr li-awḡūb al-taʿbīr*, a book on the interpretation of dreams, al-ʿĀmirī sets *ḥāṣṣiyya* against *ʿammiyya*, detailing what he means by this: for him, *ḥāṣṣiyya* means the state of singularity and particularity (*infirād*), while *ʿammiyya* means commonality (*iṣṭirāk*). Thus, the usage of the word in proving the existence of God amounts to alluding to the uniqueness of the creation of the universe, a situation which necessitates the existence of a creator. See al-ʿĀmirī, *al-Tabṣīr li-awḡūb al-taʿbīr*, MS Konya, Bölge Yazma Eserler Kütüphanesi, 15 Hk 187/2, f. 80 r (The date of *istinsāḥ* is 848/1443). The colophon of the MS reads (369) مائة وثلاث وستين وتسع سنة بنيسابور. During my study for this article, I have been lucky enough to come across this work of al-ʿĀmirī, which seemed to be lost. I am indebted to Mrs Mukaddes Demirci for helping me to get a copy of the manuscript.

<sup>83</sup> See al-Māwardī, *ʿĀlām al-Nubuwwa*, pp. 5-12.

<sup>84</sup> Kraemer, *Philosophy in the Renaissance of Islam*, pp. 230 f.

<sup>85</sup> B. Abrahamov, “Al-Kāsim b. Ibrāhīm’s Argument from Design”, *Oriens* 29 (1986), pp. 259-84.

Saʿīd b. Dādhurmuz's leaning towards Muʿtazilite theology becomes even more evident when he moves on to discuss the attributes of God. Due to an interruption in the manuscript, we have only the part of his discussion that addresses the attributes of action (*ṣifāt al-fīʿl*). However, given that the author compares the attributes of action with the attributes of essence/entity (*ṣifāt al-dāt*) {37}, we can infer that he supports the division of the attributes as “the attributes of entity” and “the attributes of action”, a common classification in early kalām.<sup>86</sup> Then, as we follow the *risāla*, the most crucial aspect which the author brings forward as to the issue of divine attributes is whether the attributes are identical to God's essence or not. In fact, Saʿīd b. Dādhurmuz seems to be a strong supporter of the idea of “the negation of the attributes” (*nafy al-ṣifāt*), since he occasionally repeats the maxim “negation of the attributes from God is an affirmation as He is”: see {7; 22}. This is arguably to be seen in the light of the negative theology of Neoplatonism, which entails that all the additional qualities must be removed from the essence of God.<sup>87</sup> Nonetheless, the text specifically exhibits a kalāmī character in that it aims at defining God as knowing, powerful, living etc. only by virtue of His essence, not by any meaning attached to His essence. The main concern of the author is to avoid the consequence that attributes might be conceived of as eternal as God. To stress the fundamental kalāmī doctrine, God is the only being that is eternal, and there simply cannot be any other eternal being, or meaning, like Him, even if related to the divine entity. In consequence, all attributes are “predicated of the same meaning and the same truth”: see {38}. By this all-inclusive understanding of the attributes of God, Saʿīd b. Dādhurmuz carefully advances solutions to other theological problems which arise from the linguistic similarity between the divine attributes and the human actions, particularly in terms of the qualities of “knowledge” (*ʿilm*) and “power” (*qudra*). God is knowing and powerful by Himself (*ʿālim/qādir li-nafsihi*), that is, He needs nothing apart from His essence in order to know things and have power over them. On the contrary, human beings can be knowing and powerful only by means of a knowledge and power which are not identical to their entities. This categorical distinction about the divine and human means that God's knowledge is relevant for all the things that are knowable, and His power is applicable to all the things that are subject to power. This surely provides an answer to the thorny discussion of the scope of God's knowledge between the *mutakallimūn* and the *falāsifa* of the age.<sup>88</sup> More importantly, Saʿīd b. Dādhurmuz's kalāmī stance reaches its peak when he considers those who hold that God's attributes are neither Him nor other than Him, nor part of Him as the heretics (*ahl al-bidʿa*) do: see {42} below. In the author's milieu, the Aṣʿarites – or the Kullābites, as they are sometimes called by the Muʿtazilites – were identified with such a position in the issue of the attributes of God.<sup>89</sup> Besides, given

<sup>86</sup> J.R.T.M. Peters, *God's Created Speech. A Study in the Speculative Theology of the Muʿtazilī Qāḍī l-Quḍāt Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Jabbār bn Aḥmad al-Hamadānī*, Brill, Leiden 1976, pp. 248-9.

<sup>87</sup> R.M. Frank, “The Neoplatonism of Ḡahm b. Ṣafwān”, *Le Muséon* 78 (1965), pp. 395-424, in part. p. 402; P. Adamson, *The Arabic Plotinus. A Philosophical Study of the “Theology of Aristotle”*, Duckworth, London 2002, pp. 165-6.

<sup>88</sup> The best known aspect of the discussion of God's knowledge is the problem which Avicenna brought about, that is, God's knowledge of particulars (*ḡuzʿiyyāt*). Besides, Avicenna himself is aware of the discussions on God's knowledge in the Muʿtazilite theology inasmuch as he narrates the view of a particular Muʿtazilite viewpoint: Ibn Sīnā, *al-Mubāḥaṭāt*, ed. M. Bīdārfār, Intiṣārāt Bīdār, Tehran 1413/1992, p. 699. The parallels between the Muʿtazilite understanding of God's attributes and that of the *falāsifa* are well known. In the case of the attribute of “knowledge, *ʿilm*”, the *Proclus Arabus* states that “God's knowledge of things is not by an attribute, as is in the case of other beings which have knowledge [separate from their entities]. On the contrary, God knows things only by virtue of being Himself (*bal yaʿlamu l-aṣyā bi-annihī faḡaṭ*)”. See Endress, *Proclus Arabus*, pp. 36-7 (Arabic text).

<sup>89</sup> A concise example of the Muʿtazilite discussion of the problem can be seen in al-Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Ḡabbār, *al-Muḥtaṣar fī Usūl al-Dīn*, in *Rasāʾil al-ʿAdl wa-l-tawḥīd*, ed. M. ʿAmmāra, Dār al-Hilāl, I-II, Cairo 1971, I, pp. 182-3. In this section, which is against the *Kullābiyya*, ʿAbd al-Ḡabbār addresses issues that seem to have inspired Dādhurmuz.

the ambiguity of their theory of attributes the Aš'arites are lucky to be classified as heterodox, because those who explicitly claim that there are eternal entities other than God are in pure disbelief (*kufr*), as Sa'īd b. Dādhurmuz states: see {41}.

Although the points examined above can be seen as sufficient to identify the kalāmīc and particularly the Mu'tazilite character of the *risāla*, one may draw further clues that show more interaction with Mu'tazilite literature. One of these occasions is the author's usage of the maxim "to share the attribute which is most peculiar to a thing entails sharing all attributes that belong to that thing" (*al-ištirāk fi l-waṣf al-aḥaṣṣ yūḡību al-ištirāk fi ḡamī' al-awṣāf*): see {40}. Sa'īd b. Dādhurmuz adopts this principle to prevent God from having any similarity with created bodies (*aḡsām*). Be this as it may, this proposition, as is known, was one of the common principles of the Mu'tazila that were used to distinguish God from creatures, a necessary postulate for them in order to apply their strict understanding of the *tanzīh* of God. Thus, an Aš'arite theologian who was also a connoisseur of the Mu'tazilite literature of his time, al-Ġuwaynī, frequently mentions this principle in his *al-Šāmil* and regards it as a fundamental precept for the followers of the school of Abū 'Alī al-Ġubbā'ī (d. 303/916). Al-Ġubbā'ī was the first Mu'tazilite to hold that God's eternity (*qidam*) is the most distinctive attribute of God which He does not share with others. This means that any eternal attribute would cause Him to have partners in His quality of being eternal – a result that any follower of al-Ġubbā'ī would dissent from, due to the above-mentioned principle of the *ištirāk*.<sup>90</sup> Moreover, not only did the early *mutakallimūn* consider the relationship between God and His attributes in order to establish the uniqueness of the divine essence, but they also depended on the difference between the acts of the agent, that is, whether they come from a powerful and skilful agent or proceed from the cause as a natural consequence. This was, again, one of the points of clash between the *mutakallimūn* and their nemesis, the materialist philosophers. The *mutakallimūn* had always held the view that God must be a voluntary agent, that is, that His actions do not necessarily come out of His essence. Meanwhile, for the "people of the nature" (*aṣḡāb al-ṡabī'a*), all the actions from the small scale of daily events to the biggest scale of the universe have not departed from natural determination, since they obey the rule of cause and effect.<sup>91</sup> To put it simply, God is able to produce different results, but there is only one way for a cause to perform its action, producing the effect. This is the backdrop of our author's emphasis on the terms such as "choice" (*iḡtiyār*), "divergence" (*iḡtilāf*) and "substantification" (*taḡannus*), since all these words testify to God's sovereignty in terms of His agency: see {44}.

### Conclusion

The author of *R. fi l-Tawḡīd* edited and analysed in this article turns out to be a follower of the school of al-Kindī, and especially a commentator of the works of al-Āmirī. His engagement in the movement of the translation of Greek sources into Arabic must be addressed and evaluated

<sup>90</sup> al-Ġuwaynī, *al-Šāmil fi Usūl al-Dīn* (quoted above, n. 74), p. 252. Cf. also Id., *ibid.*, pp. 131; 576. The usage of this principle can be seen in Buḡḡānī, *Ziyādāt* (quoted above, n. 58), p. 72: "*inna al-ištirāk fi ṡifati min ṡifāt al-ḡāt yūḡību al-ištirāk fi ḡamī' al-ṡifāt al-ḡātīyya*".

<sup>91</sup> This was the main reason which prevented the *mutakallimūn* from naming God as the cause (*'illa*), because the cause necessitates its effect. On the contrary, for the kalām God can only act by free choice (*iḡtiyār*). The dichotomy between the necessary act of nature and the free act of God was regularly highlighted in the early literature of kalām and in the *usūl al-fiqḡ* as well. See for instance Abū Zayd al-Dabūsī (d. 430/1038), *Taqwīm al-Adilla fi Usūl al-fiqḡ*, ed. H.M. al-Mays, Dār al-Kutub al-'ilmiyya, Beirut 2001, p. 14. For further information, see J. Thiele, *Kausalität in der Mu'tazilitischen Kosmologie. Das Kitāb al-Mu'atṡirāt wa-miftāḡ al-muṡkilāt des Zayditen al-Ḥasan ar-Raṡṡās* (st. 584/1188), Brill, Leiden - Boston 2011 (Islamic Philosophy, Theology and Science, 84) in part. p. 84.



within the context of the influence of the above-mentioned major figures of Islamic philosophy. After al-Kindī, whose oeuvre he combines with the Mu‘tazilite literature of his time, Sa‘īd b. Dādhurmuz testifies in the *R. fī l-Tawhīd* a new phase in the history of the interaction between Islamic theology and philosophy. He attempts to update and enhance this interaction in accordance with the contemporary development of the Mu‘tazilite *kalām* typical of the 4<sup>th</sup>/5<sup>th</sup> centuries AH. This attitude seems to be unique among his well-known contemporaries. Besides, his lack of interest towards the philosophical system of Avicenna (d. 428/1037) is particularly intriguing.

#### *Notes on the Arabic Text*

Arabic words that lack the *hamza* at the end in the original text are printed according to standard Arabic, e.g. تلقاء instead of تلقاء or قدما instead of قدما. Subheadings in curly brackets and punctuation marks are added to facilitate the reading.

رسالة عملها سعيد بن دادهرمز في التوحيد من أقاويل الأنبياء عليهم السلام  
والحكماء رضي الله عنهم  
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وبه نستعين

53r

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## رسالة في التوحيد

5 عملها سعيد بن دادهرمز لبعض أصدقائه حرسهم الله

{1} إن من الواجب على الإنسان أن يعلم أن جميع ما يناله من الخيرات إنما يناله عند معرفة الله تبارك وتعالى . وأن أشرف العلوم وأعلاها العلم بالباري جلت عظمته وهو الغرض الأقصى والفوز الأكبر، وأن الوصول إلى رؤية الحق الأول تقدست أسمائه إنما يكون بالنور الإلهي كما ينطق به كتاب الله في عدة من الآيات مثل قوله « نور يهدي به من يشاء »، « نور على نور يهدي الله لنوره من يشاء » [24:35] . وقد خص الله بهذا النور الأنبياء عليهم السلام والحكماء والصالحين من عباده 10 ووصلوا بنور ربهم إلى معرفة ربهم تعالى اسمه . وذلك من أعظم المعجزات التي جعلها الله تعالى للرسول عليهم السلام ففرق به بينهم وبين جميع البشر وهو أمر الهي يقصر عنه إلا من يؤهله الله له، وهو شأن يوجب على الخلق الخضوع لمن خصه الله به وميزه عنهم بمرتبه ويلزمهم المسارعة إلى الطاعة له وقبول أحكام الدين والملة . وقد قال بعض أفاضل الحكماء : عرفت ربي بربي ولو لا ربي ما عرفت ربي . | أراد به النور المشار اليه . وقالوا : إذا عرفت كل شيء فاعرف أنك لم تعرف شيئا 15 ما لم تعرف الله تعالى .

{2} وهذه حالة للروح عالية يجد الإنسان فيها لنفسه كأن لها وجودا آخر يقترب بالوجود الدائم والنعيم الأبدي . ومن خصه الله بهذه الرتبة العلية وأهله لهذه الموهبة السنية فقد أمن الأمن الذي لا يكون عليه فيه خوف وغني الغنى الذي لا يكون معه فقر، وهو يهدأ عن حركة الطلب، لأنه يرى ربه بعين عقله ونور ربه . ومن رأى ربه هذه الرؤية لم يخش بعدها عمى عنه ولا ضلالا فيه . 20 ومن لم يعم عن خالقه تعالى لم يزل بصيرا بما دونه . لأن تلك العين وذلك النور لم يصل إليه إلا وقد مرت بجميع الموجودات وعبرت سائر المبدعات والمخلوقات . ولهذا ما قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه : لا تزال النفس مضطربة حتى يحرز قوتها وإذا أحرزت قوتها سكنت . قيل : وما قوتها قال :

ms المصالحين : scripsi الصالحين || ms السلم : scripsi السلام 10 ms أسماوه : scripsi أسمائه 8  
ms ففرق : scripsi ففرق || ms السلم : scripsi السلام 12 ms فصلوا : scripsi ووصلوا 11  
ms تحرز : scripsi يحرز 23 عبرر corr. ms et del. عبرت 22 ms يحش : scripsi يخش 20 ms بمرتبه : scripsi بمرتبه 13

[Knowledge of God]<sup>1</sup>

{1} It is incumbent upon human beings to know that all they achieve regarding good things is achieved by them thanks to the knowledge of God – may He be blessed and exalted – and that the noblest and highest of the sciences is the knowledge of the Creator – may His majesty be great –, a knowledge which is the ultimate aim and the biggest achievement, and that the vision of the First Truth – may His names be glorified – is only reached by the divine light. Hence God’s Book says this in many verses, such as “... light by which He guides whom He wills”,<sup>2</sup> “light upon light, Allah guides whom He wills to His light” [Q 24:35]. God bestowed this light upon the prophets – may peace be upon them – the sages and His good servants, and thanks to the light of their Lord, they reached the knowledge of their Lord – may His name be exalted. This is one of the greatest miracles that God the Exalted made for the prophets – may peace be upon them. With this miracle, God differentiated them from the rest of mankind. It is a divine state that can be reached only by those whom God appointed for this, and a condition that obliges people to respect the one upon whom God bestowed it. By this rank, God distinguishes the one who has it from others and urges them to be solicitous in their obedience to him and the acceptance of the rules of faith and religion. Accordingly, one of the eminent sages said, “I knew my Lord by my Lord, had my Lord not existed, I would not have known Him”. By this, he means the light we have mentioned above. They said: “when you know everything, know also that you do not know anything unless you know God the Exalted”.<sup>3</sup>

{2} This is a high state for the spirit, in which human beings find themselves as if they possess a different existence that is connected with eternal existence and everlasting blessing. Those who receive this high rank from God and whom He qualifies for this sublime gift get such a peace that they will never fear, and such richness that they will never become poor. Moreover, they stop to go in search, because they see their Lord with the eyes of their intellect and thanks to the light of their Lord. Whoever sees his Lord with this vision does not fear to be blind in front of Him or to be wrong about Him, and those who are not blind in front of their Creator the Exalted do not fail to reach what is below Him. This is because this eye and this light reach Him only after going through all beings and proceed through other beings, which are created. Accordingly, the Prophet – may God bless him – said, “the soul continues to be troubled unless it gains its power. When it gains its power, it rests”. He was asked, “what is its power?”. He responded,

معرفة الله تبارك وتعالى . وقال بعض الحكماء: ما زلت أشرب فلم أرو حتى عرفت البارئ تعالى فرويت من غير شرب . وقال غيره: إذا حسبت أنك عرفت كل شيء فاعلم أنك لم تعرف شيئاً ما لم تعرف الله تعالى حق المعرفة . وقال غيره: عرفت ربي بربي ولو لا ربي ما عرفت ربي . أراد به نور الهادي له إليه . وقد جاء في الوحي القديم: | من عرفني حق المعرفة سقيته ماء الحياة الأبدية .<sup>54v</sup>  
 ومن بلغ هذا المبلغ فإنه يطالع على الأمور كلها الاطلاع الروحاني فيلوح له جميع الاشياء تلوحا<sup>5</sup> أعلى وأنور مما يكون بالاستدلال وبالقياس وبالاستنباط، فينظر إلى الحق الأول عز وجل بالنظرة الأولى والفطرة الأولى . لأنه قد امتلأ نورا وتناهى صفاء وخلوصا . وهذه هي حال الأنبياء عليهم السلام ومن شاكلهم واقتدى بهم من الحكماء والصالحين والعلماء . فأما من قصر عن هذه الرتبة ولم يبلغ هذه المنزلة، فإنه إذا نظر إلى الحق الأول الخالص المحض تعالى اسمه لحق عقله ونوره من الكلال والحسور ما يلحق عين الخفاش من الضعف والعجز إذا نظر إلى الشمس وذلك لقوة نور الحق<sup>10</sup> المحض وعظم جلاله ولانهاية تعاليه فيما عليه هويته عن الإدراك وعن أن تقع الإحاطة به فيحتاج حينئذ إلى التدرب بالعلوم والحكم حتى يمكنه أن يلحظه بنحو ما يستطيع المخلوق أن يلحظ خالقه جل وتعالى .

{3} فإذا من الواجب على كل من تاقَتْ نفسه إلى ارتفاع هذه الرتبة الجُدُّ في الطلب والانكماش في السعي والارتياض بالعلوم الحقيقية والتدرب بالحكمة العالية التي هي السبب في الوصول<sup>15</sup> إليها والسبيل إلى نيلها وإدراكها بعون الله تعالى . وقد قيل: إن معرفة الأشياء تكون بثلاثة أوجه: إما بإحدى المشاعر الخمسة الحساسة التي هي البصر والسمع والشم والذوق واللمس، وإما بإحدى القوى العقلية التي هي الفكر والروية والتمييز والوهم الصادق والذهن الصافي، وإما بطريق الاستدلال والبرهان الضروري . فأما معرفة البارئ تعالى فهو إما أن يكون بالنور المذكور وإما أن يكون بطريقتين: أحدهما خاص وهو طريق الاستدلال والبرهان الضروري والآخر عام، وهو المعرفة<sup>20</sup> الغريزية التي في طباع الخلائقة لجمع هويته تعالى وهو فطرة الله التي فطر الناس عليها، وذلك من لطيف صنعه تعالى لعباده . لأنه جلت عظمته لم يُعَرَّ أحدا من الأخذ بحظ من المعرفة به تقدست أسمائه إلا أن الحظوظ متفاوتة جدا بالكثرة والقلة والضعف والقوة . وهذه المعرفة إنما هي جزأ النبوة الذي أوأنا إليه . وبين الدرجة العليا من هذه المعرفة وهذا النور والدرجة السفلي مراتب كثيرة لا يأتي عليها عد وإحصاء . ومن أعجب أحوال الإنسان وأطرفها أن صاحب الحظ الأدنى من هذه<sup>25</sup> المهوبة السنية يحسب في نفسه أنه أوفر الناس حظا منها حتى إنك ربما ترى | أنقصهم نصيبا من ذلك يترشح لهداية الناس ولا يخشع من ادعاء منزلة صاحب الحظ الأعلى منها، فيرد عليهم صوابهم بخطائهم وهو لا يعلم ولا يعلم أنه لا يعلم بل عنده أنه يعلم . وهذه هي الآفة الكبرى في اقتناع أهل النقص بنقصهم وإعراضهم عن طلب الكمال بجدهم وسعيهم . ولهذا ما قيل: إن المنقوص مستور عليه نقصه ولو عرف نقصه لتقطعت نفسه حسرة .<sup>30</sup>

ms السلم : scripsi السلام 8 || ms الاستنباط : scripsi بالاستنباط 6 || ms الحيوه : scripsi الحياة 4  
 cf. Arist. *Metaph.* α 1, 993 b 9-10 et Av. *Tafsīr* p. 4.9-10, C. 1, scripsi اتقيدي || ms الكلال-الشمس 10 || scripsi الإحاطة || ms ونهاية scripsi ولانهاية 11 || scripsi الإحاطة : scripsi للإحاطة || ms للبصر scripsi البصر 17 || scripsi الإحاطة : scripsi للإحاطة || ms أسماوه scripsi أسماؤه 23  
 ms. يمشع scripsi يخشع 27 ms أسماوه scripsi أسماؤه 23

“the knowledge of God the Blessed and the Exalted”. A sage said, “I have kept drinking till now without quenching my thirst. Now I knew God the Exalted and was satisfied without drinking”.<sup>4</sup> Another one said, “If you suppose to have known everything, know that you do not know anything unless you know God the Exalted, with a true knowledge”. Another one said, “I knew my Lord by my Lord, had my Lord not existed, I would not have known Him”. By this, he means that he has the light of the Guide for him. It is stated in the ancient revelation that “who truly knows me, I will give them the water of eternal life”.<sup>5</sup> Those who reach this rank become acquainted with all matters in the spiritual way. Thus, for them all things come to the light in a way which is higher and more luminous than that which is achieved by argumentation, syllogism, and deduction. Hence, they look into the First Truth, the Mighty and the Exalted, with the first contemplation and the first disposition, because they are full of light and at the outmost of purity and sincerity. This is the situation of the prophets – may peace be upon them –, their imitators and followers among sages, the pious, and scholars. However, things are different for those who fell short of this rank and do not reach this destination: when they contemplate the first, simple and pure Truth – may His name be glorified –, their reason and light are overtaken by fatigue and weakness, like the weakness and inability of bats’ eyes when they look at the sun. This is due to the power of the light of pure Truth and to the greatness of His glory. The infinity of His greatness consists in that His being is beyond the reach of understanding and comprehension. Thus, they need to practise sciences and wisdom in order to see as much as possible for a creature when it tries to see its Creator, the Highest and the Exalted.

{3} Therefore, it is necessary for everyone who inclined to reach this rank to strive earnestly in its pursuit, to be absorbed in its effort, to exercise in the true sciences, and to practise the high wisdom which is the cause of reaching this rank and the only way to achieve it and to grasp it, with the help of God the Exalted. It was said that the knowledge of things is acquired in three ways: either (1) by one of the five senses, which are sight, hearing, smell, taste, and touch; or (2) by one of the rational faculties, which are thinking, reflection, judgment, true estimation, pure mind; or (3) by the way of argumentation and necessary demonstration. Moreover, knowledge of the Creator the Exalted is acquired either by the light mentioned above, or in the other two ways. The first of these ways is special and it is the way of argumentation and necessary demonstration. The second way is common; it is the innate knowledge that in the natures of created beings brings them to grasp the existence of God the Exalted: this is the natural disposition of God, according to which He brought into being mankind.<sup>6</sup> This is an example of the delicate creation of God for His servants, because He – may His greatness be glorified – does not impede anyone from the reception, as partial as it might be, of His knowledge – may His names be sanctified. However, the parts are really different regarding their multitude or scarceness, weakness or power. This kind of knowledge is indeed a part of the prophecy, as we have mentioned before. Between the highest degree of this knowledge and light and the lowest degree there are many ranks that cannot be counted. Among the peculiar and curious states of human beings is that the one who has the smallest portion of this sublime gift is persuaded to have the biggest portion of it among other people, so that sometimes you see the least gifted one presenting himself to the guidance of people, without any fear of pretending the status of the most gifted one, thus leading unwittingly to the wrong those who are right. Indeed, he does not know even the fact that he does not know, while he supposes to know. This is the biggest obstacle, because it makes people be content with their mistakes and turn away from the search for perfection with seriousness and endeavour. For this reason, it was said, “the one with fault is not aware of his fault; if he had known that, he would have been overwhelmed by deep regret”.<sup>7</sup>

- {4} ولما كانت الموجودات في ذواتها تفتنّ إلى قسمين: منها ما يجوز أن يوقف عليه بإدراك الحس إياه ومنها ما لا يوقف عليه إلا بظهور الفعل منه. ومثاله أن بدن الإنسان وإن لم يوجد مبرزا لشيء من الأفعال فإن إثباته لمجرد قوة الإحساس ممكن. فأما عقل الإنسان ونفسه فمن الممتنع أن يخلص العلم بوجودهما لو لا ما صدر من الأفعال الظاهرة عن ذاتيهما، وإذا صح هذا لما كان ذات الباري جل جلاله غير مطلوب معرفته من جهة الإدراك الحسي والضبط العياني، فليس فيه 5 ما يوجب امتناع تحققه، لأن الشيء قد يصح إثباته من طريق ظهور أفعاله، وقد ينبغي لنا أن نعلم أن طريقة البرهان متعلقة باستيضاح الحكم الأستر عنا بتوسط الحكم الأظهر لنا. فمن الواجب أن 56r نعلم يقينياً أن الفاعل يكون سابقاً لمفعوله بالذات، بل هو السبب الموجد لنفس | المفعول. إلا أن الإحاطة بالمفعول أنه مفعول قد يجوز أن يكون أقرب إلى عقولنا من الإحاطة بالفاعل من حيث هو فاعل. فإذا العقول الصحيحة متى عثرت على آثار الصنعة على الحقيقة صارت لا محالة مضطرة 10 إلى العلم بوجود الصانع لها. وإذا تقرر هذا وقد علم أن الموجودات كلها محصورة بين حقيقتي الوجود والإمكان ولا يشذ عنهما شيء في الحال ثابتاً، ومهما فرض في شيء من الحالات أنه ليس فقد لزم منه المحال فهو إذن لا محالة أزلي الذات غير موصوف بالبدء والنهاية.
- {5} وقد اقتصر قوم في إثبات الصانع تعالى اسمه على تعرف الحكم الواحد وهو البحث عن العالم الحسي، وأنه محدث وله محدث هو الله تعالى وقالوا: إن العالم المحسوس من السماوات 15 والأفلاك والكواكب متعلقٌ حصولهاً بخاصية الصنعة، قد علم يقينياً أن وجودها وقوام أُنبياتها وبقاء ذواتها متعلق بخاصية التأليف الذي هو صنعة للمولف وخاصية التركيب الذي هو صنعة للمركب وخاصية التشكيل الذي هو صنعة للمشكّل، ثم علم أن كل واحد منها ذو أجزاء متصورة وذو أبعاد متناسقة وذو شكل مصور، وكل ما تعلق وجوده بشيء من هذه الأفعال فمن 56v الممتنع أن يكون أزلياً واجب الذات، فهي إذا | محدثة مصنوعة. فالموجود المحض إذا هو الذات المتعالي عن انطلاق اللاوجود عليه. وهو جل جلاله القادر على الإيجاد لكل ما لم يكن حصوله ممتنعاً. لأن قدرة الله لا ينقض حكمته.
- {6} فهو تعالى الموجد لكل ما سواه على الترتيب الذاتي والنظام الحكمي ولكن ليس يكفي هذا العذر من المعرفة بالأنية وإن يحصل الإقرار بأن للعالم صانع ويقع الاقتصار عليه فقط. بل ينبغي لطالب هذه الرتبة السنية أن يعلم أن لكل واحد من أجناس الموجودات وأنواعها أنية 25 تختص به على حدة، وليست الأشياء كلها ذوات أنية واحدة، بل كانت في أنفسها ذوات أنيات مختلفة، وأن يعلم أيضاً أن أنية الباري تعالى متعالية على أنيات سائر الموجودات. إذ هي بأسرها صارت موجودة بأمره جل جلاله وحاصلة تأخرها عنه. فإذا لا يتم المعرفة بأنيته جل اسمه إلا بالإحاطة بأنية الأشياء كلها واليقين بأن أنية الباري تعالى مباينة للأنيات كلها. لأن أنيته أزلية الثبات بنفسها واجبة الديمومة بذاتها. وقد صدرت الأنيات كلها عنه جل جلاله اختراعاً لها على 30

mg || من الذوات الموجودة // صلا (... ) الواجب 8f.56r ms ظهور scripsi: ظهور 6 ms تفين: scripsi: تفتنّ 1

ms. متناسفة: scripsi: متناسقة 19 ms اتياتها: scripsi: أنياتها || ms يقينا: scripsi: يقينياً || اذ ms. add. قد 16 ante

{4} Beings in themselves are divided into two categories: what can be apprehended by sense perception as such, and what can be apprehended only when an action comes out of them. The body of a human being is an example. Even if the human body does not manifest any kind of action, one can still prove its existence through the faculty of sensation. But as to the human intellect and soul, it is impossible to know of their existence if an action does not come out of their essences. Once this is established, it follows that the knowledge of the essence of the Exalted Creator is not investigated by means of sense perception and visual inspection, but this does not necessarily entail that it is impossible to reach the true knowledge of Him, since the existence of a thing can be proved by means of the manifestation of its actions. We should know that the method of demonstration is related to examination of the judgment which is more obscure for us through the judgment which is more evident for us.<sup>8</sup> Thus, it is necessary for us to know without doubt that the agent precedes its effect by virtue of its essence; rather, it is the cause of the existence of the effect itself. Nevertheless, it may be the case that knowledge of the effect as an effect is clearer to our intellect than the knowledge of the agent as an agent. Therefore, whenever sound intellects find the true signs of creation, they are inevitably compelled to accept the existence of its creator. Once this is established, it is known that all beings fall into the two categories of the reality of necessity and that of contingency, and no being escapes this division as to its permanent status. With respect to these two categories, the thing whose not-existence, once supposed, leads to impossibility must be eternal in its essence and cannot be described as having a beginning or an end.

[The Proof for the Existence of God]

{5} In the issue of proving the existence of the Creator – may His name be exalted –, some limited themselves to acknowledging only one judgment, namely the investigation about the sensible world, maintaining that it is originated and thus it has an originator, who is God the Exalted. They say that the emergence of the sensible world including heavens, celestial spheres, and stars depends upon the particularity of creation. We undoubtedly know that the existence of all these beings, the maintenance of their thatnesses,<sup>9</sup> and the endurance of their essences are related to the particularity of the composition which is a creation of the Composer, to the particularity of the assembling which is a creation of the Assembler, and to the particularity of the forming which is a creation of the Former. Then we know that every single being has fashioned particles, well-ordered portions, and formed shapes. Everything whose existence is related to any of these actions cannot be eternal and necessary in its essence. Therefore, all these are originated and created. The pure Being, consequently, is the Essence which is far from being related to non-existence. He the Exalted is capable of bringing into existence those whose existence is not impossible. For the power of God does not contradict His wisdom.

{6} God the Exalted is the Originator of all except Himself according to essential order and wise design. However, this does not [completely] exclude need for the knowledge of the thatness, even though it has already been established that there is a creator for the universe and the method for this has been briefly described. Moreover, who wants to reach this high rank should know that, for every single genus and species of beings there is one single thatness special to it. Not all things possess the same thatnesses, on the contrary, they possess different thatnesses. It should also be known that the thatness of God the Exalted is superior to the thatnesses of other beings. This is because all of them came into existence by His command – may He be exalted – and they came into being after Him. Accordingly, knowledge of the thatness of God – may His name be exalted – cannot be complete without thoroughly knowing the thatness of things altogether, and without knowing in certainty that the thatness of the Creator – may He be exalted – is distinct from all other thatnesses. For the continuity of His thatness is eternal in itself and necessary in itself. All the thatnesses emanated from Him the Exalted, and are created by Him in regular and continuous ranks. As a result, existence is essential for the First Creator the Exalted,

مراتب منتظمة متتالية. فالوجود إذاً ذاتي للمبدع الأول تعالى، لأنه لم يقبله من غيره، ومنه فاض الوجود على جميع الأشياء التي دونه جوداً منه تعالى به عليها وبه قوام صور | الموجودات كلها، فهو تعالى إذاً واجب الوجود وما كان واجب الوجود فهو دائم الوجود وما كان دائم الوجود فهو أزلي، فهو جل وعز من الوجود في أعلى رتبة ووجود سائر الأشياء ناقص عنه مستفاد منه جل اسمه، ولا يجوز أن يكون لموجود سواه وجود مثل وجوده ولا في رتبة وجوده، لأنه المبدع لكل موجود سواه وهو تعالى التام الكامل الأزلي القديم.

{7} وإذا حصل المعرفة بالأنية المحضة والهوية الخالصة واليقين لها والإقرار بها فمن الواجب السعي في معرفة الوجودانية لله تعالى. ونحن نصرّف القول إلى ذلك ونذكر نبذاً منه على سبيل الإيجاز والاختصار. فنقول: التوحيد هو تخليص الواحد من كل ما يكون سبباً للكثرة والتكثير والإيجاز والاختصار. فنقول: التوحيد هو تخليص الواحد من كل ما يكون سبباً للكثرة والتكثير والإيجاز والاختصار. وهذا التخليص هو صورة تنال من هذا الواحد في نفس هذا الموحد فتكون ذريعة إلى التخليص البشري واليقين العقلي، وفي هذا المعنى السعادة المطلوبة بكل قول وعمل ورجاء وأمل. ومن أجل هذه السعادة سبق النصح والإرشاد والسعي والاجتهاد من الأنبياء عليهم السلام والحكماء والصالحين بضروب من اللغات وأنواع من الإشارات، فأي ثمرة أجلى من ثمرة التوحيد، أي غاية أبعد من غاياته وأي إنسان أسعد ممن عرف الله تعالى فاشتاقه | ووجدّه فوفّي حقه واقتدى به فحاز رضوانه واستنار بنوره وأتار عباده. والتوحيد معتقد على 15 نفى الشوائب بالتخليص والتنزيه والتعرية والتجريد. والمراد بهذا الاسم الصفة التي في الغاية اللائقة بهذا الموصوف المتعالي عن الصفات. ولهذا ما قيل: نفى الصفات عنه إثبات له من حيث هو. فالتوحيد أشرف جزئي الحكمة النظري والعملي، وكما ينال بأشرف العمل مرضاة الله تعالى كذلك ينال بأشرف العلم الاتصال بالله جل وعز. وبالتوحيد يصح كل عمل وإليه ينتهي كل علم. وإذا كان الإنسان يشرف بأن يعلم العالم وما فيه على مراتبه وحقائقه وآثاره وصفاته فما ظنك بمن 20 يعرف إلهها وربها وخالقها ومخترعها ومقتدرها ومصرفها ومركبها ومؤلفها وجامعها ومفرقها. فبالتوحيد يصح المعرفة وبالمعرفة يزكو العمل والجمع بين التوحيد والتفرقة لسان التوحيد والرياسة لا تتم إلا بالوجودانية. وكلما كان عدد الرؤساء أكثر كان الحلل في أسباب الرياسة أكثر. ولهذا ما جاء في كتاب الله تعالى: لو كان فيهما آلهة إلا الله لفسدتا [21:22]. وقيل: إن الواحد بالاطلاق غير محتاج إلى الثاني، فمتى فرضت الثاني قرينا للواحد كنت كواضع ما لا يحتاج إليه البتة إلى 25 جانب ما لا بد منه البتة.

{8} والدليل على أن الله تعالى واحد هو أن في الواحد اتفاق | وفي الأكثر اختلاف، والأخذ بالاتفاق أولى من الأخذ بالاختلاف. وكما أنه ليس في الحساب قبل الواحد شيء، فاعلم أنه ليس في الموجودات قبل الواحد المحض شيء. ولما كان الواحد لا بدء له صار نهاية كل متناه وصار هو بذاته لا نهاية له. لأنه لا يتناهى إلى شيء، وهو نهاية كل متناه، وإنما صار الواحد لا نهاية له،

ms. النظر : scripsi النظري 18 || supra lineam حقه 15 || supra lineam القول 8



since He does not acquire existence from any other than Himself. From Him existence emanates towards all things that are under Him, as an act of generosity towards them. The maintenance of the forms of all beings is due to God. Then, He the Exalted is the necessary being,<sup>10</sup> and if something is necessary being, it is also perennial being, and if something is perennial, it is also eternal. It follows that God the Exalted is at the highest rank in existence, so that other things are deficient in existence compared to Him and they derive their existences from Him – may His name be exalted. The existence of any other thing cannot be identical to His existence, nor can it be at the same level as His existence, because He is the creator of all beings except Himself and He the Exalted is the perfect, the complete, the eternal and everlasting.

[Unity of God]

{7} When the knowledge of the pure thatness and the true Being is achieved and thus the certainty about it and the confirmation of it are established, it is necessary to search for the knowledge of the oneness of God the Exalted. Here we change the course of the speech towards this subject and only address a part of it in brief. We say that oneness consists in purifying the “one” from everything that causes multiplicity, increasing, multiplication, multiplying etc.<sup>11</sup> This purification is a form which is received by this “one” in the soul of those who perform the unification, so that it turns out to be a path to human purification and intellectual certainty. In this sense, [it is] the happiness which is looked for in every speech, deed, hope and wish. For the sake of that happiness, the prophets – peace be upon them – sages and the pious advised people, guided them, and strove to walk in this way with many kinds of languages and pointers. Which benefit is clearer than the profit of unification? Which goal is more distant than its goals? Which human being is happier than the one who knows God the Exalted, the one who yearns for Him and finds Him, so that he acknowledges His right and follows Him, obtains His approval, is enlightened by His light, and enlightens His servants? Oneness is achieved by holding that impurities must be removed with purification, transcendence, removal, and abstraction. What is meant by this label is the attribute which is [found] at the outmost, which is appropriate for that reality which is above the attributes. In this sense it has been said, “the removal of the attributes from Him is in fact the affirmation of Him in the way appropriate to Him”.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, Oneness is the noblest of the two parts of wisdom, i.e., the theoretical and the practical. As well as one acquires the approval of God the Exalted by the noblest action, in the same way one acquires conjunction with God – may He be Exalted – by the noblest knowledge. Every action is valid thanks to Oneness and every science leads to it. If human beings become noble by knowing the world and what is in it, such as its ranks, realities, signs and attributes, what do you think about those who know its God, Lord, Creator, Omnipotent, Ruler, Composer, Author, Collector and Separator? Thus, only through Oneness knowledge is valid, and through knowledge action is purified. Combining Oneness with separation is the language of Oneness. Even leadership is not complete without Oneness. The more numerous the leaders are, the more deficiencies will be found in the causes of leadership. Accordingly, it is written in the Exalted God’s book that “if there were in the heavens and the earth other gods besides God, there would have been corruption in both” (21:22). It has been said, “the absolute One does not need a second. If you assume the second as connected with the One, you would be like those who add an unnecessary thing to the necessary one”.<sup>13</sup>

{8} The proof of the unity of God is that there is agreement in the one and disagreement in the multiple. Choosing agreement is better than choosing disagreement. As well as in calculation there is not anything before the one, in the same way you should know that as to beings there is nothing before the Pure One. Given that the One has no beginning, He becomes the end of everything that ends, and in His essence He does not have an end. For He does not come to an end, rather, He is the end of everything that ends. Indeed, the One becomes endless,

لأنه لا بدء له، لأنه لا نهاية له، لأن الآخر معتبر بالأول وليس الأول معتبر بالآخر. لأن ههنا أولاً لا آخر له وليس ههنا آخر لا أول له. وهذه شهادة العقل الذي إليه المفروغ وبقوته يعتقد ما يعتقد ثابتاً ومنفياً وواجباً وممكناً وحسناً وقبيحاً. فإذا لا شهادة أقوى من شهادة العقل ولا حد العقل أصح مما حده به رسول الله صلى الله عليه حين سئل عنه فقال: العقل نور في القلب يميز به بين الحق والباطل. وكل شيء يعرف بشيء أول كذلك هو الواحد، ولذلك كان الواحد أولاً ولم يكن 5 عدداً، لأن العدد إنما هو بالواحد فهو أول مفيد ومنه نشأ العدد وبه نظامه وليس هو بعدد. لأنه من باب الوجود. فإن قال قائل: والثاني أيضاً واحد وكذلك الثالث، فإن أخرجت الواحد من العدد فأخرج الثاني أيضاً منه. قلنا: إن الثاني إنما يكون بعداً وغيراً، والأول لم يكن فيه بعدية ولا غيرية 58v وإنما كان وجوداً فقط. والواحد مفيد والثاني مستفيد، والواحد صورته من ذاته والثاني يستفيد صورته من الواحد الأول والوجود الحق هو الواحد وهو العدد وهو المعدود ولا يكون هناك غيرية. 10 وهو سبب الكثرة. فالواحد قبل الأشياء وهو الحق المحض وهو العلة الأولى والأشياء كلها معلولة منه فتبارك الله أحسن الخالقين.

{9} ومن الواجب أن نعلم أن الحال في معرفة وحدانية البارئ تعالى شبيهة بالحال في معرفة الأنية. لأنه ليس كل من أطلق القول بأن صانع العالم واحد فقط فقد صار هذا القدر من الإطلاق كافياً له في معرفة وحدانيته. إذ قد علم أن من الناس من يزعم أن معنى قولنا «أنه واحد» أي ليس 15 ذاته بذي كمية محتملة للانقسام. ومنهم من يزعم أن صفاته كلها قد اتحدت به اتحاداً لا يجوز ولا على شيء منها أن يزايله أو يوجد بالذات حلول منه. ومنهم من يزعم أن معناه أنه لا يوجد له مثل وشبهه. هذا وقد علم أن وحدانيات الموجودات العالمية كلها مختلفة متباينة ولا يشك أن وحدانية البارئ تعالى لن تكون شبيهة بواحدة من الوحدانيات | الأخر. إذ هي بأسرها مخترعة بأمره تعالى 59r جده، فمن الواجب إذن أن نعلم أن وحدانيته تعالى مباينة للوحدانيات الأخر لانتفاء عامة جهات الكثرة عنها. وكل واحد من المعاني الموجودة وإن وصفت بالوحدانية فإنه في الحقيقة لن ينفك عن كثرة يتعلق بها ذاته. والواحد الموصوف بهذا النوع من الوحدانية لا يجوز أن يعتقد فيه أنه واحد حقيقي. فإذا الوحدانية الحقيقية هي وحدانية الأحد الحق الذي لا يجوز أن يشاركه فيها شيء من الوحدانيات الأخر ولا بجهة من الجهات.

{10} ومن لم يعرف الله تعالى حق معرفته في الأنية والوحدانية فليس يمتنع أن ينصرف مع 25 الظنون فيحيط به إلى محل واحد من مخلوقاته، أعني أن يعتقد في ذاته تعالى أنه على تلك الأنية أو على تلك الوحدانية. فأما من عرف الله تعالى حق معرفته في الأنية والوحدانية فلا يمكنه أن يرفع شيئاً من مخلوقاته إلى مثل ما اعتقده فيه، أعني أن يعتقد فيما سواه أنه على مثل أنيته أو على مثل وحدانيته، وذلك أن من سوس العقل أن يتدرج من النقص إلى الكمال وليس من سوسه

ms ها هنا scripsi : ههنا 2 ms ها هنا scripsi : ههنا || لا أنه لا بدء له ms add. لأنه لا بدء له 1 post

ms ها هنا scripsi : ههنا 7 ms لا أن scripsi : لأن 6 ms للعقل scripsi : العقل 4

ms سوس scripsi : سوس 29 ms فيحيطه scripsi : فيحيط به 26 ms فالواحد scripsi : والواحد 9

since He has neither beginning nor end. This is because it is the one that is considered as criterion for the other, not vice versa. Hence, we can talk about a beginning without end, but not about an end without beginning. This is the witness of the intellect by which the argument is settled. It is only by the power of the intellect that we believe what we believe as affirmed-negated, necessary-possible, and good-evil. Therefore, no witness is more powerful than the witness of the intellect. Nobody has given a definition of the intellect more exact than the definition of the Prophet – may peace be upon him. When he was asked [to define the intellect] he said, “Intellect is a light in the heart by which human beings distinguish between true and false”. Everything is known by means of a first thing, and this is the One. Thus, the One is the first, and is not a number, for there are numbers only if there is the one. Consequently, the One is the First Giver. From it emerges the number and only through the one the number continues to exist. Yet the One is not a number, since it is in the category of existence. If someone says, “the second is one, too, and so the third. If you remove the one from number, then you should remove also the second from it”, then we say: the ‘second’ signifies ‘what comes after’ and ‘what is different’; but the First has neither the quality of ‘coming after’ nor that of ‘otherness’. As a matter of fact, the First is only Being.<sup>14</sup> The One is giver and the second is receiver. The form of the One comes from His essence while the second receives it from the One, the First. The True Being is the one, it is the number and the numbered, and there is no otherness in it. Rather, it is the cause of multiplicity. The One precedes things; it is the Pure Truth and the First Cause. All things are caused by Him. May He be blessed, the best of creators!

{9} We should know that the case of the knowledge of the unity of God the Exalted is similar to the case of the knowledge of the thatness. This is because not everyone who openly states that “the Creator of the universe is only one” is entitled to know His unity in a proper and adequate sense. It is well known that, according to some, our expression “He is one” means that “His essence does not have any quantity that is likely to be divided”. Among them, some claim that all His attributes are united with Him in a unity with respect to which it is absolutely impossible that any of these attributes is separate from Him, or that there is in the essence a separation from Him. Still, some claim that its meaning is that there is neither resemblance nor similarity to Him. What is more, it is well known that the unities of all beings in the world are different, and that the Oneness of God the Exalted is not similar to any other unities. For all the other unities are created by His command – may His glory be sanctified. Then, we should know that His Oneness differs from any other unity because of the lack of every aspect of multiplicity from His unity. All the available meanings [except God], even if they are described through unity, are not separated from the multiplicity which is essentially inherent in them. Whatever bears this kind of unity cannot be acknowledged as being the true “one”. So true unity is the unity of the True One, a feature that God cannot share with other unities in any sense.

{10} It is impossible that those who do not truly know God the Exalted as to thatness and oneness prevent their minds from associating God with other created beings, that is, they consider that the essence of God is such thatness or such oneness. On the contrary, it is impossible that those who truly know God the Exalted as to thatness and oneness attribute to God the features that they consider as something which belongs to other creatures. This means that these true knowers do not hold the opinion that any other thatness or oneness resembles His own. This is because it belongs to the nature of the intellect to advance gradually from imperfection to perfection, while it does not belong to its nature

أن يتراجع إلى النقص من الكمال . ولهذا ما يمكن الإنسان أن يتعلم ما هو جاهل به على حقيقة  
 59v وليس يمكنه أن يجهل | ما هو عالم به على الحقيقة . ويمكنه أن يعلم الشيء علما برهانيا أعني  
 علم ضرورة اليقين بعد أن كان يعلمه علما جدليا أعني علم أغلب الرأي، وليس يمكنه عكس  
 ذلك . وبحسب هذا الاعتبار قد يمكن الإنسان أن يصير معتقدا للتوحيد الصحيح بعد طول  
 اعتقاده للتشبيه المحض ولا يمكن أن يصير معتقدا للتشبيه المحض بعد استحكام عقيدته للتوحيد  
 5 الصحيح .

{11} فإذا ذات الباري تعالى متعال عن أن يوصف بصفة من الصفات الموجودة في مبدعاته،  
 وليس في الإمكان عبارة عنه بلفظ قول أو عقد ضمير . وذلك لكون المتعالى سبحانه على أمر عظيم  
 عن الإدراك وعن إحاطة العقل به . فإذا العقول تقصر عن إدراكه مثل قصور أبصارنا عن مقابلة  
 الشمس لا لنقصان في الأبصار عن الإدراك بل لكون الشمس فيما عليه هويتها على أمر يختطف  
 10 الأبصار إذا قابلتها فتعجز الأبصار عن الإدراك الحقيقي وتنقلب خاسرة وهي حسيرة . فذاته جل  
 جلاله إذن متعال عن الأشباه والأنداد ولا يجوز أن يكون كمثل شيء ولا يمكن أن يكون للأشياء  
 الكائنة كلها نظمٌ ولا شرح إن لم يكن قبلها شيءٌ واحدٌ دائمٌ باق مابين لجميع الأشياء، وذلك هو  
 60r الواحد الحق المحض الذي هو سبب | وجود الأشياء وسبب بقائها وشرحها ونظمها النظام الحكمي  
 الحقيقي وتكامل فضيلة الواحد الحق تعالى اسمه هو إبداع العالم ونظمه .  
 15

{12} وقد ينبغي للإنسان إذا اعتقد وعلم أن لهذا العالم صناعا أن يتأمل الموجودات كلها هل  
 لكل واحد منها سبب وعلّة أم لا؟ فإنه يجد عند الاستقراء لكل واحد منها سببا وعلّة عنها وجد،  
 ثم ينظر إلى تلك الأسباب هل لها أسباب أيضا أم لا . فإنه يجد لها عند التأمل أسبابا ثم ينظر  
 هل الأسباب ذاهبة إلى ما لا نهاية أم هي واقفة عند غاية أم بعض الموجودات أسباب للبعض على  
 20 سبيل الدور . فإنه يجد القول بأنها ذاهبة إلى غير نهاية محالا ويجد القول بأن بعضها سبب  
 للبعض على التعاقب محالا أيضا . فيبقى أن يكون الأسباب متناهية وأقل ما يتناهى إليه الكثير  
 هو الواحد، فسبب الأسباب إذا موجودٌ وهو واحد ولا يجوز أن يكون ذات السبب وذات المسبب  
 واحدا . فمسبب أسباب العالم إذن واحد وهو الله رب العالمين لا يتكثرت بتةً بجهة من الجهات  
 بذاته، بل يوصف بالكثرة من جهة مبدعاته، لأنه فاعل محض لا منفعل بتةً، وإنما يكثر صفات  
 الباري تعالى من جهة مبدعاته ومخلوقاته ومفعولاته . فيقال فاعل إذ هو مبدع المفعولات ومبدع  
 25 إذ هو علّة الموجودات وقوي إذ هو علّة | القويات . وكذلك يشتق له الأسماء من جهة كل واحد  
 60v من مفعولاته الحسنى في عقولنا أو ظنوننا تمجيدها له وتحميها من العارفين برؤيته . وهو جل  
 اسمه لا يشبه شيئا من خلقه . إذ هو حق لا علّة لهويته، ولا ثبات لخلقه إلا بالهوية المحضة المهوية  
 المسلك بالوحدة الخالصة لسائر المخلوقات . وهو تعالى إنما يوصف من جهة مفعولاته إذا ظهرت،

to move backwards from imperfection to perfection. Taken this for granted, it follows that human beings can learn what they have truly ignored, but they cannot ignore what they have truly known. It is also possible for them to acquire the knowledge of something by means of a demonstrative knowledge, i.e. the necessary knowledge of certainty, after they had known it by means of a dialectic knowledge, i.e. the knowledge acquired by the most probable opinion. But the other way is impossible. For that reason, human beings can acquire the belief of the true Oneness after they have held the pure anthropomorphism for a long time, while it is not conceivable that they turn to the pure anthropomorphism after their belief in the true Oneness has been settled.

{11} As a consequence, the essence of God the Exalted is far from being described by any attribute which is present in His creatures.<sup>15</sup> Besides, it is impossible to address His essence by a word or an opinion, because His glory is too far for the senses of perceiving it, and for reason to fully comprehend it. Thus, intellects fall short to perceive Him.<sup>16</sup> This is similar to the inability of our sight when we cast our gaze towards the sun, because the sun is at such a high level in its being that sight is dazzled in seeing it, so that it falls short of truly perceiving the sun and gets lost, being fatigued. Therefore, God's essence – may His glory be sanctified – is higher than [having] resemblances and equals.<sup>17</sup> It is impossible that there is anything like unto Him. It would also be impossible for all the generated things to have order and arrangement, if one everlasting thing did not precede them, apart from all things. This is the Pure, True One who is the cause of the existence of things and the cause of their endurance, arrangement and true, wise order. The creation of the world and its design is the completion of the perfection of the True One – may His name be exalted.

{12} Human beings, if they believe and know that there is a creator of the universe, must consider about all beings whether everyone of them has a cause or not. By induction, they eventually realize that for every single being there is a cause by which it came to exist. Then, they look into these causes, whether they have in turn other causes or not. Upon scrutiny, they find out that these also have causes, then again, they consider whether these causes regress to the infinite or they come to an end, or again if some of these beings are causes for others in cycle. In conclusion, they find impossible the opinion that all causes regress to the infinite, and consider as impossible also the opinion that some of them are the cause of others in succession. It remains that the causes are finite, and the minimum of multiplicity that they can reach is the one. Hence the cause of all the causes is existent and it is one. The essence of the cause and the essence of the effect cannot be the same. So the cause of the causes of the world is one, and it is God, the Lord of the Worlds. Indeed, He does not multiply in any way by virtue of His essence; rather, He can only be attributed to multiplicity in so far as the many are His creation. For He is the pure agent, not passive indeed. The attributes of the Exalted Creator multiply in terms of His creations, deeds and actions. Therefore, it has been said that He is the agent because He is the creator of the actions, creator because He is the cause of beings, and powerful because He is the cause of powers. In the same way, from every one of His good deeds names can be derived for Him in our intellects, and assumptions to glorify Him and praise Him by those who know His sovereignty. He – may His name be exalted – is not like any of His creatures. For He is the Truth and has no cause for His being. His creatures would not endure without the pure Being which is the giver of other beings and the holder of sheer unity for all the other creatures.<sup>18</sup> It follows that He the Exalted is attributed to the aspects of His actions when they occur.

كالحكمة إذا ظهرت مفعولةً سمي حكيمًا أي مبدع الحكمة، وإذا ظهرت القوة مفعولة سمي قويا أي مبدع القوة، وإذا ظهر الجود مفعولا سمي جوادا أي مبدع الجود. وكذلك كل ما يوصف به لا يوجب أنه تعالى تغير من حال إلى حال، لأنه عز وجل واحد لا يتكثر بحال وهو علة الكثرة. فإذن صفاته تتكثر من جهة مبدعاته لا من جهة ذاته. ولا يلحقه الشبه بشيء من معلولاته ومبدعاته. فهو مبدع المبدعات وموجد الموجودات بالحقيقة. وهو يتعالى عنها كلها فسبحان الله الواحد الحق 5 الخالص المحض عما يصفه الواصفون.

{13} وقد قال الحكماء إن الأقسام التي تُفتن إليها لفظة الواحد توجد أربعة: أحدها الاشتراك 61r والثاني الاتصال والثالث سلب المثل والرابع امتناع التجزي. أما الاشتراك | فقد يكون في الجنس نحو قولنا «الإنسان والفرس في الحيوانية شيء واحد». وأما الاتصال فقد يكون طبيعيا نحو اتصال أعضاء الشخص الواحد، وقد يكون صناعيا نحو اتصال الخشبات في السرير الواحد. وأما سلب 10 المثل فقد يكون ذاتيا نحو قولنا «الشمس واحدة»، وقد يكون وصفيا نحو قولنا «فلان نسيج وحده». وأما امتناع التجزي فقد يكون بمعنى عرضي نحو الهبة التي امتنع لفرط الصغر عن احتمال التجزي وكحجر الألماس الذي امتنع لفرط صلابته عن التجزي، وقد يكون لا بمانع عرضي بل بحقيقة ذاته نحو النقطة والوحدة والآن.

{14} ونقول إن الوحدة الجنسية متكررة بأنواعها والوحدة النوعية متكررة بأشخاصها. وأما 15 الوحدة الاتصالية طبيعية كانت أو عرضية فإن وجود أكثره فيها ظاهر وكذلك الوحدة السالبة للمثل. فإن الشمس وإن كانت واحدة بالذات، فإنها في الحقيقة ذات جرم وطينة وذات فصل وصورة. فالكثرة إذاً في طباعها موجودة. وهكذا الحال في قولنا «فلان نسيج وحده». فأما الواحد الموصوف بامتناع التجزي عنه، إما لفرط صغره وإما لصلابة جوهره، فإن كان جوهرًا قائم الذات فإنه يكون ذا صورة متكررة بالمادة ويكون امتناع التجزي فيه من علائق المعنى الطارئ عليه وهو الصغر 20 والصلابة من دون خاصية طباع الجوهر في نفسه. وإن كان عرضيا قائما بالغير فمن الواجب | أن يكون ذاته متكررا بالموضوع. وأما الواحد الموصوف بامتناع التجزي عنه لا بمعنى عرضي كالنقطة 61v والوحدة والآن فقد يسبق إلى بعض الظنون أنه هو الواحد. إذ ليس يوجد طباعه معلقا بشيء من الكثرة، إلا أنه لما كان في الحقيقة نهاية لشيء آخر أعني أن النقطة نهاية للخط والوحدة مبدأ للعدد والآن حد للزمانين الماضي والآتي، وليس يشك أن النهاية والمتناهي يقعان تحت المضاف 25 ووجود كل واحد منهما يمتنع إلا بوجود صاحبه. فمن الواجب إذاً أن نعلم أن وجودهما خلواً عن الكثرة أمرٌ في نهاية الامتناع.

{15} وإذا كانت الوحدة المستفيضة في موجودات العالم مقرونة بالكثرة ثم لا يشك أن من حقيقة الوحدة أن يكون في طباعها منافية للكثرة، فمن الواجب أن نعلم أن الوجدانية السارية في

Take the example of wisdom: when wisdom occurs as His action, He is called “wise”, meaning “the creator of wisdom”. When power occurs as His action, He is called “powerful”, meaning “the creator of power”. When “generosity” occurs as His action, He is called “generous”, meaning “the creator of generosity”. Thus, any attribute of His does not necessarily entail His changing from one state to another. For He the Exalted is one and is not subject to multiplicity in any way whatsoever. On the contrary, He is the cause of multiplicity. Therefore, His attributes multiply in terms of actions, not as to His essence. Any resemblance coming from His effects and creatures does not attach to Him. He is the creator of the creations and beings in truth while he is high above them all. Glory to God the Pure and Sheer One and Truth! High is He above what they attribute to Him!

[The Parts of the One]

{13} Sages said that the “one” can be said in four ways: (1) homonymy, (2) continuity, (3) negation of the equal, and (4) indivisibility. As to homonymy, it may be found in genus, such as our statement “the man and the horse are one thing in animality”. As to continuity, it may be natural such as the continuity between the bodily organs of a person, or it may be artificial such as the connection of pieces of wood in a bed. As to the negation of the equal, it may be essential such as our statement “the sun is one”, or attributive such as our statement “that person is unique in his kind”. Finally, as to indivisibility, it may be in an accidental manner such as dust, which cannot be subdivided due to its excessive smallness, and such as the diamond stone, which also cannot be subdivided due to its excessive solidity, or it may be not in an accidental manner but in its true essence, such as the point, the unit, and the now.<sup>19</sup>

{14} We say that the unity in genus is many as to its species, and the unity in species is many as to its individuals. As to the unity in continuity, be it natural or accidental, it is clear that there is multiplicity in it, and so it is as to the unity in the “negation of the equal”. For instance, the sun, even if it is one in its essence, has a body, a matter, a difference, and a form. Thus, in the nature of the sun there is multiplicity. Multiplicity also appears, for example, in our statement “that person is one of his kind”. As to the one which is characterized by indivisibility either for its excessive smallness or for the solidity of its substance, there are two options. (1) If it is a subsistent substance, it possesses a form which is many as to the matter. In this case, its indivisibility stems from a contingent meaning, smallness or solidity, not from the peculiar nature of the substance in itself. (2) If it is an accident which exists thanks to something different from itself, its essence must necessarily be many as to the subject. Concerning the one which is characterized by indivisibility but not in an accidental manner, such as the point, the unit and the now, someone assumed that it is the “one”, because no multiplicity whatsoever attaches to its nature. However, it is indeed the limit of another thing, I mean that the point is the limit of the line, the unit is the principle of number, and the now is the limit between past and future time. There is no doubt that the end and that which ends fall under the category of the correlative, and the existence of each of them is only possible given the existence of the other. Therefore, we should know that the existence of both of them without the multiplicity is absolutely impossible.<sup>20</sup>

{15} Given that the unity which permeates the beings of the universe is always associated with multiplicity, and given that unity, in itself, is incompatible with multiplicity, we should know that the unity that permeates

الموجودات كلها ليست بحقيقية محضة وإن كانت الوحدة موجودة فيها، ثم إذا لم يكن ذاتيته حقيقية، فمن الواجب أن نعلم أنها طارئة عرضية ولن يعرض الشيء للشيء إلا وهو في الحقيقة أثر من الغير. فالوحدة العارضة إذن تجب أن يكون عن الواحد الحق تعالى اسمه. فالوحدة العرضية التي اقتترنت بالجواهر الموجودة تجب أن تكون من الضرورة صادرة عن الواحد الفرد الأحد الحق الذي ليس بجنس ولا نوع ولا فصل ولا خاصة ولا عرض ولا جوهر ولا كمية ولا كيفية ولا إضافة 5 62t ولا وضع ولا كل | ولا جزؤ ولا بعض ولا جميع ولا نهاية ولا متناه ولا بالجملة شيء من المقولات. بل هو الأول الحق المبدع الأزلي المخترع لهذه المعاني المحقق لأنيات العالم ووحداتها والكثرات المجتمعة عنها لا من شيء تقدمها، بل هي مخترعة أوجدها مبدعها تعالى.

{16} وقيل: إن الوحدة إذا لحظت من حيث هي مبدأ ومكيال يعد به الأشياء سميت بهذه الاسماء وإذا لحظت في ذاتها فهي الأنية المطلقة فقط. وإذا كانت الوحدة في جميع الأشياء التي 10 شرحناها بالعرض وغير حقيقي وجب أن يكون معرضها فيها هو الشيء الذي له الوحدة الحقيقية الذاتية. لأن كل شيء وجد في شيء بالعرض فهو في شيء آخر بالذات وبالْحَقِيقَةُ. وأما الذي بالذات فليس يمكن أن يكون من شيء آخر، لأنه يلزم أن يكون الأشياء بلا نهاية بالفعل. فعلة الوحدة في الموجودات كلها الواحد الحق بالذات الذي لم يستفد الوحدة والوجود من غيره. لأنه لا يمكن أن يكون المفيدات بلا نهاية. فكل قابل للوحدة فهو معلول بالوحدة. فكل واحد من 15 المحسوسات وما يلحق المحسوسات فيها الكثرة والوحدة معا والوحدة فيها عارضة، وهي أثر من مؤثر. 62v ولما كانت الكثرة جماعة وحدانيات فباضطراب إن لم يكن وحدة | لم يكن كثرة. فإذا علة وجود كل محسوس ومعقول هو الواحد الحق الذي لم يقبل الوجود والوحدة من شيء آخر، والذي لم يتقدمه شيء آخر بوجه من الوجوه هو الذي لم يزل. فالأزلي إذن مبدع كل موجود. وإذا لم يكن شيء موجود إلا بما فيه من الوحدة فبالوحدة قوام الكل. ولو فارقت الوحدة التي بينا معناها 20 وهو الوجود العام لهذا الكل لدثر وعدم مع مفارقتة الوحدة بلا زمان.

{17} وقيل: كل شرح ومرتبة إنما يبدأ من واحد ويأتي إلى كثرة ملائمة لذلك الواحد وكل شرح ومرتبة ذات كثرة فهي صاعدة مترقية إلى واحد. فإذا الواحد هو بدء مخرج الكثرة الملائمة له. فلذلك صار إلى كثرة نظما واحدا وشرحا واحدا. فإن لم يكن الواحد متميزا لم يكن كثرة ولا نظم ولا شرح البتة. 25

{18} فالواحد هو الحد الصحيح المحض الذي لا يقبل زيادة ولا نقصانا. لأنه لا يراد به العدد، ولكنه يراد به هويته بسيطة ليس لها تكثر بنوع من الأنواع. فإذا خرجت من الواحد إلى ذكر الإثنين فقد صرت إلى العدد وصرت إلى ما لا يتناهى. لأن العدد تقبل الزيادة والنقصان. فالواحد إذا أضفته إلى الأشياء كان أولا لعدد الأشياء وإذا ذكرته لنفسه ولداته كان وجودا فقط.



all beings is not pure in any way, and even if there is a unity, it is not true in its essence. Then we should know that this unity is contingent and accidental, and is a thing that adheres to another, so that it is nothing else if not an effect of another thing. The accidental unity, therefore, must come from the True One – may His name be exalted.<sup>21</sup> In other words, the accidental unity which is associated with existent substances must necessarily originate from the One, the unique and single Truth. His high essence cannot be regarded as anything among the following: genus, species, differentia, property, accident, substance, quantity, quality, relation, position, whole, part, some, all, limit, and that which is limited. Overall, He does not fall under any category; on the contrary, He is the First, the Truth, the Creator, the Eternal, the Creator of all these meanings, the Realizer of the thatnesses and units of the world. He is also the creator of the multiplicities which consist of these units. He did not create all these out of a thing that precedes them. Rather, they are wholly created beings that were brought into existence by the Creator the Exalted.<sup>22</sup>

{16} It has been said that the unit, if it is taken in terms of its being the principle and the measure with which the things are numbered, is called by these names. But if it is taken in its essence, then it is only the absolute thatness. Moreover, if the unity in all the things that we have explained is accidental and not true, it is necessary that the one who makes this accident happen in these places is the thing which possesses the essential, true unity. Everything that accidentally happens in a thing must be found truly and essentially in another thing.<sup>23</sup> That which is by essence cannot come from another thing, for this would entail the existence of an actual infinite. Thus, the cause of the unity in all beings is the One, the Truth by essence. He does not acquire either His unity or His being from anything else than itself. For the givers cannot be infinite. Everything that is subject to unity is caused by unity. Every single thing among sensible things possesses both multiplicity and unity together. Thus, the unity in them is accidental, and it is an effect coming from an active principle. Given that the multitude is composed of a group of units, it follows that if the unit does not exist, the multiplicity does not exist, either. So the cause of every sensible and intelligible thing is the True One, who does not acquire either His unity or His being from something different from Himself. That which is not preceded by another thing in any sense is the One who eternally exists. The Eternal, therefore, is the creator of all beings. If a thing is different from the unity that it possesses, the unity must be regarded as the maintenance of all [beings]. If things departed from the unity whose meaning we have explained, that is, the common being for all these beings, they would revert and perish at the departure of the unity in no time.<sup>24</sup>

{17} It has been said that every arrangement and rank starts from the one and then proceeds to the multiplicity which is coordinated with this one, and every arrangement and rank which is multiple ascends to the one.<sup>25</sup> Thus, the one is the starting point of the formation of the multiplicity which is coordinated with it. For this reason the one becomes many as one order and one arrangement. If the one were not separate, there would be neither many nor order or arrangement at all.

{18} Thus, the one is the pure, exact limit which does not accept either addition or subtraction, since it does not mean a number. On the contrary, it signifies the simple being which is not subject to multiplicity of any sort. If you leave the one and start mentioning the two, you enter the level of number, and that will lead you to infinity. The reason is that the number accepts both addition and subtraction. If you attach the one to the things, it turns out to be the first in number for the things; but if you mention it *per se* and in its essence, it is only being.

- 63r وكل شيء يعرف بشيء أول، فذلك هو الواحد وهو مكيفه | ولذلك كان الواحد أولا للعدد ولم يكن هو عددا. لأن العدد أيضا يعرف بالواحد، فهو أول له. فالواحد مكيف كل جنس من الأجناس عاد لها. لأنه مكيف للجوهر وللكمية والكيفية وسائر النعوت. وذلك أنه يقال جوهر واحد وجوهران وثلاثة جواهر. ويقال في الكمية إثنان وهو أول العدد والواحد مكيف للإثنين وهو أول له والعدد الإثنان. ويقال في الكيفية بياض واحد. فإن كان الواحد واقعا على هذه الأشياء التي ذكرنا فلا محالة أنه في باب ذاته هو غير هذه الأشياء. فإذا قلنا واحدا ونحن نريد به عددا هيولانيا فهو غيره. وإذا قلنا واحدا ولا نريد به عددا هيولانيا كان مذكورا بباب ذاته. لأننا إذا قلنا بياض واحد فهو غير البياض إذا ذكر بباب نفسه. وإذا قلنا حركة واحدة فهو غير الحركة إذا ذكر بباب نفسه. وكذلك إذا قلنا فكر واحد أو علم واحد أو علة واحدة فهو غيرها إذا ذكر بباب نفسه. فالواحد الذي هو مكيف لسائر الأشياء ومن أجله سميت الأشياء واحدا فواحدا فهو 10 الواحد بالإضافة كما يقال درهم واحد أو دينار واحد أو بياض واحد أو حركة واحدة. والواحد المحض الذي لا يضاف إلى حركة ولا إلى فكرة ولا إلى علم ولا إلى علة فهو وجود فقط. | فالواحد لا يعد، لأنه وجود فقط. ولا بد من محض قبل المشوب وواحد قبل الكثرة.
- {19} وقيل: الأنية المحضة صفة للباري تعالى لا اسم والمراد به تنزيه ذات الباري تعالى وأن ينفي عنه الصفات المضافة إلى الأشياء المخلوقة التي أوجدها الباري جل اسمه. وأنيات هذه الأشياء مبتد له 15 متغيرة لم يستحقها بذواتها بل بإفادتها إياها مفيد وهو الباري جل جلاله. وهكذا الحكم في الهوية المحضة، فإن معنى هذه اللفظة هو بعينه معنى الأنية وإنما اختلفا في العبارة فقط والمعنيان واحد. وذلك أن لفظة الهوية إنما هي إشارة إلى الوجود وكذلك الأنية. وقيل: إنها الأنية المحضة من جهة أن الهويات الأخر قوامها ليس بذواتها بل بموجد أوجدها، وإن انقطع عنها قبض موجدتها تلاشت وهدمت على المكان. فليس إذا شيء منها هوية محضة. وقول القائل إن الأنية صفة كالمائية وغيرها من نظائرها 20 فالمراد بذلك أن هذه كلها صفات وأبحاث عن الشيء الموجود وهي الأنية والمائية والكيفية واللمية والأشياء المركبة تبحث عنها بهذه المعاني الأربعة أو بعضها مما يزيد على الأنية.
- {20} وأما الباري تعالى وإنما يبحث بالأنية التي هي دالة على نفس الوجود. فالأنية إذا أبسط الصفات وأعلها وأبعدها | عن التركيب. فالأنية معبرة عن الوجود لا كالإسم، لأن الإسم لا يقتضي إلا الإشارة إلى موجود، والأنية صفة لأنها تعبر عن الوجود بتصويرها في أنفسنا حالا 25 للشيء المعتقد، وهذه الحال هي البساطة والوجود.
- {21} وقيل: إن أفعال الله تعالى راجعة بأجمعها إلى الحكمة والمصلحة وهما أمران مقترنان لا يجوز التفرقة بينهما في العقل مع وجود الخلائق، والحكمة تضاف إلى الله تعالى لأنها من صفاته الذاتية كالعلم والجود والرحمة، والمصلحة تضاف إلى المخلوقين وهي نتيجة الحكمة. وهو تعالى لا يفعل إلا ما هو أصلح لخلائقه وذلك الأصلح معلول بالحكمة.
- 30

Everything is known by means of a first thing, and this is the “one” for that thing and its measure. It follows that the one is the first for the number while it is not a number, since the number too is known by means of the one; thus the one is the first with respect to the number. The one is the measure of all genera, and it is that which numbers them. This is because it is the measure for substance, quantity, quality and the other attributes, and for this reason one can say “one substance”, “two substances”, “three substances”. One can also say “two” according to the quantity, for the two [in this case] is the first number and the one is [regarded as] the measure of the two. So, the one is the first with respect to it, and the two is a number. Moreover, one can say, according to quality, “one white”. If the one is referred to all the things that we have mentioned above, there is no doubt that it is different from these things taken in its essence. If we say “one” [for a thing] and we mean by this the “hylic number”, then it is different from that thing. But if we say “one”, and do not mean by this the “hylic number”, then it is mentioned *per se*. Similarly, if we say “one white”, then it is different from the “white” when it is mentioned *per se*. If we say “one motion”, then it is different from the motion when it is mentioned *per se*. Thus, if we say “one idea”, “one knowledge”, or “one cause”, then it is different from them when it is mentioned *per se*. Consequently, the one which is the measure of all the other beings, and the principle of the fact that the things are called “one” and “one” is the one according to the relation, as when we say “one dirham”, “one dinar”, “one white”, or “one motion”. But the Pure One is not related to motion, nor to any idea, knowledge, or cause: it is only Being.<sup>26</sup> It follows that the One cannot be numbered because it is only Being. It is necessary that what is pure exists before what is impure, and the one before the many.

{19} It has been said that pure thatness is an attribute of God the Exalted, not a name. This attribute is meant to de-anthropomorphize the essence of the Creator, the Exalted, and to remove from Him the attributes which are related to the created things which have been brought into existence by the Creator – may His name be exalted. The thatnesses of these things, which have been created as changeable, do not owe their thatness to their essence, but to a donor who gives it to them. This donor is the Creator, the Exalted. The same is true for the pure being, because the meaning of this expression is the same as the meaning of thatness. They differ from each other in utterance while the meaning is the same. For the word “being” is an identification of the existence, and so is “thatness”. It has been said that [the pure being] is the pure thatness, considering that the maintenance of other beings is not by their essence but by a creator who brings them into existence. Should their Creator lose His hold on them, they would disappear and perish in their existence. Therefore none of the things is pure being. There is the statement “thatness is an attribute such as whatness and their like”. What is meant by this statement is that all these are attributes and investigations of the existent thing. These investigations are thatness, whatness, quality and why-ness. These four meanings, or some of them plus thatness, are investigated in composite things.

{20} Concerning the Exalted Creator, He is investigated as to the thatness which signifies the very existence. Thus, thatness is the simplest and the highest of the attributes, and the farthest from composition. Hence, thatness denotes existence, but not as a name, because a name must only signify an existent; rather, thatness is an attribute because it denotes existence by describing this attribute in us as a state of the believed thing. This state is simplicity and existence.

{21} It has been said that the actions of the Exalted God are all rooted in wisdom and benefit. These two are connected to each other in that one cannot rationally distinguish one from another regarding the existence of creatures. The explanation is that wisdom is attributed to God the Exalted because it is among His essential attributes such as knowing, benevolence and compassion, while benefit is attributed to creatures because it is the result of wisdom. God the Exalted only does what is the most advantageous for His creatures, and this advantage is caused by wisdom.

- {22} وقيل: الواحد الأول والحق المحض تعالى اسمه أعلى من الصفة وإنما عجزنا عن صفته لتفرده بالوحدانية المحضة لأنها فوق كل الوحدانية، وإنما يوصف العلل الثواني التي استنارت من فوق من العلة الأولى. وذلك أن العلة الأولى لا يستنير من نور آخر ولا يستمد من حق آخر لأنها هي الحق الأول والنور المحض الذي ليس فوقه نور ولا حق. ومنها تفيض النور على ما دونها من العلل الثواني فمن أجل ذلك صار الأول وحده يفوت الصفة وكل شيء إنما يعرف من تلقاء علته ويوصف من تلقاء ما 5 فوقه وليس فوقه شيء. وإذا كان الشيء علة فقط وليس بمعلول لم يعلم صفته. فالعلة إذا لا يوصف لأنها | أعلى من الصفة. وليس يبلغها المنطق، وذلك أن الصفة لا يكون إلا بالمنطق، ولا يكون المنطق 64v إلا بالعقل والعقل بالفكر والفكر بالوهم والوهم بالحس، والحق الأول والواحد المحض فوق هذه الأشياء كلها. لأنه علتها ومبدعها ولذلك صار غير واقع تحت الحواس والوهم والفكر والمنطق، فليس إذا بموصوف، فنفي الصفات إذن عنه تعالى إثبات له من حيث هو، فتبارك الله أحسن الخالقين. 10
- {23} وكل ما هو للمعلول الأول أعني العقل الذي هو أول موجود أوجده الباري تعالى فهو للعلة الأولى الحق الأول إلا أن ذلك لها بنوع أرفع وأعلى وأكرم.
- {24} وقيل: إن الأشياء التي قد بلغت النهايات فليس ينبغي أن يسمى باسم الأشياء الواقعة تحت النهايات، والموصوف إذا بلغ أقصى نهايته لا يمكن أن يرد، فيوصف بنهايته، ولهاذا ما قيل إن الباري تعالى هو الخير لأن الخير نهاية كل فضيلة، وكل ما يوصف بفضيلة فهو دون الحق الأول 15 الذي هو الخير المحض، ولما كان كذلك فليس يمكننا أن نمجده بالعقل الذي هو دونه لأنه تعالى نهاية النهايات. ولذلك ينبغي أن نذكره تعالى جده بالتمجيد والتقديس ونعلم مع ذلك أننا لم نبلغ مقدار قدره وإنما استوجب العقل اسم الفضل والمدح، لأنه نال جميع ما ناله من الفضائل من الله تعالى بلا واسطة، إذ هو | أول مبدع أبدعه وهو دونه وتكامل فضيلة الواحد الحق تعالى وهو 65r إبداع العالم على النظام الحقيقي الذي أوجبه حكيمته العالية التامة.
- {25} وقيل: إن الأشياء الموجودة بذاتها وهي الأوائل التي ليس لها متوسط ولا يثبت خارجة عن ذاتها إنما يكون تحديدها بالاستقراء والتصديق وبالقياس الطوبيقي، وأصحاب العلوم يستعملون تلك الأوائل مسلمة ويأخذون حدودها أنها كذلك ويجعلونها مبادئ لبراهينهم في علومهم. وقد تبين لنا إحالة طلب البرهان على إثبات المبادئ وذلك كقول القائل إن الله جل ذكره هو <ليس> المبدأ 20 الحق، فإنه لا يمكنه أن يبين ما هو ولا يمكنه إقامة البرهان عليه بالماهية لتقدمه جميع الأسباب 25 ولأن النعوت والأوصاف التي يظن أنها حد لها فارقة بينه وبين خلقه هي ذاته ومأخوذة من جوهره وليست هي أسباب متقدمة لوجوده، إذ الأشياء الذاتية هي معاً وليست بعضها أسباباً لبعض وإن سمى الإنسان أمثال ذلك حداً له فلا مانع يمنع عنه كقوله إنه تعالى الحي بذاته الأزلي وكقوله هو تعالى ولي كل إحسان وسبب كل خير، إذ ليس كل حد هو سبب خارج وإنما الحد الخارج هو المحيط بالموضوع وأما المثبت لذات الشيء بلا برهان ولا سبب من خارج فقد يسمى حداً داخلاً. 30

ms هو المبدأ : scripsi هو <ليس> المبدأ 24 || ms. إذن : scripsi إذا 6

{22} It has been said that the First One and the Pure Truth – may His name be exalted – transcends description. We fail in describing it because of His being the only one who possesses the pure oneness. For [the Pure Oneness] is above any oneness. The First One is described only through the second causes which are illuminated by the light of the First Cause. This is so because the First Cause is not itself illuminated by any other light and not aided by any other truth, since it is itself the First Truth and the Pure Light above which there is neither light nor truth. From it, light emanates through other second causes. As a result, the First Cause alone became that for which description fails. Every thing is known and described only from its cause. Yet there is no cause above it. Therefore, when a thing is only a cause and is not an effect, its description is not known. Therefore, the cause is not described for it is above description; nor does speech reach it. For description comes about only through speech, and speech through intelligence, and intelligence through thought, and thought through estimation, and estimation through sense. But the First Truth and the Pure One is above all things because it is cause and creator of them. Due to this, it happens that it does not fall under sense, estimation, thought or speech. Therefore it is not describable. Rather, negation of the attributes from God the Exalted is an affirmation for God as He is. So blessed be God, the best of creators!<sup>27</sup>

{23} Among all the effects, the first effect, that is Intellect, which is the first being created by God the Exalted, depends upon the First Cause, the First Truth. However, as to the First Cause, it is said in a higher and nobler way.<sup>28</sup>

{24} It has been said that the things that reach the end are not necessarily called “things which fall under the end”. That which is described, if it has reached its complete end, cannot turn back and be described by its end.<sup>29</sup> Thus, it has been said that God the Exalted is the Good itself because the good is the end of every virtue. Everything that is described by a virtue is different from the First Truth, who is the Pure Good. Once this is established, we cannot sanctify Him with [the power of] intellect, which is below Him. For God the Exalted is the end of the ends. Therefore, we must mention Him – may His greatness be exalted – with glorification and sanctification; nonetheless, we must know that even if we do so, we do not reach the level of His glory. However, Intellect deserves the name of virtue and praise because intellect achieves what it achieves thanks to the virtues which derive from God the Exalted, without any intermediary.<sup>30</sup> This is because Intellect is the first creation of God, even though it is below God and strives to reach the perfection of the One, the Truth – may He be exalted –, a perfection which means the creation of the world by a true design, as is required by His high, full wisdom.

{25} It has been said that the things that exist by their essence – and which are [called] “primaries” in so far as they do not have intermediaries nor are they established out of their essence<sup>31</sup> – are defined by induction, assent and dialectic syllogism. Scientists regard these “primaries” as accepted premises, and define them so; they make them the principles for their demonstrations in their sciences. That being so, it has already become clear to us that seeking for the demonstration of principles in order to prove them is impossible, since it would be like to say that God – may His Name be exalted – is <not> the true Principle. In fact, one cannot explain what He is nor can he demonstrate Him in His essence, because He precedes all the causes, and the properties and the attributes which are assumed to be His definition which distinguishes Him from His creatures, are actually His essence, and are taken from His substance. These properties and attributes are not causes which precede His existence. For the essential things are together, and some of them are not causes for the others. If human beings take similitudes of this kind as definitions of God, there is nothing that prevents them from doing so. This is similar to saying that “God the Exalted is eternally living by His essence”, and to saying that “He the Exalted is the donor of every benevolence and the cause of every good”. This is because not every definition is given by an external cause. In fact, the external definition is the one which covers the subject. However, that which proves the essence of a thing without any demonstration or any external cause is called an “inner definition”.

65v | لأن الحد يقال على أنحاء شتى ولهذا ما حكم الأنبياء عليهم السلام والروحانيون من الحكماء رحمة الله عليهم أن الله يعرّف بنور الله، وقالوا: إنا نعرف جميع الأشياء بالله ولا نعرف الله بالأشياء، وهذه هي المعرفة العالية المقترنة باليقين الخالصة عن شوائب الظنون. فأما استعمال القياس والبرهان والاستدلال بالظاهر على الباطن وبالجلي على الخفي وبالمصنوع على الصانع وبالمؤلف على المؤلف وبالمركب على المركب، فهو الصناعة التي استخرجها أهل النور المقدم ذكره بقوة نورهم الذي هو 5 أمر الهي يقصر عنه إلا من أهله الله له، وهي من أشرف الصناعات الإنسانية وهو السبيل إلى معرفة حقائق الموجودات. ثم الارتقاء من ذلك إلى معرفة خالقها وموجدها ومبدعها وهو بالحقيقة أثر من النور المشار إليه.

{26} وينبغي أن نعلم أن البرهان على أنية الشيء يكون على أنحاء مختلفة. فمنها ما يكون من أعراض الشيء ومن أشياء غريبة عن جوهره ومنها ما يكون من ذات الشيء ومن جوهره. وهذا 10 أيضا قسمان: قريب وبعيد. ومثال ذلك في إثبات الباري تعالى فكالتقربانات والعبادات والندور والصدقات. وأما من الأشياء الذاتية البعيدة فكالمبدع وكالشافى والحىي. ومن الأشياء الذاتية القريبة فكدوام تحريكه وفعله للمختلفين في الحركات والانفعالات، فمن أثبت أنية الشيء | من الأعراض 66r لن يضح مائيته ولا وجوده بالاضطرار، ومن أثبت أنيته من أشياء ذاتية له جوهره سهل عليه الخروج من بيان أنيته إلى بيان مائيته، لأن بمقدار ما يجتمع لنا من أسباب علم أنيته نصل إلى علم مائيته. 15 {27} ومما يوضح لنا أن العقل هو المقتني للمقدمات الأولى أن القوى النفسانية المدركة منها ما ليس بدائم الصدق كالفكر والظن، لأن الموضوع لمطلبهما الأمور الممكنة وهذا العنصر يمكن أن يختلف ويكون بخلاف ما يفكر ويظن. ومنها ما هو دائم الصدق كالعقل والعلم. وليس إدراك المبادئ والمقدمات الأولى للعلم، لأن العلم الصحيح هو البرهان فقد بقي أن يكون إدراك مبادئ البرهان واقتنائها ومعرفتها للعقل فقط. وإذا كان الشيء الذي به يعرف غيره أعرف من غيره 20 والمبادئ هذه حالها، فالمبادئ إذن أعرف مما يعرف بالمبادئ ويجب أن يكون معرفتنا بالمبادئ أصح من معرفتنا بما هي له مبادئ ولا شيء أصح من العلم إلا العقل. فالعقل إذا هو الذي يعرف المبادئ وهو نفسه مبدأ فاعل لمبادئ البرهان. وهو العقل الذي يسوق إليه الباري تعالى بالحيوان الناطق ويجعله غايته. ومنزلة هذا العقل من النفس منزلة البصر من العين ومعما أنه نهاية الحيوان الناطق 66v فهو أيضا المبدأ الفاعل له وهو جوهر فرد في غاية البساطة | حتى إن ذاته وتعقله ومعقوله واحد. 25 وهو أول موجود أوجده الباري تعالى اسمه. فالعقل إذن هو مبدأ العلم وهو مبدأ البرهان لأن العلم الصحيح هو الذي يكون بالبرهان ومنزلته من مبدأ البرهان منزلة كله من كل مبدأ البرهان. فإن جميع العقل يطابق جميع المعقول.

{28} وإذا قد بلغ بنا القول هذا المبلغ فينبغي أن نذكر سطرًا في الاستدلال بالمحدث على المحدث وبالمصنوع على الصانع. فإن بعض الناس يقولون إن الاعتماد في المعارف كلها على السماع والخبر و 30

|| ما ms add. et del. علم 15 post || sub lineam أنية<sup>(1)</sup> 13 || ms دونها : scripsi أنية 9

ms اقتناوها : scripsi اقتنائها 20 || ms الأوله : scripsi الأولى 16

For the definition is said in various ways. This is why the prophets – may they be blessed – and the spiritual among the sages – may God’s mercy be upon them – judged that God is known only through the light of God. And they said, “Indeed we know all the things thanks to God, not that we know God thanks to the things”. This is the noble knowledge which is connected to certainty, which, in turn, is free from the impurities of opinions. However, the use of syllogism, inference, and demonstration, of the inference of the invisible from the visible, and of the hidden from the apparent, of the Creator from the creation, of the author from the authored, of the composer from the composed, is the art which the “people of light” mentioned above draw, with the power of their light. This light is a divine reality which only those who are allowed by God can understand. This art is among the noblest human arts, and it is the path to the knowledge of the realities of beings. Then the ascension from this to the knowledge of the Creator of beings, and of the One who brought them into existence is indeed a sign of the light mentioned above.

{26} We should know that we can get the demonstration of the thatness of a thing in several ways. One way is that which is taken from the accidents of that thing, and from the things which are close to its substance. Another way is that which is taken from the essence of that thing and from its substance. In turn, this is subdivided into two parts: close and far. The example of this consists in proving the existence of God the Exalted, such as sacrifices, worships, vows and charities. Concerning the essential things which are far, it is like “the Creator”, “the Healer” and “the Resurrector”. Concerning the essential things which are close, it is like the continuity of His moving and acting for the things that change in movements and affections. Anyone who proves the thatness of a thing from accidents does not clearly understand the whatness nor the existence of that thing, without a doubt. However, anyone who proves the thatness of a thing from its essential features and from its substance easily proceeds from the explanation of its thatness to the explanation of its whatness. This is because we reach the knowledge of His whatness, as much as we collect the causes of the knowledge of His thatness.

{27} One of the things that clarify for us the fact that intellect receives the first premises is that among the perceiving faculties of the soul there are (1) those which are not always right, such as cogitation and opinion, for the subjects of their search are possible matters, and such things can be either subject to change, or turn out to be different from what is thought and assumed. (2) Then there are those faculties which are always right, such as intellect and science. To grasp the principles and the first premises does not belong to science, because the right science is [the act of] demonstration itself. Thus, only one option is left, that is, that the grasp of the principles of the demonstration, their reception, and their knowledge belong only to intellect. Given that the thing by which another is known is more knowable than others – and we know that the principles are so –, the principles are more knowable than what is known through the principles. It follows that our knowledge of the principles is more right than our knowledge of the things they are the principles of. And nothing is more right than science if not the intellect. So, the intellect is that which knows the principles, and it is in itself the principle which produces the principles of demonstration. It is the intellect<sup>32</sup> which God the Exalted gave to rational animal, namely to human beings, and set it as their goal. The rank of this intellect with respect to soul is like the rank of sight with respect to the eye. While intellect is the goal of the rational animal, it is its active principle. It is a separate substance of absolute simplicity, to a degree that its essence, its intellection and its intelligible are all the same thing. Intellect is the first being created by God – may His name be exalted.<sup>33</sup> Consequently, Intellect is the principle of the knowledge and the principle of the principle of demonstration. For the right science is that which is obtained through demonstration, and its rank with respect to the principle of demonstration is like the rank of the whole science with respect to all the principles of demonstration. This is because the whole intellect in its entirety conforms with the whole intelligible in its entirety.

[Inferring the Originator from the Originated]

{28} Since we have reached this point, it is necessary for us to mention a couple of lines in the argumentation which moves from the originated to the Originator and from the created to the Creator. This is because some people hold that one must completely depend on tradition and transmitted knowledge, denying the inference,

يدفعون الاستدلال ويبطلون القياس والنظر وبعضهم يميلون كل الميل إلى حجج العقول وفضيلة النظر وتصحيح المقاييس والأدلة ويقولون: لو كان العلم بخلق السماوات والأرضين وما فيهما وأن لها خالقا خلقها ومنشأ أنشأها لا ينال إلا بالسمع والأخبار لما أمر الله عباده بالنظر في آياته والتفكير في خلق مخلوقاته من أرضه وسماواته. وقد قال الله تعالى « أفلم ينظروا إلى السماء فوقهم كيف بنيناها وزيناها وما لها من فروج والأرض مددناها وألقينا فيها رواسي وأنبتنا فيها من <كل> زوج بهيج تبصرةً 5 وذكري لكل عبد منيب ». وقال « وفي الأرض آيات للموقنين وفي أنفسكم أ فلا تبصرون ». « ومن آياته أن خلقكم من تراب ثم إذا أنتم بشر تنتشرون ». « إن في ذلك لآيات لقوم يتفكرون ». 67r « ومن آياته أن تقوم السماء والأرض بأمره ثم إذا دعاكم دعوة من الأرض إذا أنتم تخرجون ».

{29} وأقول إن المذهب المتوسط بين هذين المذهبين هو الطريقة المثلى التي ينبغي للعاقل أن يسلكها لأن النظر لا يكون إلا بعد الخبر وفي الخبر من الفوائد ما لا مدفع له. لأن البراهين الصادقة التي اعتمدها 10 الحكماء في تصحيح عقائدهم الحكمية مطابقة للحجج التي أوردها أهل الأديان في تأكيد مذاهبهم الدينية. وبالجملة فإن الكلام الصحيح منه يكون تصديقه ومعه تحقيقه وإتما تهيئاً للإنسان الوصول إلى العلوم الحقيقية والمعارف اليقينية بالخبر والنظر جميعاً. وإذا كان ذلك كذلك فمن أول ما يجب على المفكر أن يتفكر في بدنه وعجب تركيبه وإحكام بنيته ويتأمل حق التأمل آثار حكمة الله تعالى في تأليف أعضائه الظاهرة والباطنة واشتمال كل عضو منه على قوة يظهر بها أفعاله واختصاص كل واحد 15 منها بفعل على حدة لا يشاركه فيه غيره، مثل اختصاص العين بالبصر والأذن بالسمع والأنف بالشم والفم بالذوق والجلد باللمس ومثل اختصاص القلب بالتفكير واللسان بالتعبير واليد بالمشق والتجريب والدماغ | بالتخيل والتصور والذهن والذكاء. ثم يتفكر في عظم الآيات في تركيب الأفلاك المحيطة 67v بعضها ببعض ونظم الكواكب فيها وتصرف أحوالها في الاتصالات والافتراقات واختصاص كل فلك وكل كوكب بنوع من التأثير في العالم مثل إضاءة الشمس والقمر وغيرهما من الكواكب، كما قال الله تعالى « ومن آياته خلق السماوات والأرض واختلاف ألسنتكم وألوانكم ». « إن في خلق السماوات والأرض واختلاف الليل والنهار لآيات ». وقال « تسبح له السماوات السبع والأرض ومن فيهن وإن من شيء إلا يسبح بحمده ولكن لا تفقهون تسبيحهم إنه كان حليماً غفوراً ». لأنه إذا تأمل ذلك علم أن هذا كله من صنع صانع حكيم وفعل قادر عليم. وذلك أن الإنسان إذا رجع إلى الأشياء القائمة في عقله التي بعضها بديهة وضرورة وهو أن البناء لا بد له من بان والكتابة لا بد لها من كاتب والصورة لا بد لها 20 من مصور والمؤلف لا بد له من مؤلف، ثم رأى فعلاً من الأفعال التي لا يجوز أن يكون بحسب قدرة العباد مثل خلقه الإنسان والسماوات والأرض التي هي مبنية أعجب البناء ومؤلفه أتقن التأليف علم أن لها بانياً ومؤلفاً وصانعاً ومنشئاً، | ثم يتفكر فيعلم أنه لا بد من أن يكون بانيتها ومؤلفها يشبهها أو لا 68r

cf. Q. 51:20-21 وفي الأرض-تبصرون 6 || addidi كل 5 || cf. Q. 850:6 أ فلم-منيب 4-6  
 cf. Q. 30:25 ومن آياته-تخرجون 8 || cf. Q. 30:21 إن في-يتفكرون 7 || cf. Q. 30:20 ومن آياته-تنتشرون 6-7  
 cf. Q. 30:22 ومن آياته-ألوانكم 21 || إن في ذلك ms add. et del. وألوانكم 21 post || supra lineam تأليف 15  
 cf. Q. 17:44 تسبح-غفوراً 22-23 || ms لايق [...] : conieci لآيات 22 || cf. Q. 3:190 إن في خلق-لآيات 21-22  
 mg. الإنسان 27 || الأصلب ms add. رأى supra || ms لها scripsi له 26



invalidating syllogism and speculation, whereas some others entirely base themselves on the proofs of their reason, the virtue of speculation and the correction of syllogisms and conclusions. The first group says: if the knowledge about the creation of the heavens and the earth and that which is found between them, and the knowledge that there is a Creator who created them and a builder who built them was acquired only by tradition and transmitted knowledge, God would have not recommended His servants to look into His verses and to reflect on the creation of His creatures on His earth and in His heavens. Indeed, God the Exalted stated [in the Qur'an]: "Do they not look at the heaven above them? How we have made it and adorned it, without any flaws in it? And the earth we have spread it out and set thereon mountains standing firm, and produced therein every kind of beautiful growth in pairs. This is to be observed and commemorated by every servant who turns to God" (50:6-8). "On the earth are signs for those of assured faith, as also in your own selves: will you not then see?" (51:20-21). "Among His signs is this that He created you from dust and then, you are human beings scattered far and wide!" (30:20). "Verily in that are signs for those who reflect" (30:21). "And among His signs is this, that heavens and earth stand by His command. Then when He calls you by a single call, you come forth straightway from the earth" (30:25).

{29} Hence, I say that the middle position between these two views is the exemplary method, a way which an intelligent man should follow. This is because speculation comes only after transmitted knowledge, and there are many benefits in transmitted knowledge – one cannot deny this. The correct demonstrations upon which sages depend in correcting their philosophical beliefs are in accordance with the arguments put by the people of religion, as a confirmation of their religious views. Overall, the correct statement can be affirmed, and with this comes its verification. Human beings become ready for achieving the true sciences and certain knowledge by both transmitted knowledge and speculation. If this is so, the first obligation for the thinker is to observe his body, the wonder of its composition and the soundness of its structure, and to really reflect on the traces of the wisdom of God the Exalted in the composition of its external and internal organs. He will see that every organ has a power with which the actions of a person come out, and every organ is designed specifically for an action that other organs do not share, such as the eye is specialized in seeing, the ear in hearing, the nose in smelling, the mouth in tasting, and the skin in touching; moreover, the heart is specialized in thinking, the tongue in expressing, the hand in extending and pulling, the brain in imagining and conceptualizing, in mind and intelligence. Then he reflects on the great signs in the composition of the celestial spheres which are surrounding each other, the order of the stars therein, the conduct of their states in connections and disconnections, the particularization of every sphere and star to a kind of influence on the world, such as the illumination of the sun, the moon and other stars. Thus God said: "And among His signs is the creation of the heavens and the earth and the diversity of your languages and your colors" (30:22). "Indeed, in the creation of the heavens and the earth and the alternation of the night and the day are signs [for those who understand]" (3:190). "The seven heavens and the earth and whatever is in them exalt Him. And there is nothing that does not exalt Him by the praise of Him, but you do not understand their way of exalting. He is, indeed, ever Forbearing and Forgiving" (17:44). When he considers that, he knows that this is so because of the creation of a wise Creator, and the action of a knowing powerful Being. The explanation is that human beings turn to the things which are found in their intellects and find that some of them are evident and necessary, such as the knowledge that a building must have a builder, a writing must have a writer, a shape must have a shaper, a composition must have a composer. And then they see such an action that no human being is capable of, such as the creation of the human being, of the heavens and earth; they become aware that they were created in the most wonderful way and composed in the most proficient way. So they immediately know that there is a builder, a composer, a creator and a founder. Then, they continue to contemplate and they realize that the builder and composer either resembles these creatures or not;

يشبهها وفي حكمها أو خارج من حكمها، فإنه إن كان حكمه حكمها، وَجَبَ أن يكون له بان ومؤلف ثم كذلك إلى ما لا نهاية له. وهذا فاسدٌ، فصح أن بانيها ومؤلفها لا يشبه المبنى المؤلف وإلا كان الأمر يفسد فلا يصح بان ولا مبنى ولا مؤلف ولا مؤلف.

{30} والدليل على حدث العالم أن العالم أجسام وأعراض، والأجسام كلها لا تخلوا من أن يكون ساكنة أو متحركة أو مؤلفة أو مفترقة والسكون هو المقام في الموضع والتحريك هو الانتقال 5 عنه. فلما لم يخل الجسم من الحركة والسكون والتأليف والتفريق ووجدنا هذه الأشياء محدثات ووجدنا الجسم لم يسبقها قضينا على الجسم أنه محدث. لأن كل ما لم يسبق الحدث ولم يكن موجودا قبله متعريا منه فهو محدث مثله. إذ كان المحدث ما لم يكن فكان القديم ما سبق المحدثات. ولما رأينا أجزاء الجسم لا تخلوا من أن تكون مجتمعة أو مفترقة أو ساكنة أو متحركة وأن الاجتماع والافتراق حدثان، وما لم يسبق الحدث ولم يكن موجودا قبله متعريا عنه فلا يكون 10 إلا حدثا، وما كان حدثا يجوز أن يحدث ويجوز أن لا يحدث، | فلا بد له من محدث لا يشبهه ولا يكون إلا قديما.

{31} ونجد أيضا جسما يستحيل فيصير جسما آخر لا الذي كان والجسم الثاني محدث وحكم الأول حكمه، وإذا كان جزء الجسم محتملا للسكون كان كل جزء منه كذلك. وإذا صح أنه يتحرك جزء منه صححت الحركة على كل جزء، ومحال أن يوجد ساكنا ومتحركا معا، فقد علم 15 أن معنى حله به تحرك وسكن. والفصل بين الحركة والسكون هو كون أحدهما على حال وكون الآخر على خلافها فلا بد من القول بأن الفصل بين المتحرك والساكن والكائن في هذا المكان بعد أن كان في غيره يحصل باضطرار ليتوصل به إلى إثبات الأكوان، ووجه التوصل به إلى ذلك أننا إذا علمنا الجسم كائنا في مكان وقد كان كائنا في غيره وعلمنا أنه لا وقت يشار إليه إلا ويجوز عليه أن يكون في واحد من المكانين بدلا من الآخر، لأنه لا اختصاص له بأحدهما إلا مثل ما له بالآخر. 20 ثم علمنا أن وجوب كونه في أحدهما دون الآخر، وعلمنا أن كونه فيه متجدد فلا بد من شيء لأجله وجب كونه في هذا المكان سوى نفسه ووجودها وحدثها، لأن ذلك أجمع كان حاصله له قبل كونه في هذا المكان وهذا يقتضي ثبات الأكوان. فإذا | صح بالنظر حدوث الأكوان التي لا تنفك منها الأجسام ولا تعرى منها، فقد علم أنها تقتضي الوجود بعد العدم وأنها لو كانت قديمة 69r لكانت بالوجود أولى منها بالعدم وكان لا يجوز أن تعدم وهي قديمة. فيحصل العلم عند ذلك 25 أنها ليست بالوجود أولى منها بالعدم إلا عند قصد قاصد وإرادة مريد. إذا كان عالما بذلك فيعلم أنها موجودة ليست بقديمة، وليس بين القديم والمحدث منزلة ثالثة، فيعلم بذلك أنها محدثة.

ms. لأحدهما : scripsi أحدهما 21

either the builder is in the same position as the created beings or it is in a different position. If their position is the same, then there must be another builder and composer [who would create them], and this proceeds ad infinitum, a result which is false. Therefore the conclusion is that the builder and composer does not resemble the thing which has been built and composed. Otherwise, the conclusion leads to falseness: there would be neither builder nor building, or composer or composition.

{30} The proof for the origination of the world is that the world consists of bodies and accidents. All the bodies are either motionless or in movement, either composite or separate. Rest is the position in the place, while motion is the departure from it. Given that body is not free from motion and rest, and compositeness and separation, we find that the things possessing these qualities are originated beings. We also find that the body does not precede these qualities. Therefore we judge that the body is originated. This is because everything which neither precedes origination nor exists before it without it, is likewise originated. For the originated is "that which did not exist and then came into existence". On the contrary, the eternal is that which precedes the originated beings. We observe that the parts of the body are either in juxtaposition or separated, either in rest or motion, that juxtaposition and separation are both originated. That which neither precedes origination nor exists before it without it being originated, and what is originated can occur or not. Thus, there must be an Originator which does not resemble it, and is eternal.

{31} Furthermore, we observe that a body changes and becomes another body which is not what it was before. The second body is originated, and the same applies to the first body. If the part of the body is subject to rest, every part in it will be that way. When it is established that a single part is subject to motion, motion occurs in all the parts. However, it is impossible to be motionless and in movement at the same time. Therefore, it is known that there is a meaning which prevails in it, and according to which the thing either moves or rests. The distinction between motion and rest consists in that a thing is in one state while the other is in the opposite. In this case, there is no doubt in the discourse which states the distinction between the body which is in motion and the motionless, and between that which is in this place after having been in another place, is achieved by necessity, in order to acquire the proof for the generations.<sup>34</sup> The way of this acquisition is that, when we observe a body that comes to be in a place after having been in another place, we know that in any given moment it is possible that it is in one of these two places instead of in the other. For it is impossible to single out one place excluding the other. Then, we know that it necessarily comes to be in a place instead of the other, and that the fact that it comes to be there is a change. Therefore, there must be something whose coming to be, whose existence and origination necessarily occur in that particular place, and it cannot be the thing itself. This is because all these properties were ready for that body before it came to be in that place, and this necessitates the existence of the generations. By reflecting on this, we know that when the origination of such generations is established, the bodies, which are neither separated nor independent from these generations need to exist after having been non-existent. If the generations were eternal, they would have been more suitable for existence than for non-existence, and it would have been impossible that they cease to exist, hence they would have been eternal. Therefore, we get the knowledge that the generations are no more suitable for existence than for non-existence, and that they depend upon the intention of someone who intends and by the will of someone who wills. When this is established, we also know that the generations are existent beings but they are not eternal. Consequently, it is known that the generations are originated, since there is no third position between the eternal and the originated.

{32} والوجود حالة معقولة للموجود في أنه يجب له الوجود بالفاعل الموجد له أو لما هو عليه في نفسه وذاته. فإذا استحال كون القديم موجودا بالفاعل وجب أن يكون موجودا لما هو عليه في ذاته، فلذلك وجب له الوجود أبدا دائما واستحال عدمه. والعدم ليس بحالة معقولة يجب للمعدوم بالنفس، بل الرجوع بالعدم هو إلى نفي الوجود عنه فقط. فثبت أن ما جاز أن يعدم ليس بقديم، فإذا لم يكن قديما جاز القضاء بحدوثه. فإذا صحت المعرفة بحدوث الأكوان وحدوث 5 الأجسام التي لا يجوز أن تخلوا منها وأن تسبقها، وقد علم أن المحدث ليس بالوجود أولى منه بالعدم إلا عند قصد قاصد وإرادة مريد، إذا كان | عالما بذلك وكانت المحدثات مع اختلاف 69v أجناسها مشتركة في أنها ليست بالوجود أولى منها بالعدم إلا عند قصد قاصد وإرادة مريد وجب أن يكون سبيل الجسم هذا السبيل في أنه ليس بالوجود أولى منه بالعدم وعلم أن للجسم محدثا كما لسائر المحدثات محدثا.

10 {33} ويعلم أيضا أنه لم يحدث نفسه. إذ قد علم أن المحدث لا يكون محدثا، إلا وهو على أحوال: منها أن يكون قادرا وأنه إذا فارقه بعض ما فيه خرج من أن يكون قادرا. ومنها أن يكون موجودا، فإذا كان معدوما فأجرى ألا يكون قادرا. فإذا لم يكن قادرا لم يكن فاعلا ولا محدثا. فيعلم أن الشيء الذي أحدثه هو غيره. ولو كان الجسم أحدث نفسه لوجب كونه قادرا قبل أن يكون فاعلا. وقد علمنا أنه في حال عدمه يستحيل كونه قادرا، ولو صح أن يحدث نفسه في 15 حال عدمه لَصَحَّ أن يحدث غيره من الأجسام في حال وجوده. لأنه لا يمكن أن يختص في حال عدمه بما ليس يحصل له في حال وجوده. فلا بد من إثبات محدث له أحدثه وأخرجه من العدم إلى الوجود، ولو كان محدثا لا من محدث لكان مراد لا من مريد ومعلوم | لا عالم له ومفعول لا 70r فاعل له. وقول القائل «إن الأشياء بعضها من بعض ولم يزل يحدث» متناقض. لأن قوله «لم يزل» يوجب أن لا ابتداء له وقوله «يحدث» يوجب أنه كان بعد أن لم يكن وقد نفى ما ظن أنه أثبت. 20 وذلك هو غاية الجهل والغباوة.

{34} وقد قال قوم بقدم الجوهر وحدث الأعراض، وذلك أيضا باطل. لأنه لو كان الجوهر قديما لم يجز أن يتغير عما هو به في الأزل. إذ لا يجوز أن يتغير القديم عن صفة القدمة كما لا يجوز أن يتغير المحدث عن حقيقة الحدث، ولو جاز ذلك كان يكون القديم محدثا والمحدث قديما وفيه إبطال حقائق الأشياء. والقديم ينفي عنه صفات الحدث وهي الحركة والسكون والاجتماع والافتراق 25 والتماسة والمباينة والتناهي والحدود والكون والأماكن والهيئة والصورة. وهذه كلها صفات دالة على حدث ما وصف بها. والعالم هو أجسام وأعراض فوجب أن فاعل العالم ليس بجسم ولا عرض، لأنه فاعل الأجسام والأعراض وخالقها ومنشؤها. واسم العالم يدل على تقدير وإتقان، ولا يكون التقدير والإتقان إلا من مدبر متقن.

sub lineam. من (1) 18

{32} Existence is an intelligible state for being, in so far as existence is necessary for being either because of the agent which creates it, or because of what this being is *per se* and in its essence. When the option that the eternal exists by the agent is eliminated, it necessarily follows that the eternal exists only by what it is *per se* and in its essence. Thus, existence is necessary for the eternal everlastingly. Besides, non-existence is impossible for it. Non-existence is not an intelligible state which is necessary for the non-existent *per se*. On the contrary, the coming back to non-existence is only the negation of existence from the thing. Then, it is established that that which can become non-existent is not eternal. If it is not eternal, one can judge about its origination. After having established the knowledge of the origination of generations and the origination of bodies, which cannot be independent from and anterior to generations, is established, and after having acquired the knowledge that the originated is no more suitable for existence than for non-existence were it not for the intention of someone who intends and for the will of someone who wills, it is also known that all of the originated beings – no matter if their genera differ – share the characteristic of not being more suitable for existence than for non-existence, were it not for the intention of someone who intends and for the will of someone who wills. Therefore the situation of the body must be the same in that it is no more suitable for existence than for non-existence. As a result, the body needs an originator, just like the other originated beings do.

{33} Furthermore, it is known that the body does not originate itself. This is because there is this established knowledge that the originator is an originator under certain conditions. One of them is its being powerful. If some parts of the originator are separated from the essence of the originator, it will not be a powerful being anymore. One of the conditions is its being existent. If it were non-existent, how could it be powerful? If it is not powerful, then it is neither an agent nor an originator. Thus we know that the thing that has originated the body is different from the body. If the body originated itself, it should have been powerful before being an agent. However, we have already established that it could not have been powerful, were it non-existent. If it might have originated itself while it was non-existent, it might have originated other bodies when it was existent. This is because it is impossible to distinguish, while it was non-existent, what does not occur to it when it exists. Consequently, there must be an originator for the body, in order to bring it from non-existence to existence. If the body were originated without an originator, it would be intended without anyone who intends, known without a knower, made without a maker. If someone states that the things come one from another, and that the origination eternally goes back ad infinitum, this statement is contradictory. This is because the expression “eternally” requires that there is no beginning for it, whereas his statement “origination” requires that it came to be after it was not. By doing so, this person negates what he thinks to prove. This is absolute ignorance and stupidity!

{34} Some people held the view of the eternity of substance and the origination of accidents. This is also false. If the substance were eternal, it would not have changed from the state in which it is was for eternity. This is because the eternal cannot change from the attribute of eternity. Similar to that, the originated being cannot change from the true nature of origination. Were it so, the eternal would be originated, and the originated eternal. To state that is to invalidate the true nature of things. The attributes of origination must be negated apropos the eternal, that is, motion, rest, conjunction, dissolution, contiguity, separation, finitude, limits, generation, locations, disposition, and form. All these are attributes which show the origination of a thing which is characterized by them. Thus, the world is an aggregate of bodies and accidents. Therefore, it necessarily follows that the Maker of the world is neither a body nor an accident. For it is the maker of the bodies and accidents, and it is the one who brought them into existence. Besides, the very name of the world connotes choice and perfection. Choice and perfection only come from who rules and brings to perfection.

- 70v {35} ولما وجدنا أجزاء العالم مختلفة في جهاتها من تحت وفوق | وقدام ووراء ويمين وشمال واختصاص كل جزء من أجزائه بجهة مخصوصة علمنا أن الأمر فيه لا يخلوا من أحد وجهين: إما أن يكون اختصاصه بجهة من الجهات لذاته وإما لمعنى آخر زائد على الذات. ولو كان ذلك لذاته لما جاز التنقل عليه وأن يكون مرة تحتاً ومرة فوقاً وهو في كلتا الحالين موجود الذات، لأن الأوصاف الذاتية لا تتبدل على الذات والذات على حالها، ولو كان كذلك صار موجوداً لا موجوداً ويتأدى 5 ذلك إلى إبطال الإثبات والنفي والإيجاب والسلب، ولو كان العلة في تنقله وجوده لكان عند التنقل بطلان وجوده، لأن تبدل العلة يوجب زوال المعلول ولا يخلوا ذلك من وجهين: إما أن يكون قديماً أو حادثاً، ولا يصح أن يكون قديماً لأنه يؤدي إلى جواز التبدل على الذات ولا يجوز ذلك لاستحالة العدم على القديم، فقد صح أن يكون حادثاً. وإذا ثبت أنه حادث فقد وجب أن يكون له محدث، إذ لا يصح حدوث الشيء إلا عن محدث. 10
- {36} وقد علمنا أيضاً أن العالم مؤلف مركب والتأليف والتركيب حادث ولا بد للحادث من المحدث. فإن قيل: «لم قلت إن التأليف حادث». قلنا: الدليل عليه أن يكون الكل حادثاً، لأننا وجدنا بعض التأليفات حادثاً. وإذا كان البعض حادثاً وجب أن يكون الكل حادثاً، لأن 71r التأليفات كلها متماثلة لا اشتراكها في جميع الأوصاف. |
- {37} والآخر صفات الفعل وهي التي يوصف بالقدرة عليها وعلى ضدها، كقولك رحيم وغفور 15 وكريم وحليم وما أشبه ذلك. لأنه يرحم المؤمنين يعذب الكافرين ولا يطرد ذلك في صفات الذات. والفعل لا يصح إلا من قادر ولا قادر إلا والفعل جائز منه، والفعل المحكم المتقن لا يكون إلا من حق قادر عالم. وإذا وجد الإنسان العالم الذي يشاهده على غاية الإتيان والإحكام علم أنه من فعل حي عالم قادر وهو تعالى قادر لنفسه. والواحد منا لا يقدر إلا بقدرة تحله. وحكم الأجسام كلها في صحة هذه الطريقة فيها حكم واحد. فجميع الأجسام القادرة قادرة بقدرة تحلها وحد القادر 20 هو الذي يصح منه الفعل إذا لم يكن هناك مانع وأن الفعل لا يتعذر منه والله تعالى قادر لنفسه.
- {38} والدليل على أنه لا يجوز أن يكون قادراً بقدرة وعالم بعلم وحيًا بحياة هو أنه تعالى لو كان كذلك لم يخل ما صار به حيًا قادراً عالماً من أحد وجهين: إما أن يكون هذه الصفات قديمة أو محدثة. فلو كانت قديمة لم يكن | بأن تصير علوماً وحيوة وقدرة أولى من أن تكون عالمة 71v قادرة حية. إذ القديم يجب أن يكون مثل القديم لنفسه، ولو كانت محدثة لكان يجب أن يكون قبل أن يحدثها غير عالم ولا حي ولا قادر. فقد صح أن الله تعالى عالم قادر حي لنفسه وذلك كله خبر عن معنى واحد وحقيقة واحدة. وصح أيضاً أن القديم لما كان عالماً لنفسه لم يكن عالماً بعلم يختص ببعض المعلومات دون بعض. ولما كان قادراً لنفسه لم يكن قادراً بمعنى يختص

ms. لأن أن : scripsi لأن || mg. لأننا وجدنا-حادثاً 13 || del. ms أن يكون الكل حادثاً 12

{35} When we find the parts of the world that differ in their directions such as “below”, “above”, “front”, “behind”, “left” and “right”, and we know the particularization of every part to a special direction, we know that there are two options in this case. First, the particularization of a part to any direction depends upon the essence of that part. Second, it depends upon another meaning outside essence. If the first option were correct, that part would not move from the first direction, and it would not be sometimes below and sometimes above; instead, that part would always be in one or another place by its essence. For the essential attributes do not change with respect to essence, while essence stays on its state. If that were so, it would have been existent and not existent at the same time, and this would lead to the falsification of [the rule of] affirmation and negation. If the cause of its movement were its being, its being would perish while moving, since the change of the cause entails the vanishing of the effect. There are also two options in this case. Either it is eternal, or it is originated. It is impossible that it is eternal because this entails the possibility that the essence is changed. This is not possible, either, because the eternal is not subject to non-existence. Consequently, the part must be originated. If this is established, it needs an originator by necessity. The origination of a thing must only come from an originator.

{36} We have already established also that the world is composite. If the composition is originated, there must be an originator for the originated. If one says, “why do you say that the composition is originated?”, we say that the proof for it is that the whole is originated because we find that some compositions are originated. If some are originated, the whole is necessarily originated. For all compositions are equal in that they share all of the attributes.

[On Attributes]

{37} (...) <sup>35</sup> and the other is the attributes of action, that is, those attributes over which God has power, or their contraries, such as your statement “[He is] compassionate, merciful, benevolent, gentle” etc. For instance, He shows mercy to believers while He punishes unbelievers, and His power of doing these two contrary actions cannot be conceived of in the attributes of essence. Action is only possible if it comes out of a powerful agent, in other words, for every powerful agent the action is possible. The action which is firm and perfect comes out of a powerful and knowing being. When human beings find extreme perfection and stability of the world which they observe, they know that it is the action of a living, knowing and powerful being. Moreover, God the Exalted is powerful *per se*, while everyone of us is powerful only by a power which is placed in us. This is because all bodies share the same rule regarding the validity of this method. Accordingly, all powerful bodies are powerful by a power that is placed in them, since the definition of the powerful is “that out of which the action can proceed if there are no obstacles”, and “that for which the action is not impracticable”. Therefore, God the Exalted is powerful *per se*.

{38} The proof of the fact that God cannot be powerful by a power, knowing by a knowledge and living by a life is that, if He the Exalted were so, the attribute by which God became living, powerful and knowing would not escape one of these two possibilities: either these attributes are eternal, or they are originated. If they were eternal, their becoming knowledge, life and power would not be more preferable than their being knowing, powerful and living. <sup>36</sup> This is because the eternal must be like the eternal *per se*. If these attributes were originated, God, in this case, should have been not-knowing, not-living, and not-powerful before the attributes were created. Then it follows that God the Exalted is knowing, powerful and living *per se*. Furthermore, all of these attributes are predicated of the same meaning and the same truth. It also follows that the Eternal, given that He knows *per se*, is not knowing by a knowledge which is related

- بعض المقدورات دون بعض، صار عالما بكل المعلومات قادرا على ما يصح أن يكون مقدورا عليه. وإنما جاز أن يقدر العباد على شيء ويعجزوا عن شيء مما هو من جنسه، لأنهم قادرون بقدرة هي غيرهم. وحق كل قدرة أن يقدر بها على جزء من المقدور في جزء من المحل من الجنس الواحد أن يفعل ذلك في الوقت الواحد، ولهذا ما يتعاون إثنان على حمل ما لا يطيقه الواحد. وقد ثبت بذلك أن العالم لنفسه عالما بأشياء مختلفة وأنه لا يجب أن يكون مختصا بأن يعلم شيئا من الأشياء لما يكون العلم مختصا به. فليس بأن يكون عالما بأشياء على سبيل التفصيل | أولى منه 72r بأن يكون عالما بكل المعلومات على سبيل التفصيل، لأن تعلقه بالمعلومات مفارق لحال العلم الذي يختص بشيء في صحة تعلقه بمعلوم دون معلوم. والمراد بهذا القول التمييز بين العالم لنفسه والقادر لنفسه وبين العالم بعلم والقادر بقدرة.
- {39} ولا يصح أن يكون القديم تعالى ذكره عالما بعلم يحدثه. فإذا هو عالم لنفسه. والقدرة 10 إمكان الفعل وصحة الفعل وحصول الفعل يقتضي شرطا آخر وهو الإرادة، ومن شرط القادر المختار أن يقدر على الفعل وعلى تركه وأن يكون أحد البدلين منه جائزا ممكنا، ولا يجوز أن لا يفعل أحدهما أصلا ولا يجوز الخروج من كونه قادرا إن لم يفعل. والفعل المحكم المنسق على نظام يدل على أن فاعله عالم به، وقد صح أن القديم تعالى عالم لنفسه، فهو إذن عالم بكل معلوم.
- {40} ولا يجوز أن يقال إنه تعالى جسم. لأن حد الجسم أن يكون له حجم ومقدار وحيز وامتداد 15 في الأقطار الثلاثة ولو شاركه في هذه الصفة لشاركه في سائر أوصاف الجسم. لأن الاشتراك في الوصف الأخص يوجب الاشتراك في جميع الأوصاف. والقديم تعالى عن ذلك علوا كبيرا.
- {41} والدليل أيضا على أن الله تعالى | عالم لنفسه أنه لو كان عالما بالعلم لم يخل ذلك العلم من أن يكون هو هو أو هو غيره أو هو بعضه. فإن كان هو هو وجب أن نعبد العلم ونشكره ونستغفره، وإن كان بعضه وجب أن يكون متجزئا والمتجزء محدود مصنوع. وإن كان غيره فلن يخلوا من أن يكون 20 قديما معه أو محدثا لم يكن فكان. فإن كان قديما معه وجب أن يكون غير الله قديما معه وكذلك حال الصفات الأخر. وهذا كفر ومحال. بينا استحالتة في غير موضع. وإن كان محدثا، وكان الله به يكون عالما، وجب أن يكون الله تعالى قبل حدوث العلم غير عالم. فلما بطلت هذه الوجوه كلها بطل أن يكون عالما بعلم ووجب أن يكون عالما لنفسه ولا يحتاج إلى علم به يعلم.
- {42} وزعم قوم من أهل البدعة أن الله عالم بعلم وقادر بقدرة لا هما هو ولا غيره ولا بعضه. 25 وقالوا إن القائل منا إذا قال هو هو ثم قال هو غيره فقد ناقض. فقيل لهم: كذلك إذا قال ليس هو هو ثم قال | ليس هو غيره فقد ناقض.
- {43} وزعموا أيضا أن الله عالما وقدرة اعتبارا بأنهم لم يشاهدوا عالما إلا بعلم. فيقال لهم: إذا جاز الاعتبار بالشاهد في ذلك فقد جاز في غيره. وقالوا أيضا «ما شاهدنا فعلا إلا جسما» فيقال



only to some parts of the whole knowable things and not to others. So, given that He is powerful *per se*, He is not powerful by a meaning which is related only to some parts of the whole potential things and not to others. Hence, He knows all the knowable things and has power over all that can undergo a power. Human beings may have power over one action and not over another one which arises from the same kind of action. This is due to the fact that they are powerful by a power which is distinct from them. It is in the nature of every power that one holds power over any particular potential in any particular place for the same kind of action, in order to perform that action in a given moment. For that reason, two people help each other to lift a weight, an action which one is not capable of doing alone. Therefore, it has been now established that the knower *per se* knows different things, and that it is not necessary for him to be singled out for knowing a particular thing, just because his knowledge is related to that. For him, to know things in detail is not necessarily better than to know all the knowable things in detail. This is because his relation to knowable things is different from the state of knowledge, a state which is particularly related to a thing inasmuch as the relation is possible to be established for one certain knowable thing rather than the other. Our purpose by all these explanations is to state the difference between the knower or powerful *per se* and the knower or powerful by a knowledge or a power.

{39} Furthermore, it is not possible that the Eternal – may His glory be sanctified – knows through a knowledge which He creates, since He is knowing *per se*. Power connotes the possibility of the action, and the actualization of the action entails another condition, which is will. It is among the conditions of the powerful and choosing agent to have the power to perform the action and to leave it as well. Besides, one of the options must be possible for him, while it is impossible that he does not perform one of these two, and that he comes out to be powerful, if he does not act. The masterly and designed action indicates that its agent knows it. It has been established that the Eternal the Exalted is knowing *per se*. Therefore, he knows everything that can be known.

{40} It is not possible to say that He the Exalted is a body, because body is defined as having volume, measure, space and extension in three dimensions. If He shares this attribute with body, then He would share all the other attributes which belong to body. This is because to share the attribute which is most specific for a thing entails sharing all the attributes that belong to that thing. The Eternal is above all this, Exalted and Great beyond measure!

{41} Moreover, the proof that God the Exalted is knowing *per se* is that, were He be knowing by a knowledge, this knowledge, in that case, would be either Him or other than Him, or even a part of Him. Were it part of Him, we would necessarily worship, praise and apologize to the knowledge! Were it part of Him, He would inevitably be divisible, and a divisible thing is limited and created. Were the knowledge other than Him, it would be either eternal with Him, or originated, that is, coming into existence from nothing. Were it eternal with Him, this would entail that there be other eternal beings other than God, and also other attributes would be so. This is such unbelief and absurdity which we have pointed out elsewhere. Were the knowledge originated, and if God became knowing by it, God the Exalted would not be knowing before the origination of the knowledge. When the falsity of all these options is shown, the falsity of the idea that God is knowing by a knowledge is also shown. Therefore, it follows that He must be knowing *per se* and does not need any knowledge by which He knows.

{42} Some people of heterodoxy claimed that God is knowing by a knowledge, powerful by a power, and that these two attributes are neither Him, nor other than Him, nor part of Him. They said, “when one of us say that it is Him, and then that it is other than Him, he contradicts himself”. We reply to these heterodox people that “similarly, when he says that it is not Him, and then that it is not other than Him, he contradicts himself, too”.

{43} Likewise they claimed that God has knowledge and power [different from His essence], inferring from the fact that they see that everyone knows by knowledge. Therefore it has been said to them, “If you can infer from what you see regarding this issue, you can also use this method in other issues, and thus say ‘we see that an agent is only a body’”. So we reply

لهم في الجواب: لو كان الفعال فعلا من أجل أنه جسم لكان لا جسم إلا والفعل منه صحيح. والموات أجسام ولا يصح منها الفعل. ومن قال إنه جسما اعتبارا بأنهم لم يشاهدوا فعلا إلا جسما فليقل أيضا إنه مؤلف ومركب وغير ذلك من صفات الجسم وذلك محال. ومعلوم أن حدوث الشيء لا يصح إلا من جهة القادر وبنفس القدرة فقد ثبت أن صحة الفعل معلقة بكون القادر قادرا، فلا يصح صدر الفعل إلا عن قادر، لأن طرد العلة وعكسها واجب.

5 {44} والفرق بين الفعل الصادر عن القادر والأثر الصادر عن الطبع هو الاختيار والاختلاف والتجنس، والأفعال المختلفة المتجنسة لا يصح إلا عن القادر المختار العالم الحكيم. ومعلوم أن صورة الإنسان وخلقته السماوات والأرضين وما فيهما أفعال محكمة متقنة مختلفة متجنسة متأدية إلى الغرض الصحيح وهذا الجنس من الأفعال لا يصح إلا من قادر عالم مختار حكيم.

10 {45} | والدليل عليه الاعتبار بالشاهد وذلك أن زيدا في حال كونه قادرا صح منه هذا النوع من الأفعال. فسيرنا أحواله وقلنا «لماذا صح منه ذلك؟» فلم يكن إلا لكونه قادرا مختارا، فلا يجوز صدور الأفعال المختلفة المتجنسة المتأدية إلى الغرض الصحيح إلا عن قادر مختار عالم. ووجود الفعل من الفاعل لا يخلو من وجهين: إما أن يكون على طريق الجواز وإما أن يكون على طريق الوجوب، فوجب أن يكون الفعل من القادر على طريق الجواز، لأنه قادر على الفعل وعلى تركه. ولو كان الفعل منه على طريق الوجوب لوجب أن لا يسبق على الفعل، ولو سبقه لا يسبقه إلا 15 بأدنى حال وأدنى مدة. ولو كان كذلك للزم حدوثه، لأن ما لا يسبق الحادث إلا بأدنى مدة فهو حادث كالنار. لأنه لما كان موجبا للإحراق لم يسبقه.

{46} وقد قال قوم: إن الفاعل فاعل لوقوع الفعل منه، لأن اسم الفاعل مشتق من الفعل ولا

74r يصح إطلاق اسم الفاعل عليه إلا عند وقوع الفعل منه. قال آخرون: إن الفاعل فاعل | لإمكان الفعل منه واسم الفاعل إنما هو مشتق من الصفات التي تناسب الفعل مثل قول القائل: «فلان 20 كاتب أو حكيم أو سيف صارم أو دواء مسهل أو غذاء مشبع» وإن لم يحصل منه في وقته ذلك شيء من الفعل، وكذلك إطلاق اسم الفاعل على القادر إذا صح منه الفعل قبل وقوعه. لأن فائدة القدرة صحة وجود الفعل منه، ولما كان صحة الفعل معللة بكون القادر قادرا استحال حصوله إلا عن القادر. والفرق بين الفعل الصادر عن القادر والأثر الصادر عن الطبع هذا النوع من الأفعال، أعني الاختيار والاختلاف والتجنس. لأن الفعل الطبيعي جنس واحد. وقد تقدم 25 القول في ذكر الجواهر وأنها ليست بأزلية، لأنها لا تخلو من الحوادث وما لا يخلو من الحوادث فهو حادث. ونقول: إن الجوهر من حيث هو جوهر لا يجوز خلوه عن الاجتماع والافتراق والحركة والسكون. والقابل للشيء لا يجوز خلوه عنه أو عن بدله. دليله المتحرك والسكن والأبيض والأسود وسائر الألوان وكذلك المعاني المتقابلة كما نشاهده. ثم إن الجوهر يقبل الزيادة والنقصان،

to them by stating that, if the agent is an agent because he is a body, every body would possibly act. But [it is apparent] that the dead are bodies; nevertheless, they cannot act. Those who say that God is a body, judging from the fact that they see that there is no agent without a body, must admit also that God is composite, as this is another characteristic of bodies. However, this statement is also absurd. Hence, there is no doubt that things originate only if they come out of a powerful agent. Considering the power itself, the possibility of the action is related to the fact that the powerful is powerful. Thus, the action can come out only from a powerful agent. This is because the extension of the cause and its reversion are necessary.

{44} The difference between the action which comes out of the powerful agent and the effect which proceeds from nature is choice, variety, and substantification. The actions which are various and substantiated can only come from the powerful, choosing, knowing, and wise agent. It is evident that the form of the human being and the creation of the heavens and the earth and that which is between them are all well-established, perfect, various and substantiated actions, which lead to the proper purpose. This kind of action only comes from a powerful, knowing, choosing and wise agent.

{45} The proof of this is the inference from what is observable. Thus, when we see someone who is in the state of being powerful, we know that it is possible for him to do this kind of action. Then we investigate his states and ask, “why is this possible for him?”. It is obvious that this action is possible for him only because he is a powerful and choosing agent. Therefore, all various and substantiated actions which lead to the proper purpose only come from a powerful, choosing, and knowing agent. The production of the action from the agent is either in the way of possibility, or in the way of necessity. Thus, the action must come from the powerful agent in the way of possibility. For it is powerful to do the action and its contrary at the same time. If the action is produced by the agent in the way of necessity, the agent would not precede the action, without doubt. And even if the agent precedes the action, it does that at the last state and time. If so, the origination of the agent would be inevitable. For what which precedes the originated only at the last time is originated, too. Fire can be taken as an example: even if it necessitates the burning, it does not precede it.

{46} Some people said, “the agent is agent only if the action comes out of it, because the name of the agent [in Arabic] is grammatically derived from “action”. Thus, the attribution of the name of “agent” is possible only if the action comes out of it”. Some others said, “The agent is agent because of the possibility of the action out of it, and the name of the agent is indeed grammatically derived from the attributes which are related to the action”, as the statements like “this person is a secretary, or a judge”, or “a sharp sword”, or “a laxative medicine”, or “a satisfying food”. These things are still called by these attributes even if they do not perform in this moment the actions which are attributed to them. Similarly, the name of “agent” is attributed to the powerful being, if the action is possible for it before the moment of the action. This is because the purpose of the power is the possibility of production of the action. If the possibility of the action is caused by the fact that the powerful is powerful, the action is only possible out of the powerful. The difference between the action which comes out of the powerful agent and the effect which proceeds from the nature is these kinds of actions, I mean, choice, variety, and substantification. For the natural action is only of one and the same kind [while the act of the agent is not so]. We have stated earlier that substances are not eternal. This is due to the fact that they are not free from originated events, and that which is not free from originated events is originated, too. And we say now that the substance in so far as it is substance cannot be free from conjunction, division, motion and rest. If something is capable of an action, it cannot be free from this action and its opposite at the same time. The proof of this consists in the examples of moving-resting, white-black and other colours. And this is true also for other opposite meanings, as we can see. Furthermore, substance is subject to addition and subtraction.

- والزيادة على الشيء وجود بعض بعد العدم والنقصان عنه عدم بعض بعد الوجود. وما وجد عن العدم | وانتفى بعد الوجود لا يكون إلا حادثا. وإذا ثبت حدوث البعض ثبت حدوث الكل، لأن الجواهر متماثلة، ومن حكم المثليين أن ما جاز على أحدهما جاز على الآخر، وما استحال على أحدهما يستحيل على الآخر. وقد بينا أن القديم لا يجانس الحادث.
- 5 {47} والدليل على أن الجوهر يقبل الزيادة والنقصان الاعتبار بالمشاهدات مثل الحيوان والنبات. والدليل على أن الجواهر متماثلة أنها قد اشتركت في جميع الأوصاف الذاتية والأحكام النفسية مثل الوجود والشيئية والشغل والمنع والحجم والتحيز. والدليل أيضا على حدوثها أنها يجوز عليها التغيير، وما جاز عليه التغيير والتبدل وجب أن يكون حادثا. لأنه لو كان قديما لما جاز أن يتغير وجواز التغيير يختص بالحادث واستحالة التغيير بالقدم والقديم ما وجب وجوده لذاته من غير نسبة إلى شرط، وما وجب وجوده لذاته استحال عدمه. وبهذه الحقيقة يمتاز القديم عن غيره من المحدثات.
- 10 {48} ومن الدليل على أن هذا العالم محدث ولم يكن في الأزل على هذه الصورة | والهيئة التي هو عليها الآن أن هيئة العالم وتركيبه خبر عن وقوع التأليف والتركيب على وجه مخصوص مثل التدوير والتثليث والتربيع وغير ذلك من الأشكال، ووقوع التأليف والتركيب على وجه مخصوص حادث. لأن ذلك يقبل التزايد والتناقص والتحول والتبدل، وما كان على هذه الصفة فهو حادث لاستحالة هذه الأوصاف على ما هو قديم.
- 15 {49} ومن الدليل عليه أيضا أن الأيام والليالي متناهية فيما قبل، لأنها موجودات على سبيل النظم والتوالي، والموجودات التي هي على سبيل النظم والتوالي تقتضي أولا اعتبارا بأيام الشهر والسنة ولياليها. ألا ترى أنها لما كانت موجودات على سبيل الترتيب والتوالي اقتضت أولا. وكذلك الحال في أيام العالم، وكما أن أيام الشهر والسنة ولياليها داخله تحت عد العادّ ولهذا يقتضي أولا كذلك أيام العالم داخل تحت عد العادّ من أجل أنها موجودات على سبيل النظم والترتيب والتوالي.
- 20 {50} | فإن قال قائل «إذن ينبغي أن يكون أحوال أهل الجنة وسرورها متناهية فيما بعد. وذلك أنها موجودات على سبيل الترتيب والتوالي، وهي تقتضي آخرا كما تقتضي أولا». قلنا: إنها تقتضي أولا ولا تقتضي آخرا بدليل أن الثاني والثالث يقتضيان أولا ولا يقتضيان آخرا. لأنه لو كانا يقتضيان آخرا كما يقتضيان أولا لاستحال وجودهما دون وجود آخرها كما استحال وجودهما دون وجود أولهما. فقد صح أن الثاني والثالث يقتضيان أولا ولا يقتضيان آخرا بعينه.
- 25 والكلام في هذا المعنى الشريف طويل إلا أن الاقتصار وقع على هذا القدر. وهو كاف لمن كان الحق طلبته ولم يكن المرء آفته والتعصب شيمته والله الموفق للخيرات لمّته.

فرغ من كتابته في الخامس والعشرين من شهر رمضان سنة إحدى وسبعين بأربعمئة بالفارسية  
روز اسفندارمد ماه اردیبهشت سنة تسع وستين بأربعمئة.

|| scripsit et del. ms هيا : supra lineam هيئة 12 || ms أنه : scripsi أنها 7 || عند ms add. et del. عنه 1 post

ms. أنه : scripsi عليه 16

Addition means the existence of something after non-existence whereas subtraction means the non-existence of something after existence. That which comes to be out of non-existence and ceases to exist after existence is originated only. When the origination of the part is established, the origination of the whole is established, too. This is because substances are similar. It is a kind of similarity such “that which is possible for one thing is also possible for the other, which is similar to the former”. And that which is impossible for one thing is also impossible for the other. We have explained that the eternal does not resemble the originated.

{47} The proof for the proposition that substance accepts addition and subtraction is the inference from what is observable, such as animals and plants. The proof for the proposition that substances are similar runs as follows: they share all of the essential attributes and natural judgments such as existence, thing-ness, occupation, prevention, volume and place. The proof for the origination of these attributes is that they are liable to alteration. That which is liable to alteration and change is originated. If it were eternal, it would not be subject to alteration. The possibility of alteration is typical of origination, whereas the impossibility of alteration is typical of eternity. The eternal is that whose existence is necessary by itself, without any relation to a condition, and that whose existence is necessary by itself cannot be non-existent. By this nature, the eternal differs from the other created beings.

{48} Among the proofs of the proposition that this world is originated and has not eternally been in the form it has now is that the form and composition of the universe indicates that it has been composed in a particular way, such as shapes like circle, triangle, and square etc. The occurrence of the composition in a particular way is originated, because it is subject to addition, subtraction, alteration and change. Therefore, that which happens with this attribute is originated because these attributes are impossible for that which is eternal.

{49} Again, among the proofs of the proposition that this world is originated is that days and nights are finite backwards, because they are beings which happen in order and succession. The beings which happen in order and succession entail a beginning, judging from the days and nights of a month and a year. Do you not see that they entail a beginning, because they are beings which happen in order and succession? This is also relevant when it comes to the days of the universe. Just like the days and nights of month and year are countable and thus entail a beginning, the days of the universe are countable, too, because they are beings which happen in order and succession.

{50} If someone says “then, the state of the people of heaven and their happiness is finite forwards. For they are beings which happen in order and succession and they will get an end, as they have had a beginning”, we reply, “they have had a beginning, but will not get an end, because the numbers two and three have had a beginning [which is the one] but they will not get an end. This is because, if they get an end as they have had a beginning, their existence would have been impossible, because of the lack of that end. On the contrary, their existence would be impossible, if there were no beginning. Thus, it is now established that the numbers two and three have had a beginning and will not get an end *per se*. The discourse on this noble meaning is long, while the way which we have taken here is short. However, it is sufficient for those whose wish is the truth, and for those whose weakness is not hypocrisy, and habit is not bigotry. God is He Who helps with good things by His grace.

### Notes to the Translation

<sup>1</sup> I have tried to maintain a gender-neutral language by making slight adjustments that I think do not harm the meaning. For example, I have changed the word “man” (*al-insān*) to the plural form, to escape masculine pronouns such as him/his. Otherwise, I have stayed with the masculine forms.

<sup>2</sup> This is not from the Qur’ān. For similar verses, see 6:88, 39:23.

<sup>3</sup> This saying is attributed to Plato: al-‘Āmirī, *al-Amad*, p. 41 Kara (quoted above, p. 69 n. 27).

<sup>4</sup> This saying is attributed to Aristotle: al-‘Āmirī, *al-Amad*, p. 43 Kara.

<sup>5</sup> This saying comes from the Gospel: John 4, 14.

<sup>6</sup> Allusion to Qur’ān, 30:30.

<sup>7</sup> The saying is attributed to Socrates: Abū l-Wafā’ b. Mubaššir b. Fātik, *Muhtār al-ḥikam wa maḥāsīn al-kalīm*, ed. ‘A. Badawī, al-Mu’assasa al-‘arabiyya li l-dirāsa wa l-našr, Beirut 1980, p. 120 (slightly modified).

<sup>8</sup> An echo of the Aristotelian distinction between what is better known to us and what is better known in itself. Aristotle maintains that, even though the latter is higher in rank, we can reach it only by means of the former: *An. Post.* I 2, 71 b 33 - 72 a 4.

<sup>9</sup> In Sa’īd b. Dādhurmuz’s usage, the term *annīyya* indicates ‘existence’, as he explicitly states that in following pages. To prevent its confusion with the more common term *wuḡūd*, and in order to point to its special place in the relevant terminology of Islamic philosophy, I have chosen to stay with ‘thatness’ throughout the text, no matter if *prima facie* it might sound quite odd. The *Webster’s Third New International Dictionary* defines ‘thatness’ as “the condition of being an existent thing apart from whatever may be known or stated about that thing”, a definition that is suitable for this context.

<sup>10</sup> The expression *wāḡīb al-wuḡūd* adopted here by Sa’īd b. Dādhurmuz is reminiscent of Ibn Sīnā, *K. al-Šifā’. Ilāhiyyāt*, I, VI, pp. 37-42 Anawati - Zāyid.

<sup>11</sup> The author enumerates here some derivative forms of the Arabic root *k ṭ r*, namely *katra*, *takattur*, *taktīr*, *iktār*, *istikṭār*.

<sup>12</sup> This is the key principle of the negative theology, typical of the Neoplatonic tradition and expressed by Dionysius the pseudo-Areopagite in a way which is reminiscent of the saying quoted by Sa’īd b. Dādhurmuz: *On the Divine Names*, I 5, p. 117.1-4 Suchla: “The divinely formed intellects (...) celebrate it most fittingly through the denial of all beings”, English trans. by J.D. Jones, Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite, *The Divine Names and Mystical Theology*, Translated from the Greek with an Introductory Study, Marquette U. P., Milwaukee 1980 (Medieval Philosophical Texts in Translation, 21), p. 113.

<sup>13</sup> This saying is attributed to Socrates: see al-Šahrastānī, *al-Milal wa-l-niḥal*, ed. A.‘A. Muḥannā - ‘A.Ḥ. Fā’ūr, Dār al-Ma’rifa, I-II, Beirut s.d., I, p. 405.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Endress, *Proclus Arabus* (quoted above, p. 71 n. 39), pp. 269-70; 276; 278; *Kitāb al-Īdāḥ li-Aristūṭālīs fi l-ḥayr al-maḥḍ*, p. 12.15 Badawī (quoted above, p. 72 n. 41).

<sup>15</sup> Cf. *Kitāb al-Īdāḥ li-Aristūṭālīs fi l-ḥayr al-maḥḍ*, pp. 8.10-9.1 Badawī.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 9.1-7 Badawī.

<sup>17</sup> Allusion to Q 67:4.

<sup>18</sup> The term *wahda* is rendered sometimes as ‘unit’, and sometimes as ‘unity’ depending upon the context.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. al-Kindī, *Fi l-Falsafa al-ūlā*, in *Rasā’il al-Kindī al-falsafīyya*, ed. M. ‘A. Abū Rīda, Dār al-Fikr al-‘arabī, I-II, Cairo 1950-53, I, pp. 126-7.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. al-Kindī, *Fi l-Falsafa al-ūlā*, pp. 127-8 Abū Rīda.

<sup>21</sup> Compare al-Kindī, *Fi l-Falsafa al-ūlā*, pp. 131-2 Abū Rīda: “The unity in everything which we have defined is not true unity. (...) The unity in them is in an accidental manner, and that which occurs accidentally to something is not a part of its essence. That which occurs accidentally to a thing comes from something else, and therefore an accident in something which receives an accident is an acquisition from something else, and is an acquisition from a donating agent. (...) Since we have explained that the unity in all these things is by accident, no part being by essence but rather by accident, the unity which occurs in a thing by accident is acquired from that in which it occurs by essence. Thus there is a one, true, of necessity uncaused unity (...).”, trans. A.L. Ivry, *Al-Kindī’s Metaphysics. A Translation of Ya’qūb ibn Ishāq al-Kindī’s Treatise On First Philosophy (fi l-Falsafah al-ūlā)*, SUNY Press, Albany 1974, p. 84.

<sup>22</sup> This is a summary of the argument expounded by al-Kindī in Chapter Four of his *Fi l-Falsafa al-ūlā*, pp. 143-62 Abū Rīda, whose conclusion is echoed quite literally: “The True One, therefore, has neither matter, form, quantity, quality, or relation, is not described by any of the remaining intelligible things, and has neither genus, specific difference, individual property, common accident or movement; and it is not described by any of the things which are denied to be one in truth. It is, accordingly, pure and simple unity, i.e., (having) nothing other than unity, while every other one is multiple. Unity, therefore, when an accident in all things, is not the True One, as we stated previously: the True One being the one *per se* which is never multiple in any way, or divisible in any kind (of divisibility), neither by way of its essence nor by way of

something other than it, neither time, place, subject, predicate, all or part, and neither into substance nor into accident, nor ever by any kind of divisibility or multiplicity” (trans. Ivry, pp. 112-13).

<sup>23</sup> See above, n. 21.

<sup>24</sup> Compare al-Kindī, *Fi l-Falsafa al-ūlā*, pp. 161-2 Abū Rīdā: “Consequently the first cause of unity in unified things is the True One which does not acquire unity from another, as it is impossible for there to be things giving, one to another, without an initial limit. The cause of unity in unified things is accordingly the True One, the First, and everything which receives unity is caused, every one other than the One in truth being one metaphorically and not in truth. (...) Inasmuch as unity and multiplicity together are in every sensible object and that which is attached to it, and the unity in it is entirely an effect from an agent which occurs accidentally in it and not through its nature, and multiplicity is, necessarily, a group of single units; then it is necessary that there would never be multiplicity if there were not unity. Accordingly every multiplicity comes to be through unity, and if there were no unity the multiple would never have being. Hence every coming to be is simply an affection which brings into existence what did not exist; and consequently the emanation of unity from the True One, the First, is the coming to be of every sensible object and what is attached to the sensible object; and (the True One) causes every one of them to exist when it causes them to be through its being. Therefore the cause of coming to be is due to the True One, which does not acquire unity from a donor but is rather one through its essence. Moreover, that which is made to be is not eternal, and that which is not eternal is created, i.e., it comes to be from a cause; consequently that which is made to be is created” (trans. Ivry, pp. 112-13).

<sup>25</sup> This saying is reminiscent of prop. 1 of Proclus’ *Elements of Theology*, whose Arabic translation is extant: see Endress, *Proclus Arabus*, pp. 3-4 (Arabic text), 253-4 (German translation).

<sup>26</sup> See above, n. 14.

<sup>27</sup> This passage comes from prop. 5 of the *Kitāb al-Īdāh li-Aristūṭālīs fi l-ḥayr al-mahḍ*, pp. 8.10-9.12 Badawī (quoted above, p. 72 n. 41). I have mainly followed the translation by R.C. Taylor, in St. Thomas Aquinas, *Commentary on the Book of Causes*, translated by V.A. Guagliardo - Ch.R. Hess - R.C. Taylor, The Catholic Univ. of America Press, Washington D.C. 1996, pp. 45-6.

<sup>28</sup> This sentence comes from the conclusion of prop. 5 of the *Liber de Causis* mentioned in the preceding note: see *Kitāb al-Īdāh li-Aristūṭālīs fi l-ḥayr al-mahḍ*, p. 9.13-14 Badawī: “The First cause is signified only from a second cause, which is an intelligence and is referred to by the name of its first effect, but only in a higher and better way because the effect has, further, what belongs to the cause, but in a more sublime, better and nobler way, as we have shown” (trans. Taylor, p. 46).

<sup>29</sup> This might be a summary, with some misunderstandings, of prop. 15 of the *Liber de Causis*: see *Kitāb al-Īdāh li-Aristūṭālīs fi l-ḥayr al-mahḍ*, pp. 16.14-18.3 Badawī.

<sup>30</sup> See the final part of prop. 8 of the *Liber de Causis*: cf. *Kitāb al-Īdāh li-Aristūṭālīs fi l-ḥayr al-mahḍ*, p. 12.5-17 Badawī.

<sup>31</sup> This is an echo of Proclus’ definition of the self-subsisting substances: see *Kitāb al-Īdāh li-Aristūṭālīs fi l-ḥayr al-mahḍ*, p. 26.1-12 Badawī.

<sup>32</sup> The key word in this passage, ‘*aql*’, is rendered as ‘reason’ and ‘intellect’ depending upon the context.

<sup>33</sup> See *Kitāb al-Īdāh li-Aristūṭālīs fi l-ḥayr al-mahḍ*, p. 23.9 Badawī.

<sup>34</sup> Several terms in English are used to render *kawn*, a key term for the physical theory of the Mu‘tazilite Kalām. In J. van Ess, *The Flowering of Muslim Theology*, Harvard U. P., Cambridge Mass. 2006, it is rendered by “location” (p. 92). Frank, *The Metaphysics of Created Being* (quoted above, p. 81 n. 79), p. 16, translates “becoming”. I have chosen “generation”, a word that, I think, is more fitting to our text.

<sup>35</sup> Both the syntax and the flow of the reasoning seem to be interrupted here. The manuscript does not bear any marginal note or mark in the text, and there is no trace of physical damage in it. Hence, one may surmise that it has been copied from a defective exemplar, or also that the copyist had a complete exemplar, and he made a mistake.

<sup>36</sup> Active participles.