CONTINUITY AND TRANSFORMATION: THEOSIS IN THE ARABIC TRANSLATION OF GREGORY NAZIANZEN'S ORATION ON BAPTISM (ORATION 40)

PhD Thesis

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SUMMARY

This doctoral thesis examines the Arabic translation of Gregory Nazianzen's *Oration on Baptism* (Oration 40) by a tenth-eleventh century Melkite translator and writer, Ibrāhīm ibn Yūḥannā al-Anṭākī. In particular, it focuses on the way al-Anṭākī presented Gregory's theosis theology and investigates the extent to which he engaged with Islamic thought, primarily his borrowing of concepts and structures from Islamic debates such as the unity and the divine attributes of God and the perfection of the soul. This study asks to what extent this theology, which combines both the social and the spiritual aspects of human perfection, or the reception of Gregory helped the Antiochene Melkites develop a strong identity at a time when they were ruled by the Byzantine Empire but attached to the Islamicate culture they shared with their Muslim neighbours.

The key conclusion of this thesis is that the Arabic translation of Oration 40 can be said to present a version of Gregory's theosis theology which is enriched by the concepts and terms used by Christian and Muslim writers of the period. Although it cannot be said to represent a development in this theology but should be viewed as a creative retelling of it, al-Anṭākī's erudition in the discussions of Christian Arabic theology and Islamic thought, as well as his references to these discussions in the words he used, makes this text particularly interesting. Theosis seems to have captured what he saw as essential for the good of his community: attachment to the Church or tradition, living the life that Christ lived in this world but with an emphasis on the public expression of the faith, perfection of the soul and the union with God here on earth and in the world to come.

DECLARATION

This work has not been submitted in substance for any other degree or award at this or any other university or place of learning, nor is being submitted concurrently in candidature for any degree or other award.

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STATEMENT 1

This thesis is being submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of PhD.

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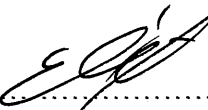
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This thesis is the result of my own independent work/investigation, except where otherwise stated.

Other sources are acknowledged by explicit references. The views expressed are my own.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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ABBREVIATIONS

CCSG — Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca

CMR — Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History, 4 vols., eds. David Thomas et al. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009-2012.

CN — Corpus Nazianzenum

CSCO — Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium

GALex — A Greek and Arabic Lexicon,

eds. Gerhard Endress and Dimitri Gutas. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992-.

GCAL — Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur

NPNF — A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Church, Series 2, eds. P. Schaff and H. Wace. Grand Rapids, Mich., 1989-1991 (Reprint).

PG — Patrologia Curcus Completus. Series Graeca, ed. J.-P. Migne. Paris, 1857-1866.

PO — Patrologia Orientalis

POC — Proche-Orient Chrétien

SC — Sources Chrétiennes

Library of Congress and the American Library Association

Transliteration Scheme

Initial	Medial	Final	Alone	Romanization
ا	ا	ا	ا	omit
بـ	ـبـ	ـب	ب	b
تـ	ـتـ	ـت	ت	t
ثـ	ـثـ	ـث	ث	th
جـ	ـجـ	ـج	ج	j
حـ	ـحـ	ـح	ح	ḥ
خـ	ـخـ	ـخ	خ	kh
دـ	ـدـ	ـد	د	d
ذـ	ـذـ	ـذ	ذ	dh
رـ	ـرـ	ـر	ر	r
زـ	ـزـ	ـز	ز	z
سـ	ـسـ	ـس	س	s
شـ	ـشـ	ـش	ش	sh
صـ	ـصـ	ـص	ص	ṣ
ضـ	ـضـ	ـض	ض	ḍ
طـ	ـطـ	ـط	ط	ṭ
ظـ	ـظـ	ـظ	ظ	ẓ
عـ	ـعـ	ـع	ع	ʿ(ayn)
غـ	ـغـ	ـغ	غ	gh
فـ	ـفـ	ـف	ف	f
قـ	ـقـ	ـق	ق	q
كـ	ـكـ	ـك	ك	k
لـ	ـلـ	ـل	ل	l
مـ	ـمـ	ـم	م	m
نـ	ـنـ	ـن	ن	n
هـ	ـهـ	ـه	ه	h
وـ	ـوـ	ـو	و	w
يـ	ـيـ	ـي	ي	y

Vowels and diphthongs:

◌َ	a	ا◌َ	ā	◌ِى	ī
◌ُ	u	◌َى	ā	◌َوْ	aw
◌ِ	i	◌ُو	ū	◌َىْ	ay

- ى ◌ (alif maqṣūra) used in place of ا◌ to represent the long vowel romanised ā is not romanised á.
- When the noun or adjective ending in ة (tāʾ marbūṭa) is indefinite, or is preceded by the definite article, ة is not romanised h (except in *sutrah* and *bīʿah*).
- Shadda or tashdīd is represented by doubled consonant.

INTRODUCTION

Were the Holy Spirit to favour us once

More by its Grace, others too would

Perform all the works of Christ.

Ḥāfiẓ (d. 1389 or 1390)

This doctoral thesis examines the reception history of Gregory Nazianzen's (329-389/390) *theosis* theology in tenth/eleventh century Melkite Church of Antioch.[1] The aim of this study is to explore to what extent and in what ways this theology affected the thought-world of the Arabic-speaking Christians of Byzantine origin. The motivation behind this goal has its origin in the Arabic translation of Gregory Nazianzen's Oration on Baptism (*Eis to baptisma*) (Oration 40) by Ibrāhīm ibn Yūḥannā al-Anṭākī (c. 950-1025). The central argument of this thesis is that *Al-mīmar al-rā'bi' yahuḍḍu al-nās 'alā taqdīmihim ilā l-ma'mūdiyya* (The fourth oration which exhorts people to baptism) provides us with an excellent example of the continuity and transformation of a thought in a very different context. This is the concept of *theosis*, which is not only essential for our understanding of Greek Fathers, particularly Gregory of Nazianzus but also central for the recent discussions of deification. However, the main focus of this study will be medieval Arabic thought that shaped the language and the conception of the translation.

As to the context of the Arabic version of Oration 40, it is important to note these qualifications: our translator is not only inviting us into the world of medieval Christians, particularly the Melkites but also taking us to the fabric of ninth-eleventh century Islamic society. This means that, in addition to Christian and Muslim theological writings, we need to look at the vast literature on Arabic philosophy, which was one of the most important motives behind this period that is symbolised by the Abbasid golden age. Similarly, the central concept of this thesis has two dimensions; one concerns the visible and social (ethical) side of theosis and the other regards the

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[1] This is not to be confused with the Melkite Greek Catholic Church, which has been in full communion with the Roman Catholic Church since 1729.

invisible or the intellectual side of it. However, the last category is most often described in a mystical language. Furthermore, the language of our text belongs to a specific category, which is known as Christian Middle Arabic.

To maintain a manageable scope for this project, we had to make restrictions in the description of theosis and in the sources we consulted. Thus, we have not given a history of the concept but have taken it from Gregory's day up to the twelfth and sometimes to the thirteenth century. The modern discussion of theosis is not a central concern of this study and will therefore only be referred to where it relates directly to the main argument of the thesis. As to the sources we consulted, we examined the writings of and the literature on the main figures of the Christian denominations of the period as well as the Muslim thinkers such as al-Fārābī (d. c. 950), Avicenna (d. 1037) and al-Ghazālī (d. 1111)[2] who contributed greatly to the development of theosis thought in Arabic language.

Gregory and Ibrāhīm's concerns are essential to our plan; therefore, we decided to give weight to the points emphasised in the two texts. It is not therefore surprising to find that the place of the Holy Spirit in the deification of human beings is not examined in a separate chapter. For the purposes of clarification, the general plan of the thesis may be presented as follows: This study introduces and explains Gregory's theosis theology as expressed in the Arabic version of Oration 40 and in connection with the Greek text. This theology is described in the background of medieval Christian and Islamic thought that were developed in Islamic Empire and are represented in the thesis by the concepts and figures, which contributed to the development of theosis thought, most especially as they relate to our text.

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[2] Sweetman thinks that a student of the Christian Arabic theology can still find a good ground in al-Ghazālī even though he does not belong to the period in which Arab Christian theologians flourished as the student encounters well-settled ideas which must previously have enjoyed a great popularity. J. Windrow Sweetman, *Islam and Christian Theology: A Study of the Interpretation of Theological Ideas in the Two Religions* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1947), 98.

In Chapter 1 of the thesis, we introduce Oration 40 and the context in which it was produced. We have included two additional sections in this chapter in response to the requests from the examiners: "A Conceptual Analysis of the Greek Text of Oration 40" (1.1.2.) and "Oration 40 in Arabic" (1.1.4.). We then give a brief account of Gregory's place in the Melkite tradition, which is followed by the analysis of Christian Middle Arabic and the manuscript tradition of the Arabic version of Oration 40.

In Chapter 2, we then analyse Gregory's doctrine of God as expressed by Ibrāhīm. In this analysis, the relationship of God the Creator with the creation comes to the fore as the origin of the notion of theosis. The most significant contribution of the translator to the text appears in two places. Unlike his younger contemporary, ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī (c. 1000-1052), who is the most well known figure in the Antiochene Graeco-Arabic translation movement, Ibrāhīm preferred somewhat simpler and less philosophical terms in his description of God's essence and hypostases. However, as far as the Unity and the Trinity in God are concerned, he employed terms like *ittiḥād*, *waḥdāniyya* and *riyāsa*, which have lots to say about Christian Arabic theology. Similarly, he describes the connection between God and the creation in terms of *fayḍ* or emanation that presents a Neo-Platonic cosmology in which perfection is defined according to the closeness of a being to the Most Perfect. By describing God with one of the names from *the most beautiful names of God* of Islamic tradition, al-Muḥsin (The Benefactor), he also invites us to medieval discussions of God's essence and His names and attributes.

In Chapter 3, we offer a detailed analysis of Gregory's Christology as expressed by Ibrāhīm in medieval Arabic. We have found a ground in this Christology not only for my examination of the ethical and social side of theosis theology but also for our discussion of the translator's contribution to the reception history of Gregory. We therefore look at the discussions of the two natures of Christ, which includes the issues related to the Incarnation, the hypostatic union and the death of Christ. What we find in this chapter is a figure of Jesus Christ as the Teacher, the Reformer and the Transformer of the Melkite community of tenth and eleventh century Antioch. Ibrāhīm and his native colleagues seem to have tried to construct a strong identity for this community, at least on the literal level and possibly against their Jacobite neighbours and the Byzantine

rulers and settlers who were settled in Antioch at that time. We follow the traces of this figure in medieval *adab* literature, which will shed light on Gregory's theosis theology in terms of its concerns for the social and ascetic life. This is where we see that deification is possible and realised only through leading a life that is worthy of Christ. It suffices to say that Ibrāhīm made a significant contribution to this part of the oration, which almost seems to have turned it into another text.

We also give a brief account of the role of the Holy Spirit in the deification process. The Holy Spirit takes the divine image in man, which has been educated, reformed or transformed by the Incarnate Word, towards the highest level of perfection where he becomes a brother of Christ or a son of God. This is also where we find further reflections of the emanationist theory of perfection but the most distinguishing feature of the role of the Holy Spirit becomes apparent in the new image given to the man who has completed his catechumenate period and become a member of the Heavenly Church.

In Chapter 4, we analyse theosis as an intellectual (or mystical) and eschatological concept. First, we briefly describe what Gregory says about its intellectual and mystical character. We also question the true nature of the union with God, i.e. whether it is the highest level of the human knowledge of God or a mystical experience that provides a vision of God. Then we discuss the eschatological side of theosis about which we can confidently say that the next world is the place where one will experience the highest level of perfection but we cannot describe it properly. Our emphasis is, however, on medieval Arabic discussions of perfection. Perfection first seems to be related to rational knowledge but then wisdom and faith take its place. This is where *theosis* becomes *ta'alluh* and we enter into the world of mystical visions and heavenly journeys. In addition to the general conclusion at the end of the thesis, Chapters 2, 3 and 4 end with concluding sections (2.5., 3.5. and 4.3.) added in response to the requests from the examiners.

Before we determine how we will address our research question, it would be helpful first to survey the landscape of previous scholarship on the issue. As we, throughout the text, make remarks about the sources we consulted, we will now only point to the place of our study in current scholarship. This study is important on account of the broad context it provides as it not only deals with the issues related to Christian Arabic theology but also touches on the discussions of Christian-Muslim relations and Islamic thought (Islamic theology, philosophy and mysticism). Despite a recent increase in interest in Christian Arabic theology,[3] rather little is done on the Antiochene Graeco-Arabic translation movement of Greek patristic texts. Alexander Treiger's[4] entry on ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī in *CMR3* and the article he wrote with Samuel Noble (*Christian Arabic Theology in Byzantine Antioch: 'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī and his Discourse on the Holy Trinity*) have been most welcome in this respect. There appeared some articles[5] on Ibn al-Faḍl and it is known that the critical editions and translations of his *Exposition of the Orthodox Faith*[6] and *the Book of Benefit*[7] are in preparation.

Significant progress has recently been made by the four volumes of the monumental *Christian-Muslim Relations, A Bibliographical History* prepared under the editorship of

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[3] For the recent interest in Christian Arabic studies, see the discussions of the scholars on the website of NASCAS (The North American Society for Christian Arabic Studies): http://www.christianarabic.org/. In addition to these discussions, I am indebted to Dr. Alexander Sasha Treiger who, in a personal meeting, shared his views on the need for studies of theosis in Christian Arabic Theology.

[4] See also Alexander Treiger, "New Evidence on the Arabic Versions of the Corpus Dionysiacum," *Le Muséon* 118 (2005): 219-240. _____, "The Arabic Version of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite's Mystical Theology, Chapter 1: Introduction, Critical Edition, and Translation," *Le Muséon* 120 (2007): 365-393.

[5] Floris Sepmeijer, "The Book of Splendor of the Believer by Abdallah ibn al-Fadl," *Parole de l'Orient* 16 (1990-1991): 115-120. Rita Rached, "Les notions de rûḥ (esprit) et de nafs (âme) chez ʿAbd Allâh ibn al-Faḍl al-Ḥakîm al-Anṭâkî, théologien melchite du XIᵉ siècle," in *L'Orient chrétien dans l'empire musulman: Hommage au professeur Gérard Troupeau : Suite au colloque organisé les 15 et 16 octobre 2004 par le CRITIC (Centre de recherches sur es idées et les transferts inter culturels) à l'Université Jean Moulin Lyon 3 en collaboration avec l'Institut Catholique de Toulouse,* ed. Geneviève Gobillot, G. Troupeau, Marie-Thérèse Urvoy (Paris: Éditions de Paris, 2005), 165-197. Ramy Wannous, "Abdallah ibn al-Fadl, Exposition of the Orthodox Faith," *Parole de l'Orient* 32 (2007): 259-269.

[6] The critical edition and a German translation of *The Exposition of the Orthodox Faith* will in appear in Ramy Wannous' doctoral dissertation *(ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī. Darlegung des rechten Glaubens* [Philipps-Universität Marburg]). Alexander Treiger, "ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī," in *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History. Volume 3 (1050-1200),* ed. David Thomas and Alex Mallett with J. P. M. Sala, J. Pahlitzsch, M. Swanson, H. Teule, and J. Tolan (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011), 109.

[7] Treiger notes that a critical edition and an English translation of *Kitāb al-manfaʿa* (The Book of Benefit) are in preparation by himself and Noble. Ibid., 97.

David Thomas and other contributors. The doctoral studies of Sara Leila Husseini[8] and I. M. Beaumont[9] focus on the doctrine of God and Christology of ninth century Arab Christian theologians with special emphasis on the Muslim discussions of the time. The main figures of Christian Arabic theology such as Theodore Abū Qurra, Abū Rā'iṭa, 'Ammār al-Baṣrī, Sāwīrus ibn al-Muqaffa' and Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī have been already studied to some extent. Scholars like Sidney Griffith, Samir Khalil Samir and David Thomas wrote on the history of Christian Arabic theology. Whilst some scholars have tended to focus on the writings of Christian authors, others have studied the Muslim texts written against Christian doctrines, mainly the doctrine of the Trinity and the Incarnation. The translations made by the Christian translators of the Abbasid Graeco-Arabic translation movement have been studied by researchers from different backgrounds such as philosophy and history of science.

As to our sources on Ibrāhīm, we must introduce the studies done by the researchers of the Centre for the Study of Gregory of Nazianzus (CEGN) in the department of Greek, Latin and Oriental Studies of UCL (Université catholique de Louvain). By setting off from the fact that Gregory's works circulated among the Coptic, Syriac, Armenian, Arabic, Georgian, Slavonic and Ethiopian Christians at an early period, CEGN started a project. The researchers of this project deal with the critical editions, the textual history and the languages of the oriental versions of Gregory's texts. They also work on the schools of translation, the circulation and the iconography of these texts in addition to the technical tools designed to facilitate the use of their findings and the collection of the microfilms and photographs of the Greek and Oriental manuscripts.

As a member of CEGN, Jacques Grand'Henry published his first article on the Arabic versions of Gregory's text in 1981[10] and his publications continued until 2005 (and

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[8] Sara Leila Husseini, "Early Christian Explanations of the Trinity in Arabic in the Context of Muslim Theology" (PhD diss., Birmingham University, 2011).

[9] I. M. Beaumont, *Christology in Dialogue with Muslims: A Critical Analysis of Christian Presentations of Christ for Muslims from the Ninth and Twentieth Centuries* (Carlisle, Cumbria: Paternoster, 2005).

[10] Jacques Grand'Henry, "Les discours de Grégoire de Nazianze dans le manuscrit arabe du Sinaï 274," *Le Muséon* 94 (1981): 153-176.

2008)[11] when the critical edition of the Arabic translation of Oration 40 found a place in the literature on the Arabic Gregory. On the website of CEGN,[12] which has not been updated since 2005,[13] it is possible to find information on the manuscripts that include the Arabic versions of Gregory's orations with additional knowledge on the origin, date, content and catalogues of these manuscripts.[14] CEGN seems to suspend and slow down its activities since 2009. However, on the website of the centre, we are told that the critical editions of Orations 27, 38 (by Tuerlinckx), 11, 41 and 42 (by Grand'Henry) are in preparation. The critical editions with a French translation of Orations 24,[15] 21,[16] 1,

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[11] Grand'Henry, "La tradition manuscrite de la version arabe des discours de Grégoire de Nazianze," in *II. Symposium Nazianzenum, Actes du colloque international (Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums. 2. Reihe: Forschungen zu Gregor von Nazianz*, ed. J. Mossay (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1983), 113-118. _____, "La version arabe de quelques textes apocryphes attribués à Gregoire de Nazianze," *Le Muséon* 96 (1983): 239-250. _____, "Répertoire des manuscrits de la version arabe de Grégoire de Nazianze (I)," *Le Muséon* 97 (1984): 221-253. _____, "Traits linguistiques de la version arabe du discours 24 de Grégoire de Nazianze," in *Studi in onore di F. Gabrieli*, ed. R. Traini (Rome, 1984), 389-410. _____, "Répertoire des manuscrits de la version arabe de Grégoire de Nazianze (II)," *Le Muséon* 98 (1985): 197-229. _____, "Répertoire des manuscrits de la version arabe de Grégoire de Nazianze (III)," *Le Muséon* 99 (1986):145-160. _____, "Les versions arabe de Grégoire de Nazianze," in *Actes du deuxième Congrès International d'Études Arabes Chrétiennes (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 226)*, ed. Samir K. Samir (Rome, 1986), 67-71. _____, "Du grec à l'arabe dans les homélies de Grégoire de Nazianze," *Le Muséon* 100 (1987):121-129. _____, "La version arabe du discours 24 de Grégoire de Nazianze: Édition critique, commentaires et traduction," in *CCSG 20, CN 1*, ed. B. Coulie (Turnhout: Brepols, 1988), 197-291. _____, "La réponse de saint Basile à saint Grégoire. Édition critique de la lettre 2 en version arabe," *Le Muséon* 102 (1989): 321-359. _____, "Les discours de Grégoire de Nazianze et la tradition manuscrite arabe syrienne," *Le Muséon* 103 (1990): 255-265. _____, "La méthode de révision d'une version patristique arabe ancienne chez Ibrāhīm fils de Yuhannā d'Antioche," in *Annales du Département des Lettres Arabes (Université Saint-Joseph). In Memoriam Prof. Fiey* (Beirut, 1996), 161-172. _____, ed., *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua I: Oratio XXI (Arab. 20)*, CCSG 34, CN 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996). Laurence Tuerlinckx and J. Grand'Henry, "La version arabe des 'Discours' de Grégoire de Nazianze," in *Studia Nazianzenica I (CCSG 41, CN 8)*, ed. B. Coulie, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 201-226. _____, "Contribution à l'histoire du texte de la version arabe du discours 40 de Grégoire de Nazianze," *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 99-100 (2002):157-167. _____, "Le moyen arabe de la version arabe du discours 40. Premiers éléments d'analyse," in *Ultra mare. Mélanges offerts à Aubert Martin (Mémoires de l'association pour la promotion de l'histoire et de l'archéologie orientales 3)*, ed. F. Bauden (London, Paris and Dudley: Peeters, 2004), 1-9. _____, "Le moyen arabe de la version arabe du discours 40 de Grégoire de Nazianze (Troisième partie)," in *Actes du colloque "L'Orient chrétien dans l'Empire musulman, Hommage au professeur Gérard Troupeau"*, ed. G. Gobillot and M.-T. Urvoy (Paris: Éditions de Paris, 2005), 153-163. _____, *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua III: Oratio XL (Arab. 4)*. CCSG 57, CN 19 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005). _____, "Le moyen arabe dans les manuscrits de la version arabe du discours 40 de Grégoire de Nazianze (Deuxième partie)," in *Moyen arabe et variétés mixtes de l'arabe à travers l'histoire. Actes du premier colloque international. Louvain-la-Neuve, 10-14 mai 2004*, ed. Lentin and Grand'Henry (2008), 181-191.

[12] See http://nazianzos.fltr.ucl.ac.be/.

[13] The bibliography of the members of the CEGN is last updated in March 2009.

[14] [Online] Available at: http://pot-pourri.fltr.ucl.ac.be/manuscrits/nazianze_arabe/recherche.cfm?nom_manuscrit=1488-1508 [Accessed: 26 December 2009]

[15] Grand'Henry, "La version arabe du discours 24 de Grégoire de Nazianze: Édition critique, commentaires et traduction," in *CCSG 20, CN 1*, ed. B. Coulie (Turnhout: Brepols, 1988), 197-291.

45 and 44[17] were already published by Grand'Henry in 1988, 1996 and by Tuerlinckx in 2001.

Methodologically speaking, we incorporate the historical and literary data in a manner that provides a coherent reading of the text. This project is not a linguistic study; therefore, we do not make linguistic analyses of the words or show the distinguishing features of Christian Middle Arabic in the text but rather follow the traces of these words in history. The editor introduces the text in the same manner as he points to the words only when they refer to a special meaning that they gained in Middle Arabic. He does not provide us with a translation of the whole text most likely because of its length as the editions of the other Arabic versions contain both the translations of the texts in French and the morphological analysis of the words when needed.

When citing from the Arabic text, we do not refer to the page numbers in the critical edition but only give the paragraph and line numbers. The first numbers refer to the paragraphs, while the second ones point to the lines both in the Arabic and in the Greek text. For the Greek text, we have used *Sources Chrétiennes 358*.[18] The English translations of the Greek sentences or expressions are mine unless otherwise stated but as a non-native speaker, I might be under the influence of the old and criticised translation in *NPNF*.[19] This is also the case with the other sources (primary or secondary) as unless otherwise stated, I have preferred the translations used in these works. The transliteration system, which will be employed throughout this study is the

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[16] _____, ed., *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua I: Oratio XXI (Arab. 20)*. CCSG 34, CN 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996).

[17] L. Tuerlinckx, ed., *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua II: Orationes I, XLV, XLIV (Arab. 9, 10, 11)*, CCSG 43, CN 10 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001). See also Tuerlinckx,""Sur l'heure de la mort et la sortie de l'âme du corps", apocryphe arabe attribué à Grégoire de Nazianze," in *CCSG 41, CN 8*, ed. B. Coulie (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 227-244. _____, "Le lexique du moyen arabe dans la traduction des discours de Grégoire de Nazianze: Quelques traits caractéristiques et étude des doublets," in *Actes du premier colloque international*, *Louvain-la-Neuve, 10-14 mai 2004*, ed. Lentin and Grand'Henry (Louvain-la-Neuve: Université catholique de Louvain, Institut Orientaliste de Louvain, 2008), 473-487.

[18] Grégoire de Nazianze, *Discours 38-41*, trans. Paul Gallay, *SC* 358 (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1990).

[19] Philip Schaff, ed., *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 7 (Michigan: William B. Eerdmans, 1988) is available online at www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf207.html.

system approved by the Library of Congress and the American Library Association.[20] Biblical quotations are taken from the English Standard Version and in Qur'ānic quotations, we use 'Abdullah Yūsuf 'Alī's translation as accessed in the online version available at: http://www.blueletterbible.org and http://www.quran.com.

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[20] The transliteration systems used in our quotations from other works may differ since we have not changed the systems preferred by the writers of these works.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION TO THE ARABIC TRANSLATION OF ORATION
40 AND ITS TRANSLATOR

1.1. The Arabic Translation of Oration 40

In this part of the first chapter, we will briefly introduce the atmosphere in which
Oration 40 came out and then look at Gregory's place in Melkite thought. This will be
followed by the description of the language of our text in the broader context of Middle
Arabic. The manuscript tradition of the Arabic version of Oration 40 will shed light on
the role of Antioch and its environs in the reception history of Gregory in the Melkite
tradition.

1.1.1. Oration 40

Despite the different views on the date of the original delivery of this oration, the
majority of the writers on Gregory agree on the period between 25 December 380 and 7
January 381.[21] Oration 40 came after Oration 39, which concerns Epiphany and the
baptism of the Christ, and was preceded by Oration 38 that is about the Theophany and
the Nativity and was delivered on 25 December. Therefore, it is possible to suggest that
5 and 6 January 381 are to be thought the delivery dates of Orations 39 and 40.[22] The
contents of these three orations do not confirm the end of 379 or 380 as the related dates
since they seem to form a trilogy on illumination, or, in a sense, theosis. The confidence
felt in the language of the Oration 40 suggests a man of authority.[23] This is confirmed
by the fact that Gregory was appointed by Theodosius just after his entrance into
Byzantium on the 26th November 380. One also should take into account that Gregory's

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[21] Grégoire de Nazianze, 22. Brian Daley, *Gregory of Nazianzus* (London and New York: Routledge,
2006), 22. Susanna Elm, "Inscriptions and Conversions: Gregory of Nazianzus on Baptism (Or. 38-40),"
in *Conversion in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Kenneth Mills and Anthony Grafton
(New York: University of Rochester Press, 2003), 1-35, 5.
[22] Elm, ibid.
[23] Grégoire de Nazianze, 21.

theological views shaped the teaching of the Council of Constantinople (381) and the trilogy played the role of "campaign speeches".[24]

With the help of these orations, it is possible to imagine the atmosphere shaped by the debates between the different groups in Constantinople in 380s. The Middle and Neo-Platonic philosophy played a crucial role in the development of these different views, which eventually resulted in different cosmologies, and theories of salvation. Oration 40, which is Gregory's second longest oration, represents one of these worldviews held in Byzantine lands at that time. This oration can be read as an attempt to win the support of the elites of Constantinople since his adversaries were also very strong.[25]

It is known that Gregory's view about the divinity of the Holy Spirit turned out to be one of the most important factors that shaped the teaching of the Council of Constantinople. Besides the ban concerning the usage of churches, Arians and Eunomians had already been banished by the Emperor on the 10th January 381. However, this does not mean that these groups gave up their standings against one another. What is important concerning this atmosphere is the opportunity presented by the circumstances that shaped the content and style of Oration 40 through which we can make assumptions about the baptismal practices at that period. We can even consider the possibility of interaction between Eastern provinces and the capital, as it is known that Eastern Christians found the meaning of baptism in different parts of Christ's life such as His Incarnation, Resurrection or death. Therefore, it is interesting to ask whether Gregory has carried with him a Cappadocian or Syriac baptismal tradition to the capital city.[26]

It has been suggested that, unlike their equivalents produced in the first centuries of Christianity, Orations 38-40 have Asiatic features, which become apparent in Gregory's

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[24] Elm, 22.
[25] Ibid., 3f, 20f, 23.
[26] Ibid., 6, 20f, 23f.

symbolic language and terminology that can be best described with the image of light.[27] It must be this feature, which made Gregory to be considered a literary figure rather than a systematic theologian in later Byzantine tradition and in the Renaissance.[28] However, one should also consider his lifetime struggle against the tension between the active and the ascetic life, which has been interpreted by modern researches either as a weakness or as an oddity.

Gregory explained his doctrine of baptism with the help of the three occasions, which contributed to the expression of his Platonic cosmology that is enriched by Genesis and the nativity account in Luke. He started with the relationship of *theologia* and *oikonomia* (Oration 38) and developed a theosis theology based on purification, illumination and contemplation. Like his native friends, he found the salvation in the concept of theosis, which is linked to the Origenian interpretation of Platonism.[29]

1.1.2. A Conceptual Analysis of the Greek Text of Oration 40

Before we go on to analyse the Arabic translation of Oration 40, let us first look at the structure and the content of the Greek version of the oration. Oration 40 is the second longest oration of Gregory. It consists of forty-six paragraphs organised around the theme of baptism and human perfection or theosis. The structure and arrangement of paragraphs reveal a linear scheme designed to cover every aspect of baptism. This scheme also encompasses Gregory's answers to the questions about baptism that, he thought, occupied a place in the minds of his audience. It is enriched by the terms and concepts which we can now call theological, soteriological, ecclesiastical and heresiological. The philosophical and mystical language of the oration is balanced with social images and references to the tradition. Technically speaking, besides the characteristics of the Second Sophistic, classical Attic and *koine* Greek embedded in the

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[27] Grégoire de Nazianze, 35, 62f.
[28] Brian Daley, *Gregory of Nazianzus*, 26-31.
[29] Grégoire de Nazianze, 69.

text as a distinctive rhetorical style, we find a symbolic language which has Asiatic features as symbolised by a terminology of light.[30]

As it would be expected, Gregory opens the oration by talking about the importance of baptism. He then gives the first clue to his theosis theology on the basis of baptism. Being the second birth that Christ honoured in his own person, baptism saves man from his first creation and gives him the opportunity of leading onto a higher life. This is also an indication of the strong link between his Christology and theosis theory. In what follows is a group of phrases used to describe the illumination bestowed through baptism among which the theme of being remodelled (μεταποίησις) or perfected (τελείωσις) comes forth. There shows its face the connection between baptism and creation which is next turned to the bliss in the next life that is represented (εἰκὼν) here on earth by the sacrament.[31]

Having delineated what is baptism for, Gregory goes into details and describes baptism as an intellectual[32] process of becoming Godlike (θεοειδέστεροι). In his hierarchy of beings or lights, man as an outpouring (ἔχω χέομενον) of God, is involved in a process based on purification (καθαιρώμεθα), love (ἀγαπώμενον) and comprehension (νοούμενον). He then gives a short history of illumination from the time of the first man to Jesus Christ. It is the manifestation of the Godhead or being in the presence of God as symbolised by Moses' vision on Mount Sinai and the Transfiguration. It is also the blessedness bestowed upon the righteous in heaven.[33]

Gregory draws a picture of an optimistic world in which man is called by God to overwhelm sin and separation that is brought by creation or a compounded nature and to have a diviner life (πλάσιν θειοτέραν). Baptism is a covenant that we have made with God for a second life. It offers a remedy for death which is out of the mercy of God and cannot be substituted by longsuffering practices. Baptism gives man two weapons to

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[30] For the rhetorical analysis of Gregory's texts, see Rosemary Radford Ruether, *Gregory of Nazianzus, Rhetor and Philosopher*, 63-83 and Vladimir Kharlamov, "Rhetorical Application of Theosis," in *Partakers of the Divine Nature: The History and Development of Deification in the Christian Traditions*, ed. Jeffery A. Wittung and Michael J. Christensen (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2008), pp. 115-131.
[31] Paragraphs 1-4. Grégoire de Nazianze, *Discours 38-41*, trans. Paul Gallay, *SC* 358 (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1990), 198-205.
[32] The knowledge (τὸ γνῶναι) of the mystery itself leads to illumination (1,12-13).
[33] Paragraphs 5 and 6. Ibid., 204-209.

fight with the Evil who assailed even *the Word, God through the veil* (λόγῳ καὶ θεῷ [μου] προσέβαλε διὰ τὸ κάλυμμα), *the hidden light through that which was manifested* (τῷ κρυπτῷ φωτὶ διὰ τὸ φαινόμενον): water and the Spirit. Armed with these, man can challenge him and, as the image of God (εἰκών [εἰμι] καὶ αὐτὸς Θεοῦ), ask the Evil to worship him ([σύ με] προσκύνησον).[34]

The intellectual dimension of enlightenment appears again in Gregory's calling of his audience to have baptism while they are of sound health and mind (διάνοιαν). They are also reminded of the fact that it is better to have it through reason (λογισμόν) and of free will. It is not only grace but also a reward for men of great soul who aim at the attainment of it. Gregory indicates that any time is suitable to have baptism. Being surrounded by many reasons to procrastinate, man must always work for his salvation since it makes one sealed and secure with the best and strongest of all aids. It is not therefore sane to put off baptism because of the fear of destroying the gift. The Evil One tries every way to distract catechumens (κατηχούμενος) who, instead of staying in the porch of religion (εὐσεβείας), must proceed into the Holy of Holies (through the court) to be in company with the Trinity (μετὰ τῆς Τριάδος). Even the infants should be sanctified and promised to God which means being brought up in a priestly manner.[35]

Virgin or married, free or slave, grieving or rejoicing, poor or rich, there is no state of life and no occupation to which baptism is not profitable. It is best to escape from the crowd (ἀγορὰν) and go up to the Mountain but those who are bounded by public life still have the opportunity to have the grace and keep the purification (κάθαρσιν) since the Right and Merciful Judge (δικαίου καὶ φιλανθρώπου τῶν ἡμετέρων κριτοῦ) knows that we are given different roles to play in this life. The parable of the labourers in the vineyard does not imply that by putting off his or her baptism one receives the same reward as those who do not delay their purification to take more pleasure (ἡδοναῖς) from life. Therefore, it is important not to fall into false (ἀσυλλογίστως) explanations (παρεξηγήσεις) and objections (ἀντιθέσεις) or sophistries (σοφιζόμενος) in this matter. It is not enough to have the desire of baptism but to receive the gift and cultivate

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[34] Paragraphs 7-10. Ibid., 208-219.
[35] Paragraphs 11-17. Ibid., 218-235.

(γεωργοῦντες or *polish* ἀποξέοντες) it. If one still thinks that will and action are one, then he or she will have to content with longing for the glory.[36]

Gregory reminds that it is necessary to receive the enlightenment in due season but it is not important in what conditions and by whom baptism is given. Bishop, metropolitan or priest, the baptiser, however, must be in the orthodox faith: he must not be openly condemned (κατεγνωσμένων) and a stranger to the Church (Ἐκκλησίας). Being regenerated by baptism, one is clear from any old marks and Christ is imposed upon him or her in one form (μιᾷ μορφῇ πᾶσι Χριστὸς ἐπιτέθειται). Therefore, it is necessary to openly show that one hates sin. If he or she reasons maturely (τελείως λογιζομένοις) and attain the gift, one becomes wiser than Solomon.[37]

Although they are not conscious of the grace, children must be sealed and initiated by baptism. When they are able to listen and answer questions (around age three), they can have a rough idea (τυπούμενα) of the sacrament upon which they later build their understanding of it. Christ was baptised when He was thirty years old. This age implies that one's virtues are fully developed. It is also the right time to teach. However, there might be a deeper reason than what we can attain to it. It is important to know that what Christ did were all for our sakes. He gave us patterns of what we should do but some matters which have to do with Him do not apply to us.[38]

One is confronted with a twofold struggle: to prepare for baptism by purification and to preserve it. Vigils, fasts, sleeping on the ground, prayers, compassion to those in need and sharing are of great help. These are in fact both a thanksgiving for what we have received and a safeguard of them. When one thinks of God's mercy which he or she would not imitate (ἐμιμήσω), forgiving becomes a virtue easy to practice.[39]

Baptism is not only cleaning of body and wiping away of sins. It rather offers a permanent change (διόρθωσις) in one's character (τρόπου). In other words, it is uncovering and polishing of the divine image (εἰκόνος) in man. Having Christ, a Man who is also God or rather God and Man (ἄνθρωπον, τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ Θεόν, μᾶλλον δὲ

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[36] Paragraphs 18-23. Ibid., 234-249.
[37] Paragraphs 24-27. Ibid., 248-263.
[38] Paragraphs 28-30. Ibid., 262-269.
[39] Paragraph 31. Ibid., 268-271.

Θεὸν ἄνθρωπον), in him or her, one is renewed and made straight through baptism. It is important to acknowledge this and not to become dead again since the universal resurrection (ἐξαναστήσῃ) will bring every work into eternal judgement and there will be no other healing.[40]

Gregory compares baptism to legal (νομικῆς) purification and indicates that it is much more precious. Talking of legal cleansing, he refers to his role as a priest. He offers remedies for weak hands, deafness and blindness among which is listening to the instruction (παιδείαν) and counsel of the Lord like the adder to charms. He declares that if one receives the Word, he or she brings all the healing powers of Christ upon his or her own soul (ψυχήν). However, one needs to be careful about preserving the gift even though he or she "set[s] ascensions in [his or her] heart" (ἀναβάσεις ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ διατιθέμενος). When inviting his audience to see light in "God's Light" (Ἐν τῷ φωτὶ Κυρίου θέασαι φῶς) and "receive the light of the Son in the Spirit of God, Threefold and Undivided Light" (ἐν τῷ Πνεύματι τοῦ Υἱὸν αὐγάσθητι, τὸ τρισσὸν φῶς καὶ ἀμέριστον), he introduces the orthodox doctrine of the Godhead.[41]

The only way to drive away the Evil is to have Christ settled in us (εἰσοικισθέντα). Gregory gives examples of illuminations from the Scriptures. He says he will be happy for remembering them since there is nothing more pleasant (ἡδύτερον) than light to who have tasted (γευσαμένοις) it. He believes these words will dazzle the audience but he does not avoid mentioning the destroying power of God for the sake of a more merciful view of light (fire). Gregory calls them to be aware of a deceitful light and to follow the light which is our ruling faculty (ἡγεμονικοῦ) and directs us to God. This is the light of knowledge (γνώσεως) that is to be reinforced by action (πρᾶξις). By holding on this true light, we, like the Disciples become the light of the world (φῶς τοῦ κόσμου) and a power of life to others (ζωτικη τοῖς ἄαλλοις δύναμις).[42]

It is therefore necessary to purify every sense (αἴσθησιν). The head, the shoulder, the hands, the feet and the stomach are also to be cleansed in order to become like the Disciples whose feet were washed by Christ and who were ready for the Gospel

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[40] Paragraphs 32 and 33. Ibid., 270-275.
[41] Paragraph 34. Ibid., 274-279.
[42] Paragraphs 35-37. Ibid., 278-285.

(Εὐαγγέλιον) and for the prize of the upward call (τὸ βραβεῖον τῆς ἄνω κλήσεως). The heart or the mind (διανοητικόν) and its movements and thoughts (διανοήματα) are also to be purified. Similarly, loins and reins are to be disciplined (παιδαγωγήσας) and all affections (ἐπιθυμητικὸν) and desires (ἐπιθυμία) are to be transferred to God. Thus, we entirely give ourselves to God and sacrifice our own salvation (σωτηριαν).[43]

Above all things, it is the confession (ὁμολογίαν) of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit by which Gregory says he lived and worked and wanted to take it with him as the companion of his departure that matters most. This is the faith upon which baptism is given and the baptised are fortified with: the One Godhead (μίαν θεότητά), One Power found in the Three in Unity (δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς τρισὶν εὑρισκομένην ἑνικῶς), "the Three comprised separately, not unequal, in substances (οὐσίαις) or natures (φύσεσιν), neither increased nor diminished by superiorities or inferiorities; in every respect equal (ἴσην), in every respect the same ... the infinite conjunction (συμφυΐαν) of Three Infinite Ones, Each God when considered (θεωρούμενον) in Himself; as the Father so the Son, as the Son so the Holy Spirit; Each preserving Its property (ἰδιότητος), the Three One God when contemplated (νοούμενα) together; Each God because consubstantial (ὁμοουσιότητα); One God because of the monarchia (μοναρχίαν)."[44]

Gregory goes on discussing the details of this faith and severely criticises the new theology (καινῇ ταύτη θεολογίᾳ) for intruding a created (κτίσις) life into the Godhead, particularly to the Son and the Holy Spirit (τὰ δύο), which jeopardises the deification of humanity since being baptised into a creature (συμβεβάπτισμαι) does not make one divine (οὐκ ἂν ἐθεούμην). He says he should like to call the Father "Greater" (μείζω) since the Equals (ἴσοις) take their equality and being (εἶναι) from Him. However, he is not happy with the word origin (ἀρχὴν) which may show Him as the Origin of Inferiors. It is also problematic to use "greater" when it is related with nature (φύσιν) or substance (φύσιν). Baptism itself does not allow separation of the consubstantial (ὁμοουσίων) Persons. Here, Gregory returns to the role of priests and calls the audience to have faith

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[43] Paragraphs 38-40. Ibid., 284-293.
[44] Paragraph 41. Ibid., 292-295.

(πίστεως) in the Unity in the Three (τὴν ἐν τοῖς τρισὶν ἕνωσιν) but not to indulge in theological battle which is the responsibility of priests.[45]

Gregory reminds his audience that it is the time for teaching (διδασκαλίας) not for controversy (ἀντιλογίας). Gregory's role is to change the writing in one's heart which is not written according to the teaching that Gregory was taught and kept (διδάσκων ἃ καὶ μεμάθηκα) from the beginning up to his old age. In other words, he is the director of the soul (ψυχῆς οἰκονόμου). It is of utmost importance to preserve the good inscription. Gregory says, as the consecrator (ὁ τελειωτής), he will lend his hands to the Spirit Who is eager (σφύζει τὸ Πνεῦμα) to hasten salvation for us. However, if one chooses someone else to baptise him or her, he or she will be drowned (ἢ καταβαπτιστήν) by this person whose doctrine cuts the Godhead thus cannot give the perfectness of the Godhead (τὸ τέλειον τῆς θεότητος) with baptism. It is because of the fact that "from whatever [one] may subtract from the deity of the Three (τῶν τριῶν τῆς θεότητος), [one] will have overthrown the whole, and destroyed [his or her] own being made perfect (τελείωσιν)."[46]

Gregory calls those who have not good inscription written upon their souls to be formed unto perfection (τυπωθῆναι πρὸς τελειότητα). He assures them that he will be their Moses and write a new Decalogue (νέαν δεκάλογον) for them which is a shorter method of salvation. He will baptise them and make them disciples in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit Who have one common name, the Godhead. Therefore, the first commandment of this Decalogue condemns worshipping anything other than God. This involves the belief in creation by God out of nothing. Then comes the belief in His Providence that governs all that is seen and unseen. One must also believe that with divine providence this world will change into a better state. In this doctrine of the Godhead, evil is not given any place in creation. He has no substance (οὐσίαν) and kingdom (βασιλείαν) and is neither unoriginate (ἄναρχον) nor self-existent (παρ' ἑαυτῆς ὑποστᾶσαν) or created by God (παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ γενομένην).

In this Decalogue, the largest place is given to Christology which includes the belief in the Incarnation (Born of the Virgin Mary ineffably and stainlessly, the Son of God was

[45] Paragraphs 42 and 43. Ibid., 294-301.
[46] Paragraph 44. Ibid., 300-301.

made Son of Man. He is impassible in His Godhead, passible in what He assumed). The most important part of this faith is that the Son was made Man for the sake of the salvation of humanity or to make man God (διὰ σὲ ὅσον σὺ γίη δι᾽ ἐκεῖνον Θεός). He was led to death and was crucified (σταυρωθέντα). He rose again (ἀναστάντα) the third day and ascended into heaven (ἀνεληλυθέναι εἰς τοὺς οὐρανους) to come again (ἥξειν τεπάλιν) and judge (κρίνοντα). The Kingdom of Heaven (βασιλείαν οὐρανῶν) is, according to this Decalogue, is prepared for those whose minds are purified (τοῖς κεκαθαρμένοις τὴν διάνοιαν) and who will see and know God (Θεὸν ὁρώμενόν τε καὶ γινωσκόμενον) proportionate to the degree of their purity (καθαρότητος). The last commandment is that this dogma must be accompanied by good work (ἐργάζου τὸ ἀγαθὸν). Gregory says this is all we can infer from the sacrament of baptism while there is more hidden in the Trinity (τῆς Τριάδος χαριζομένης) which, once learned (μαθήσῃ), should be kept sealed and secure.[47]

Gregory puts an end to this long oration with a depiction of the next world which is described as a wedding feast (γάμου). For him, the state in which the newly baptised is symbolises the future glory. There those who are prudent (ὅσαι φρόνιμοι), holding their lamps of faith shining (φαιδραῖς ταῖς λαμπάσι τῆς πίστεως), will meet the Bridegroom (νυμφίῳ) in the bride chamber (νυμφῶνος). Only the Bridegroom knows what He will teach them (ἃ διδάξει) and how He will converse with the souls (συνεισελθούσαις). The oration ends with a prayer for a share in Christ the Lord to Whom be the glory forever and ever (ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας) to both teachers and taught.[48] To conclude, this overview has shown the setting in which Gregory built a theology of perfection and the central role given to the concept of theosis in the oration. We can now embark on a journey to discover the later expression of this theology in a tenth-eleventh century Arabic text.

1.1.3. Gregory and the Melkites

Before looking at Gregory Nazianzen's place in the Melkite tradition, we need to give a brief account of the Melkite Church through which we will build our understanding of

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[47] Paragraph 45. Ibid., 302-309.
[48] Paragraph 46. Ibid., 308-311.

the Arabic version of Oration 40 and its translator, Ibrāhīm ibn Yuḥannā al-Anṭākī (c. 950-1025). As indicated in the introductory part, this is important for our research question since it focuses on the reception history of Gregory's theosis theology in the Melkite tradition. He is in fact a significant figure in the writings of Arab Christian theologians from different denominations; therefore, it would be interesting to trace the Oriental traits in Gregory's thought that might have contributed to Byzantine theology. What is more interesting is the reception of these traits in the Melkite Church of the Byzantine Orthodoxy.

The Melkites are important not only for their support for the Muslim rulers while belonging to the Orthodox teaching of the Byzantine Empire but also for their contribution to the Christian Arabic as they were the first among Oriental Christians who adopted Arabic at a time when their liturgical sources were still in Greek and to some extent Aramaic. Much has been said about the Melkite, the Jacobite and the Nestorian tradition in general and the problems about the titles given to these groups. It is already known that there is some ambiguity concerning the term "Melkite" as it is used anachronistically and inconsistently at both the sociological and historical level. Etymological explanations refer to the loyalty of the group to the Byzantine Empire's theological views and to the Chalcedonian teaching.[49] In addition to their use of Arabic and their feelings about being a part of the Islamic world, what makes the Melkites theologically different from the Jacobites and Monotheletes is also emphasised in modern descriptions of this denomination.

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[49] The word "Melkite", which means "kingly", "royal" or "imperial" on the etymological level, has a complicated history in the background of the division after the Council of Chalcedon (451). It is not possible to find the term in the Greek and Syriac sources from the sixth and seventh centuries; however, they refer to this group of Christians as "Synodalist" or "Chalcedonian". These Synodalists were also called "Maximianist" because of their support for the views of Maximus the Confessor (d. 662) and the Council of Byzantium III (680-681) after Monotheletes and Dyotheletes divided from each other. Sidney H. Griffith, "'Melkites', 'Jacobites' and the Christological Controversies in Arabic in the Third/Ninth-Century Syria," in *Syrian Christians under Islam*, ed. Thomas David (Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill, 2001), 10-14. For the history of the Melkite Church with special attention to Jerusalem as its centre, see Griffith, "The Church of Jerusalem and the 'Melkites': The Making of an 'Arab Orthodox' Christian Identity in the World of Islam (750–1050 CE)," in *Christians and Christianity in the Holy Land*, eds. O. Limor and G. G. Stroumsa (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006).

In the descriptions of the Melkite identity, the crucial role was played by intra-Christian polemical texts. As a matter of fact, the term first appeared in the writings of the Nestorian Patriarch Timothy I (d. 823) and the Jacobite Abū Rā'iṭa (d. c. 830) which witness to what was meant by this word in the ambience of the eight and ninth centuries. Theodore Abū Qurra (d. c. 816), the most famous Melkite author, informs us that the Miaphysite Christian church or the Jacobites were the most severe opponents of the Christians that they called "Melkites". We also know that, when remarking on the division in 727 between the Syrian Chalcedonians, the Jacobite Dionysius of Tell Mahre (d. 845) says that the Melkites were open to the influence of the Byzantine Church.[50] Similarly, they were called by Andrew Palmer[51] as "Byzantine Conformists". However, the Melkites who were designated as *al-Rūm* (Byzantines) in Muslim sources were generally called as *Malakiyya* by the other Christian groups.[52]

It is possible to say that John Damascene (d. c. 754) and Palestinian monasteries played a crucial role in the shaping of a Melkite identity. Although he represented the Hellenistic tradition in Muslim lands, in the eyes of the Byzantine Christians, John of Damascus was a "Saracen-minded" theologian. He was well-known to later Melkite authors who knew him through the Arabic translations of his works. Given the fact that the translations of his works began in the 10th century, Greek, which was the language of the writers of the eighth and ninth centuries such as Abū Qurra, must have been completely replaced by Arabic.[53] Interestingly enough, the Byzantine reconquest of Antioch in 969 could bring nothing more substantial than Greek-speaking patriarchs selected by Constantinople and a limited revival of the Greek language. It is worth reminding that the Melkites, who were already neglected by Constantinople for a long period,[54] were divided from the Byzantines in the iconoclastic controversy.[55] Thus, it

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[50] Griffith, "'Melkites', 'Jacobites' and the Christological Controversies in Arabic in the Third/Ninth-Century Syria," 39, 45.

[51] Andrew Palmer, Sebastian P. Brock, and Robert Hoyland, eds., *The Seventh Century in the West-Syrian Chronicles*, Translated Texts for Historians 15 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1993), 25-27.

[52] Griffith, "'Melkites', 'Jacobites' and the Christological Controversies in Arabic in the Third/Ninth-Century Syria," 15f.

[53] Ibid., 17-25, 48f.

[54] For an interesting note on the negligent attitude of Byzantium to Eastern Christians, see John C. Lamoreaux and Cyril Cairala, eds., *The Life of Timothy of Kākhūshtā. Two Arabic Texts (PO 48/4)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 444, 446. Lamoreaux remarks on an introduction found in *Saidnaya 94* which notes that Timothy of Kākhūshtā, who lived in the east of Antioch in the latter half of the 8th and the early

appears that the political ambiance greatly influenced the literary activity of the Melkites among whom Syriac was in severe decline at this time. In this atmosphere, as an important centre of Biblical and patristic works in Arabic, Antioch made a significant contribution to the Christian Arabic literature.[56]

Now is the time to look at Gregory's place in the Melkite tradition. It is not surprising to find him as an important figure of the Melkite literature in which the other two Cappadocians and John Chrysostom (d. c. 407) also occupied a significant place. However, in addition to the works of these Greek Fathers, the writings of some Syriac authors such as Ephrem (d. c. 373) and Jacob of Sarug (d. c. 521) were translated in tenth and eleventh-century Antioch. Leaving this important point to other studies, which may shed light on the relationship between these Greek and Syriac fathers of the fourth-sixth centuries and the possible reasons behind the preference of the Antiochene translators over these figures, we will now look at the beginning of Gregory's reception history in the Melkite Church. Gregory seems to have reached Arabic speaking Christians, at least theologians, through John of Damascus who found in him a strong and appropriate ground to explain his thoughts.[57] These Arab Christian theologians were particularly interested in his apophatic theology.[58]

Particularly in his Trinitarian views, John of Damascus holds to the Greek patristic tradition, which makes special use of Gregory. Therefore, it is not surprising to find his theology shaped by the Gregorian motif of theologia-oikonomia that was drawn from Origen as well as the notions of the Oneness of the Godhead, perichoresis (the mutual inter-penetration and indwelling within the threefold nature of the Trinity) and the

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decades of the 9th century, was ignored by the Byzantines for being "a Syrian living in the days of the Muslims".

[55] Griffith, "'Melkites', 'Jacobites' and the Christological Controversies in Arabic in the Third/Ninth-Century Syria," 32-34.

[56] Joseph Nasrallah, *Histoire du mouvement litteraire dans l'eglise melchite du Ve au XXe siècle*, vol. III (Louvain : Peeters, 1983), 77f.

[57] Andrew Louth, *St. John Damascene. Tradition and Originality in Byzantine Theology* (Oxford and New York: 2002), 22.

[58] Samir K. Samir, "The Earliest Arab Apology for Christianity," in *Christian Arabic Apologetics During the Abbasid Period, 750-1258*, ed. Samir K. Samir and Jørgen S. Nielsen (Leiden, Boston and Köln: Brill, 1994), 72.

procession of the Holy Spirit by means of the Son from the Father.[59] He also explained the ineffability of God with the help of Gregory's Oration 28 or the second theological oration.[60] His anthropology, according to which, the divine image in man that is saved after the fall makes deification possible, is shaped in the light of Gregory's thoughts. The deified human beings are united with Christ by the Holy Spirit and baptism.[61]

As is the case with John Damascene, the Melkite Abū Qurra refers to Gregory's authority in his explanation of the Chalcedonian theology. However, he was not the only one, as the opposing groups of Christians also found the support for their own points of view in Gregory as well as others such as Athanasius (d. 373) and Cyril of Alexandria (d. c. 444).[62]

Although there is no need here to dwell upon his place in tenth and eleventh century Melkite thought since it is the main purpose of our study, it is worth showing how he was introduced in the Arabic manuscripts. In the introductory part of a collection of Gregory's orations found in *Aleppo Greek Catholic Archbishopric* 105, Gregory is described as "Our honourable Father amongst the saints" whose ("the eminent saint") "prayers […] are asked to be with the readers of the oration".[63]

It is known that the Melkite Christians produced Arabic church-books and apologetic works, at quite an early period, in order to provide the ecclesiastical needs of their congregation and to defend their belief against Muslims. It is also important to note that the South Palestinian monasteries such as Mar Sabas, Mar Charitōn, and St Catherine in Sinai played the major role in the production of Christian Arabic works. The manuscripts from these monasteries have distinguishing features, which allow us to talk

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[59] Angelo di Berardino, ed. *Patrology. The Eastern Fathers from the Council of Chalcedon (451) to John of Damascus (750)* (Cambridge, 2006), 233f.
[60] Louth, 89.
[61] Norman Russell, *The Doctrine of Deification in the Greek Patristic Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 299.
[62] Griffith, "'Melkites', 'Jacobites' and the Christological Controversies in Arabic in the Third/Ninth-Century Syria," 38, 40, 43.
[63] Grand'Henry, "Les discours de Grégoire de Nazianze et la tradition manuscrite arabe syrienne," 259.

of a distinctive literary tradition.[64] However, the roles of these Palestinian monks as authors, translators, copyists and scribes might have gone beyond the literary level as they may also shed light on medieval interpretations of the patristic texts. Therefore, it would be interesting to search for the own views of these Palestinian monks as reflected in the translations they made.[65] All these points will be clearer in our treatment of the translator(s) and the manuscript tradition of our text, which offers an opportunity to learn more about Gregory's reception history in the Melkite tradition.

1.1.4. Oration 40 in Arabic

Having touched on the link that connected Gregory to Arab Christian theologians, it is now time to look at the structure and the content of the Arabic version of Oration 40. There is no difference between the Greek text and its Arabic version in the arrangement of paragraphs except for the introductory section in the translation. The Arabic translation of Oration 40 is accompanied with an introduction which indicates that Gregory delivered this speech to oppose those who, thinking that baptism would cleanse all the sins they committed in their life-time, delayed their baptisms until their deathbeds. Similar to the argument made in the first paragraph, this introductory section refers to readers' capacity and will to understand the message given in the oration. With the description of baptism as "pillar of the believers" (عماد المومنين) in one of the manuscripts (*U*), it draws closer to the Islamic tradition in which ṣalāt or prayer is called "pillar of the religion" and given a central place that combines social and metaphysical aspects of religion. Another interesting point is that in manuscripts *Y* and *D*, "Our Lord Christ" is accompanied by Yasūʿ, which can be read as a reference to the historical Jesus. Phrases like "inshā Allāh" and "fātiḥat al-maymar" give it a more Islamic tone.[66]

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[64] Griffith, *Arabic Christianity in the Monasteries of Ninth-Century Palestine* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1992), 1, 4-11.

[65] One should consider that, being the pilgrimage centre and thus the place of encounter between pilgrims all around the world and Palestinian Christians, the monasteries of the Holy Land may shed light on our knowledge of the intellectual atmosphere of the period. Ibid., 4.

[66] Manuscript *E* has an ending which frequently appears in Muslim texts: "O God, with the prayers (intercession) of Your Mother forgive the faults of your servant who copied this (اللهم بصلوات والدتك اغفر خطايا عبدك ناقله)." Grand'Henry, ed., *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua III: Oratio XL (Arab. 4)*, 2, 4, 6.

As seen in the examples above, Ibrāhīm's main contribution to the Greek text can be classified into two categories, one of which includes his additions made in order to clarify the meaning, and the other encompasses the words used to direct the attention of the reader to a specific way of thinking. With the addition of "[no] further investigation" (وزيادة في تفتيش) in the first paragraph of the Arabic version, Gregory's emphasis on accepting his words without any resistance becomes more pronounced. It is evident from the translator's rendering of some words like Creator and Incarnation with the terms al-Bāri' and tajassud in the following section that he was well-versed in Christian Arabic texts written before him. His use of Aysū' for Christos can be read as an attempt to bring the historical Jesus into attention. The verb tafalsafa and the phrase *tamām al-'aql* found in paragraph three also confirm his success as a translator. His rendering of *ereisma pisteōs* as *uss al-dīn* (basis of the religion) not only makes an emphasis on the central role given to baptism among other sacraments or religious practices but also reminds the Islamic ṣalāt and its place in the Islamic tradition.[67] Another indication of the connection between baptism and ṣalāt can be found in the fourth paragraph in which, similar to Q 29:45 ("... Prayer restrains from shameful and unjust deeds ..."), baptism is said to be a veil or clothing to our shames (سترة الفواحش).

The vocabulary of our text consists of a wide range of words that give us clues about the intellectual world in which our translator flourished.[68] Words like 'ishq, ladhdha and asmā in paragraph four have connotations in Ṣūfī[69] language whereas sa'āda appears in the writings of medieval Arab thinkers, Christian and Muslim, on the hereafter. In the following section, we find an elaborate use of the philosophical terminology of the day as in ma'qūlāt-maḥsūsāt distinction or as in the verbs taṣawwara, 'arafa, adraka, fahima, 'aqala and baṣara. As in ilāha for theōn in paragraph six or ata'allaha for etheoumēn in paragraph forty-two, Ibrāhīm did not hesitate to use words with the root "a-l-h" for human beings.[70] In the following section, he renders God as al-Bāri' in connection with

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[67] Paragraphs 1-3. Ibid., 8-13.

[68] The richness of his language becomes clearer in the terms he used to render common words like logos. Nuṭq (27,33), kalām (28,13), 'ilm (2,1) and ḥujja (33,24) are among those terms. Ibid., 10, 118, 122, 144.

[69] The Syrian manuscript family (*JY*) has a different reading of the last sentence of paragraph twenty-two. According to this reading, those who cultivate the gift are in love with the beauty in their souls (معشوق الجمال لنفوسهم). Although it does not differ much from the other version which reads as "they engrave (ينقشون) the beauty in their souls", the Syrian reading suggests a mystical understanding of human perfection. Ibid., 91.

[70] See 45,21. Ibid., 186.

the content of the paragraph which is about the differences between the uncompounded (first) and the composite (third) nature in creation.[71]

With his preference of sutrah for kalumma in "the Word, God through the veil (بالكلمة الالهي بسبب السترة), the hidden Light (المستور)", Ibrāhīm differs from Arab Christian writers most of whom used ḥijāb to denote the humanity of Christ. Sujūd (proskunēson)[72] is a good choice to refer to the new status bestowed upon man through baptism against the Evil. Besides denoting worshipping, sujūd means falling down in adoration. In the following three paragraphs, we find an emphasis on God's beneficence or iḥsān in calling human beings to perfection.[73] They are called to be faithful (مومنا) through grace (الاحسان) in such a way that they become the embodiment of faith (معترف بك). Baptism or the perfection that comes with it is a benefaction (محسنة) of God the Benefactor (المحسن add.) to believers who must be generous (تشفق and يحسن) in their spiritual development and do good to others (الاحسان).[74] This is therefore a gift given to those who reason well (تفكر and فكرا صالحا) about the blessing.[75]

The focus in paragraph sixteen is on the identity of believers who are called Christians (نصرانيا), men and friends of God (يا عبد الله وصاحبه) and faithful (مومنا). Those among them who are catechumens (katēkhoumenos) are described as not being baptised (غير معمود). Ibrāhīm's addition of wa-ṣāḥibahu to ō anthrōpe tou Theou (1 Tim. 6:11) is significant in that he designates man not only as a servant of God but also as a friend of Him who is very precious. This itself seems to be the reason that leads the Evil to assail him in every possible opportunity since its tricks are for those who have things (16,21 τὸν ἔχοντα, 16,17 على من عنده شئ) or for very important matters (16,21 τῶν μεγίστων, 16,17 وفي الجلايل). One of these tricks is to make you think that because you will destroy

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[71] Ibid., 12-26.

[72] See 17,19 for the rendering of sebas as ʻibāda. Ibid., 68.

[73] Four different words are used in paragraph nine to denote mercy and God's love for humanity: raḥma, yashfaqu, muḥibb li-l-bashar and taḥannun. For the use of these two together, see 36,23-24 (المحبة للبشر والتحنن for φιλανθρωπότερον). Ibid., 31-33 and 155.

[74] It is interesting to find that in 31,18 the two Syrian manuscripts (J, Y) read the second part of the sentence "be generous with giving and spreading everything for the coming of Christ in you (لدخول المسيح اليك)" as "[which is] enlightenment (very precious) for you in the presence of God (عند الله تبصرة [قيصرة] اليك)". Ibid., 134.

[75] Paragraphs 10-13. Ibid., 34-51.

the gift you should avoid becoming a Christian. This is in fact a thought of those whose reasoning (λογισμός) is confused (παραφρονοῦντος) (فكرة من اختلط قياسه).[76]

What we find in paragraph eight is an emphasis on the public expression or social aspect of faith as evidenced by the use of ʿuqūd/ʿuhūd (for homologias and sunthēkōn), muṣaddiqūn (pisteuomen) and jamāʿa (megalou). Similarly, in paragraph eighteen, Ibrāhīm points to the strong link between baptism and everyday life in a language rich in words related to virginity and marriage (ʿiffa, batūliyya, bakūriyya; tazawwuj, ʿurs, ʿishq) and of discipline and management (adab, siyāsa[77]).[78] By rendering epitēdeuma with "sīra, madhhab and ṣināʿa", he places emphasis on the fact that the new life brought by baptism is adaptable to every way of life.[79] However, it does not tolerate vain philosophy (ولا تتفلسف **ولا تتحيل**) on what destroys our salvation. This stress on the daily life of the believer re-emerges in the following paragraph in which the word faḍīla (virtue) and its cognates appear frequently. It also makes itself felt strongly in the description of God's (دياننا العادل المحب للبشر) judgment (تمييز بتدقيق من النظر) which is believed to determine one's success according to the role he or she is given in life. The translation of ekklēsion as al-bīʿah[80] is interesting when considered in relation to īmān, amāna and iʿtiqād, which refer to belief and trust, and thus agree with *pledge of loyalty* or *allegiance*.[81]

The intellectual[82] dimension of perfection, however, is not neglected as seen in khibra (πείρας) and afsara (ἑρμηνεύθητι) which denote one's intellectual capacity to understand the message of the vineyard parable (المثل). The connection between the vineyard of the parable and the Church becomes manifest with the addition of *al-dukhūl*

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[76] See also 39,18: "... the thought and its movements and reasonings" (الفكر وحركاته وقياساته) for τὸ διανοητικόν ... τὰ τούτου κινήματα ἢ διανοήματα). Ibid., 165.

[77] See 44,6 for oikonomia as directing of the soul (مدبر نفسك). Ibid., 179.

[78] When talking about the permanent effects of baptism, Ibrāhīm puts emphasis on its role in the cultivation (اصلاح) of one's *virtues* ("الاخلاق" and "للمذاهب" in *FONG EHI* for τρόπου). For the close connection between adab and iṣlāḥ, see 40,4-5 (يودب نفسه باصلاح) for ταῦτα παιδαγωγήσας). Ibid., 166.

[79] 36,15: The cleansing fire which Christ came to send upon the earth destroys **ways of life** (doctrines, ideologies) and evil habits (**المذاهب** والعوايد الردية) for τῆς πονηρᾶς ἐστιν ἕξεως). Ibid., 154.

[80] See 27,23 for one of its cognates, mubāyaʿa, which is used to render sunallagmatos. Ibid., 116.

[81] Paragraphs 18-20. Ibid., 69-83.

[82] It is a distinctive feature of our text that the translator prefers to use words which have epistemological connotations when they are not necessarily needed as in 26,30 (The consecrator must be of the same faith that we are thought (known) to be (26,36 μεμορφωμένος, 26,30 منصورا)) and 42,13 (They [idolaters] adore it and considers it as a god (42,19 τοῦ μικρὸν ὑπὲρ ταῦτα θεοῦ τοῖς εἰδωλολάτραις, 42,13 عبدها وتصورها الاها). Ibid., 112, 174.

fī l-kanīsa in the Arabic text. Entering the Church, however, is contrasted to false interpretations and objections (παρεξηγήσεις καὶ ἀντιθέσεις) or discussions and defences (المحاورات والمدافعات), and quibbles (ἀσυλλογίστως) or extra questioning (زيادة في قياس وفكر).[83]

When classifying the people who fail to receive the gift, Ibrāhīm describes the members of the second group as those who went wrong on account of their lack of mind (بنقص في عقولهم) but not due to their misbelief (κακίᾳ) (بسو اعتقادهم). It is interesting to find that the state in which those who are purified here will be in the next world is described by Gregory as splendour (λαμπρότητα) while it is rendered by Ibrāhīm as al-naʿīm.[84] Those who will be taken to *one of the highest levels of paradise* are the righteous known as speaking only the truth (الصديقون).[85]

In paragraphs twenty-four and twenty-six, Ibrāhīm gives us examples of the ecclesiastical terminology of his day: al-dinḥ (τὰ Φῶτα), al-fiṣḥ (τὸ Πασχά), al-ʿanṣara (τὴν Πεντηκοστὴν), usquf (ἐπίσκοπος), muṭrān (μητροπολίτης), qissīs (πρεσβύτερος), kāriz (κηρύσσοντος) and nusuk (ἐγκρατῶν).[86] In addition to these standard uses of the terms, we find him referring to baptiser (βαπτίζοντος) as al-ṣābigh or the dyer, which is used in the text either with al-muʿammid[87] or alone.[88]

Among other words[89] such as those ittakhadha (ἐδέξατο) and ṣūra (μορφὴν) which are Christological,[90] the emphasis in paragraph twenty-seven is on community spirit: yā maʿshar (Οἱ) and ʿalā l-jamāʿa (πᾶσι). With the addition of mashwara (γνώμην), which

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[83] Paragraphs 20 and 21. Ibid., 79-87. See also 31,1: "Abandon these words and proofs in peace" (هذا الكلام والاحتجاج بسلام). Ibid., 132.
[84] See also 37,6: al-naʿīm (τρυφῆς). Ibid., 156.
[85] Paragraphs 23 and 24. Ibid., 92-101.
[86] See 33,22-23 for *al-qiyāma al-mushtaraka* (ἐξαναστήσῃ τῶν τάφων μέχρι τελεθταίας) and *al-baʿs al-akhīr* (κοινῆς ἀναστάσεως). Ibid., 144.
[87] It is interesting to find that the Proto-Syrian version of manuscripts (*MiJY*) prefers this reading. Ibid., 112.
[88] See also 44,19 for the addition of al-dāfin (gravedigger) to baptistēn (المعمد) and katabaptistēn (المغرق) in the Arabic text. Ibid.., 181.
[89] We find Ibrāhīm placing an emphasis on the meaning by adding words (ʿaṭiyyatuhu jalīla **bi-ḥasbi karamihī** for μεγαλόδωρος) or making it clearer by using more specific terms (li-l-**qurbā** min niʿmat **al-maʿmūdiyya** for τῆς περὶ τὸ χάρισμα γνησιότητος). For the first case, see also 29,19 (al-kurz **wa-l-bishāra** for κηρύγματος), 30,15 (rasman **wa-misālan** for τύπος), 31,18 (bi-taqdīmika **wa-tafrīqika** for καρποφόρησον) and 35,2 (al-rūḥ **al-najīsa** al-hayūlāniyya for ὑλικὸν πνεῦμα). Ibid., 126, 130, 134, 149.
[90] See 29,4 for the verb labisa (dressed, clothed in) used to render forei. Ibid., 123.

rather denotes exchange of views or meeting for consulting, to ra'y in the following paragraph this becomes more pronounced.[91]

The most interesting addition of the Arabic translation to the Greek text is in the beginning of paragraph thirty-two in which the image in us (εἰκόνος) is described as "the image of the soul because the soul has one of the images of the *Creator*" (يعني النفس بالصورة النفس لانها عنده صورة من صور الباري). Therefore, "the soul and its image" (وصورتها for ψυχὴν) in paragraph thirty-eight should refer to this divine image in us.[92]

Interestingly enough, in paragraph thirty-seven, Ibrāhīm associates *al-'aql al-mustawlī* with *muḥabbat Allāh*. According to his reading, our ruling faculty (ἡγεμονικοῦ) leads us to the love for God (Θεὸν διαβήματα[93]).[94] Despite its Stoic origin, one can further think on the literal meaning of al-'aql al-mustawlī[95] (occupied mind) and interpret it as the acquired intellect. In al-Fārābī's philosophy, as the human mind that has reached to its perfection, al-'aql al-mustafād is capable of contemplating the Active Intellect (the Tenth Intellect) which both actualises its thoughts and gives it forms. This contemplation or union can be thought as love.

The language of the last paragraphs is rich in theological and philosophical terminology as in ittiḥād (ἕνωσιν), jawhar (οὐσίαις), ṭabī'a (φύσεσιν), ittifāq, khāṣiyya (ἰδιότητος), waḥdāniyya, riyāsa (μοναρχίαν), kalām (θεολογίᾳ), 'illa (αἰτίαν), ibtidā (ἀρχήν), wujūd (εἶναι), harāṭiqa (αἱρετικὸν)[96] and kufr (ἀθεΐαν). In addition to his success in using these terms in accordance with the language of his day, Ibrāhīm is notable for his additions with which he finds a way to make the meaning clear or draw attention to a point he wants the audience to reach. The last paragraph of our text offers a good example for these two cases. The Greek pronoun αἱ is rendered as *al-'āqilāt al-mubādirāt* in line with *al-nufūs al-'āqilāt* (ὅσαι φρόνιμοι) of the previous lines. Similarly, the thing that makes the door of the bride chamber closed for some of those who want to enter is described by the translator as the wickedness in their thoughts (بسو الراي على ذاتهن) while

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[91] Paragraphs 28 and 29. Ibid., 120-127.
[92] Ibid., 137, 160.
[93] Steps to God seems to find its expression in 38,3 in which Ibrāhīm's istiwā' (ὀρθὰ) can refer both to looking straight up and to God's (who is above the) Throne as in Q 10:3, 13:2, 20:5 etc. Ibid., 159.
[94] Ibid., 156.
[95] It is also possible to think that *al-'aql al-mustawlī fīnā* can easily mean "the mind [occupied] in us".
[96] See 42,7 for the rendering of καινῇ θεολογίᾳ as *al-kalām al-bāṭil*. Ibid., 173.

the English and the French translations of the Greek text prefer to render ὃν κακῶς ἑαυταῖς as "their sins" and "malencontreusement".[97]

Technically speaking, the language of our text is Christian Middle Arabic as seen especially in orthography (هولا, اولايك, السما etc.). Ibrāhīm prefers to transliterate some Greek words such as dēmosios (ديموس), kaisaros (قيصر) and legeōn (لجيون). He strengthens the authority of Gregory's words on children's baptism by using an expression commonly encountered in medieval Arabic writings, **wa-la-'umrī** innahu kadhālik (καὶ γὰρ οὕτως ἔχει).[98] We also find him rhyming on the words bāb and albāb: "fī hādhā l-bāb ... wa-dhawi l-albāb" (22,6-7).[99]

To conclude, this review has shown that the Arabic version of Oration 40 has a wide range of words and phrases, which are different from their Greek equivalents in some respects and reveal the translator's intentions and concerns for building an understanding of theosis that would be meaningful for the tenth-eleventh century Melkite Christians who, unlike their Christian friends of different denominations, had an intellectual and theological background that was both Byzantine and Arab.

1.1.5.   The Language of the Arabic Version of Oration 40: Christian Middle Arabic

The language of the Arabic translation of Oration 40 not only sheds light on tenth-century Melkite milieu but also helps us enlighten the Christian usage of Arabic in the Muslim lands. From the examinations of the special linguistic features of ninth and tenth century manuscripts from Syria/Palestine a new category of Arabic emerged: Middle Arabic. It is defined by Joshua Blau[100] as the "language of medieval Arabic texts in which classical, post-classical, and often also neo-Arabic and pseudo-correct elements alternate quite freely".[101] The language of the most ancient manuscript of our

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[97] Ibid., 192. Philip Schaff, ed., *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 7 (Michigan: William B. Eerdmans, 1988), 377. Grégoire de Nazianze, *Discours 38-41*, trans. Paul Gallay, *SC 358* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1990), 311.

[98] 44,2 (بين يدي الله for ἐνώπιον) is another example of this. Ibid., 179.

[99] Ibid., 74, 149, 89, 121.

[100] Joshua Blau, *A Handbook of Early Middle Arabic* (Jerusalem: Max Schloessinger Memorial Foundation, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2002), 14.

[101] The texts written in Christian Middle Arabic are most often dated to the second half of the 9th century. However, the disappearance of the mood and case endings, which are the main features of CMA, are also

text (*Mi*) which is dated to the 11th century can be called early Middle Arabic. However, it seems to be under the influence of Classical Arabic. Thus, this manuscript is not only important for the chronology of our text but also distinguished by its linguistic significance[102] since a more regular form of Middle Arabic with more standardisations and Islamisations appear in the later manuscripts.[103]

It is possible to find more information in some texts like *Answers for the Shaykh* on the sort of language in use in ninth and tenth century Melkite milieu. This text has a language, which does not have any traces of classical structure and Aramaic or Syriac influence but is rather the daily language of the period.[104] The writer of the text is clearly confident in using Arabic names and phrases, even the Qur'ānic terms, while he

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found in texts of later periods. Blau, *The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judaeo-Arabic: A Study of the Origins of Middle Arabic*, 2nd ed. (Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute for the Study of Jewish Communities in the East, 1981), 4-5. One of the most distinguishing features of MA is its analytical character. Accordingly, case and mood endings disappeared and a strict order of subject and direct object appeared. In some cases, subject was clearly distinguished from object. However, this does not mean that MA has a definite word order. Some adverbs and prepositions lost their precise meanings and uses. Numerals were significantly changed and tanwīn disappeared. _____, *A Grammar of Christian Arabic: Based Mainly on South-Palestinian Texts from the First Millennium. Fasc. 1-2* (Louvain: Secrétariat du CSCO, 1966), 45-49. Despite the opposite views, synthetic languages are said to have rendered concepts by one word while the analytical ones express every single concept by a single word. Even though analytical languages try to distinguish subject from direct object by a word order, this order does not prove to be regular. _____, "On the Problem of the Synthetic Character of Classical Arabic as against Judaeo-Arabic (Middle Arabic)," *The Jewish Quarterly Review* LIII (1972-1973): 30. On account of orthography, MA does not differ from Classical Arabic, while this fact does not apply to syntax and morphology. MA presents a centralising stress, which becomes clear in the abandonment of final short vowels, the shortening of final long vowels and the omission of interior short vowels in open unstressed syllables. _____, "The Importance of Middle Arabic Dialects for the History of Arabic," in *Studies in Islamic History and Civilization*, ed. Uriel Heyd (Jerusalem, 1961), 213.

[102] Grand'Henry, ed., *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua III: Oratio XL (Arab. 4)*, XXIV, XXX. For the detailed analysis of the linguistic features of Christian Middle Arabic, see Blau, *A Grammar of Christian Arabic: Based Mainly on South-Palestinian Texts from the First Millennium. Fasc. 1-3* (Louvain: Secrétariat du CSCO, 1966). Blau's work contains some of the features of the Middle Arabic of our text. Although not detailed as in the editions of other Arabic versions, Grand'Henry refers to specific Middle Arabic features, particularly the meanings of the words when needed. We will not therefore make linguistic analyses.

[103] It is possible to say that Ibrāhīm preferred a literal translation, which is yet not as literal as Anṭōnios' version. Thus, it is not surprising to find *Mi* giving priority to Arabic over Greek on the contrary of the other manuscripts like *FONG EHI PU DQ* and sometimes *JY*. However, the three major families of manuscripts are, for the most part, consistent and similar in the case of Oration 40 but this does not hide the fact that there is a significant opposition between the Proto-Syrian Version and the other three families. Grand'Henry, ed., *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua III: Oratio XL (Arab. 4)*, XXIV-XXV, XXVIII.

[104] Similarly, in the *Life of Timothy of Kākhūshtā*, Lamoreaux identifies a language which consists of "hybrids of Classical Arabic and the spoken Arabic [of the related period]" and came out of "the inadequate training and indifference to detail". Lamoreaux and Cairala, eds., 464.

hesitates in using some Greek names, which must have been well-known to the Melkites of the period.[105]

Considering the fact that Middle Arabic studies are based on mainly Jewish and Christian texts,[106] one might question the existence of a Christian dialect.[107] As indicated before, the exceptional characteristics of the texts produced in South-Palestinian monasteries, particularly the translations from Greek and Syriac introduced a new category, which seems to be related to the situations of non-Muslims under Muslim rule. This new category refers to the Arabic of non-Muslim authors who made all efforts to write in Classical Arabic but could not avoid confusions and mistakes while the Muslim writers of the same period devoted all their efforts to using a pure Arabic.[108]

As to the roots of Christian Arabic before Islam, it is possible to talk of federal Arab Christians of the Patriarchate of Antioch in the fourth and fifth centuries. It is known that these Arab Christians were the followers of the orthodox view of the Council of Nicaea (325) and the Synod of Antioch (363). They also supported the orthodox party in the midst of the Christological debates of the 5th century. Their rather primitive liturgy,

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[105] Griffith, "Answers for the Shaykh: A 'Melkite' Arabic Text from Sinai and the Doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation in 'Arab Orthodox' Apologetics," in *The Encounter of Eastern Christianity with Early Islam*, ed. Mark N. Swanson, Emmanouela Grypeou, David Richard Thomas (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 277-309, 283f.

[106] Usāma ibn Munqidh's *Memoirs* gives an interesting account of the Muslim Middle Arabic, which is much less studied than its non-Muslim version. The Muslim Middle Arabic shares certain common features with Jewish and Christian Middle Arabic but it permeated in the works of Muslims under the shelter of Classical Arabic as the Muslim writers tried to keep their language "pure". For the *Memoirs*, see I. Schen, "Usāma ibn Munqidh's Memoirs. Some Further Light on Muslim Middle Arabic (Part I)," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 17 (1972). _____, "Usāma ibn Munqidh's Memoirs. Some Further Light on Muslim Middle Arabic (Part II)," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 18 (1973). For the root of the attempts of Muslim writers to keep their language pure, see Q 16:103.

[107] One could suppose that since they had a South Palestinian dialect, Christian Middle Arabic texts represented a kind of a Melkite *lingua franca*. The language of the non-Palestinian author of *Summa Theologiae* from the 9th century, which is deliberately Standard Middle Arabic, also confirms this. The author's efforts to adjust to SMA show its status as a *koine* among the Melkites. Another CMA text, *Kitāb al-burhān* (The Book of Demonstration) comes from the east of Palestine, Capitolias in Transjordan. Blau, *A Handbook of Early Middle Arabic*, 72-73, 85. Since the majority of the CA texts were most often translations from Syriac and Greek, the newly developed language should have been determined by the *Vorlage*. Bengt Knutsson, *Studies in the Text and Language of Three Syriac-Arabic Versions of the Book of Judicum: With Special Reference to the Middle Arabic Elements* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974), 44, 46.

[108] Blau, *A Handbook of Early Middle Arabic*, 19.

which was in Arabic, included Syriac liturgical texts that were translated into this language. Monasteries played a significant role in the reception of Christianity amongst the Arabs. They were also the places where new ideas spread from Byzantium reformed the faith which would later be defended by a resident of Mar Sabas monastery, John of Damascus.[109]

Because of the strong links of Melkite authors with the Islamic language of their cultural milieu, it is not possible to suggest an independent Christian Arabic or a Christian ghetto.[110] Therefore, we cannot think of the texts of Melkite writers, who began speaking and even writing in Arabic fluently in the 8th century, as the copies of Greek and Syriac sources or ideas in which they found a ground.[111] It is true that they had to adopt Arabic for the liturgical needs of their church and defending their beliefs against Muslims. However, they also produced some works like *On the triune nature of God* (Fī Tathlīth Allāh al-Wāḥid) (737/38) and the *Summa Theologiae Arabica* (Jāmiʿ wujūh al-īmān) (850-870) in which a strong adaptation of the Islamic language makes itself strongly felt.[112]

The Aramaic and Syriac influence is one of the most characteristic features of Middle Arabic texts. Therefore, it is not surprising to find in the most ancient Arabic manuscript of Oration 40, *Mi*, some words of Syriac origin, which were changed into their Arabic equivalents in the later manuscripts as is the case with the name of Jesus. In the earlier manuscripts, He was given a name of Syriac origin, *Aysūʿ*, which is replaced by the Arabic *Masīḥ* in the later manuscripts.[113]

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[109] I. Shahid, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fourth Century* (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1984), 554-560. _____, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fifth Century* (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1989), 515-529.

[110] Samir, 109.

[111] Griffith, "Faith and Reason in Christian Kalām. Theodore Abū Qurrah on Discerning the True Religion," in *Christian Arabic Apologetics During the Abbasid Period (750-1258)*, ed. Samir K. Samir and Jørgen S. Nielsen (Leiden, Boston and Köln: E. J. Brill, 1994), 5f.

[112] Samir, 109.

[113] Grand'Henry, "Contribution à l'histoire du texte de la version arabe du discours 40 de Grégoire de Nazianze," 162.

Syriac plays an important role in the history of Gregory's Arabic texts as these texts bear some relation to the earlier Syriac versions, which were the first amongst the translations made in the Oriental languages (Coptic, Armenian, Georgian and Slavonic).[114] It is known that Gregory's texts were translated into Syriac in the early era of the translation activity in this language (fourth to seventh centuries) and then, in a period of revisions, they were revised by Paul of Edessa in 623/24.[115]

As will be indicated below, the earliest Arabic versions of Gregory's orations were revised and edited by Ibrāhīm ibn Yuḥannā al-Anṭākī on the basis of the Greek and Syriac texts. Thus, it is possible to suggest that Ibrāhīm must have known Syriac at least to some extent as the Byzantine reconquest of Antioch, which corresponds to his own lifetime accelerated the rapid decline of Syriac. However, we can still talk of the influence of Syriac on the theological and literary level.

1.1.6. The Manuscript Tradition of the Arabic Version of Oration 40

Having given an account of the language of our text within the broader context of Christian Middle Arabic, we can now clarify the transmission process by briefly looking at the relations of the manuscripts. The Arabic manuscripts of Oration 40 are categorised by J. Grand'Henry under three groups: a Syro-Sinaitic manuscript family (x), an Egyptian manuscript family (y) (*EHI*) and an intermediary branch (z) (*PUDQ*). The first, besides a Sinaitic group (*FONG*), also includes the so-called Proto-Syrian Version (*MiJY*) and the relation between these latter two groups plays a significant role in the transmission of the Arabic version of Oration 40.[116]

The most ancient Arabic manuscript of Oration 40 is *Mi* (Milano, Bibliotheca Ambrosiana X 198 sup. fols. 44-61) which is dated to the 11th century. The so-called

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[114] See, http://nazianzos.fltr.ucl.ac.be/002PresentE.htm [Accessed: 26 December 2009].

[115] Daniel King, *The Syriac Versions of the Writings of Cyril of Alexandria. A Study in Translation Technique (CSCO 626 Sub. 123)* (Leuven: Peeters, 2008), 18, 20, 23.

[116] Grand'Henry, ed., *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua III: Oratio XL (Arab. 4)*, XII.

Proto-Syrian group (*MiJY*) sheds light on a revision most likely made at the end of the 10th or the beginning of the 11th century on the basis of a text which was very close to the archetype. *Mi* has particular features such as being very close to the Greek text, approximations regarding Arabic style and syntax and some grammatical errors.[117]

Being the group that includes the closest manuscript to the original text of the 10th century, the Proto-Syrian Version is the most important manuscript group for our text. Before the critical edition of the Arabic version of Oration 40, Jacques Grand'Henry[118] (Orations 24 and 21) and Laurence Tuerlinckx[119] (Orations 1, 44 and 45) already showed the importance of the manuscripts from Antioch and Aleppo and their relationship with the Sinaitic group. From the examinations of these manuscripts, it appeared that the Arabic manuscripts of Gregory were transmitted from Antioch to Damascus and then to Jerusalem (Mar Sabas and Mar Charitōn) and Sinai (Saint Catherine) in the 11th century. These Arabic versions reached the monasteries of Egypt after the beginning of the 13th century when a further revision took place.[120]

1.2. The Translator : Ibrāhīm ibn Yūḥannā al-Anṭākī

Before delving into the conceptual analysis of the Arabic version of Oration 40, we must introduce the translator and the atmosphere in which he produced his works. By doing this, we will draw attention to an insufficiently studied field, the Antiochene Graeco-Arabic translation movement of Greek patristic works. Thus, we will describe the scene in which Gregory's theosis theology took a new shape in Arabic.

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[117] Grand'Henry, "Contribution à l'histoire du texte de la version arabe du discours 40 de Grégoire de Nazianze," 158. _____, ed., *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua III: Oratio XL (Arab. 4)*, XXIX, XXX. It is interesting to note that this manuscript includes the three orations that form the trilogy (Orations 38, 39 and 40) we mentioned before. Nasrallah, 297-298.

[118] Grand'Henry, "La version arabe du discours 24 de Grégoire de Nazianze: Édition critique, commentaires et traduction". _____, ed., *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua I: Oratio XXI (Arab. 20)*.

[119] Tuerlinckx, ed., *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua II: Orationes I, XLV, XLIV (Arab. 9, 10, 11)*.

[120] Grand'Henry, ed., *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua III: Oratio XL (Arab. 4)*, XXIX.

1.2.1. His Life and Works

Ibrāhīm ibn Yuḥannā al-Anṭākī must have come from an Arabicised Greek family. The manuscripts and the colophons state that he had the title of *Protospatharios*.[121] This title, which became from the 7th century onward an honorary title, was given to the head of the school of *spatharioi* (imperial bodyguards) in the Byzantine Empire.[122] The Arabic transcription of the title caused some confusion as in Atiya's misspellings "al-Apotospaṭār" and "Apotospatnar".[123]

In some sources, Ibrāhīm has been mistaken for Abramios who is known to have signed the synodical act of the Patriarch of Constantinople (Alexis Studite) concerning the Monophysite movement in Melitene in 1030. Considering the reference in his *Life of Christophorus* to his childhood days at the end of Aghābiyūs ibn Qa'barūn's patriarchate (953-959), it is possible to suggest that he was born in the 950s. He says that he saw the delegation of a priest and two deacons from Romagyris who came to Antioch to ask for the election of a catholicos for their congregation.[124] He also expresses his gratitude to the Patriarch Christophorus (d. 967) for supervising his education.[125]

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[121] Habib Zayat assumed that this title belonged to Ibrāhīm but not to his father. Habib Zayat, "Vie du patriarche melkite d'Antioche Christophore par le Protospathaire Ibrāhīm b. Yuhanna. Document inédit du Xe siècle," *POC* 2 (1952): 15. Joseph Nasrallah first supports the idea but states the opposite in his later work without giving any evidence. Joseph Nasrallah, "Deux auteurs melchites inconnus du Xe siècle," *Oriens Christianus* 63 (1979): 75. _____, *Histoire du mouvement litteraire dans l'eglise melchite du Ve au XXe siècle*, 289. John Lamoreaux says the last word and attributes the title to Ibrāhīm and his father: "His must have been an influential family, as both he and his father were designated as *protospathorioi* (an imperial title of great dignity)". John C. Lamoreaux, "Ibrāhīm ibn Yūḥannā al-Anṭākī," in *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History. Volume 2 (900-1050)*, ed. David Thomas and Alex Mallett with J. P. M. Sala, J. Pahlitzsch, M. Swanson, H. Teule, and J. Tolan (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010), 611.
[122] John B. Bury, *The Imperial Administrative System of the Ninth Century* (Oxford, 1911), 21.
[123] Nasrallah, *Histoire du mouvement litteraire dans l'eglise melchite du Ve au XXe siècle*, 300.
[124] Zayat: 23.
[125] Christophorus' educational activities included the assignment of teachers for students chosen from rich and poor families to be educated in ecclesiastical sciences. For Ibrāhīm, these efforts were important on three points: Poor students were both fed and educated and a grand service was given to the church (*al-bī'ah*). Ibid.: 36-37.

Ibrāhīm is known for his translations from Greek Fathers into Arabic, particularly from Ephrem's, Gregory Nazianzen's and John Chrysostom's works.[126] However, his original work on lives of the saints in the Patriarchate of Antioch is equally important. This historical work of which we have unfortunately a small part would have said much about the period and the aims and goals of the translation activity in tenth and eleventh century Antioch.[127] The extant part of the work, which is on Christophorus' life,[128] has some missing parts. This is in fact the only extant biography of a Melkite patriarch from the middle ages.[129] In the first of the articles in which he published the text and his translation in French, Habib Zayat[130] indicated that the missing parts are not of utmost importance. However, the later writers who have seen *Sinai Arabic 405* (fols. 111-131) which was not available to Zayat proved that significant variants have caused important historical mistakes.[131]

Life of Christophorus is an excellent source for the relationship between the Melkites and the Muslim rulers in the second half of the tenth century. What we find in Ibrāhīm's narrative is a patriarchate, which belonged to the Syrian-Hellenistic tradition rather than Byzantium. It is not possible to find in this narrative any positive comments on the side

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[126] For the witnesses of these translations, see Nasrallah, *Histoire du mouvement litteraire dans l'eglise melchite du Ve au XXe siècle*, 290-300. Habib Zayat notes that the codex 463 of (du fonds Borgia de la) *Bibliotheque Vaticane*, fols. 172-184 contains homilies of Ephrem and the panegyric written by Gregory of Nyssa for Ephrem, which begins as follows: "This panegyric was translated by the Melkite writer, the Protospatharios Ibrāhīm b. Yuhanna of Antioch and dictated by him in Arabic after a Greek text". Zayat adds that this panegyric is found also in *Marsh. 477* of the Oxford Library. Zayat: 15. For the Arabic version of this pseudo-Gregorian panegyric, see Nasrallah, *Histoire du mouvement litteraire dans l'eglise melchite du Ve au XXe siècle*, 292.

[127] For Ibrāhīm's reference to his separate works on the disciples of Christophorus (wa-kadhālika faqad dhakartu li-kulli minhum khabaran mufradan), see Zayat: 366. It is worth nothing that shortly before his death, because of the revolt against Sayf al-Dawla, Christophorus was exiled, and took refuge at the monastery of St Symeon the Elder. Ibid. 336-337.

[128] This is the title in *Sinai Ar.* 405: Qiṣṣa sīrat al-baṭriyark 'alā Anṭākiyya al-shahīd Kharīsṭūfūrus wa-shahādatihi bihā, allafahā Ibrāhīm ibn Yuḥannā al-ibrūṭusbāthār al-Malakī bihā yūnāniyyan thumma naqalahā ayḍan 'arabiyyan ("An account of the life of the patriarch of Antioch, the martyr Christopher, and his martyrdom in it [Antioch], which Ibrāhīm ibn Yūḥannā, the Melkite protospatharios, wrote in it [Antioch] in Greek [and] then also translated into Arabic"). Lamoreaux, "Ibrāhīm ibn Yūḥannā al-Anṭākī," 612.

[129] Ibid., 613. Toward the close of the text, Ibrāhīm mentions the disciples of the saint who are described as the "sacred branches, spiritual flowers and accepted forerunners for a divine life (being)". For this part and his prayers for the intercession of the saint (wa-shafā'atuk), see Zayat: 364-366.

[130] Zayat: 16.

[131] Nasrallah, *Histoire du mouvement litteraire dans l'eglise melchite du Ve au XXe siècle*, 302. Ignatios Dick, *Melkites: Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholics of the Patriarchates of Antioch, Alexandria and Jerusalem* (Roslindale, MA: Sophia Press, 2004), 87.

of Byzantium while the Ḥamdānid emir Sayf al-Dawla is praised on every occasion. It is not therefore difficult to find out where the Antiochian Melkites believed their future lay. As Christophorus' zealous attempts to found a catholicosate in Baghdad instead of Shash show, they were under the influence of the political and social circumstances of the period. What is most impressive in this narrative is the killing of Christophorus (22 May 967) by the enemies of Sayf al-Dawla.[132]

According to Nasrallah,[133] Ibrāhīm's best known work was the *Mayāmir wa-rasā'il wa-aqwāl li-abīnā l-qiddīs Mār Afrām al-Sīriānī* (Orations, Treatises and Speeches of Our Holy Father St Ephrem the Syrian). This work, which is dated to 980, contains 52 orations, homilies, letters and exhortations. Two codices (*Par. Ar. 135*, 13th c., fol. 293 and *Vat. Ar. 67*, 1324) refer to Ibrāhīm as the translator of Ephrem's works. Furthermore, the similar features of his translations from Gregory and Ephrem such as their well-organised collections and the closeness of their date of production confirm this. Thus, a comparative study of Ibrāhīm's translations from these two Fathers would certainly contribute to our knowledge of Ibrāhīm and his milieu.

The introductory sentences of the Arabic versions of Oration 29 and 30, which are found in a significant number of manuscripts, say that Ibrāhīm is the person who collected and translated the orations of Gregory.[134] This is the first sentence of Oration 29: فهرست الكتاب، ميامر لابينا الجليل في القديسين غريغريوس التاولولوغوس ("The index of the work [book]: the orations of our Father, Gregory the Theologian, who is eminent amongst the saints"). The Arabic title of the oration is as follows: الميمر الاول في الابن الوحيد تفسير ابراهيم الابرطستيشار الانطاكي ("The first oration: On the Unique Son. The translation of Ibrāhīm, Protospatharios, of Antioch"). Ibrāhīm is also mentioned at the end of Oration 45 in *Sinai Arabic 277* and at the beginning of Oration 43 in *Sinai Arabic 400* and *401*. In

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[132] See also Thomas H. Benner, "Das chalkedonensische Patriarcat von Antiocheia in der Mitte des 10. Jahrhunderts," in *Syrisches Christentum weltweit. Studien zur syrischen Kirchengeschichte. Festschrift Wolfgang Hage*, ed. Martin Tamcke et al (Münster, 1995). From the information given through the end of the text about the transmission of the saint's remains, it is possible to suggest that *Life of Christophorus* must have been composed around 1025-1030. This is also *terminus ante quem* for the death of Ibrāhīm. Lamoreaux, "Ibrāhīm ibn Yūḥannā al-Anṭākī," 616, 613.

[133] Nasrallah, *Histoire du mouvement litteraire dans l'eglise melchite du Ve au XXe siècle*, 292.

[134] Grand'Henry, "Les discours de Grégoire de Nazianze et la tradition manuscrite arabe syrienne," 257.

addition to these witnesses, it is possible to think of the similar features found in all the Arabic versions of the Gregorian orations as an evidence for his translation activity. [135]

We know that from Atiya's attribution (based on the *incipit* in Sinai Arabic MS 85) of the translation of the Dionysian *Discourse on Good and Evil* to Ibrāhīm, our translator was interested in Pseudo-Dionysius. This is also confirmed by his translation of the paragraphs 18-35 of the fourth chapter of the *Divine Names*. This is from the scribe's note: ميمر انشاه ديونوسيس القديس الاروباجيتس اسقف اثينا في الخير والشرمما عنى بنقله بمعونة الله ابراهيم الابرطسبشار الكاتب الملكي بن يوحنا الانطاكي (''Mīmar on Good and Evil composed by St Dionysius the Areopagite, the bishop of Athens, translated by the Protospatharius and the Melkite scribe Ibrāhīm ibn Yūḥannā al-Anṭākī''). [136]

1.2.2. Another Translator

As to the question of another translator, Graf[137] notes that, before Ibrāhīm, Gregory's orations were already translated from Greek into Arabic by another Antiochian translator, Anṭōnios. The monk Anṭōnios stayed in the monastery of Mar Sabas in Palestine until his return to Saint-Simeon in Antioch in the second half of the tenth century. He was known for his translations, particularly from John Chrysostom. However, it is not possible to find any information about this translator in the two manuscripts attributed to him by Graf: *Three Hierarchs 414 (14)* and *Sbath, Fihris*

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[135] Tuerlinckx, ed., *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua II: Orationes I, XLV, XLIV (Arab. 9, 10, 11),* VII.

[136] Treiger, "New Evidence on the Arabic Versions of the Corpus Dionysiacum," 227, 238f. For the existing manuscripts, see Nasrallah, *Histoire du mouvement litteraire dans l'eglise melchite du Ve au XXe siècle*, 300. For the different meanings of نقله, see Grand'Henry, "Les versions arabe de Grégoire de Nazianze," 70. _____, "La version arabe du discours 24 de Grégoire de Nazianze: Édition critique, commentaires et traduction," 209. For the Arabic versions of *Celestial Hierarchy* of Dionysius the Areopagite and *Mystagogy* of Maximus the Confessor, which might have belonged to Ibrāhīm, and the codices that attributes the translation of Dionysius' *Letter to Timothy on the Martyrdom of Peter and Paul* to Ibrāhīm, see Nasrallah, *Histoire du mouvement litteraire dans l'eglise melchite du Ve au XXe siècle*, 300-301.

[137] Georg Graf, *GCAL*, vol. 3 (*Die Schriftsteller von der Mitte des 15. bis zum Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts. Melchiten, Maroniten*) (Vatikanstadt, 1949), 42.

2543.[138] In the first manuscript, there are some orations from the collection compiled by Ibrāhīm, while the second one includes 20 Gregorian orations attributed to someone called Anṭōnios (al-Rāhib), who lived in the 12th century. However, a manuscript (*Sinai Arabic 481*) copied in 1330 and might have been based on an Arabic manuscript from 1069 or 1091, mentions Anbā Anṭūn of Antioch at the end of the colophon of a collection that covers the *collection* of homilies, different texts from different authors and citations from Gregory's orations.[139] Anṭōnios' citations are from Orations 4, 7, 14, 16, 19, 21, 40, 43 and 44 and also found in the *Quaestiones et responsiones* of Anastasius of Sinai (*PG* 39.312-324).[140]

J. Grand'Henry[141] compared Anṭōnios' citations from Gregory's Oration 14 and 16 to Ibrāhīm's translations of these orations and proved that Ibrāhīm made a revision of Anṭōnios' work. Being superior to Anṭōnios in respect of Greek and Arabic, Ibrāhīm improved or removed certain problems like grammatical errors, questionable additions, semantical approximations and Hellenistic elements found in the first version. However, this does not mean that he removed the elements of Middle Arabic that was in use in his day.

The revision of Ibrāhīm is referred to in the introductory sentence of the Arabic translation of Oration 29. Unlike all other manuscripts in which the meaning of 'translated', 'copied' or 'revised' is given with *naqalahu*, this text uses *tafsīr* to refer to Ibrāhīm's work. Tafsīr, which is normally used for commentary and exegesis in Islamic tradition, should have gained a special meaning in Christian Arabic for translation activity.[142]

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[138] Tuerlinckx, ed., *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua II: Orationes I, XLV, XLIV (Arab. 9, 10, 11)*, VI.

[139] Ibid., VI-VII.

[140] See Grand'Henry, "La version arabe de quelques textes apocryphes attribués à Grégoire de Nazianze," *Le Muséon* 96 (1983), 239-250 for the apocryphal text, *Physiologus* whose Arabic version is attributed to Gregory of Nazianzus and *Quaestiones* which was ascribed to himself and St Basil.

[141] Grand'Henry, "La version arabe du discours 24 de Grégoire de Nazianze: Édition critique, commentaires et traduction," 212f. _____, "La méthode de révision d'une version patristique arabe ancienne chez Ibrāhīm fils de Yuhannā d'Antioche," 167-172.

[142] Grand'Henry, "Les discours de Grégoire de Nazianze et la tradition manuscrite arabe syrienne," 257.

There are two independent versions of the Arabic translation of Oration 38, which may suggest the possibility of a third translator. However, the language of these versions do not confirm this as their linguistic features neither represent Classical Arabic nor present an example of the Middle Arabic which was developed after the 10th century but a language that is full of Syriacism and Hellenism.[143] Thus, it is not possible to talk of a third translator and Anṭōnios and Ibrāhīm retain their positions as the main translators of Gregory of Nazianzus.[144]

1.2.3. The Antiochene Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement

Ibrāhīm lived in a period of political and cultural change. It is not only characterised by political turmoil but also by a flowering of theological literature. Antioch was the centre of this active period, which is marked by the Byzantine reconquest of Antioch. Antioch was ruled by the Byzantine rulers for more than a hundred years (969-1085). What was brought by the Byzantine reconquest was the revival of Greek language in addition to the Greek patriarchs appointed by Byzantium and the adoption of the Byzantine rite first in liturgy and then in law. Although the religious factor played only a small role in the political life of Syria at the end of the 10th and in the first half of the 11th century, the Byzantine domination in Antioch did in fact aim at the assimilation of the patriarchate.[145]

The Melkites of the previous age played an important role in the Abbasid golden age. In the period beginning with the Byzantine reconquest of Antioch and ending with the destruction of the city by the Mamluks in 1268, they reappeared as significant figures in the intellectual development of Ayyubid Syria and Fatimid Egypt. There were prolific writers among them on different literary genres such as science, polemic, philosophy

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[143] Tuerlinckx, ed., *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua II: Orationes I, XLV, XLIV (Arab. 9, 10, 11)*, VIII.
[144] For the colophons in which two translators, Anṭōnios and Ibrāhīm, are mentioned, see Grand'Henry, "La méthode de révision d'une version patristique arabe ancienne chez Ibrāhīm fils de Yuhannā d'Antioche," 162-166.
[145] Nasrallah, *Histoire du mouvement litteraire dans l'eglise melchite du Ve au XXe siècle*, 41.

and theology. Antioch, which was thus far integrated into Arabic culture, became the centre of a literary movement marked by a kind of nationalism or Arabism.[146]

The Byzantine reconquest of Antioch seems to have affected this movement on two levels: The Greek tradition of the Melkite Church, particularly the Greek Patristic literature was revived and a Melkite identity –strengthened by the heritage of the Fathers but shaped by the Arab culture– was created. This concern for an identity makes itself strongly felt in the interest of the Antiochian writers such as Ibrāhīm and Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd al-Anṭākī (c. 980-1033) in hagiography and history. What is most interesting is the fact that this movement flourished under Byzantine rule while the Melkites of that period did not feel themselves attached to Byzantium in any sense. Therefore, it would not be right to think of this movement only as a challenge to medieval Islamic thought. One should also consider the rivalry between the Melkite and the Jacobite patriarchates in Antioch at that period. It is known that Nicephorus Phocas (963-969) tried to merge these two patriarchates and the Jacobite party, which was brought closer to Byzantium, gained power.[147] It is not difficult to find out the intention behind this policy, as the Melkites were the true friends of the Muslim rulers. One should also consider the efforts of Christophorus for the establishment of the catholicosate in Baghdad against the one that was founded in Iran (Shash). This makes us think of a local patriotism, which also appeared in the conservation of the old liturgy and law in some places.[148]

Although the central motif of the so-called Antiochene translation movement was religious, it seems to have literal and ethical concerns like its predecessor, the Abbasid Graeco-Arabic translation movement. In Chapter 3, we will deal with the Abbasid golden age with special attention to the intellectual atmosphere formed around the term "adab". Now is the time to draw attention to the Antiochene Graeco-Arabic translation movement, which deserves to be treated as its predecessor. It is true that the Antiochene movement was limited both in extent and in content but the circumstances that generated such a movement seem to be more interesting than the background of the

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[146] Ibid., 7.
[147] Benner, 109-110.
[148] Nasrallah, *Histoire du mouvement litteraire dans l'eglise melchite du Ve au XXe siècle*, 42.

Abbasid revolution. Apart from the political circumstances created by the Muslim rulers, the Antiochene revival of Greek literature in Arabic was motivated only by Christians. Furthermore, its central motif was theological and not philosophical or scientific. It was not supposed to create a universal intellectual culture but to give an identity to the Melkite community in tenth and eleventh-century Antioch.

In addition to the publication of the catalogues of Christian Arabic manuscripts, there appeared works on Christian Arabic literature, which increased in number since 1940s. After the appearance of Graf's bibliographical history (1944-1949), Habib Zayat published the *Life of Christophorus* in 1952 and Joseph Nasrallah began writing his literary history of the Melkite tradition in 1979 (the fourth and the last volume appeared in 1989). Considering the fact that he wrote *La version arabe de quelques textes apocryphes attribués à Gregoire de Nazianze* in 1983, it is possible to suggest that Grand'Henry developed an interest in the Arabic versions of Gregory's orations before 1980s. Brepols Publishing published the critical edition and French translation of Oration 24 in 1988, Oration 21 in 1996, Oration 1, 45 and 44 in 2001, and Oration 40 (no translation) in 2005. As indicated in the introductory section, Grand'Henry and his team are working on the critical editions of the other Gregorian orations in Arabic. John C. Lamoreaux's introduction of Ibrāhīm and the *Life of Christophorus* appeared in *CMR2* in 2010. Graf and Nasrallah drew attention to ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl (d. c. 1052) but the recent interest in this Antiochian translator and writer is promising. Alexander Treiger and Samuel Noble edited and translated his *Discourse on the Holy Trinity* in 2011. In his entry on Ibn al-Faḍl in *CMR3* (2011), Treiger[149] notes that a critical edition and an English translation of *Kitāb al-manfaʿa* (The Book of Benefit) are in preparation by himself and Noble. He also adds that an edition and a German translation of *Sharḥ al-amāna al-mustaqīma* (The Exposition of the Orthodox Faith) will appear in Ramy Wannous' doctoral dissertation *(ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī. Darlegung des rechten Glaubens* [Philipps-Universität Marburg]).[150]

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[149] Treiger, "ʿAbdallāh ibn Al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī," 97.
[150] Ibid., 109.

When this thesis was close to completion, Treiger and Noble[151] drew attention to the importance of the Antiochene Graeco-Arabic translation movement, which was already indicated by Nasrallah[152] and by Treiger in his entry in *CMR3* ("unfortunately hitherto insufficiently studied […] [the Antiochene Graeco-Arabic translation movement of Christian works, especially of Greek patristic authors]")[153] as follows:

> Despite its obvious importance, this fact [translations from Greek into Arabic] remains largely unknown to scholars of Patristics, Byzantinists, and Arabists. In the case of Patristics, this neglect is all the more unfortunate because several Patristic works translated into Arabic in that time period are now lost in Greek and survive only in these Arabic translations. […] Byzantinists, too, could benefit from a closer examination of the Arabic translations and original Christian works composed in Byzantine Antioch as they provide indispensible information on the philosophical and theological climate in Byzantium, bilingualism, Church history and politics, monasticism, and other related subjects. […] Arabists ought to be aware that the better known Graeco-Arabic translation movement of the ʿAbbāsid period, centered in Baghdad in the eight-tenth centuries, was not the only large-scale attempt to render Greek writings into Arabic. The Antiochene translation movement of Patristic works matched it in scope. […] The Arabic versions of Greek Patristic texts produced in Antioch and its environs (as well as in other translation centers, such as the monastery of Mar Saba in Palestine) were later read, copied, and cited extensively by Middle-Eastern Christians of all denominations, especially the Copto-Arabic theologians of the thirteenth century.

To the best of our knowledge, as we have mentioned before, Ibrāhīm made translations from Ephrem, Gregory of Nazianzus,[154] John Chrysostom and Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite[155] and composed an original work, which was a hagiographical or

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[151] Samuel Noble and Alexander Treiger "Christian Arabic Theology in Byzantine Antioch: 'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī and his Discourse on the Holy Trinity," *Le Muséon* 124 (2011): 372-373.

[152] Nasrallah, *Histoire du mouvement litteraire dans l'eglise melchite du Vᵉ au XXᵉ siècle*, 78.

[153] Treiger, "ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī," 89.

[154] For the three Arabic apocryphal texts attributed to Gregory, see "La version arabe de quelques textes apocryphes attribués à Grégoire de Nazianze".

[155] Treiger notes that the Arabic versions of Pseudo-Dionysius seem to have been used only by Arab Christians. Alexander Treiger, 2012. *Inspired Knowledge in Islamic Thought: Al-Ghazālī's Theory of Mystical Cognition and Its Avicennian Foundation* (*Notes*, Ch. 5, note 33, 301) [Kobo version]. Routledge. Available at: http://http://www.kobobooks.com/ebook/Inspired-Knowledge-Islamic-Thought-

biographical work on the saints of the Patriarchate of Antioch. However, his younger contemporary, Ibn al-Faḍl, had a broader perspective and a more philosophical mind as his original works and translations suggest. He not only wrote on the Trinity (*Kalām fī l-thālūth al-muqaddas*), the Orthodox faith (*Sharḥ al-amāna al-mustaqīma*), practical religious issues (*Kitāb bahjat al-mu'minīn* and *Masā'il wa-ajwiba ḥawl al-thathlīth wa-l-ittiḥād*) and divine love (*Kitāb al-maṣābīḥ*) but also included some parts of the works of ancient philosophers and Arab Christian theologians in his original writings (*Kitāb al-manfaʿa*) and in addition to his translations from Greek Fathers (John Chrysostom, Basil, Gregory of Nyssa etc.) he translated a Byzantine florilegium (*Kitāb al-rawḍa*).[156]

Looking at the list of his works and considering the fact that he is believed to have met the famous Arab poet al-Maʿarrī (d. 1058) and the Baghdadi Nestorian philosopher and theologian Abū al-Faraj ibn al-Ṭayyib (d. 1043),[157] we can suggest that Ibn al-Faḍl had a better education and intellectual capacity than the ones Ibrāhīm was given. It is not yet possible to suggest interaction between these two Antiochians but we can at least conclude as follows: Although we do not have evidence, they must have known each other. Anṭōnios might be considered the founder of the Antiochene Graeco-Arabic translation movement. Ibrāhīm must have been zealous about this movement as he improved and extended the work that was done by Anṭōnios. However, it is not possible to imagine that the translators of this movement followed a chronological plan for the writings they chose to translate as it is known that Anṭōnios made translations mainly from John Damascene's oeuvre.[158] Ibrāhīm was determined to record the history of tenth and eleventh century Melkites of Antioch. However, what he had in mind was achieved by his younger contemporary who brought the Antiochene Graeco-Arabic translation movement to its zenith.

Al/book-YSCwn5WhFkmEN77NCD7iqg/page1.html?s=oTJcQNdi3UOxnCcvWyNe2w&r=1 [Accessed: 5 May 2012]

[156] For the list of his translations and original works, see Noble and Treiger: 377-379.

[157] Ibid.: 376.

[158] See Nasrallah, *Histoire du mouvement litteraire dans l'eglise melchite du Ve au XXe siècle*, 273-289. It does not yet seem possible to give an account of Anṭōnios' works, as the information on the manuscripts that include his translations has not been updated since Nasrallah's *Histoire* which was published in 1983.

CHAPTER 2: THEOSIS THROUGH THE GODHEAD

2.1. Theosis as the Central Concept of Oration 40

It is known that, especially with their contribution to the formulation of the Trinitarian dogma, the Cappadocians played an important role in Christian theology. They not only combined it with Greek philosophy but also developed a mystical theology that has social concerns. As the founder of the term "theosis", Gregory of Nazianzus introduced an understanding of deification, which harmonises the social and the spiritual part of the religion. One of his modern interpreters, J. Zizioulas,[159] is right to draw attention to the notion of 'personhood' in his Trinitarian theology. Gregory, by emphasising the three hypostases, clarified the roles of the Persons in the Trinity in a way that attributes specific functions to the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit in human deification. This becomes clear in Oration 40 in which the relationship between the Creator and creation is described through his doctrine of the Godhead, whereas God's divine plan for the salvation and perfection of humanity is explained in his Christology[160] and Pneumatology.

Gregory seems to have found a great opportunity in baptism to expound his theology, most specifically his theosis theory. Therefore, Oration 40 provides a good ground to understand his ontological, cosmological, anthropological, epistemological and eschatological views. Gregory thinks that, being created in the image of God, humans are called by their Creator to draw close to Him in various ways and the most important of these ways are the sacraments. Baptism comes first since it opens the door of a new or divine life, whereas the other sacraments refer to the complementary parts of the deification process. As the idea of theosis is rooted in the relationship of human beings with God, this chapter is dedicated to Gregory's doctrine of the Godhead, which will be followed by the chapter on Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit and the concluding part on

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[159] Jean Zizioulas, *Communion and Otherness: Further Studies in Personhood and the Church*, trans., Paul McPartland (London, New York: T&T Clark, 2006).
[160] Although the doctrine of the Godhead is at the very centre of Oration 40, Christology occupies more space.

the intellectual and spiritual nature of theosis. Much has been said about Gregory's theology and some recent works such as Christopher Beeley's *Gregory of Nazianzus on the Trinity and the Knowledge of God: In Your Light We See Light* focus on his understanding of the Godhead with special attention to theosis thought.[161] Therefore, we will present it in its new form that is shaped by a tenth-century Melkite translator, Ibrāhīm ibn Yūḥannā al-Anṭākī, by whom we can have an overall picture of the whole medieval Arabic thought.

2.2. The Doctrine of God in Oration 40

The doctrine of God in the Arabic version of Oration 40 is described in a language, which has many items that reflect the period in which it was produced. This language is interwoven with the concepts and discussions of kalām that had long before become a part of Christian Arabic theology. Therefore, it is not surprising to find in our oration terms like *jawhar*, *ṭabī'a*, *dhāt*, *khāṣṣa*, *jiha*, *ṣifa*, *ittiḥād* and *fayḍ* and the discussion of the relationship between God's essence and His names and attributes used in both Christian and Muslim kalām and in the texts that belong to Christian-Muslim controversy.[162] In our examination of these terms and discussions, 'Abdāllah ibn al-Faḍl (probably died after 1052) comes to the fore among the other figures of Christian Arabic theology because of his closeness to Ibrāhīm both in time and in place.[163] However, we

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[161] See the present writer's unpublished MA thesis (in Turkish) on Gregory of Nazianzus' theology with special attention to his doctrine of the Holy Spirit. Elif Tokay, "Anadolulu Bir Kilise Babası: Nazianzuslu Gregory (An Anatolian Church Father: Gregory of Nazianzus and His Doctrine of the Holy Spirit)" (MA diss., Sakarya University, 2007).

[162] As indicated in the previous chapter, much has been done in these three fields of study. Furthermore, even when a short period is chosen, an analysis of the doctrine of the Godhead in Christian Arabic theology requires more space. In fact, the differences between the doctrines of Arab Christian theologians become clearer in Christological discussions. Therefore, instead of a summary of or an introduction to the doctrine of the Godhead in Christian Arabic theology, here we will only deal with the Arabic terms used to denote substance, nature, essence, person, hypostasis, attributes etc. On the Trinitarian explanations of the Arab Christian theologians of the 9th century, see Sara Leila Husseini, "Early Christian Explanations of the Trinity in Arabic in the Context of Muslim Theology" (PhD diss., Birmingham University, 2011). For the period after the 9th century, see Rachid Haddad, *La Trinité divine chez les théologiens arabes: 750-1050* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1985). For the summary of the views of the individual theologians, see the three volumes of *Muslim-Christian Relations. A Bibliographical History*.

[163] An edition of his *Sharḥ al-amāna l-mustaqīma* (Exposition of the Orthodox Faith) would be very enlightening on our discussions below, as it is known that in the first part of this work, Ibn al-Faḍl defines the terms used in the discussions of the Trinity and Christology such as substance, nature, hypostasis, etc.

have consulted with the works of other theologians from different denominations as well. What we will find in this description of the doctrine of God is a language of light that is used to explain an emanationist view of creation based on God's love and mercy for human beings who are called to be divine.

2.2.1. God as the Trinity

As indicated before, besides its invaluable contribution to the shaping of Arab Christian identities, from the 7th century onwards, Arabic played its major role in the new theological language of the Oriental Christians. With the elaboration of this language, new definitions and concepts emerged, and this encouraged the controversies between Christian denominations. Therefore, it is not surprising to find different definitions of the Trinity or of the relation between the Persons of the Trinity and the Essence of God. For example, in Ibn 'Adī's (d. 974) treatise called *Fī ṣiḥḥat iʿtiqād al-Naṣārā fī l-Bārī ʿazza wa-jalla annahu jawhar wāḥid dhū thalāth ṣifāt* (On the truth of the Christian belief in the Creator, Mighty and Majestic, who is one substance with three attributes) we find the Persons of the Trinity as the three attributes of one unique substance .[164]

Like some other Christian writers, 'Abdāllah ibn al-Faḍl begins his analysis of the Trinity with the description of the number "three". According to him, as the perfect number, it includes both odd and even number. God is odd and because the odd has the same nature with the even, God has the even. Thus, God is three in a unique nature. This arithmetical argument, which is based on the perfect number, did not provide a strong evidence for the Trinity.[165] Despite the differences in their terminology and in the

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For the information about a forthcoming edition and German translation, see Alexander Treiger, "ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī," 108-109.

[164] Louis Cheikho, ed. *Vingt traités théologiques d'auteurs arabes chrétiens (ix*[e]*-xiii*[e] *siècles)* (Beyrouth: Imprimerie Catholique, 1920), 70-74. Augustin Périer, *Petits traités apologétiques de Yahyâ ben 'Adî* (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1920). Georg Graf, *GCAL*, vol. II (Citta del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1947), 241.

[165] *Discourse on the Holy Trinity*, Chapter 4 ("On that God is One, Possessing Three Individuals") cited in Samuel Noble and Alexander Treiger, "Christian Arabic Theology in Byzantine Antioch: 'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī and his Discourse on the Holy Trinity," *Le Muséon* 124 (2011): 409-410.

meanings they attributed to some words or concepts, Arab Christian theologians emphasised the unique sameness of the divine Essence and the Persons. According to them, although it is attributed to hypostases, action belongs to the essence. Thus, under actions one could only see one divine nature.[166] However, all the attempts of Arab Christian theologians had to find a balance between the Trinity and the Unity in God. Therefore, these two elements founded the basis for their discussions of the Godhead.

2.2.1.1. The Essence of God

Aristotle[167] says that substance is receptive of opposites or susceptible of accidents and this is a property of substance but not its unique definition. This is also how Arab Christian writers understood it. However, this understanding of substance made it difficult for Arab Christian theologians to attribute it to God and relate it to accidents. 'Abdallah ibn al-Faḍl indicates that being susceptible of accidents (*'araḍ*) is not in the essence of substance (*jawhar*) but a unique difference in it. He makes a distinction between the eternal substance and contingent substances. Like Elias of Nisibis (d. 1046),[168] Ibn al-Muqaffa' (died probably after 987)[169] and Dionysius of Antioch (d.

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[166] In his *Refutation of the Melkites*, Abū Rā'iṭa (died probably soon after 830) says that the three persons is the same thing as the divine essence. Sandra Toenies Keating, "Ḥabīb ibn Khidma Abū Rā'iṭa al-Takrītī's 'The Refutation of the Melkites Concerning the Union [of the Divinity and Humanity in Christ] (III)," in *Christians at the Heart of Islamic Rule: Church Life and Scholarship in 'Abbasid Iraq*, ed. David Richard Thomas (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003), 50. He seems to employ this Cappadocian argument to disprove the Melkite belief in the difference between essence and person. Another attempt of the same kind appeared in the discussions of the relationship of the persons with the divine nature. All Christian Arab theologians, with an exception of the bishop of Ashmunayn (Sāwīrus ibn al-Muqaffa' [after 987]), believed that the Persons of the Trinity are divine because of their share in the unique divine nature. Ibn al-Muqaffa' proposed that the Son and the Holy Spirit are divine due to their resemblance (mithl) to the Father. *Kitāb al-istibṣār* (The Book of Perspicacity), Par. Ar. MS 170 cited in Haddad, 236.

[167] Metaphysics, 990b. Aristotle, *The Metaphysics*, trans., J. H. McMahon (New York, Cosimo Classics, 2008), 26-27.

[168] Rejecting this Aristotelian definition, Elias of Nisibis presents another description that defines God with a Syriac word, *kyono. Kiyān*[168] which refers to "the subsistent in himself" rendered as *jawhar* in Arabic. Like other Arab Christian theologians, he criticises Muslim mutakallimūn because of their definition of substance as the support of the accident. Juan Pedra Monferrer Sala, "Elias of Nisibis," in *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History. Volume 2 (900-1050)*, ed. David Thomas and Alex Mallett with J. P. M. Sala, J. Pahlitzsch, M. Swanson, H. Teule, and J. Tolan (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010), 734-737. For kiyān as nature or birth (*al-kiyān al-awwal, prōtēs geneseōs* or *gennēsin*) in our text, see 8,6, 38,2 and 42,11.

[169] For his criticism of the Aristotelian definition of God as substance, see *Kitāb miṣbaḥ al-'aql* (The Lamp of Understanding), Par. Ar. MS 212, 115ʳ-115ᵛ in Haddad, 133.

960),[170] he did not find the idea of being receptive of accidents appropriate to the divine substance.[171]

The discussions of the difference between "universal" and "particular" helped Arab Christian theologians explain the relationship of substance with nature. By almost repeating John Damascene (died probably before 754), Ibn al-Faḍl points to the difference between these two concepts. Accordingly, the universal consists of substance and nature, while the particular signifies the person or the hypostasis and the property. In Ibn al-Faḍl's words, "substance is an entity which is subsistent in itself and requires no support for its continuous [existence]".[172]

It is possible to say that in Christian Arabic literature *jawhar*[173] is most often used for the divine nature since *ṭabī'a* has connotations to the human nature.[174] It is worth noting that these philosophical terms were not used in earlier works like *Jāmi' wujūh al-īmān* in which *sūs*,[175] *ḥilya* and *kunh* were preferred. Similarly, *māhiyya*[176] means the nature of God in Abū Rā'iṭa's writings, while, for Ibn al-Faḍl and Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī, it referred

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[170] Ibid.

[171] *Discourse on the Holy Trinity*, Chapter 2 ("On That God is a Substance") in Noble and Treiger: 397, 408.

[172] Ibid.: 383-385, 408.

[173] Being a Persian word and implying the existence of accidents in God, jawhar was not preferred by Muslim writers. Haddad, 181. For the use of jawhar as 'essence' in our text, see 42,3 (4-5 τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ Πνεύματος, جوهر الروح) and 45,12 (16-17 μὴ οὐσίαν εἶναι τινα τοῦ κακοῦ, لا جوهر له). See also the following note.

[174] Ṭabī'a (ṭab, ṭibā'), which appears in the writings of some Arab Christian writers, is used by Abū Qurra to refer to both divine and human nature. Ibid., 162, 164. In 5,2, Ibrāhīm renders λογικῆς φύσεως (5,3) as *ṭabī'at al-nuṭq* which refers to God's being the light for rational beings. However, *ṭabī'a* is most often used for the divine nature: "Their richness is their unity in the nature" (5,8-9 ὧν πλοῦτός ἐστιν ἡ συμφυΐα, غناهم الاتفاق في الطبيعة 5,6), see also 41,9; "The Creator who is free from fault is the first being (nature) that is not composed [...]" (7,2 τῆς πρώτης καὶ ἀσυνθέτου φύσεως, 7,1 وللطبيعة الاولى); "[The Persons of the Trinity] is not unequal in the essence and the nature" (41,9-10 οὐσίαις ... φύσεσιν, 41,7 غير متساوية في الجوهر والطبيعة).

[175] Although it was not frequently used by the Christian and Muslim theologians of the period, 'Ammār al-Baṣrī employed *sūs*, along with with jawhar and dhāt, to denote nature. Husseini, 226, 227.

[176] In addition to the loan words and concepts it provided for the Christian Arabic theology, Syriac played a significant role, particularly in the roots for the new Arabic terms. New forms that end in "–iyya" as in māhiyya were formed by Christian translators on Syriac roots. Haddad, 166, 184.

to nature in general.[177] Arab Christian theologians prefer to use words like *dhāt*,[178] jawhar and kiyān to point to the link between essence and nature.[179]

The use of *'ayn* and dhāt (bi-'aynihi/bi-dhātihi) in the explanation of the essence-nature relation is significant. It is not in fact easy to differentiate the meaning of 'ayn, which is understood by Goichon[180] as the essence of an individual.[181] For the Melkite writers, it most often refers to the individuality (person) of Christ in the Incarnation.[182] *Ma'nā* is understood in a similar way. In Ibn Zur'a's (d. 1008) words, the persons of the Trinity are three ma'ānī which are inseparable in their essence but separable in their ma'ānī.[183]

2.2.1.2. The Hypostasis of God

According to Ibn al-Faḍl, the distinction between nature and person is one of the most important elements of Melkite thought.[184] Having not distinguished nature from person, the Jacobite and the Nestorian theology alienated themselves from the Chalcedonian

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[177] Ibid., 165-166.

[178] For "God comprehending *Himself*" (ὁ αὐτὸ ἑαυτοῦ θεωρητικόν, عارف بذاته), see 5,4. Ibn 'Adī also describes God as "knowing Himself" (عاقل ذاته). Mubahat Türker, "Yahya ibn-i Adî ve Neşredilmemiş Bir Risalesi," *Ankara Universitesi, D. T. C. Fakültesi Dergisi* 17, no. 1-2 (1959): 153.

[179] Dhāt also refers to divine nature, while kiyān denotes nature for some theologians. Aristotle's Book of Physics was called *Kitāb al-kiyān* by Arabs. In Sa'īd ibn al-Biṭrīq's *Annals*, kiyān, jawhar and ṭabī'a, which also appear in *Kitāb al-burhān*, signify the oneness in the Trinity. Haddad, 162-163, 165.

[180] A. M. Goichon, Lexique de la langue philosophique de Ibn Sīnā, 257. _____, Vocabulaires compares d'Aristote et d'Ibn Sīnā (Paris, 1939), 22-23.

[181] "Every one of them is God when we think Him in His … as the Father to the Son and the Son to the Holy Spirit": 41,13 Θεὸν ἕκαστον καθ᾽ ἑαυτὸ θεωρούμενον, 41,10-11 كمثل نظر اليه **بعينه** ما اذا الاه منها واحد كل. "The (Persons of the) Trinity is the same in every aspect": 41,11 πάντοθεν القدس الروح الابن ومثل الابن الاب. الثلثة ... وهي **بعينها** من كل جهة 41,8-9, τὴν αὐτὴν πάντοθεν ἴσην.

[182] It is important to note that 'ayn also implies the concept of "source". Haddad, 167, 168.

[183] In his *Reply to questions on the three hypostases*, Ibn 'Adī identified it with hypostasis and jawhar: "Hypostases are substances (jawāhir) or realities (ma'ānin). Elsewhere (*A treatise explaining in which respect it is valid to say of the Creator that He is one substance with three properties, called hypostases by the Christians*), he seems to designate it as property: "The reality of one hypostasis is different from the reality (ma'nā) of the two others". Emilio Platti, "Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī" in *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History. Volume 2 (900-1050)*, ed. David Thomas and Alex Mallett with J. P. M. Sala, J. Pahlitzsch, M. Swanson, H. Teule, and J. Tolan (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010), 423-424. Massignon brought ma'nā close to the Platonic *idea*. However, it was not accepted as substance or nature by all Christian Arab writers. Haddad, 168, 169.

[184] Haddad refers to a Melkite confession of faith, which, according to him, is dated to the second half of the 10th century. In this confession, a special emphasis on the distinction between nature and hypostasis is strongly felt. Haddad, 69.

orthodoxy.[185] Ibn al-Faḍl explains the distinction between nature and hypostasis as follows:[186] Nature is a philosophical concept, while hypostasis is a logical one. Moreover, nature is divisible but hypostasis is not. If they were thought to be equals, there would be three natures and three essences ("The hypostasis indicates a particular essence subsistent in itself"). Ibn al-Faḍl describes hypostasis as "the substantial being which contains accidents" and "the unique subject". Ibn al-Faḍl distinguishes person from hypostasis: "God has persons which are hypostases and properties. The properties (khawāṣṣ) of God are called hypostases (aqānīm)."[187] It is interesting to note that according to some Arab Christian theologians like Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī and ʿAmmār al-Baṣrī (died possibly in mid-9th c.)[188] hypostases are attributes.

In Christian Arabic literature, there are many words used for person:[189] *uqnūm*, shakhṣ, khāṣṣa, maʿnā, *ṣifa*, wajh, *qiwām*, *barsūb* and *ḥal*. In *Kitāb al-manfaʿa*, Ibn al-Faḍl renders person as *qanūm*, wajh, khāṣṣa and shakhṣ. Elsewhere (*Kalām fī l-lāhūt*), he adds *īpūsṭasīs* to qanūm. Ibn al-Faḍl explains that al-qanūm comes from Syriac and it has two forms: qanūm and uqnūm (pl. qunum and aqānīm). He also adds that shakhṣ whose Syriac root is emphasised on other occasions (*Kalām fī l-lāhūt*, *Kitāb al-manfaʿa*) corresponds to *īpūsṭasīs*.[190]

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[185] Ibid., 144.

[186] Noble and Treiger: 411. Ibn al-Faḍl uses jawhar, ṭabīʿa and kiyān for the nature and *wajh/jīha*, *shakhṣ* and *khāṣṣa* for the person. Haddad, 182-183. See Orat. 40.41: "Every one of them is God when we think Him in His … after protecting every one of them with His property" (14-15 φυλασσομένης ἑκάστῳ τῆς ἰδιότητος, 11-12 **خاصيته** منهم واحد لكل تحفظ ان بعد).

[187] *Kitāb al-manfaʿa*, Salvat. MS 173, f. 192ᵛ, 178ʳ; *Kalām fī l-lāhūt*, Salvat. MS 173, f. 156ᵛ; *Kitāb al-manfaʿa*, Salvat. MS 173, f. 180ᵛ in Haddad, 150, 153, 159, 160.

[188] Husseini, 263-264.

[189] See Bo Holmberg, "'Person' in the Trinitarian Doctrine of Christian Arabic Apologetics and Its Background in the Syriac Church Fathers," in *Studia Patristica*, vol. 25, ed. E. A. Livingstone (Leuven: Peeters, 1993).

[190] Ibn al-Faḍl thinks that qanūm comes from the Greek term "οἰκονομία". He must have found the origin of Syriac root qnūmo in Greek, which, in fact, as an original Syriac word, does not have a Greek root. He says that the plural of qanūm is qunūm but this form does not exist in texts, not even in his own writings. Like others, he used aqānīm. Haddad, 170-171. Noble and Treiger: 380-381.

It is possible to say that uqnūm is the special term for the persons of the Trinity in Christian Arabic literature.[191] It is a calqued word but new forms such as taqannama, al-uqnūmiyya or al-qunūmiyya are derived from it. Another word similar to uqnūm is wajh (πρόσωπον)[192] which is a philosophical term rather than a theological one. Although it was well known to Arab Christian writers, wajh was not frequently used.[193] It is replaced by *jīha* in the writings of Abū Qurra, Abū Rā'iṭa, Ibn 'Adī and Ibn al-Faḍl. Despite the hesitance of some writers about it since it reminds of human nature, shakhṣ appears in the writings of some theologians such as Abū Rā'iṭa, Ibn Yumn (d. 990) and Ibn al-Faḍl as the synonym of uqnūm. However, it was rather used for the Incarnate Christ but not for the Trinity.[194]

Qiwām, which is a philosophical term, appears in the discussions of hypostasis in Christian Arabic literature.[195] Ibn al-Faḍl suggests that khāṣṣa signifies the same thing as qanūm, wajh and shakhṣ,[196] i.e. the person, while it sometimes refers to property and essential attribute. For Ibn al-Faḍl, it is the same with divine attributes. However, khawāṣṣ and aqānīm are not synonyms.[197]

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[191] It also appears in the writings of the Muslim writers such as Abū Yūsuf al-Kindī's *Refutation of the Christians*, Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq's *Against the Trinity* and al-Nāshi' al-Akbar's *Refutation of the Christians*. Husseini, 122.

[192] Prosōpon turned into *barṣūb* (Syriac parṣôpâ) at the hands of Arab Christian writers, more specifically the Copts. Haddad, 175.

[193] As will be discussed in Chapter 4, in the Islamic tradition, *wajh Allāh* (the face of God) symbolises the highest level of human perfection or theosis, seeing God (*ru'yat Allāh*).

[194] Haddad, 172-173, 176, 177.

[195] In *Kitāb al-burhān*, Peter of Bayt Ra's translated ὑπόστασις as qiwām (Paragraph 20 etc.) since the verb ἵστημι was rendered as qāma. New words such as qā'im (Para. 4 etc), muqawwim (Para. 195), qawwama (Para. 2, 450) and mutaqawwim are derived from qiwām.

[196] *Discourse on the Holy Trinity*, Chapter 5 ("On the Difference between Qunūm [Hypostasis] and Substance") in Noble and Treiger: 399. Ibn 'Adī added a new word, *ḥāl*, to uqnūm, khāṣṣa and ṣifa. Haddad, 180-181.

[197] Ibn al-Faḍl says, "The property (khāṣṣa) of the hypostasis of the Father is the fatherhood, while the property of the hypostasis of the Son and the Spirit are the sonship and the emanation (*al-inbithāq*)". *Discourse on the Holy Trinity*, Chapter 6 ("On that the Hypostases are Different"). See also, Chapter 10 ("On that the Hypostases [al-aqānīm] are not Three Different Substances, even if each of them is a Substance and differs from the other in property [al-khāṣṣa]") and 12 ("On that the Hypostases are not properties") cited in Noble and Treiger: 400. Nevertheless, Abū Rā'iṭa and Ibn al-Muqaffa' render aqānīm as khāṣṣ. Like Ibn 'Adī who thinks that khāṣṣa is the synonym of uqnūm, Ibn al-Ṭayyib used it for uqnūm and ṣifa. Haddad, 178-180.

2.2.1.3. The Trinitarian Schemes of Arab Christian Theologians

When trying to explain the Trinity and clarify the relationships between the Persons in the Trinity, Christian Arab theologians created different Trinitarian schemes or triads. These triads that are sometimes rooted in the Bible[198] and the patristic tradition[199] and have a philosophical character, which began to disappear in the rationalistic atmosphere of the 10th century, help us understand better the evolution of the Trinitarian dogma within Christian Arabic theology.

The triad of Father-Word-Spirit used in the writings of Greek Fathers do not appear frequently in Christian Arabic literature. Instead, God-Word-Spirit[200] became more common.[201] 'Abdallah ibn al-Faḍl uses these triads interchangeably: Eternal-Rational-Living (al-Qadīm-al-Nāṭiq-al-Ḥayy), Good-Wise-Powerful (al-Jawād-al-Ḥakīm-al-Qādir), Intellect-Intelligent-Intelligible (al-ʿAql-al-ʿĀqil-al-Maʿqūl). Ibn al-Faḍl, emphasises that Reason and Life are understood together and neither of them precedes

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[198] For Arab Christian writers, it was important to prove that the Trinitarian dogma is a revealed reality. Therefore, it is possible to find approximately sixty biblical arguments used for the Trinity in the texts of theologians such as Abū Qurra, Abū Rāʾiṭa, Timothy I (d. 823), Nonnus of Nisibis (died probably after 862), al-Kindī (9th c.), Abraham of Tiberiad (9th or 10th c.), Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ and ʿAbdallah ibn al-Faḍl. Like Abū Qurra, Abū Rāʾiṭa and al-Kindī, Ibn al-Faḍl cites biblical verses in which God is mentioned in plural elements. He also uses Qurʾānic verses as evidences for the Trinity in God. However, it remains mysterious since the human mind is not capable of comprehending the real nature of this divine relation as well as the divine essence itself. According to Ibn al-Faḍl, man is constraint by time and place. The human mind does not have an ability to comprehend Godhead because of the fact that something posterior cannot know the anterior and because of the simplicity of the divine essence (Discourse on the Holy Trinity, Chapter 2, "On that God is a Substance", Noble and Treiger, "Christian Arabic Theology in Byzantine Antioch", 397). Abū Rāʾiṭa indicates that Gregory of Nazianzus and other eminent fathers emphasise the mysterious character of the Trinity. Haddad, 104, 110, 114. For the mysterious character of baptism and theosis, see our discussions in the following chapters.
[199] One of the distinctive features of Christian Arabic theology is the fidelity of Arab Christian theologians to the patristic tradition. This becomes clear in some works like Ibn al-Faḍl's *Kitāb al-rawḍa*, which is a translation of a Byzantine florilegium. Treiger, "'Abdallah ibn al-Faḍl," 100-101.
[200] For the God (Father-Intellect)-Word-Spirit scheme in Gregory of Nazianzus, see Orat. 23,11 (*PG* 35.1161C).
[201] This Trinitarian scheme should have been preferred because of its closeness to the Qurʾānic language. Intellect-Word-Spirit points to the similar qualities shared by God and human beings as God gave them intellect, word and spirit. This triad is known as the theological formula, while the God-Word-Spirit scheme, being closer to the Qurʾānic language, is found mostly in apologetical works. According to this apologetical scheme, the Son is God's Word and Spirit as in the Qurʾānic message. The relations between the Persons of the Trinity are sometimes confused as in the Schott-Reinhardt Papyrus (458, f.b., line 15): "The Merciful *generated* his Word and Spirit" (فولد الرحمن كلمته و روحه). Haddad, 212-214.

the other. By saying that God is Life, one also indicates that He is Living as in the eyes of Arab Christian theologians, action is inseparable from the Persons of the Trinity.[202]

In the 10th century, Reason (Nuṭq) and Rational (Nāṭiq) were replaced by Ḥikma and Ḥakīm, while another scheme showed its face: Good (al-Jawād)-Wise (al-Ḥakīm)-Powerful (al-Qadīr).[203] As indicated by Ibn Zurʿa, these three words were thought to be the attributes that refer to the Three Persons of the Trinity.[204] However, this triad did not find a place in the writings of the theologians with philosophical tendency as strong as the Intellect-Intelligent-Intelligible[205] scheme. John Damascene is thought to be the founder of this triad,[206] while Ibn ʿAdī is in fact the one who developed the scheme which is based on the Aristotelian trilogy of al-ʿaql, al-ʿāqil and al-maʿqūl.[207] Ibn ʿAdī says, "The Intellect is a simple substance (jawharun basīṭun)[208] that, by examining its matter and accidents (al-ʿārāḍ), knows the essence of every immaterial and material form and composes a form (yarkabu ṣūratan) whose parts are not composed (lā yūjadu baʿḍuhā murakkabatan)".[209] Ibn al-Faḍl[210] and the author of *Commentary of Basmala*[211]

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[202] However, according to Ibn al-Faḍl the hypostases are not properties, therefore we cannot identify the Father-the Son-the Holy Spirit scheme with the begetting-being begotten-procession. Discourse on the Holy Trinity, Chapter 12 in Noble and Treiger: 399, 404.

[203] One can realise here the influence of the Greek philosophy as it also calls the Supreme Being (τὸ ἀγαθόν) the Good. It is possible to say that Arab Christian theologians focused on the transmission of the Greek thought to Christian Arabic theology. In the days of John Damascene and Abū Qurra, Greek was still in use and it is known that, in the 10th century, writers such as Ibn al-Faḍl wrote in Greek and then translated his own texts into Arabic. However, it is not right to suggest that they did nothing more than maintaining the Byzantine theology in Arabic. They created a new terminology with the help of the concepts and theories they borrowed from Islamic theology. Arab Christian theologians benefited from kalām, more specifically the Muʿtazilite kalām so much so that they even called their theology kalām. Haddad, 217, 218.

[204] Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala, "Ibn Zurʿa," in *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History. Volume 2 (900-1050)*, ed. David Thomas and Alex Mallett with J. P. M. Sala, J. Pahlitzsch, M. Swanson, H. Teule, and J. Tolan (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010), 571-572.

[205] According to Ibn Zurʿa and Ibn ʿAdī, the Holy Spirit is called the Intelligible by analogy (*ʿalā jihat al-tamthīl*). This is in fact the translation of Aristotle's παράδειγμα (I Analytic, II, 24, 68, 38) by Avicenna (al-Ishārāt and al-Najāt). Haddad, 227.

[206] For his description of God as "Mind" and "Abyss of reason", see The Orthodox Faith, Book 1, Additional section to Chapter 12.

[207] For his discussion of the Good-Wise-Powerful and the Intellect-Intelligent-Intelligible triads in his *Refutation of Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb ibn Isḥāq al-Kindī*, *Demonstration of the error of Abū ʿĪsā al-Warrāq*, *Epistle characterised by the intellect, the intelligent, and the intelligible* and *Clarification concerning the Unity [of God]*, see Platti, "Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī," 412, 414, 419-420, 436.

[208] "The first ṭabīʿa is not composed as something in peace (without any controversy and resistance in it) is simple" (7,2-3 καὶ τῆς πρώτης καὶ ἀσυνθέτου φύσεως -ἁπλότης γὰρ εἰρηναία καὶ ἀστασίαστος, 7,1-2 وللطبيعة الاولى التي ليست مركبة اذ كان البسيط شيا لا اختلاف فيه ولا مقاومة).

[209] Türker: 153. Ibn ʿAdī makes a reference to Aristotle who says that God is the Intellect and He contemplates Himself. It must be the Metaphysics on which he bases his argument. It is known that he

appear to be followers of this rather unpopular approach. It found its reflection also in Ibn al-Ṭayyib's al-ʻIlm-al-ʻĀlim-al-Maʻlūm scheme which seems to have a Nestorian origin.[212]

2.3. Al-Anṭākī and the Trinity

2.3.1. God in the Unity

Arab Christian theologians had to keep a balance between the Unity and the Trinity in God, particularly because of the milieu they lived in.[213] They had to have a clear picture of their beliefs to use against the criticisms of their Muslim neighbours and Christian colleagues from different denominations. Therefore, as pointed out by R. Haddad,[214] it

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wrote a commentary on the Small Book. There is also Ibn Rushd's witness on Yaḥyā's translation of the Book Λ (the second book) and Ibn al-Nadīm's reference to his translation of the Book M. Haddad, 229.

[210] Discourse on the Holy Trinity, Chapter 12 in Noble and Treiger: 399.

[211] *Commentary of Basmala* is a (probably) 10th or 11th century Jacobite (anonym) text found in Par. Ar. MS 212, f. 4ʳ and 5ʳ cited in Haddad, 20, 228.

[212] *Maqāla fī l-tathlīth*. See Julian Faultless, "Ibn al-Ṭayyib," in *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History. Volume 2 (900-1050)* ed. David Thomas and Alex Mallett with J. P. M. Sala, J. Pahlitzsch, M. Swanson, H. Teule, and J. Tolan (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010), 690-691. This scheme, which has Aristotelian and Neo-Platonic roots found a place only among rationalist Arab Christian thinkers. It is found neither in the Scriptures nor in the tradition. Haddad, 228, 229, 231. Like Arab Christian theologians, Avicenna thinks that the knowledge-knower-known (ʻilm-ʻālim-maʻlūm) or the ʻaql-ʻāqil-maʻqūl triads are attributes that are not different than the Essence of the Necessary existence which do not imply a multiplicity in the Godhead. Nader El-Bizri, *The Phenomenological Quest between Avicenna and Heidegger* (Binghamton, New York: Global Publications, Binghamton University, 2000), 112. For Muslim philosophers, knowledge takes the lead among the divine attributes to be imitated by human beings. In the eyes of these philosophers and Muʻtazilites, who renounce attributes and emphasise the single essence in God, seven attributes are reduced to one, i.e. the knowledge because of its close relation to the essence. For them, creation is caused by His knowledge. Muʻtazilites identify the highest level of human perfection or seeing God (ruʼyat Allāh) with knowing Him, while the Orthodox believe in a vision in the afterlife which is far from description or in their words *bi-lā kayfa* (its modality is unknown). The Ṣūfīs indicate that, without being supported by purification and imitation of other divine names and attributes, knowledge cannot lead human beings to the carpet of qurb ("They are on the carpet of proximity to God"). Al-Ghazzali, *The Ninety-Nine Beautiful Names of God*, trans., David B. Burrell and Nazih Daher (Cambridge: Islamic Texts Society, 2007), 32, 163-164.

[213] It is important to note that Arab Christian theologians followed a different path that of the Cappadocians to explain the relations between the persons of the Trinity. In fact, they do not remark on the positions of the Persons in the Trinity particularly that of the Holy Spirit because of their emphasis on the Unity in God which was definitely motivated by the criticisms of the Trinity by the Muslims. Sandra Tonies Keating, *Defending the "People of Truth" in the Early Islamic Period: The Christian Apologies of Abū Rāʼiṭah* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 11.

[214] Haddad, 206-207.

is not surprising to find that the anonymous writers of Br. Mus. MS 4950 and Sin. Ar. MS 154[215] do not speak of "the Trinity of God" or "the Trinity in God" or "the Trinity and the Unity of God" but *the Trinity of the Unity of God* (tathlīth waḥdāniyat[216] Allāh). According to this view, the Trinity is an attribute of the Unity of God. This formula, however, would later be changed into *al-tathlīth wa-l-tawḥīd* (the Trinity and the Unity) not to harm the unity.

Arab Christian theologians believe that the Unity is not harmed by the Trinity. However, they propose different reasons for this Unity in God.[217] It was, for instance, the unity of the principle, i.e. *aitia* or *arkhe* for John Damascene.[218] This includes the identity of the nature and the unity of will and energy as well as the perichoresis of the hypostases. However, in this explanation of the Godhead, the definition of the Trinity comes before the description of the Unity. A triple division in unity is known in Christian Arabic literature:[219] generic, specific and numerical unity. Ibn al-Faḍl does not find the specific unity an appropriate way to discuss the Unity in God. Ibn 'Adī also criticises this notion by claiming that the unity cannot be confined in three-fold division.[220] In what follows, is the Unity in God as described by Gregory:

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[215] This manuscript is well known to the students of Christian Arabic theology with *Fī tathlīth Allāh al-wāḥid*, which is one of the earliest (8th c.) Melkite apology. See Mark N. Swanson, "Fī Tathlīth Allāh Al-Wāḥid," in *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History. Volume 1 (600-900)*, ed. David Thomas and Barbara Roggema with J. P. M. Sala, J. Pahlitzsch, M. Swanson, H. Teule, and J. Tolan (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009).

[216] Elias of Nisibis entitled his treatise as "Risāla fī waḥdāniyyat al-Khāliq wa-tathlīth aqānīmahu" (Treatise on the Unity of the Creator and the Trinity of His Hypostases). See Cheikho, ed., *Vingt traités théologiques d'auteurs arabes chrétiens (ixe-xiiie siècles)*, 124-129.

[217] Like Abū Qurra, who believes that all the divine books (*kutub al-munzala*) demand worshipping One God, Arab Christian theologians try to prove the Unity by scriptural evidence. Moreover, from the 8th century onwards, it is not possible to find the Three Persons of the Trinity unrelated to the Unity of God in Christian *basmalas* ("In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, One God, Amen". Haddad, 207, 252.

[218] *Exposition of the Orthodox Faith*, PG 94.849 B.

[219] This division found its reflections in John Damascene, Abū Rā'iṭā and al-Kindī. Al-Kindī uses the expression "innahu wāḥidun fardun ṣamadun" which often appears in other Christian Arabic works as in Q 42:9-11. Despite his different word order, al-Kindī's explanation of this verse, which contains three names from the ninety-nine most beautiful names of God, is in line with the traditional interpretation. Haddad, 201, 206.

[220] Ibid., 202, 206.

The richness of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit is the unity in nature (5,8-9 الاب والابن والروح Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ καὶ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι ... ὧν πλοῦτός ἐστιν ἡ συμφυΐα, 5,6 **في الطبيعة الاتفاق** غناهم الذين القدس).[221] The one Godhead, one united power in the Trinity وهي اللاهوت **الواحدة** والقوة **الواحدة** ... τᾶς τρισὶν ... ἑνικως, 41,5-6 τὴν μίαν θεότητά ... (41,7-8 **موتحدة** ثلثة في الموجودة) is the light.[222] God is one when thought in the unity in the essence Godhead (فالواحد مما ذكرناه بسبب **الاتفاق في الجوهر** 41,13 τοῦτο διὰ τὴν μοναρχίαν, 41,16-17) is the unity in the Trinity (43,13 τοῖς τρισὶν ἕνωσιν, 43,10 **الثلثة** في **الايتحاد** وهو).

2.3.2. The Monarchy of God

As we mentioned above, all the discussions of the Unity and the Trinity in God are related to the relations between the Persons of the Trinity among which monarchy occupies a significant place in Christian Arabic literature. It is worth noting that monarchy is an important element of Gregory's doctrine of God. According to Ibn al-Faḍl, the Son and the Holy Spirit are caused[223] by the Father or, in other words, they come from Him but they share His nature. The Father is therefore the cause (*'illa azaliyya*). While proving the existence of the Holy Spirit, Ibn al-Faḍl develops a Pythagorean argument, which confirms that God is the only cause (*'illa*) of the Son and the Spirit.[224]

Abū Qurra indicates that it is necessary to have a Father and a Son in the Godhead in which sovereignty would otherwise be nonsense. Thus, this is an obligatory multiplicity, which is internal to God. It can be understood only when the nature and the qualities are conceived in their totality. For Abū Qurra, the relation between the Creator and His creation shows another aspect of monarchy or sovereignty (al-riyāsa): As an *arkhē* (principle), Adam resembles God and because of this man is much closer to God

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[221] See also 41,9.

[222] God is the united light (41,23-24 τὸ φῶς ἑνιζόμενον, 41,19 الموتحد النور). "Light" and "illumination" are the two main concepts of Gregory's theosis theology.

[223] This understanding of the Father as the cause of the Son and the Holy Spirit was dominant in Eastern Christianity. Husseini, 174.

[224] *Discourse on the Holy Trinity*, Chapter 9 ("On that Fatherhood is among the Attributes of the Creator") in Noble and Treiger: 402.

than any other creature. Despite his closeness to God, man always needs the help of the divine power that makes God's creatures perfect. In a very similar way, Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ indicates that the Son and the Holy Spirit are divine because of their resemblance to the Father.[225]

Gregory develops his argument as follows: I want to say that the Father is greater than the Son (43,1 Θέλω τὸν Πατέρα μείζω εἰπεῖν, 43,1 اريد ان اقول ان الاب **اكبر** من الابن) and the equality of the (two?) equals comes from Him (43,1-2 ἐξ οὗ καὶ τὸ ἴσοις εἶναι τοῖς ἴσοις, 43,1-2 الذي منه التساوي **للمتساويين**). The existence is also from Him (43,2 ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ εἶναι, ومنه لهم ايضا الوجود 43,2) and this distinguishes Him from every being (43,2-3 Τοῦτο γὰρ παρὰ πάντων δοθήσεται, 43,2 وهذا فقد يطلقه كل احد). I fear from using "beginning" (43,3-4 Καὶ δέδοικα τὴν ἀρχήν, μὴ ἐλαττόνων ἀρχὴν ποιήσω καὶ καθυβρίσω, 43,3 واخشى من **الابتدا** ان اجعله ابتدا دونه) lest you take this "the Great" and separate the nature (43,6-7 μὴ τὸ «μεῖζον» λαβὼν διχοτομήσῃς τὴν φύσιν, 43,5-6 ليلا تاخذ هذا **الكبير** فتقسم به الطبيعة) and [we] use "the Greater" in every place (43,7 κατὰ πάντα τῷ μείζονι χρώμενος, 43,6 ونستعمل **الاكبر** في كل مكان). Here the Greater is not due to the nature but the cause (43,8 Οὐ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν τὸ «μεῖζον», τὴν αἰτίαν δέ, 43,6-7 وليس **الاكبر** هاهنا من حيث الطبيعة بل من حيث **العلة**). There is nothing greater and smaller concerning the equals in the essence (43,8-9 Οὐδὲν γὰρ τῶν ὁμοουσίων τῇ οὐσίᾳ μεῖζον ἢ ἔλαττον, 43,7-8 وليس شي في المتساويين في **الجوهر اكبر واصغر**). When I comprehend one Person of the Trinity, He becomes one God (41,15-16 νοούμενα, ἐκεῖνο διὰ τὴν ὁμοουσιότητα, 41,13 فالواحد مما ذكرناه). One of them is one (when comprehended) because of the unity in the essence (41,16-17 ἐκεῖνο διὰ τὴν ὁμοουσιότητα, 41,13 بسبب **الاتفاق** في الجوهر) and the Other because of the unity in the monarchy (41,16 τοῦτο διὰ τὴν μοναρχίαν, 41,14 والاخر بسبب **الوحدانية في الرياسة**).

As we have seen, according to the formula in the Arabic version, the Father is greater than the Son and the equality and existence of the equals come from the Father. Although the Father is described as "greater" in the Greek text as well as the Arabic, there is nothing in the original paralleling the words "than the Son".[226] This is an

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[225] Husseini, 113-120, 369.
[226] 43,1-3: Θέλω τὸν Πατέρα μείζω εἰπεῖν, ἐξ οὗ καὶ τὸ ἴσοις εἶναι τοῖς ἴσοις ἐστι καὶ τὸ εἶναι. Τοῦτο γὰρ παρὰ πάντων δοθήσεται.

important addition of the Arabic manuscripts to the Greek text and it raises significant questions regarding the relationship of the Three Persons of the Trinity. In addition to this, *Mi*, *J* and *Y* (the Proto-Syrian Version), in contrast to all other Arabic manuscripts, have this reading: ومنه لهما ايضا الوجود (Also the existence of *the two of them* comes from Him). Furthermore, in *Mi* only, the same expression can be found further on: وليس شئ في المتساويين ومنه لهما ايضا الوجود (There is nothing, amongst *the two equals* and their existence also comes from Him).[227]

Seeking the answer to defining the Trinity, Gregory seems to reach his solution in the essence of the Godhead. Despite his apparently monarchical formula, the Father is not the essential cause in the divine substance. However, He is still described as arkhe (الابتداء) or greater. Nevertheless, Gregory tries to be clear about the ontological position of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. The Father needs to beget the Son to be the Father and the Son with the Holy Spirit need the Father as their source. Being the origin does not require of being greater within the substance, on the contrary, the divine substance is shared equally by the Three since the substance is indivisible. There is nothing created among them. The richness of the Three is their unity of nature.[228] These Three have one common name, the Godhead (والاسم المشترك للثلاثة فهو اللاهوت 45,7).

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[227] In the following are the questions about this phenomenon that were asked by the present writer elsewhere:

> Why did all Arabic manuscripts add "than the Son"? Is the Greek expression open to interpretation? What was the aim of the Proto-Syrian Version in using the dual pronoun instead of the plural, hence keeping the Father separate from the other two? Is this connected with Gregory's notion of monarchy in the Trinity? Or can we talk about an Islamisation context of assimilation or defensiveness? Until all Greek versions are published in modern critical editions, we cannot be sure about such conclusions since we cannot be sure that there is not a Greek manuscript with the same reading as the Arabic.

Elif Tokay, "Continuity and Transformation in the Arabic Translation of Gregory Nazianzen's Oration on Baptism (Oration 40) " in *Origenes und sein Erbe in Orient und Okzident*, ed. Alfons Fürst, Adamantiana (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2011), 242.

[228] "For whatever you may subtract from the Deity (*al-lāhūt*) of the Three, you will have overthrown the whole, and destroyed your own being made perfect." (44,21-23)

2.3.3. The Generation of the Son and the Procession or the Emanation of the Holy Spirit

As indicated above, Arab Christian theologians propose different arguments for the relation between the Persons of the Trinity. When explaining the relation of the Son with the Father, Ibn al-Faḍl indicates that the divine relation of paternity and filiation, which is only figurative on human level, is real. However, for Ibn al-Ṭayyib, paternity and filiation signify the first (*al-kamāl al-awwal*) and the second perfectness (*al-kamāl al-thānī*). Therefore, the filiation is an outpouring in the essence and the procession is an effusion on the others.[229]

Abū Rāʾiṭa employs an analogy that are used by some Greek fathers such as Gregory of Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa, Cyril of Alexandria, Didymus of Alexandria, the Pseudo-Cyril of Alexandria and John Damascene. It is the analogy of Adam, Eve and Abel according to which Abel was born from Adam as the Son is begotten from the Father. Thus, the Holy Spirit resembles Eve with respect to procession, since both of them were not generated but came into being from another being.[230]

In his synodical letter, Dionysius of Antioch (d. 960) indicates that The Holy Spirit emanates from the Father and the Son. The copyist of the letter had to add this explanation: "The emanation is different from the procession because Dionysius particularly cited the procession from the Father further in the letter." In fact, in the following lines, Dionysius mentions the procession and the emanation of the Holy Spirit from the Father. Haddad is right to suggest that this idea of emanation is itself striking even if it did not refer to the Holy Spirit.[231]

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[229] *Kitāb al-manfaʿa*, Salvat. MS 173, f. 179-180ʳ. *Treatise on the Hypostases and the Substance*, Vat. Ar. MS 145 in Haddad, 237, 243. It is not surprising to find an Aristotelian theologian, who, as his contemporaries, was under the influence of the Neo-Platonism, explaining the begetting of the Son in terms of an outpouring of the first perfection. For the Aristotelian discussion of the spirit as the first perfection and its reflections in medieval Arabic thought, see our treatment of theosis as an intellectual and spiritual perfection in Chapter 4.

[230] Keating, *Defending the "People of Truth" in the Early Islamic Period: The Christian Apologies of Abū Rāʾiṭah*, 112-116.

[231] Synodical Letter, Par. Ar. MS 183, f. 288ʳ in Haddad, 239.

The close relationship between the ideas of procession and emanation reveals the Neo-Platonic inclination of Arab Christian theologians. This Neo-Platonic tendency makes itself felt particularly in the terms used to explain the procession of the Holy Spirit. Ibn al-Faḍl renders procession as *inbithāq* and *inbiʿāth*.[232] *Khārij*, *fāʾiḍ* and *ṣādir* are other terms used to denote the procession of the Holy Spirit in Christian Arabic writings. However, among these terms, inbithāq came to be known as the Arabic expression of the procession.[233]

In our text, we find the two terms mentioned above, khārij and fayḍ: When God comprehends and contemplates His essence, He outpours Himself, i.e. the light known in the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit (5,9 ὀλίγα τοῖς ἔξω χεόμενον. Φῶς δὲ λέγω τὸ ἐν Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ καὶ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι θεωρούμενον, 5,5-6 اعني **خارج** الى اليسير من ذلك **ويفيض** بالنور الضو المفهوم في الاب والابن والروح القدس). The last term, *fayḍ*, is one of the names with which the emanation theories of medieval Arabic-speaking philosophers are known. As we will mention later, this shows how Ibrāhīm was aware of the philosophical discussions of his day. However, like his colleague Ibn al-Faḍl,[234] he preferred to render "being begotten" simply as "being born": The Son of God and His Eternal Word is begotten from the Father eternally and without body (45,22 γεννηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἀχρόνως καὶ ἀσωμάτως, 45,15-16 ولا جسم بلا زمان من الاب الازلي **المولود** وكلمته الله ابن[با]).

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[232] *Discourse on the Holy Trinity*, Chapter 6, 11 and 12 cited in Noble and Treiger: 400. 404. For the use of inbiʿāth by Ibn ʿAdī, see Platti, "Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī," 424. For the same term used for the procession, see *Kitāb al-burhān*, paragraphs 36, 44, 47, 60, 68, 71, 176, 403, 464.

[233] Dionysius of Antioch, *Synodical Letter*, Par. Ar. MS f. 287ʳ and 288ʳ in Haddad, 242, 240-241. Abū Qurra renders procession as inbithāq. Husseini, 116.

[234] For his rendering of "being begotten" ("the khāṣṣa of the Son") as التولد, see his *Discourse on the Holy Trinity*, Chapter 12 ("On that the Hypostases are not properties") in Noble and Treiger: 404.

2.3.4. God the Producer

In three places in the Arabic version of Oration 40, God (Θεος) is rendered as al-Bāri'.[235] Al-Bāri' is one of the Asmā, i.e. the ninety-nine most beautiful names of God and according to Ibn al-Anbārī, al-Laḥyānī and Abū Zayd, it signifies creating without the use of a model.[236] It also appears in the Qur'ān (2:54, 59:24) in which creating without a model, particularly creating living beings in jawhar and 'araḍ (accident) is emphasised. It means that God created the things that are created, not after any similitude or model or He created these things free from any incongruity or faultiness and distinguished one from another by various forms and appearances.[237] He is also the Former or the Fashioner (*al-Muṣawwir*).[238]

Like al-Khāliq, al-Muṣawwir and al-Ṣānī'[239] which also appear in our text,[240] al-Bāri' denotes "the Creator" or "the Originator".[241] It is interesting to note that al-Bāri' is

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[235] Beside its various occurrences in the text, the insistence of the most ancient manuscript group (*MiJY*) on the use of al-Bārī' (13,4 ὡς πατέρα, 13,4 من ابيك, باريك *MiJY*) is significant since these manuscripts are the closest witnesses to the archetype. See also, 2,5 (2,7-8 τῷ πλάστῃ παραστησόμενον,ويقفها قدام باريها) ;7,4 (3-4 ... τῆς ἀγγελικῆς ... διὰ τὴν πρὸς Θεὸν ἐγγύτητα, الملايكة لموضوع قربها من الباري) and 32,2 (لانها عنده صورة ... add.). من صور الباري

[236] The root b-r-w (bara'ahu, aor., inf. n. برو) means that He (i.e. God) created him or it (Hebrew: בָּרָא [bará]). Some of the Arab linguists think that it comes from baran signifying "dust" or "earth". The first meaning of the root b-r-' is becoming clear or free from another thing; either by being released or created as in "bara Allāhu Ādama min al-ṭīn" (God produced or created Adam from or out of clay). Here it implies the creation of substances and accidents. Al-bariyya (synonym of al-khalqu, plurals barāyā and bariyyāt) is the creation, meaning the beings or things that are created or particularly human beings. Al-bar'u has a more particular application than al-khalqu; the former being applied to the creation of animate beings with a few exceptions. Edward William Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, vol. I (Beirut: Librarie du Liban, 1968), 178-179, 197.

[237] Lisān al-'Arab, al-Bāri' [Online] Available at: http://www.baheth.info/all.jsp?term=%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A8%D8%A7%D8%B1%D8%A6 [Accessed: 23 May 2008]

[238] Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, 179. For references to al-Muṣawwir in our text, see the discussion of "engraving the beauty in the soul" (22,21), "writing on the tablet of the heart", "having a new form through baptism" and etc. in Chapter 3 and 4.

[239] As in Q 59:24, al-Khāliq, al-Bāri' and al-Muṣawwir often appear in this order in which the first name refers to the creation of existence whereas the other two are related to giving form. Titus Burckhardt, *Introduction to Sufi Doctrine* (Bloomington, Indiana: World Wisdom, 2008), 50. In al-Ghazālī's *al-Maqṣad* (al-Maqṣad al-asnā fī sharḥ asmā' Allāh al-ḥusnā, The Best Means in Explaining God's Beautiful Names), al-Khāliq, al-Bāri' and al-Muṣawwir which form a triadic scheme of creation is treated together. In this triad, al-Bāri' stands for *ījād* or causing existence of primary and permanent entities in accord with God's knowledge and will. It is worth noting that al-Maqṣad is one of the works in which al-Ghazālī deals with theosis (ta'alluh) in terms of the relationship between God and the creation, therefore it is not surprising to find al-Khāliq (the Creator) frequently used instead of al-Ḥaqq that appears his mystical

frequently used in the writings of Arab Christian writers such as Ibn Zur'a,[242] the Catholicos Elias I (d. c. 1043),[243] Ibn 'Adī[244] and Ibn al-Faḍl.[245] For the last two writers, al-Bārī is an incorporeal substance that is Good, Wise and Powerful, and He knows Himself perfectly. This eternal substance is anterior to all beings and is the cause of their existence.[246]

According to al-Ghazālī, al-Khāliq, al-Muṣawwir and al-Bāri' refer to the levels of creation: creation, production and fashion. Just as a building needs an architect, a builder and a decorator, creation is the production of God who is the planner (al-Muqaddir), creator (al-Khāliq),[247] producer (al-Bāri') and fashioner (al-Muṣawwir)[248]. God as al-Bāri', creates living beings and things out of nothing and gives them existence. Therefore, this name symbolises origination and invention.[249] Al-Ghazālī indicates that these names show human beings the way in which they can recognise the

writings. Although he describes this work as being closely linked to *ma'rifa* (knowledge or gnosis), it is rather concerned with the relation between divine names and cosmology. Frank Griffel, *Al-Ghazali's Philosophical Theology* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 244, 245. For ma'rifa in al-Ghazālī, see Chapter 4.

[240] "The evil is not created by God and it is not from the Creator" (45,18-20 ἢ παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ γενομένην ... ἀλλ᾽ οὐχὶ τοῦ κτίσαντος, 45,13-14 ولا **مصنوع** من الله وليس هو من جهة **الخالق**). For the analysis of the words in the root "ṣ-w-r" (taṣawwara, ṣūra, etc.), see Chapter 4.

[241] "Being close to al-Bāri'" (7,4), which in fact refers to the closeness of the angelic nature to God, is significant in terms of the reference to the divine seed in human beings that is sown to be grown and cultivated.

[242] Paul Sbath, ed. *Vingt traites philosophiques et apologetiques d'auteurs arabes chretiens* (Cairo: H. Friedrich and Co., 1929), 13.

[243] *Summary of the foundations of the faith*, Vat. Ar. MS 110, f. 183ʳ in Haddad, 196.

[244] For the contents of his Maqāla fī ṣiḥḥat i'tiqād al-Naṣārā fi **l-Bāri'** [...] and Maqāla fī tabyīn al-wajh alladhī 'alayhi yaṣiḥḥ qawl al-Naṣārā fī **l-Bāri'**, see Platti, "Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī," 419-424.

[245] *Discourse on the Holy Trinity*, Chapter 2, 9 and 13 in Noble and Treiger: 397, 402, 405.

[246] Haddad, 224-225.

[247] Khuliqin denotes the moral character or the inner self of man, i.e. his mind or soul and his peculiar qualities and attributes. It is also habit, custom or a second nature. Its plural, *akhlāq*, often signifies ethics and morals. Khālaqahum means "he consorted or comported himself with them according to their natures or moral characters or qualities or with good nature or moral character or qualities" while khalīq means a perfect or complete man. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon,* 70-72.

[248] Al-Muṣawwir is "the Former or Fashioner of all existing things who had established them and given to every one of them a special form and a particular manner of being whereby it is distinguished with their variety and multitude". The verb form, sawwara means "formed, shaped, fashioned, figured, pictured or sculptured". However, tasawwara denotes to an imagination in mind as a picture or an image. It refers to perception, conception and apprehension in logic. Ṣūratun is a common word in philosophy, which signifies an imagination or an idea conceived by the mind. However, it is rather known either as God's image in which Adam is created or any material form which is shaped by human beings in resemblance to a creation of God. The ṣūra (face) of a human being is sacred since it is created in the image of God. It is at the same time an attribute, a quality or a property that distinguishes man from other beings. Ibid., 1744-1745.

[249] Al-Ghazzali, 68, 69.

perfect order in the created world, but most importantly, the cognitive forms of created beings that reflect their existential forms. Thus, having knowledge means to be a fashioner in a symbolic way. God, whose knowledge means creation itself, is the one who gives this knowledge to human beings. With this knowledge and the power given to them through God's "outpouring of His mercy", human beings can find the way to their perfection.[250]

2.4. Creation and Cosmology in Oration 40

As noted by M. Sells,[251] the Jewish, Christian and Islamic tradition produced their own cosmologies which were shaped by the philosophical and the astronomical/astrological inclinations of their times. These cosmologies, however, have mystical[252] concepts like the ascent of the soul that offer alternative worldviews.[253] While the Bible and the Qur'ān depicts a God who is rather far from any bounds, philosophy makes Him the subject of a relationship between Him and creation.[254] Therefore, it is not surprising to

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[250] Ibid., 70-72.

[251] Michael Sells, "The Infinity of Desire: Love, Mystical Union, and Ethics in Sufism," in *Crossing Boundaries: Essays on the Ethical Status of Mysticism*, ed. Barnard G. W. and Kripal J. J. (New York: Seven Bridges Press, 2002), 195.

[252] Seyyed Hossein Nasr reminds us that Islamic cosmology is not the product of Ṣūfism alone but has roots in philosophy. Therefore, cosmology is the product of mathematicians, theologians, philosophers and Ṣūfīs of different sects. Therefore, it is not surprising to find Avicenna's cosmology sharing similarities with the Ishrāqī and Ṣūfī cosmogony of illumination. Similarly, Ikhwān al-Ṣafā shares the Ṣūfī view of the universe as the scene for creatures searching for their Beloved or their Creator. Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *An Introduction to Islamic Cosmological Doctrines: Conceptions of Nature and Methods Used for Its Study by the Ikhwan Al-Safa', Al-Biruni, and Ibn Sina*, Revised ed. (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), xvi, xvii, 20, 21, 53.

[253] Ismail Latif Hacinebioglu, *Does God Exist? Logical Foundations of the Cosmological Argument* (Istanbul: Insan Publications, 2008), 28. The Islamic tradition, bringing together body and soul and demanding belief in a spiritual cosmos as a reality in its *mi'rāj* accounts, offers an interesting view of nature. The 70.000 veils ḥadīth presents a different cosmology of darkness and light. Nasr, *Three Muslim Sages: Avicenna, Suhrawardi, Ibn 'Arabi* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press), 113. By releasing themselves from the material, human beings draw closer to God and even see Him. This means that they lift the veils of different states of darkness until they reach to pure light. Maha Elkaisy-Friemuth, *God and Humans in Islamic Thought: Abd Al-Jabbar, Ibn Sina and Al-Ghazali* (Abingdon, Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2006), 148. For details of this worldview, see Chapter 4.

[254] David Burrell, "The Act of Creation with Its Theological Consequences," in *Creation and the God of Abraham*, ed. C. Cogliati, David B. Burrell, J. M. Soskice, W. R. Stoeger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 52. The influence of philosophy on the rather basic view of nature expressed in the Qur'ān becomes evident in the description of the immaterial world. Nasr, *An Introduction to Islamic Cosmological Doctrines: Conceptions of Nature and Methods Used for Its Study by the Ikhwan Al-Safa', Al-Biruni, and Ibn Sina*, 66.

find the cosmological argument of theologians and philosophers[255] for the existence of God shaped by philosophy as well as scientific knowledge. Moreover, the discussions of the cosmological arguments are related to ontology, epistemology and logic.[256] This broad perspective provided by cosmology found its best expression in the original works and translations of Arab Christian writers of the 10th and 11th century. Isḥāq ibn Ḥunayn (d. 910-911), Qusṭā ibn Lūqā (d. c. 920), Naẓīf ibn Yumn (d. c. 990), Ibn Zurʿa (d. 1008), Ibn al-Ṭayyib (d. c. 1043) and Elias of Nisibis (d. 1046) are the main figures of this period who, besides theology and philosophy, deal with the natural sciences. The role played by the scientific Greek texts, which were translated during the Abbasid Graeco-Arabic translation movement is already known.[257] What is more important is ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl's interest in the natural sciences as mathematics and meteorology are among the subjects of his *Kitāb al-manfaʿa* (the Book of Benefit).[258]

According to the medieval Islamic understanding of the universe, everything has a connection with the names and attributes of God[259] whose effects are always felt in the world.[260] The cosmos is in fact ruled according to the order of the divine names, which, without the creation, would be no more than mere concepts.[261] In the Ṣūfī tradition, the creation, most especially the deified or the perfect man (*al-insān al-kāmil*), who is *the*

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[255] The cosmological argument derives its metaphysical propositions from the physical world. As indicated by Avicenna, from a believer's point of view, it is not meaningful to try to find proofs for the existence of God, as *He Himself is the proof of everything*. Ibrahim Kalın, "Will, Necessity and Creation as Monistic Theophany in the Islamic Philosophical Tradition," in *Creation and the God of Abraham*, ed. C. Cogliati, David B. Burrell, J. M. Soskice, W. R. Stoeger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 108. In Ḥallāj's (d. 922) words "He who seeks (to discover) God by the light of faith is like someone seeking (to discover) the sun by starlight". Louis Massignon, *Essay on the Origins of the Technical Language of Islamic Mysticism* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1997), 211. For our mention of the role of faith in theosis, see Chapter 4. However, it occupies an important place in both Muslim and Christian theology. For Theodore Abū Qurra's *On the Existence of God* (the Creator) (Fī wujūd al-Khāliq), see Cheikho, "Theodore Abu Qurrah's on the Existence of God and the True Religion," *al-Mashriq* 15 (1912). See also Paul of Antioch's (Būlus al-Rāhib) *Risāla ʿaqliyya fī wujūd l-Bāri' taʿālā wa-kamālātihi wa-aqānīmihi* in Cheikho, ed. *Vingt traités théologiques d'auteurs arabes chrétiens (ixe-xiiie siècles)*, 37-63. Paul Khoury, *Paul d'Antioche: Évêque melkite de Sidon (XIIe S.); introduction, édition critique, traduction* (Beirut: Eds. Les lettres orientales, 1964), 1-35 (Ar.).
[256] Hacinebioglu, 13, 220.
[257] For the details of this period, see Chapter 3.
[258] Treiger, 92.
[259] Nasr, *Religion and the Order of Nature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 61.
[260] The divine names refer to the attributes by which God made Himself known. Al-Ghazālī says, "Yet they are more than attributes, because God uses them of Himself in revealing Himself to the Prophet […]"Al-Ghazzali, vii.
[261] William C. Chittick, *The Self-Disclosure of God: Principles of Ibn Al-Arabi's Cosmology* (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1998), xix, xxv.

Logos, *the Word and the prototype of Universe*, is a theophany of the names and attributes of God.[262] Human beings are also thought to be the shadows[263] of God that become more and more transparent when they draw closer to the divine presence.[264] They can fulfil the goal of creation when they become the polished surface where "the hidden treasure" comes to see Himself in His names and attributes.[265]

In the same line, the cosmos is thought to be a place for the education of man;[266] therefore, the natural sciences are compatible with the more sublime knowledge of God.[267] As the manifestation of the Creator, knowledge of the cosmos[268] leads man to the knowledge of God.[269] Therefore, the study of the divine names[270] is thought to be the examination of God in nature.

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[262] Nasr, *Three Muslim Sages: Avicenna, Suhrawardi, Ibn 'Arabi*, 109, 110, 112. Being blown into by God's breath, the body is believed to be sacred. Nasr, *Religion and the Order of Nature*, 256. The soul in the body is like God in the world. Elkaisy-Friemuth, 136.

[263] With the fall of Adam, God concealed Himself in human beings but became visible through His names. Leo Schaya, "On the Name Allah," in *Sufism: Love and Wisdom*, ed. Jean-Louis Michon and R. Gaetani (Bloomington, Indiana: World Wisdom, 2006), 210.

[264] Therefore, it is believed that the perfection of a being is determined according to its closeness to the Absolute Beauty. Nasr, *An Introduction to Islamic Cosmological Doctrines: Conceptions of Nature and Methods Used for Its Study by the Ikhwan Al-Safa', Al-Biruni, and Ibn Sina*, 69. Islamic cosmology assumes a hierarchy of beings that is shaped by the Neo-Platonist interpretation of the Aristotelian discussion of *energeia* or *entelekheia*. Griffel, 135.

[265] Nasr, *Three Muslim Sages: Avicenna, Suhrawardi, Ibn 'Arabi*, 115, 116.

[266] One of the ḥadīths, which reads as "God placed the earth for Muslims as a mosque" is a good example of this understanding. Muslim, Masājid 4 (522).

[267] With his allegory of the Chinese and the Byzantine painters, al-Ghazālī points to the different approaches to cosmos taken by scholars and philosophers on the one side and by Ṣūfis on the other. In this allegory, by decorating their wall with beautiful paintings, the Byzantine painters symbolise the first group, while the Chinese artists and their polished wall represent the Ṣūfi approach. Griffel, 264. The universe is considered the unwritten word of God. According to the mystical language of Ṣūfism, every thing has an apparent (*ẓāhir*) meaning besides the hidden (*bāṭin*) one. Therefore, creation is described as the macrocosmic Qur'ān, while the soul is considered the microcosmic one. Nasr, *Three Muslim Sages: Avicenna, Suhrawardi, Ibn 'Arabi*, 103, 104.

[268] It is interesting to note that the created world estranges human beings from their unity with God, ma'rifa or knowledge takes them back to the primordial state. Nasr, *An Introduction to Islamic Cosmological Doctrines: Conceptions of Nature and Methods Used for Its Study by the Ikhwan Al-Safa', Al-Biruni, and Ibn Sina*, 264, 280.

[269] Besides leading man to fulfil his needs, God as al-Hādī (the Guide), guides the seekers to the knowledge of Him, while the lower souls are directed to creation to find their ways towards Him. Al-Ghazzali, *The Ninety-Nine Beautiful Names of God*, trans. David B. Burrell and Nazih Daher (Cambridge: Islamic Texts Society, 1992), 145. For the "lower souls" who understand salvation as being saved from torment or the hell, see the last part of Chapter 4.

[270] Hacinebioglu, 222, 223.

In the Christian tradition, the connection between God and the creation finds its best expression in the Incarnation of God Himself.[271] However, the Incarnation of the Word, which symbolises God's intervention in time, does not endanger the Christian emphasis on the transcendent God.[272] Like Origen and St Augustine, St Maximus (d. 662) says that the Logos has the *logoi* of things and plays a bridging role in creation, which in return reflects the Logos on the logoi. Through these very logoi, human beings can get into contact with God. According to this understanding, nature is read through the incarnation of the Logos in logoi.[273] It is possible to find some similarities between the Christian Logos doctrine and the Muslim prophetic vision as they both connect the creation with God. The Logos holds forms of beings,[274] while 'the prophetic niche' of the Muslim philosophers and the *Muḥammadan Reality* of the Ṣūfis is the symbol of God's names and attributes on earth. The Logos and the perfect man provide the best example to be followed by human beings.[275] It is possible to say that all these notions found their way into our text, which presents its argument in the context of a cosmology interwoven with these themes.

2.4.1. Names/Attributes of God and His Essence

The link between names and essence of beings or the things they denote is one of the most essential topics of theology and philosophy in which a special branch is dedicated to this subject: epistemology. Without epistemological analysis, theologians and philosophers would not be able to explain the connection between essence and names or

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[271] Sandra Tonies Keating, "Some Reflections on the Early Discussion Concerning the Ṣifāt Allāh: 'Cross-Fertilization and Cooperation in the Islamic Milieu'," *Islam and Christian–Muslim Relations* 22, no. 1 (2011): 31.
[272] Hacinebioglu, 32.
[273] Nasr, *Religion and the Order of Nature*, 58-59.
[274] In *adab* literature, Jesus appears as the "symbol of engendering" (*mathalan bi-takwīn*). He is created in a miraculous way and he is thought to have been the renewal of Adam's creation, while he also symbolises the cosmogenesis. Reza Shah-Kazemi, "Jesus in the Qur'an: Selfhood and Compassion-an Akbari Perspective," in *Sufism: Love and Wisdom*, ed. Jean-Louis Michon and R. Gaetani (Bloomington, Indiana: World Wisdom, 2006), 217, 220, 221. For the place of the concept of *adab* in theosis, see Chapter 3.
[275] Nasr, *The Garden of Truth: The Vision and Practice of Sufism, Islam's Mystical Tradition* (New York, N.Y.: HarperOne, 2007), 122.

attributes.[276] In their attempts to comprehend and describe God, human beings *create* or *form* names.[277] In fact, these names are given to them by revelation (and ḥadīth in Islam) in which God emphasises their importance.[278] The literature dedicated to the ninety-nine most beautiful names of God in the Muslim tradition is a good example for these two facts. Interestingly, the writer of *Kitāb al-burhān* creates a Christian version of this tradition in his lists of divine names most of which appear in the famous ḥadīth.[279]

The *ṣifāt Allāh* discussion appears as one of the main issues of the apologetic literature in the eighth and ninth centuries. It is not only related to the problem of God's relation with creation but also connected with human perfection or theosis. What makes this discussion interesting is also the contribution of the Christian and Muslim theologians to the field and the interaction that took place between them.[280]

In his analysis of the divine attributes, Abū Rā'iṭa asks how these attributes exist in God, i.e. whether they are eternal or assumed. He describes the Persons of the Trinity as three eternal attributes (Living, Knowing and Wise) of the divine essence in a way that

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[276] Ibn Zurʿa believes that the divine essence and attributes should not be discussed in every circle as it is for the men of knowledge and insight (*ladhī l-albāb*). Sbath, ed., 17.

[277] Every being has a unique relation with God and this is the reason behind the countless attributes ascribed to God, i.e. God is described by different human beings with various attributes. Chittick, xvii-xix. This is what is meant by the following ḥadīth found in Ṣūfi literature: "There are as many paths to God as the children of Adam". See Nasr, *The Garden of Truth: The Vision and Practice of Sufism, Islam's Mystical Tradition*, 103.

[278] See Q 7:180: "The most beautiful names belong to Allah, so call him by them; but shun such men as use profanity in his names: for what they do, they will soon be required."

[279] "He is the Creator (Khāliq), Giver of life and death (Muḥyī wa-Mumīt), Merciful (Raḥmān), Loving (Ḥannān), Mighty (ʿAzīz), Omnipotent (Qādir), Ruler (Māliku kulli shay'), Exalted (Mutaʾallihan), Master (Rabb), Lord of Lords (Sayyid al-sādāt), Wise (Ḥakīm), Knower of Secrets (ʿAllām al-ghuyūb)" and "He is Creator of all creatures, Ruler/Owner of everything (Mālik), Guardian of everything (Ḥāfiẓ), Ruler/Director of everything (Mudabbir), Controller of everything (Ḍābiṭ) … One God, One Nature (Ṭabīʿa), One Power (Quwwa), One Will (Irāda) … One authority (Sulṭān) …". Eutychius of Alexandria, *The Book of Demonstration (Kitāb al-burhān)*, ed. Pierre Cachia, vol. I (Louvain: Secretariat du CSCO, 1960), 12, 27. For the names and attributes assigned to the Creator in Theodore Abū Qurra's Treatise on the Existence of the Creator and the True Religion, see Sidney H. Griffith, "Faith and Reason in Christian Kalām. Theodore Abū Qurrah on Discerning the True Religion," in *Christian Arabic Apologetics During the Abbasid Period (750-1258)*, ed. Samir K. Samir and Jørgen S. Nielsen (Leiden, Boston and Köln: E. J. Brill, 1994), 1-43.

[280] Keating, "Some Reflections on the Early Discussion Concerning the Ṣifāt Allāh: 'Cross-Fertilization and Cooperation in the Islamic Milieu'," 24-25.

reminds the Cappadocian understanding of the Trinity.[281] However, he does not claim that attributes are hypostases but indicates that the two concepts should be understood together.[282] Abū Rā'iṭa's main argument against the Melkites is based on his insistence on the inseparable character of ousia and hypostases.[283] Therefore, he finds the Melkite view of the two natures of Christ similar to the Nestorian or the Muslim understanding as it neglects the divinity in Christ at the time of death on the Cross.[284] The main problem with the Melkite view is the division and distinct attributions in Christ whereas what is crucial for Abū Rā'iṭa is the divine relation between Christ's divinity and humanity or between God's nature and attributes.[285]

As far as the Mu'tazilite discussion of the divine attributes is concerned, 'Ammār al-Baṣrī's (d. 850) identification of the Persons of the Trinity with the attributes of knowledge, life and word is significant. However, he does not treat *ṣifa* (attribute) as a synonym of *uqnūm* (hypostasis).[286] Unlike 'Ammār, Abū Qurra did not shape his understanding of divine attributes in line with the Muslim debates on the attributes of God. He insists on these three attributes: begetting, headship and procession. However, in other divine attributes, he follows his Christian and Muslim contemporaries.[287]

In his discussion about the existence of the divine attributes, 'Abdallah ibn al-Faḍl says, "Who has actions has essential attributes" (*kullamā huwa bi-l-fiʻl fa-lahu khawāṣṣ jawhariyya*).[288] He criticises philosophers who believe that God is *huwa* (He)[289] without

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[281] Ibid.: 30-31.
[282] Husseini, 166, 193, 196.
[283] It is possible to find the same criticism of the Melkites in Abū 'Isā al-Warrāq who accuses them with the separation of substance from hypostases. See Muḥammad ibn Hārūn Warrāq, *Anti-Christian Polemic in Early Islam: Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq's 'Against the Trinity'*, ed. David Richard Thomas (Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 1992), 99.
[284] Keating, "Some Reflections on the Early Discussion Concerning the Ṣifāt Allāh: 'Cross-Fertilization and Cooperation in the Islamic Milieu'," 32.
[285] Ibid.: 33.
[286] Husseini, 223, 224, 228.
[287] Ibid., 120, 115.
[288] *Discourses*, Salvat. MS 173, f. 198ʳ in Haddad, 189.
[289] He is the only Christian writer who mentions *huwa* in the discussion of the divine attributes. Haddad, 188. This is an important contribution to the Christian discussion as it appears as a significant and complicated concept in Avicenna's and al-Fārābī's system.

any essential attributes and property.[290] For Ibn al-Faḍl, the divine attributes are nothing different from the Essence. The opposite option is unthinkable (lā la-ʿumrī, *by jove*)[291] since the Essence would not be essence if it did not have attributes. He believes that neither the Trinity nor the Unity in God is harmed by indicating that the Essence and attributes are equals.[292]

Ibn Zurʿa tries to explain the link between the divine essence and attributes by emphasising the incomprehensibility of the divine essence and the reality of the divine attributes. He thinks that the essence of God is understood through the attributes. He also indicates that the monotheism of Christianity differs from the monism of Islam in its distinct view of the divine attributes.[293]

Not to harm the divine unity, Muslim philosophers[294] developed an emanationist understanding of the relation between God and the creation. By emphasising the

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[290] Treiger, 93. Noble and Treiger: 383.

[291] *Kitāb al-manfaʿa*, Salvat. MS 173 in Haddad, 190. For this expression which was frequently used by medieval Christian and Muslim writers, see (*Fi Tathlīth*) Samir K. Samir, "Une apologie arabe du christianisme d'époque Umayyade?," *Parole de l'Orient* 16, (1990-1991): 89-90. _____, "The Earliest Arab Apology for Christianity," in *Christian Arabic Apologetics During the Abbasid Period, 750-1258*, ed. Samir K. Samir and Jørgen S. Nielsen (Leiden, Boston and Köln: Brill, 1994), 105. (Theodore Abu Qurra) Constantin Bacha, ed. *Un traité des oeuvres arabes de Théodore Abou-Kurra, Évêque de Haran* (Tripoli de Syrie: Chez l'auteur, à l'Évéché Grec-Catholique, 1905), 22, 23, 26, 28, 31. Wafik Nasry, "Is There a Relationship between Al-Mugadalah and Gami Wuguh Al-Iman?," *Parole de l'Orient* 34 (2009): 74. (ʿAmmār al-Baṣrī) Mark N. Swanson, "Resurrection Debates: Qurʾanic Discourse and Arabic Christian Apology," *Dialog: A Journal of Theology* 48 (2009): 254. (Avicenna) Mahmut Kaya, ed. *Felsefe ve Ölüm Ötesi: İbn Sînâ, Gazzâlî, İbn Rüşd, Fahreddin Râzî* (Istanbul: Klasik, 2011), 10. For the uses of the expression in Ibrāhīm's translations, see (Orat. 24) Grand'Henry, "La version arabe du discours 24 de Grégoire de Nazianze: Édition critique, commentaires et traduction," 264, 258, (Orat. 21) _____, ed. *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua I: Oratio XXI (Arab. 20)*, 9.

[292] Haddad, 190, 191.

[293] Ibid., 192, 198. In addition to the discussion of the possibility of designating God's essence by attributes, Muslim mutakallimūn had to face the problem of their eternity. Al-Ghazālī implies that the exaggerated Ashʿarite view of the divine attributes resulted in the discussions of both describing God with his attributes and the attributes themselves. Al-Ghazzali, 192. It is clear that names are created but their meanings were eternally affirmed. This is also the case for the names and attributes of God. It is possible to say that the names of God are eternal since they are eternally known by Him who inspires and creates His names in His creatures' minds. As far as the names of action are concerned, some claims that He is described as the Creator in eternity, while others deny this description. Ibid., 18-20.

[294] As far as the divine attributes are concerned, two approaches (*taʿṭīl* and *tashbīh*) appeared in Islamic thought. Taʿṭīl is the philosophical denial of attributes. Philosophers believe that "knowing something is to know its essential reality and its quiddity, not the names derived from it". Tashbīh or anthropomorphism is adopted by theologians who describe God with the divine attributes. Al-Ghazzali, 185. According to al-Ghazālī, names do not refer to essence of things but to the relation of this name to

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outflowing of God's knowledge, love and goodness, they underline the immanence of God, which is what makes this connection possible. Moreover, by claiming that God does not know particulars,[295] they emphasise the role of God's *tajallīs* (theophanies) through which man can realise *existence*, *knowledge*, *love* and *goodness*.[296]

In the Islamic tradition, more specifically Ṣūfīsm, the Supreme Name of God or Allāh is the measure according to which other names reflect the Godhead.[297] Thus, Allāh signifies the unity of all the attributes of God. Therefore, if man sees only God wherever he looks, he can have his share in the name 'Allāh' through which he can achieve theosis (*ta'alluh*).[298] The Ṣūfī approach to the divine names and attributes is similar to the doctrine of divine energies in the Eastern Orthodox tradition,[299] which emphasises their *uncreated but immanent* status. Like the Ṣūfī description of the divine attributes with regard to God's essence ("neither He nor other than He"), the divine energies

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something else. The name refers to something different from the thing it named, i.e. the creation. However, relational or not, all attributes refer to the essence and they are definitely affirmations. Ibid., 15.

[294] Ibid., 160-161.

[295] In the first part (question 20) of his *Kitāb bahjat al-mu'min* (The Book of Splendour), 'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl deals with the problem of God's knowledge of particulars and he cites Galenus' *Kitāb manāfi' al-a'ḍā* which appears also in Ibn 'Adī's discussion of the same topic. Floris Sepmeijer, "The Book of Splendor of the Believer by Abdallah ibn al-Fadl," *Parole de l'Orient* 16 (1990-1991): 116.

[296] Elkaisy-Friemuth, 2, 81, 82, 84, 89, 90.

[297] Schaya, 214, 208. *Al-ism al-a'ẓam* or the greatest name is thought to be hidden from human beings. It is believed that, when he was given this name, the wazīr of Solomon could bring him the throne of Bilqīs (the Queen of Sheba). Al-Ghazzali, 194, 42.

[298] Al-Ghazzali, 51-52.

[299] The Greek rendering of Ṣ*amad* ("the eternally besought of all" [Q 112:2, *Pickthall*]) is one of the most important problems in the Greek translation of the Qur'ān. The most qualifying feature of this translation is its presentation of a material God. Ṣamad was first rendered as ὁλόσφαιρος and then changed into ὁλόσφυρος (entirely chased in metal). This widespread meaning of ṣamad in Greek was employed by Theodore Abū Qurra as σφυρόπηκτος (hammered together, closely united) but did not find a place in John of Damascus' translation which had "ποιητὴς τῶν ὅλων" instead. Kees Versteegh, "Greek Translations of the Qur'an in Christian Polemics' [9th century C.E.]," in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Geselleschaft 141* (1991), 61-62. In his discussion of the views of other scholars, who base their argument on the assumption that these words emerge out of a misunderstanding or subjectivity, Simelidis[299] points to Lamoreaux's use of *steiropēktos* (barren-built) (*Theodore Abū Qurrah*, 224f.). He thinks that *holosyphros* is a good choice to render ṣamad and should have been chosen by the translator amongst other options from the exegeses of the Qur'ān that reveals his knowledge of the Islamic commentary tradition. He notes that the Greek translation of this word is not irrelevant but enlightening for the understanding of Islam by the Greek-speaking Christians of the 9th century. What is more interesting about this translation is that the Ṣūra 112 of the Qur'ān was understood by the Byzantines as the repudiation of the Nicene Creed and this might have been the same among the Muslims since Ibn 'Abbās is reported to have said that it is "a denial of the Christians". Christos Simelidis, "The Byzantine Understanding of the Qur'ānic Term al-Ṣamad and the Greek Translation of the Qur'ān," *Speculum* 86, no. 4 (2011): 888-889, 891, 900. For the translator's ethnic origin and the sources he used, see the discussion in the three articles mentioned above.

cannot be thought separate from the Essence, while they are in fact different from it.[300] St Gregory Palamas (d. 1359) indicates that human beings are connected to the Essence as long as they are in union with the Energies. The Christian concepts of 'the presence of immensity' and 'the indwelling presence' found in *contemplation* and *sacraments* are similar to the Ṣūfī view of the divine presence during the invocation of the divine names. [301]

2.4.2. Names of God and Theosis

In the Islamic tradition, all the names by which God describes Himself have specific roles in the relation between Him and human beings.[302] Besides their role in the comprehension of God by human beings, the divine names occupy a significant place in the education of men.[303] In the process of perfection, the only thing man has to do is to uncover the divine attributes embedded in him.[304] The names and attributes of God represent the different levels of this process. In this spiritual journey, which is supposed to end in the union with God, the disciple (*murīd*) recites God's names under the

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[300] Like Islam, the Eastern Orthodox tradition rejects any distinction in the Essence. Because of its rejection of any distinction in the divine nature, Islam refutes the Sonship of Jesus. Burckhardt, 67.

[301] Ibid., 46, 46f, 47f.

[302] "Given that God is characterised by the ninety-nine [names], whoever is characterised by one of them enters paradise'". No text found, but cf. *al-Mughnī* IV, 307, n. 6; 316, n. I; mentioned in Haythamī, *Majmaʿal-zawāʾid*, Īmān I. 36. Some changes were made on the first list of the ninety-nine most beautiful names of God that was reported by Abū Hurayra and well known to the Muslims, but these are not included in the two most trustable books of ḥadīths (*al-ṣaḥīḥayn*). Al-Ghazālī points to the problems concerning the account of Abū Hurayra. Accordingly, there is a weak transmitter among the transmitters of this ḥadīth. Moreover, Abū Hurayra is related to two different accounts and other names of God appear in the Qurʾān and ḥadīths. The attempts of some scholars such as Ibn Ḥazm (d. 1064) to collect the names by searching in the Qurʾān and ḥadīth are additional evidences for the problematic character of the account. As implied by al-Ghazālī, this very attempt to collect the names of God might be the thing, which is meant by the ḥadīth as a way to the Paradise. Names are authorised but divine attributes can be deduced by humans unless they do not bear any faults relating to God. Al-Ghazzali, 149, 92, 68-69, 75, 76, 78, 79-81.

[303] In the Ṣūfī circles, a healing role is ascribed to the divine names and attributes. This may be the treatment of a mental or a physical problem. The sick person recites certain names that are recommended to him by a spiritual master (*murshid*). It is a common tradition among Muslims to have the ninety-nine names written, framed and hung on the walls of their houses. In addition to its role as a reminder, *al-asmā al-ḥusnā* is said to have psychological good effects on human beings.

[304] Chittick, xxiii, xxvi, 40-41. According to Abū Qurra, human beings must resemble God since they cannot have any attributes other than the ones the Creator has. Therefore, it is possible to deduce God's attributes from *virtues of Adam* but only from the virtues as God is free from any deficiencies. Husseini, 113-114.

instructions of his master (*murshid*)[305] until the person who recites, the names and the named become one.

A *murīd* imitates the divine names and attributes on both spiritual and social level, i.e. while he recites[306] them, he also tries to live as an embodiment of the name he has been contemplating. For example, if he is on the level of al-Muḥsin (the Benefactor), as a living *muḥsin*,[307] he is supposed to be a benefactor to every living being. Therefore, the tradition describes deification as "adopting and making God's attributes oneself's own".[308] It is interesting to note that the Arabic Gregory employs this name, which is thought to be one of the names of God while the Greek original does not require this usage: Why are you waiting for the fever to become a benefactor to you but not for God who is al-Muḥsin[309] (to you)? (12,1-2 Τί πυρετὸν ἀναμένεις εὐεργέτην, ἀλλ' οὐ Θεόν; Τί καιρόν, 12,1-2 لما لك ان تنتظر الحمى ان تكون اليك محسنة ولا يكون الله هو **المحسن** اليك).

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[305] For the need for a master (shaykh) in this process, one should consider a well-known Ṣūfī view of annihilation: *fanā'* in shaykh, fanā' in the Prophet and fanā' in God. Similar to the annihilation in shaykh, prophet and God, Ṣūfīs are supposed to annihilate themselves in the divine acts, names, attributes and essence. At the last level of this journey, they reach the annihilation of annihilation (*fanā' al-fanā'*) and subsist in God (*baqā'*). Nasr, *The Garden of Truth: The Vision and Practice of Sufism, Islam's Mystical Tradition*, 114, 120, 135. In Junayd al-Baghdādī's (d. 910) words, fanā is the annihilation of the self to prepare the human soul for the presence of God's attributes, i.e. baqā. It is in a sense a return to the primordial state as the covenant between human beings and God before the creation of bodies to bear witness to God's Lordship recalls baqā. A. Wilcox, "The Dual Mystical Concepts of Fanā and Baqā in Early Sufism," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 38, no. 1, April (2011): 105-107. For annihilating in the divine attributes, one should take into account the motto known as a ḥadīth in Ṣūfī circles, which reads as "Qualify yourself with the qualities of God" (*takhallaqū bi-akhlāq Allāh*). See also this Platonian motto in Laws IV, 716C: "[…] He who is to become dear to such a being must necessarily do all in his power to become like him […]". T. L. Pangle, *The Laws of Plato* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 103. Names as *spiritual messengers* offer a broader aspect from prophets in being a mediator between God and man since they do not need concrete reasons or they are not bound by the time. Schaya, 210.

[306] It is reported in ḥadīths that who memorises the ninety-nine most beautiful names of God will go to heaven. Bukhārī, Daʿawāt 68; Muslim, Dhikr 5 (2677); Tirmidhī, Daʿawāt 87 (3502).

[307] As indicated in the famous Gabriel ḥadīth, imān (belief, faith), islām (submission) and iḥsān denote the three stages or faces of faith. While the first two concepts refer to the process of believing, iḥsān symbolises living and being the embodiment of the faith.

[308] Al-Ghazzali, 30.

[309] (33,17 καὶ ἐστηλίτευσας, τὴν εὐεργεσίαν, 33,13 واشهرت الاحسان) and (33,21 μετὰ τὴν εὐποιΐαν, 33,16 بعد الاحسان اليك).

However, murīds in fact imitate God in the shining surfaces of their hearts on which the divine names and attributes leave their marks.[310] Thus, they begin to see in God's eyes and God sees through their eyes.[311] These four stages of the mystical path of the Ṣūfī tradition help us understand the link between God and the creation or theosis: *from al-khalq to al-Ḥaqq* (from creation to the Truth); *travelling in al-Ḥaqq* (al-baqā': subsistence in God); *return[312] from al-Ḥaqq to al-khalq but with al-Ḥaqq* and *journey in al-khalq with al-Ḥaqq*. The last two stages are symbolised by miʿrāj and are open only to prophets and saints. In the last level, man has the *maḥabba* (love) and *maʿrifa* (knowledge) of God.[313]

What we have seen above is a doctrine of the Godhead, which is described in the context of the discussions in medieval Arabic writings such as the relationship of the divine essence with the divine attributes and an emanationist view of the creation. In presenting a fourth-century Greek text to the tenth-century Christian world, our translator seems to prefer a middle way between the rather simple language of the earlier Christian Arabic texts like *Jāmiʿ* and the philosophical terminology of the later writings as that of his native Ibn al-Faḍl.[314] However, Ibrāhīm keeps surprising us with his use of some words like *waḥdāniyya* and *fayḍ*. Now is the time to see how further he will surprise us in his description of the first stage of this path or the earthly face of theosis.

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[310] Ṣūfīs believe that the Prophet is reported to say that "The heart of the person of faith is the Throne of the All-Good (and compassionate)." See Nasr, *The Garden of Truth: The Vision and Practice of Sufism, Islam's Mystical Tradition*, 104.

[311] See ḥadīth al-taqarrub (drawing near): "[…] [A]nd my slave keeps on coming closer to Me through performing nawāfil till I love him, so I become his sense of hearing with which he hears, and his sense of sight with which he sees, and his hand with which he grips, and his leg with which he walks […]". Bukhārī, Riqāq 38.

[312] Man cannot continue with his annihilated self, as he is also responsible for other people's journey towards God. Wilcox: 109. In his interpretation of Al-Jāmiʿ (the Uniter), al-Ghazālī indicates that in addition to the harmony between his soul and actions, man should have a balance between knowledge and piety or between "steadfastness and asceticism". Al-Ghazzali, 142.

[313] Nasr, *The Garden of Truth: The Vision and Practice of Sufism, Islam's Mystical Tradition*, 128, 129, 133. For the Muslim philosophers, the divine union, in fact, does not mean anything other than having the highest possible knowledge of God, whereas the Ṣūfīs find it in experiencing His Presence. For the details of these two approaches, see the discussion in Chapter 4.

[314] What makes us think this way is his avoidance of using the well-known term for hypostasis, *uqnūm* or *īpūsṭasīs*.

2.5. Conclusion

In this chapter, we have introduced the doctrine of the Godhead in the Arabic version of *Oration on baptism*. What we found most interesting about this doctrine is the language it is expressed in. It is evident from the text that this language gave a different colour to Gregory's theology of the Godhead which is itself unique in its emphasis on the monarchy of the Father and a more intellectual or spiritual understanding of the Trinity. This language is not merely a product of Ibrāhīm's day but has peculiarities such as its stress on the unity in the Trinity and the divine names.

As a translator, Ibrāhīm made additions to or preferred different readings in the text in order to clarify the meaning or draw the attention of the reader to a specific way of thinking. For instance, words like jawhar (42,3; 45,12), ṭabī'a (5,6; 7,1; 41,7,9), 'ayn-dhāt (41,8-11; 5,4), kiyān (8,6; 38,2; 42,11) and khāṣiyya (41,11-12) used to denote essence, nature and person in Christian Arabic texts have philosophical connotations. However, Ibrāhīm's rendering of ousia, fuseōs, geneseōs (or gennēsin) and idiotētos with these words is quite literal. Even though Gregory did not explain the relationship between the Persons of the Trinity and the natures of Christ or the hypostatic union in detail –which was the main topic of debate in the 5th century, Ibrāhīm could have brought words like shakhṣ, ṣifa and uqnūm into the text to make the subject more familiar with the reader.

It is possible to say that Ibrāhīm preferred a somewhat simpler language in the expression of the doctrine of the Godhead. However, he uses a complex terminology when referring to the unity and the monarchy in the Trinity. He is consistent in rendering unity (henōsis) or oneness as ittiḥād while he describes consubstantiality as *ittifāq fī l-ṭabī'a* (sumfuia) and *ittifāq fī l-jawhar* (monarchia). It is in the description of the monarchy of the Father that his contribution to the Greek text makes itself strongly felt. When calling God *akbar* or *the Greater*, Ibrāhīm adds *than the Son* (min al-Ibn) to *ton Patera meizō*. In addition to this, the Proto-Syrian version, in contrast to all other Arabic manuscripts, has this reading: "... also the existence of **the two of them** comes from him" (wa-minhu **lahumā** ayḍan al-wujūd). This makes us think that the closest versions to the archetype read *tois isois* as dual pronoun (al-mutasāwiyayn) instead of the plural (al-mutasāwiyīn). Nevertheless, this does not lead us to conclude that he

proposes an Arianist view which is strongly refuted in the oration. While it is still possible to think of an Islamisation of the text as a way of assimilation or defence, the reading in the Proto-Syrian version seems to be an attempt to clarify the position of the Father as the Arkhe (ibtidā) which is confirmed by the attribution of monarchy to the Three Persons in the expression "al-waḥdāniyya fī l-riyāsa" (unity in the monarchy).

As to the relationship of the Son and the Holy Spirit to the Father, we find a rather simple description which defines the first connection as "being born" (al-tawallud) and explains the procession of the Holy Spirit in terms of an outpouring (fayḍ and hārij) of the First Light. Following Gregory, Ibrāhīm did not use a technical term for the procession which came to be known as inbithāq or inbiʿāth in Christian Arabic literature. Simple or basic, *fayḍ*, nevertheless, reminds us the emanationist (ṣudūr or fayḍ) theory of creation that became complicated in medieval philosophical texts written in Arabic. This Neo-Platonist reading of creation on the basis of an upward movement of beings toward perfection found its reflection in the writings of Christian writers such as Dionysius of Antioch and Ibn al-Ṭayyib who explained the procession of the Holy Spirit as emanation and effusion. The emanationist theory based on the Aristotelian description of the spirit as the first perfection proposes a hierarchy of beings proportionate to the degree of their perfection. In their struggle for a divine life or becoming Godlike, human beings are directed by divine signs or the names and attributes of God. Therefore, it is not difficult to find out the connection drawn by Ibrāhīm between theosis and the divine names in his emphasis on the divine qualities (God's being *the Creator* and *the Benefactor*).

What we find in the Arabic version of *Oration on baptism* is an understanding of the Godhead, which is based on the relationship or the personhood of the Three Persons of the Trinity but found its best expression in the unity of the Godhead that outpours Itself to creation with the intention of leading it towards perfection. Simple or basic, Ibrāhīm used a terminology that is consistent and coherent in terms of the overall picture of theosis found in medieval Arabic writings. Theologically speaking, it shows us that the Melkite milieu in which he flourished consisted of Christians who were well aware of the language of such a text, which not only introduces doctrinal matters but also explains them with a terminology that is under the influence of Muslim kalām and

philosophy, particularly their discussions of the divine essence and attributes and what we call today the cosmological argument.

In terms of the Christian community this text was aimed at, it seems to be an important part of a project which can be called as the Antiochene Graeco-Arabic translation movement. The main purpose of this project was to protect the tradition of the Church Fathers. This purpose becomes more meaningful when thought together with the political and ecclesiastical circumstances of the period which were all shaped by the Byzantine reconquest of Antioch in 969 and the policies of the Muslim rulers in the environs. However, the cultural and social dimension of this movement should have been more influential on the Melkite Christians of Antioch who, both as simple believers and as members of the Melkite Church were called to a renewal of their Christian identities or to an ethical revolution. Oration 40 might have been read in the churches to give hope to the audience for a new life based on the orthodox faith and ethics that must be lived in the society as a representative of the true belief.

CHAPTER 3: THEOSIS THROUGH JESUS CHRIST

Having examined the understanding of the Godhead in our text, which is based on the Trinity and Unity in God with special emphasis on the *monarchia* of the Father as the Cause, the Creator and the Controller of all things and expressed in the framework of the Islamic concepts that were well-known to the Christians of Ibrāhīm's days, we will continue with the Christology of the text. Regardless of their differences in details about what it really means and how to achieve it, Christians have understood theosis in terms of the salvation of human beings, which is the divine plan that was made real in the Incarnation of the Son. In Gregory's words, it is to "become gods for God's sake, since God became man for our sake".[315] Therefore, this chapter is devoted to the study of the role of Christ in theosis as introduced in the translation, which we believe is the very heart of it.

As demonstrated before, despite the undeniable mystical character of the oration there is a strong emphasis both in the original text and in the translation on the Creatorness of God, which ingeniously draws attention to the creation and the divine plan or economy that is effective in the visible world. Having human beings in its very centre or, in more appropriate words, been designed only for the sake of humankind, this divine economy gives some definitive roles to creatures in the perfection of humans. Thus the creation itself, being the most perfect divine miracle, sets the scene for *theosis*.

According to Gregory, having wanted to be known by His creatures, God created human beings in His image. He granted them mind and spirit to be able to *comprehend* Him and body and soul to *imitate* Him in His qualities and actions. God placed the desire to be deified in the hearts of Adam and Eve, however did not want it to be only a grace but rather a reward for the ones who deserve it. After the first trial of humankind that was followed by the fall, God renewed His covenant with His creatures. He sent His Creative Word to the world out of His generosity, mercy and justice. As the most

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[315] Orat. 1.5.

perfect one among all creatures, the human body was chosen to be the place that the Incarnate Word, Christ would dwell in. Thus, according to the divine economy of the Trinity, the Word of God came to the world to improve, transform and reform the fallen state of humankind and to bestow him, with His crucifixion, the eternal salvation or make theosis possible on the human side.

It is already known that Gregory is the father of theosis theology at least in coining the term and furnishing the former thoughts about deification with his elaborate theology. What we find different in the translation is the language, which simultaneously emphasises the visible and hidden qualities of theosis. The reader will observe our hesitance in giving a strict definition of the message given in the translation about theosis on the ground that Ibrāhīm's language and style sometimes makes us oscillate between the two possible readings of the text: social and mystical or exoteric and esoteric.

This chapter will read the social side of theosis with the help of the discussions of the two natures of Christ. As will be seen in detail below, Arab Christian theologians of the period did not always prefer or feel confident to refer to the Second Person of the Trinity as 'the Son', most likely because of the first impression it would evoke in Muslim minds. However, while their coreligionists took refuge in using 'the Word', the Melkite theologians, particularly Theodore Abū Qurra, did not hesitate to refer to the Son in their treatments of the Incarnation, which, after the doctrine of the Trinity, was the second main object of Muslim criticisms. In Melkite texts, it is possible to find a more confident language used to explain the Melkite teachings, possibly due to their relative remoteness from the centres dominated by Muslims and their hotly debated discussions. It is also possible to suggest that because of the difficulty they had in their dialogue with Muslims on the grounds of their two natures Christology and their designation of Mary as *Theotokos*, they did not feel obliged to explain themselves to

Muslims at all.[316] However, they were the first among other Christians to use Arabic to the extent that it would give them a unique and strong identity.

Although he did not formulate the Trinity in triads as Arab Christian theologians (almost without exception) did, Ibrāhīm sprinkled throughout his translation some of the divine names of which, for the most part, belong to the Islamic tradition and this turned Gregory's antique text into a piece of writing which smells totally medieval. The frequent use of the divine names by Arab Christian writers has led us to read theosis through those very names: Bounty-Wise-Power, Reason-Speech-Life, Intellect-Intelligent-Intelligible, Dhāt-Ḥikma-Ḥayāt etc. What we find in these triads is an understanding of the Trinity, which introduces the Father as the Source, the Son as the Realisation and the Holy Spirit as the Enlivener of the Godhead. Thus, according to our reading of the translation, the Father prepared the ground for theosis by throwing His Light to the world and the Word or Christ made it real and left it to the hands of the Holy Spirit to be perfected.

3.1. Baptism: Being Buried and Raised with Christ

As demonstrated before, Gregory's treatment of baptism is significant particularly for the time period in which Oration 40 was delivered. In that period, theology was the prime topic of discussion among the Byzantine people from every way of life. Gregory's vivid description of the days just before and during the Council of Constantinople shows to what extent the Christians of those days were in conflict over theological matters. With the emergence of new readings of the Scriptures among Christians from different exegetical traditions, namely Antiochene and Alexandrian schools, the distinction between diverse views became much more evident and this necessitated the formulation of the doctrines in certain terms.

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[316] Muslim writers such as Abū ʿĪsā al-Warrāq, al-Bāqillānī, al-Jubbāʿī, al-Jāḥiẓ, al-Shahrastānī and Ibn al-Ḥazm provide us with significant information about the way the Melkite views were understood by Muslims. As mentioned before, the Muslim accounts of the Melkite teachings like that of al-Warrāq are indispensable sources for the students of the Melkite theology in the Middle Ages.

By preparing the ground for the discussions of the Council of Constantinople and residing over the first sessions of the Council, Gregory played a significant role in the the formulation of the Trinitarian doctrine. What is interesting is that the circumstances in which Oration 40 came out have similarities with the days of Ibrāhīm. Like Gregory, who exhorted Christians of his day to the orthodox baptism in his orations, Ibrāhīm must have found an appropriate ground in the Gregorian tradition, most especially in Oration 40,[317] to construct a strong identity for the Dyophysite Melkite congregation. Given the characteristics of the Antiochene Graeco-Arabic translation movement, it is not difficult to realise that the motivation behind the Arabic translation of Oration 40 was an intellectual and ethical concern for the development of this community.

The practical function attributed to Oration 40 is clearly indicated in the introductory paragraph of the Arabic translation. According to this introduction, like his friend Basil who also delivered a speech about this matter and asked him to challenge the low esteem for baptism among the people, Gregory, *the great [man] among the saints, Gregory the Theologian, Nazianzen* (النازيانزي غريغوريوس الثاولوغس المعظم في القديسين, *U*), has strong proofs for his audience who know how to benefit from his speech.

In addition to this information about the content of the oration,[318] it is possible to see that in some of the manuscripts special attention is drawn to this practical purpose of the text. The title in *Mi*, "The fourth oration which exhorts people to have baptism" الميمر (الرابع يخض الناس على تقديمهم المعمودية) ends with the expression "and quickness to [have] the holy baptism" (والمسارعة الى المعمودية المقدسة).[319] *N* describes "baptism" as "[which is]

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[317] In his analysis of medieval Copto-Arabic theology represented by Sāwīrus ibn al-Muqaffaʿ and al-ʿAssāl brothers, Stephen J. Davis points to the place of the sacraments in this theology which is greatly indebted to the Cappadocian Fathers and Christian Arabic literature. S. J. Davis, *Coptic Christology in Practice: Incarnation and Divine Participation in Late Antique and Medieval Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 221-230.

[318] In manuscript *F*, the introduction begins with the word *sharḥ* (explanation, commentary) which shows the purpose of this prologue. Grand'Henry, ed., *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua III: Oratio XL (Arab. 4)*, 2.

[319] For the emphasis on having baptism at an early age, see the expressions spread throughout the oration such as "running together (مسارعتنا) (to the Font)" and "racing against each other" or "striving to be first to obtain [the] blessing" (25,14).

blessed by the Master [Lord]" (بارك ايها السيد). *U* recalls the expression in 3.7 ("[baptism] is the foundation of the religion" (اس الدين)) which is reminiscent of the language of the famous ḥadīth about *ṣalat* ([...] الصلاة عماد الدين)[320,321] ("عماد المومنين" ([Baptism] is the foundation of the believers).

According to Gregory, theosis is not only possible for human beings but also a necessary part of the divine plan. Human beings are created in the image of God and because of this divine image, they can be like God. Although it is in close connection with the other sacraments, especially the Eucharist and the anointing, baptism is the central path that leads human beings to deification. What is provided by baptism is the beginning of a new life, which can be adopted only by leading a life whose plan is drawn by baptism. Like the divine economy, which is summarised by Gregory with his kenosis-theosis model, baptism is not meaningful without the Incarnation. In the Arabic version of Oration 40, there is a strong emphasis on Christ's role as a mediator between divinity and humanity, which supports our argument about the role of this text in the development of a Melkite identity.

In the three births mentioned in the Bible, namely natural birth, baptism and resurrection, Gregory found a great opportunity to expound his views of theosis. What is striking here is the attribution of natural birth to Christ since, unlike some Arab Christian writers; Ibrāhīm did not hesitate to talk about the creative powers of Christ. It is known that, while they did not differ in their views of baptism and the resurrection of Christ, some Arab Christian writers hesitated to attribute creative powers to Him, particularly the creation of human beings.[322] However, one should bear in mind that, unlike those writers, Ibrāhīm should not have imagined his translation to be read by the Muslims.

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[320] Al-Ajlūnī, *Kashf* al-Khafāʼ, vol. 2, 31. This ḥadīth is reported in different variations most of which relate الصلاة (prayer) to الايمان (belief).

[321] It is also possible to see the influence of the Islamic language in the closing words of the Arabic introduction: "ان شا الله" (If God wills), and "ان شا الله تعالى" in *NG J*, "امين" in *Mi* and "فاتحة الميمر" (The beginning/opening of the oration).

[322] I. M. Beaumont, *Christology in Dialogue with Muslims: A Critical Analysis of Christian Presentations of Christ for Muslims from the Ninth and Twentieth Centuries* (Carlisle, Cumbria: Paternoster, 2005), 77-78.

What is more striking is the appearance of Jesus (2,8 ايسوعي) in the translation as the One who exhibited and honoured these births in His person, while Gregory ascribes these actions to Christ (2,11-12 ὁ ἐμὸς Χριστὸς). However, it is possible to find the exact translation of the Greek word (مسيحي) in *JY*,[323] which is an early witness to Ibrāhīm's text. What we have found here is an emphasis on the historical Jesus who, as noted by David Thomas,[324] was ignored in the writings of Arab Christian theologians.

As to the relations of Christ with the other two births mentioned above, Gregory indicates that Christ made them real in His own person. However, Ibrāhīm preferred to present this idea in different colours which becomes clear in his description of baptism as "the dyeing of creation" (2,9 والمعمودية التي اصطبغها), while there is no implication of a dyeing process in the Greek text, which describes baptism as "taking off the veil that comes with creation (birth)" (2,5). This dyeing image will appear again in the following paragraphs of the text in which the person who baptises is called "the dyer".[325] However, this use is not unprecedented in Christian Arabic literature as it appears in the title given to John the Baptist (يوحنا الصابغ) in *Sinai Arabic 138* (1117 CE).[326]

What is more interesting about this dyeing image is the wide use of it in the Islamic tradition, particularly in Ṣūfism and *adab* literature, which is originated from a verse of the Qur'ān (2:138): "(We take our) colour (صبغة) from Allah, and who is better than

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[323] Grand'Henry, ed., *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua III: Oration XL (Arab. 4)*, 11.

[324] David Thomas, "Explanations of the Incarnation in Early 'Abbasid Islam," in *Redefining Christian Identity: Cultural Interaction in the Middle East since the Rise of Islam* ed. H. L. Murre, J. J. Van Ginkel, Van Den Berg, T. M. Van Lint (Leuven, Paris, Dudley: Uitgeverij Peeters en Departement Oosterse Studies, 2005), 143, 145.

[325] See paragraph thirty-two, for "not be merely coloured [by baptism]" (17 ἀλλὰ μὴ χρωσθῆναι, 15 ولا نتلون فقد).

[326] Aziz Suryal Atiya, "The Arabic Manuscripts of Mount Sinai: A Hand-List of the Arabic Manuscripts and Scrolls Microfilmed at the Library of the Monastery of St. Catherine," (Baltimore, 1955), pl. 9. For the use of *şibgha* (immersion), *işţubighuhā* (was baptised) and *Yūḥannā al-Şābigh* (John the Baptist) in the long Arabic recension of the Legend of Baḥīra, see Barbara Roggema, *The Legend of Sergius Baḥīrā: Eastern Christian Apologetics and Apocalyptic in Response to Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 460-461.

Allah at colouring. We are His worshippers."[327] Interestingly enough, this word appears in some commentaries[328] of the Qur'ān as baptism[329] in connection with the previous verses, which claim the falseness of other religions in general and Christianity in particular. This recalls the paradoxical use of some Islamic images or notions –which were in fact used by the Muslims against Christian beliefs– by Arab Christian writers to prove the truth of their teachings.

Gregory describes baptism also as "sharing with the Word" (الكلمة مشاركة 3,5) and "departing with Christ" which refer to the role of Christ in baptism. What is significant here is Ibrāhīm's rendering of the second phrase. As pointed out by Paul Gallay[330] and Philip Schaff,[331] with συνεκδημία Χριστοῦ (3,10-11) Gregory refers to dying with Christ whereas in the Arabic equivalent (مسايرة المسيح 3,7) one can find an implication to "living with Him" or "walking (pacing, keeping up) with Him" in this life.[332] This reminds us the positive attitude taken by both Gregory and Ibrāhīm towards the salvation of human beings. Believing in the capacity of human beings to be deified, they encouraged people to be active in their deification process.

As briefly mentioned above, the first thing that comes to mind with the designation of baptism as "the foundation of religion" (اس الدين 3,7) is the well-known description of *ṣalāt* in the Islamic tradition. What we want to point out here is Ibrāhīm's preference of *al-dīn* which denotes religion as a system of beliefs and practices, whereas in the Greek text "the faith" or "belief" (3,11 πίστεως)[333] is employed. Although these two words can

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[327] M. M. Pickthall, *The Glorious Qur'an: The Arabic Text with a Translation in English* (Tahrike Tarsile Qur'an, 2001), 36. See also Kitāb al-burhan in which baptism is described as follows: "God's baptism is the best and the noblest" (ṣibghat Allāh aḥsan al-ṣibghāt wa-afḍaluhā'). Eutychius of Alexandria, *The Book of Demonstration (Kitāb al-burhān)*, ed., P. Cachia, vol. I (Louvain: Secretariat du CSCO, 1960), 145-146.

[328] Cf. al-Zamakhshari (1074 or 1075 –1143 or 1144) on 2:138. This verse is an important historical witness to the use of the verb صبغ by Arabic-speaking Christians of the 7th century.

[329] Yusuf Ali presents a modern version of this commentary in his translation of the verse: "(Our religion is) the Baptism of Allah: And who can baptise better than Allah? And it is He Whom we worship."

[330] Nazianze, *Discours 38-41*, 202.

[331] Schaff, *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, 360.

[332] In paragraph thirty, Ibrāhīm translated τὴν Χριστοῦ συννέκρωσιν (30,8) as الموت مع المسيح (7).

[333] For its meaning in the New Testament as the opposite of what is seen and known, see Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon. Revised and Augmented throughout by Sir Henry*

be thought as synonyms, in his translation of *pisteōs* as *al-dīn*, Ibrāhīm seems to have emphasised the importance of religion, which would not be meaningful without practices such as baptism. In the context of paragraph sixteen which is about being armed with the shield of faith against the tricks of the Evil One, *pisteōs* (16,28) is rendered as *al-īmān* (16,23).[334] It is worth noting that "τὸν θυρεὸν τῆς πίστεως" is a Biblical citation from Ephesians 6:16, thus Ibrāhīm would not have changed a word in the expression. However, this does not change the fact that by rendering *pisteōs* as *al-dīn*, Ibrāhīm draws attention to the practical side of theosis.

In the same vein, Ibrāhīm's translation of "αἰσχύνης κάλυμμα" (4,14)[335] as "سترة الفواحش" (4,11) recalls Q 29:45 which reads as "Recite what is sent of the Book by inspiration to thee, and establish regular Prayer: for Prayer restrains from shameful (الفحشاء) and unjust deeds; and *remembrance of Allah* (ذكر الله) is the greatest (thing in life) without doubt. And Allah knows the (deeds) that ye do." What is more, in 4.3 Gregory indicates that people take pleasure in remembering or reciting the names of their beloved[336] ones, which recalls the part that comes after *ṣalāh* in the Qur'ānic verse quoted above. Although Ibrāhīm did not employ the word "dhikr", his use of *ladhdhah* (4,3 يلتذ) suggests a mystical reading of baptism which will be examined in the following chapter.[337]

Among the different names given to baptism such as gift, grace, unction, illumination, laver of generation and seal, Gregory mentions the "clothing image" through which he develops his theosis theology with special attention to Christology. This image found its best expression in the writings of one of Gregory's contemporaries, Ephrem the

[334] See also 11,14: ان تكون مامنا (11,19 γενέσθαι πιστός).
[335] *SC* 358 prefers σύγκαλυμμα (p. 204), while *PG* uses κάλυμμα but not without mentioning the other option (p. 364).
[336] For the relation between ἐρωτικῶς and عشق, see our discussion in 4.3.2.
[337] In paragraph sixty-six, Gregory informs the audience that He will talk about the illuminations that are mentioned in the divine sayings (or wisdom) (36,1-2 τῶν θείων λογίων, 36,2 الكلام الالهي) and adds that He takes pleasure in repeating them (36,2-3 αὐτός τε γὰρ ἡδίων ἔσομαι τῇ τούτων μνήμῃ, 36,2 فاني سازيد طربا عند ذكري اياها).

Syrian,[338] whose works are known to have been translated by Ibrāhīm.[339] According to Gregory, baptism is the "clothing of immortality" (4,8 ἀφθαρσίας ἔνδυμα, 4,5-6 لباس البقا) and the "inexistence of corruption" (4,6 عدم الفساد)[340] which would be meaningless unless one has "put on Christ".

In paragraph nine, Gregory encourages his audience not to lose their hopes for salvation and employs the parable of the fig tree in Luke 13:8 to tell them the good news that baptism allows them to be buried and rise or to descend and ascend with Christ to be glorified. Having summarised the message of baptism through the Incarnation and the Ascension of Christ, Gregory continues with the period after baptism by drawing attention to another part of Christ's life, the Temptation. His description of Christ's human nature as "the veil" (10,2-3 τῷ **Λόγῳ** καὶ Θεῷ μου [...] διὰ τὸ **κάλυμμα**, 10,2 **بالكلمة** الالهي بسب **السترة** [الضو المستور] in the following sentence]) is significant. Ibrāhīm is consistent in translating *kalumma* as *al-sutrah*, which is a literal translation of the Greek word and calls for further inquiry since the veiling image of Christian Arabic literature is most often rendered as *ḥijāb* that has strong connections to the Islamic tradition.

Gregory continues with recommending his audience to defend themselves with the Word of life who as the bread sent down from heaven gave life to the world. By having the image of God (10,33 **εἰκών** εἰμι καὶ αὐτος **Θεοῦ,** 10,22 انني انا **صورة الله**) and *putting on Christ* (10,33 Χριστὸν ἐνδέδυμαι, 10,23 قد **لبست المسيح**) through baptism, they will be able to declare that they adopt the image of Christ (10,33-34 Χριστὸν μεταπεποίημαι τῷ βαπτίσματι, 10,23-24 وقد انجبلت بالمعمودية **بصورته**). Only then, they can call the Evil One to worship them (10,34 σύ με προσκύνησον, 10,24 انت لي **فاسجد**).

Those who are illuminated by Christ through baptism (10,35-36 τῶν ἀπ' ἐκείνου πεφωτισμέων, 10,26 ممن قد اناره المسيح) will not be attacked by Satan and they will also be rewarded with a feast (10,28 πανδαισίαν, 10,27 المايدة). Here, it is interesting to find the translation of *pandaisian* as *al-mā'ida* since it has strong connotations to the "table (spread with food)" mentioned in Ṣūra al-Mā'ida (5):112-115. According to the ṣūra, Jesus was asked by his disciples to request from his Lord a table spread with food as a proof of the truth of his message. As indicated above in the description of baptism as dyeing, it is possible to find here another evidence for the use of some Islamic concepts by Arab Christian writers to validate their arguments, while these concepts were originally directed against their teachings. Paul of Antioch's (the Melkite bishop of Sidon in the 12th century)[341] quotation of the five verses from Ṣūra al-Mā'ida in his *Letter to a Muslim Friend* in terms of God's blessings to Christians is an excellent example of this fact. For him, *al-mā'ida* not only symbolises the sacramental table but also is a "feast for [Christians]" and "a sign from [God]".[342]

Gregory touches on the excuses presented by the Christians of his day not to be baptised when they were still young. We are told that they either did not have baptism at all or they were lucky enough to have it in their deathbeds. Gregory accuses them of behaving like a merchant about the graces that are offered by Christ and he calls them to be baptised while they are still masters of their minds and bodies. However, they should not become a believer (through baptism) out of obligation and only in appearance but confessedly (11,20 ὁμολόγουμενος), or, in Ibrāhīm's words, "in such a way that the faith will be known in the person [you] [who confesses it]" (11,14 معترف بك). The fact that the second part of the expression does not exist in *Mi* and *FONG* recalls an alteration on the ancient text (that would otherwise read just as the Greek text: معترفا (confessedly)) which must have been made by a later hand with a purpose of emphasis on the representation of belief in life. This should be read together with the notion of 'imitating Christ', which constitutes one of the most essential parts of the theosis theory presented in our text.

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[341] For the dating of the period in which Paul was active in writing to the early 13th century, see R. Y. Ebied and D. R. Thomas, eds., *Muslim-Christian Polemic During the Crusades: The Letter from the People of Cyprus and Ibn Abī Ṭālib al-Dimashqī's Response* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 1.

[342] Khoury, *Paul d'Antioche*, 67, 88 (Ar.).

Having encouraged his audience to have not only the gift but also the reward through baptism and invited them to be sons who revere their fathers (paragraph thirteen), Gregory explains that any time could be made available for baptism and thus salvation (paragraph fourteen). By putting off baptism in fear of damaging it, they lose Christ who is the greatest gift they would ever had (paragraph sixteen). The only thing they should do is to abandon the visible world and cloth themselves with Christ (25, 34-35 Χριστὸν ἐνδυσαι, 25,28 والبس المسيح). They should not spend time with details such as who is going to baptise them though the baptisers are expected to be devoted members of the Church. However, it is not right to question their ranks in the Church since the only qualification they must have is being humble like Christ by whom they are baptised (27,3-4 Χριστός, ᾧ σὺ βαπτίζῃ) or in Ibrāhīm's words "together with whom [they] are being baptised" (27,4 **معه** المسيح عند تعمدك اليوم). It should be noted that L. Tuerlinckx suggests the possibility of the existence of a Greek manuscript, which had συμβαπτίζῃ.[343] This expression, which reads as "when you are being baptised, you are with Christ", is in line with Ibrāhīm's emphasis on the capacity of human beings to become an embodiment of divinity.

The audience is reminded of the fact that Christ took the form of a servant for their sake (27,4 ὃ διὰ σὲ καὶ «δούλου μορφὴν»[344] ἐδέξατο, 27,4 وهو الذي اتخذ صورة عبد من اجلك). He became an image for those who have changed and are freed from their old marks by baptism (27,6 μιᾷ μορφῇ πασι Χριστος ἐπιτέθειται, 27,6 صورة واحدة و صارت **على الجماعة** وهي المسيح). Here one finds an implication to the community spirit in Ibrāhīm's translation of *pasi* as *'alā l-jamā'ati* which could be rendered as *'alā l-jamī'*[345] or *li-kull[inā]*.[346]

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[343] Grand'Henry, ed., *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni: versio arabica antiqua III: Oration XL (Arab. 4)*, 113.

[344] Phil. 2:7: "ἀλλ' ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν μορφὴν δούλου λαβών, ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος· καὶ σχήματι εὑρεθεὶς ὡς ἄνθρωπος". Nestle-Aland, ed. *Novum Testamentum Graece* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2006), 517-518.

[345] As in 31.23: لان جميعنا معشر الذين (Because all of us as a group which […]) or 34.9: جميع ما لنا (All we have).

[346] Grand'Henry prefers to read the phrase as "for us" (p. 113). Sidney Griffith draws attention to the frequent use of the words coming from the root j-m-' in *Jāmi'*: jama'a (community), yajma'u (to summarise), bi-ajma'ihim (altogether) and fī jam'ihi (to summarise it). He notes that it is also possible to find jama'a (society or community) which sometimes appears as ma'shar al-Naṣārā (the

After recommending to perform infant baptism when the children –who should not be left "unsealed and uninitiated"–[347] are three years old as they can at least understand what is said and build an understanding of baptism on their memories of the sacrament, Gregory deals with the reasons for the delay in Christ's baptism. He was purified although He was all purity and did not need to be cleansed just as He clothed the body for man's sake, while He did not have it (29,5 ὥσπερ καὶ σάρκα φορεῖ, ἄσαρκος ὤν, 29,4-5 ومن جهتك بحسب ما لبس الجسم ولم يكن له جسم). Furthermore, He is the principle (29,7 ταμίας, 29,6 الاصل) of His own passion and birth. There was no danger in the delay of His baptism. However, the harm is big for human beings who are born to corruption (29,8-9 εἰ ἀτέλθοις τῇ φθορᾷ γεννηθεὶς μόνῃ, 29,8 وانت مولود ميلاد الفساد) and if not baptised, doomed to die without being clothed by (**eternity** and) incorruption (29, 9 καὶ μὴ τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν ἀμφιεσάμενος, 29,8-9 ولم تلبس **البقا** وعدم الفساد).

He had to be baptised at that time (29,10-11 ὅτι τῷ μὲν ἀναγκαῖος ἦν οὗτος ὁ καιρὸς τοῦ βαπτίσματος, 29,9-10 ان ذاك كان يلزمه الصبر والى ذالك الوقت في المعمودية) not to be seen as ostentatious or immature since the age of thirty is the proof for virtue (29,14 ἀρετῆς, 29,14 الفضيلة) and teaching (29,15 διδάσκειν, 29,14 التعليم) capacity. It was also appropriate for the time of His passion, which He had to go through to save the world (29,16 Ἐπεὶ δὲ παθεῖν ἐχρῆν τὸ τοῦ κόσμου σωτήριον πάθος, 29,14-15 ولما كان عتيدا ان يناله الم الخلاص الذي يخلص به العالم).

Continuing with his discussion of Christ's age at the time of His baptism, Gregory draws attention to the fact that Christ is God and we cannot imitate Him in every details of His life. However, through Christ's life on earth we are given models (30,17 τύπος, 30,15 رسما ومثالا) to imitate as in His fasting before the Temptation, which makes us

community/society/assembly of Christians). Griffith, "Arab Christian Culture in the Early Abbasid Period," *Bulletin of the Royal Institute for Inter-Faith Studies* (1999), 33-34. For the addition of jamāʿatunā in the Arabic version of Oration 45 (paragraph twenty-nine), see Tuerlinckx, ed. *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua II: Orationes I, XLV, XLIV (Arab. 9, 10, 11)*, 212-213.
[347] Paragraph twenty-eight. For the infant baptism in the early Church, see Josef Lössl, *The Early Church: History and Memory* (London and New York: T&T Clark, 2010), 123, 153.

capable of dying with Him (30, 8 ἡμῖν δὲ τὴν συννέκρωσιν Χριστοῦ τοῦτο δύναται, 30,7 فقوته عندنا قوة الموت مع المسيح). It also prepares us for the Easter season since the reason behind his forty days fasting was to be shielded against the Evil One (30,7-8 κατὰ τῶν πειρασμῶν ταύτας προβάλλεται, 30,6 مقاومة للتجارب). Discussing about matters such as the difference between the time and nature of the actions of Christ, who was baptised for our sake (30,19-20 τὸ βάπτισμα παρειλῆφθαι μὲν δι' ἡμᾶς, 30,17 كان اخذ المعمودية بسببنا), and our deeds does bring us nothing but an impediment against our salvation.

Before baptism or embarking upon a journey towards God, we need to be purified (31,3-4 τὸν μὲν προκαθαίρειν ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς τοῦ βαπτίσματος, 31,3 ان نتطهروا قبل المعمودية) and keep the gift that is given through it. Sleepless nights, fastings, prayers, tears, sleeping on the ground, mercy and sharing with people in need are not only thanksgivings for what is given to us through baptism but also a protector (31,11-12 τετύχηκας εὐχαριστήριόν ἅμα καὶ φυλακτήριον, 31,8-9 شكرا لما تناولته و حفظا لما اخذته). They should respect the Sacramental Table (31,16 τὴν μυστικὴν τράπεζαν, 31,12 المايدة السرية) they approach, the bread they take and the cup in which they partake with Christ (31,17-18 τὸ ποτήριον οὗ κεκοινώνηκας, 31,13-14 الكاس الذي شركت فيها) and become completed in the passions of Christ (31,18 τοῖς Χριστοῦ πάθεσι τελειούμενος 31,14 وكملت معه في الام المسيح). They should always remember what Christ gave to them: He became a stranger for their sake (31,20 τὸν διὰ σὲ ξενιτεύσαντα, 31,15-16 من تغرب من اجلك) and by coming to dwell in them by His grace attracted them towards the residence above (31,21-22 καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἄνω κατακίαν ἑλκύσαντα πάντα τῇ εἰσόδῳ, 31,16-17 ومن يساكنك بالنعمة واجتذبك الى المسكن الاعلا).

If they offer everything for the coming of Christ (31,23-24 Χριστοῦ καρποφόρησον, 31,18 بتقديمك **وتفريقك**[348] كل شي لدخول المسيح اليك), regardless of their shortness in size, having

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[348] With *tafrīq* (separation), Ibrāhīm must have implied Zacchaeus' –of whose story we are reminded in this paragraph- promise to restore fourfold what he took unlawfully. This word, which also includes the meaning of "dispersion", refers to Zacchaeus' distribution of the goods he collected wrongfully to their real owners. Thus, it is not as easy as giving everything we have as it also requires to correct what we did wrong and to give people their rights with generosity. This is exactly what Gregory deals with in the next paragraph (paragraph thirty -two), which declares that the person who earned dishonestly will be forgiven by baptism but if he keeps this earning and does not give it to its real owner, he will not be entirely clean.

seen Christ (31,25 καλῶς Χριστὸν θεασάμενος, 31,19-20 وتبصر المسيح كما ينبغي), they will become grand. They should also remember how Christ liberated them from their (illnesses and) wounds or ten thousands talents he gave to them just as they should honour the clothing of immortality (31,27 ἔνδυμα τῆς ἀφθαρσίαν, 31,22 لباس البقا) they put on, which is in fact Christ (31,28 Χριστὸς δὲ τοῦτό ἐστιν, 31,22-23 فان ذلك اللباس هو المسيح), since all those who have been baptised into Him (31,29-30 ἐπειδὴ ὅσοι εἰς Χριστὸν ἐβαπτίσθημεν, 31,23 تعمدنا بالمسيح)[349] have put on Christ (31,30 Χριστὸν ἐνδεδύμεθα, 31,23-24 لبسنا فللمسيح وبه اكتسينا). Ibrāhīm's translation of ὅσοι in 31.29 as "جميعنا معشر اللذين" (31,23), which reads as "all of us as a community that is [...]" recalls once more his concern for the community spirit. He could have used other words to give the meaning "how great" as the first thing that comes to mind with *ma'shar* is a community though not without referring to the great amount of people that are included in it.

Gregory continues with reminding his audience of the gifts bestowed upon them by Christ and warns them against turning to their former situations, which were all changed by baptism. By being baptised or having Christ, who is in one person Man and God or rather God and Man (33,14-15 σήμερον εὗρες ἄνθρωπον, τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ Θεόν, μᾶλλον δὲ Θεὸν ἄνθρωπον, 33,11-12 واليوم فقد وجد(ت) انسانا ومع ذلك اله بل اله انسان), they turn a new page which will not be rewritten until the resurrection. By receiving the Word completely (34,23 Ἐὰν ὅλον εἰσδέξῃ τὸν λόγον, 34,17 فان انت قبلت الكلمة كلها) who – became poor for their sake (34,15-16 Χριστὸν [...] τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς πτωχεύσαντα, 34,12 المسيح الذي تمسكن من اجلنا اعسارا عظيما) – they can have all the miracles of Him and heal themselves by these miracles and make them their own (34,23-24 πάσας τὰς Χριστοῦ θεραπείας ἐπὶ τὴν σεαυτοῦ συνάξεις ψυχήν, 34,17-18 فانك ستجمع عجايب المسيح كلها وشفاه لنفسك ويحصل لك وحدك).

Those who are baptised and thus have Christ dwelling in them (35,12-13 Χριστὸν εἰσοικισθέντα, 35,9 المسيح قد سكن هناك) are safe from the attacks (35,14 ἀπεκρούσθη πάλιν

Therefore, what baptism teaches us is not only to earn honestly but also to lose possession and to restitute the things that are gained unjustly.
[349] Cf. Rom. 6:3.

ἀπῆλθεν ἄπρακτος, 35,10 (فقد انصرفت وعادت وبلا اثر انصدعت) of the evil spirit (35,3 ὑλικὸν πνεῦμα, 35,2 الروح النجسة الهيولانية) because baptism drives it away (35,4 διωχθὲν τῷ βαπτίσματι, 35,3 المعمودية طردتها). Baptism is the cleansing fire Christ sent upon the earth (36,18-19 πῦρ καθαρτήριον, ὃ Χριστὸς ἦλθε βαλεῖν ἐπι τὴν γῆν, 36,11-12 المسيح جا التي وهي مطهرة نارا (اخر) يطرحها في الارض). Christ is also called fire in a spiritual sense (36,19-20 πῦρ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀναγωγῆς λόγοις καλούμενος, 36,13-14 وهو ايضا قد يدعى نارا في معنى من معاني الادمان).

The reason why Christ is called "fire" in the translation does not seem to be very clear at first glance. Grand'Henry[350] thinks that, in the sense of "exercise", *al-idmān* could refer to mystical practices. However, basing our argument on the orthographic similarity between الادمان (ادمنه, inf. n. [351] إدمان) and الازمان (ازمن[352])—which is the reading in *Mi FONG EHI JY PU DQ*– and taking into account the meaning of "constancy, perseverance, assiduousness and continuity (for long)" given by the latter word, we would like to draw attention to another reading. According to this reading, Christ is called fire in the sense of consuming bad habits *entirely* and *quickly*. Besides the meaning "spiritual (mystical) interpretation of the Scriptures" it gained later, ἀναγωγή referred to "bringing back or restitution"[353] among its other meanings such as "leading", "lifting up of the soul to God" or "return".

Gallay,[354] who prefers to read it as "in spiritual terms", points out that, by fire and haste, Gregory implies Luke 12:49-50 in which Christ declares that He came to send fire on earth and then adds that He has a baptism to be baptised with. According to our reading, this is in harmony with what Gregory intends to say in this part of the paragraph: Christ, by kindling the fire, first destroyed everything that was old and bad and then by baptism brought goodness to human beings in which He was in haste. The word "ὕλης" (material) is not translated and ἕξεως, which is in connection with it in terms of being wiped out by Christ, is rendered as "المذاهب والعوايد" in which we find an emphasis on Christ's role as the Transformer and Reformer. Therefore, despite the ambiguity in what

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[350] Grand'Henry, ed., *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera*: *versio arabica antiqua III: Oration XL (Arab. 4)*, 154.
[351] Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, vol.3, book I, 916.
[352] Ibid., 1253.
[353] Liddell and Scott, *An Intermediate Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford, 1889). [Online] Available at: http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/morph?l=anagwgh&la=greek#lexicon [Accessed: 16 April 2012]
[354] Nazianze, *Discours 38-41*, 281, 283.

al-idmān could mean, Grand'Henry's remark on mystical practice is in line with our reading which underlines the practical side of Christ's role in the transformation of human beings through baptism.

According to Gregory, just as there are two fires that are the cleansing and avenging fire of God –latter should not be overlooked by depending too much on God's limitless mercy– so are there two lights: one that leads to God[355] and one that deceitfully draws us to darkness. The first one is the ruling power of our minds (37,2 τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ, 37,1-2 العقل المستولي) which could make us like the Disciples (37,17 οἱ μαθηταὶ, 37,13 التلاميذ) who were called "the light of the world" (37,18-19 τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου[356])[357] and it is possible for us to be called like that through "holding forth the word of life" (37,19-20 λόγον ζωῆς[358]). This will not only make us an enlivening power for the others but also allow us to walk (through God) in this light. Here, Gregory seems to have been passed from purification to illumination, which is identified with 'having knowledge'.

He employs the Stoic ἡγεμονικον (37,1-2) which refers to the ruling power or the authoritative part of the soul[359] that is connected with virtues and morals. Ibrāhīm's translation is not as literal as the one in the well-known Melkite translator and physician Qusṭā ibn Lūqā (820-912)'s translation of τὸ ἡγεμονικόν as "العضو الرئيسي" in *Ps.-Plut. Placita* (407a 3=58,8).[360] Here, it suffices only to note that Ibrāhīm seems to have been well aware of the philosophical terminology of his day.

There is another interesting point to be raised in terms of Ibrāhīm's use of a well-known Islamic notion. He, who so far has been loyal to the original readings in his Biblical quotations, preferred not to translate the last part of Phil. 2:15 (φωστῆρες ἐν κόσμῳ,

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[355] Instead of (37,2-3) τὰ κατὰ Θεὸν διαβήματα "في محبة الله" (in the love of God) is used in the translation (37,2). For the place of the "love of God" in theosis, see Chapter 4.
[356] Matt. 5:14.
[357] In Gerasimus' *Kitāb al-kāfī*, the Church Fathers are described as the "stars of the apostolic church". Abjar Bakhou, "Kitāb al-kāfī fī al-ma'nā al-ṣāfī (The Complete Book of the Proper Meaning): The Christian Apology of Gerasimus," *Parole de l'Orient* 34 (2009): 338.
[358] Phil. 2:16.
[359] Liddell and Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon. Revised and Augmented throughout by Sir Henry Stuart Jones with the Assistance of Roderick McKenzie* (Oxford, 1940). [Online] Available at: http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/morph?l=hgemonikon&la=greek#lexicon [Accessed: 16 April 2011]
[360] [Online] Available at: http://telota.bbaw.de/glossga/glossary.php?id=201085 [Accessed: 7 February 2011]. For Ibrāhīm's rendering of τὸ ἡγεμονικόν (PG 36.628A) as رياسة العقل (Orat. 45 3.10), see Tuerlinckx, ed., *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua II: Orationes I, XLV, XLIV (Arab. 9, 10, 11)*, 54-55.

lights in the world) literally but used a different expression which is though similar in meaning. In 37.14 the audience is called to be "كواكب[361] في الدنيا" (stars or comets in the world). This expression recalls a well-known[362] ḥadīth in which the Prophet Muḥammad calls his companions as "My companions are like the stars,[363] whoever among them you use for guidance, you will be rightly guided".[364] Although here the stars are rendered as *al-nujūm*, this does not rule out the possibility of Ibrāhīm's acquaintance with this ḥadīth on the ground that he could have remembered or heard it this way.

It is known that Neo-Platonism played a significant role in Gregory's theology, particularly in his treatment of the Holy Spirit. He was in fact the founder of the term "procession" that would be included in the formula of the Council of Constantinople (381) to explain the relationship of the Holy Spirit with the Father and the Son. However, it is possible to find this Neo-Platonic influence more strongly felt in his theosis theology, which is largely shaped around ideas such as God's being the Light, the outpouring of the divine light and the role of the human mind in deification. Another point, which makes Gregory's theosis theology significant, is his emphasis on the humanity of Christ. What we intend to point out here is the discussion of "being enlightened by having knowledge or Christ" as in the example of the Disciples. This is in line with the way Arab Christian theologians understood Christ.

Before leaving this point to the following parts of this study, we will like to give an example of this understanding from one of Ibrāhīm's contemporaries, the Jacobite

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[361] It was used in 5.16 as the translation of τῶν ἀστέρων (5,19).

[362] There is an ambiguity in the status of this ḥadīth, which has been a matter of debate, especially between the Sunni and the Shiite Muslims as the latter did not want to attribute this title to none other than *ahl al-bayt*, particularly the Companions who were against them.

[363] There is also another ḥadīth, which has a similar meaning but this time scholars are likened to the stars in the sky: "Verily, the scholars are like stars (النجوم) in the sky used by people to guide them in land and sea in the darkness of the night. When these stars fall or go out, you will fall into misguidance." It is narrated from Anas ibn Mālik but in a chain with an unknown transmitter and another one whose reliability is a matter of discussion. See al-Mundhirī (d. 1258), *al-Targhīb wa'l-Tarhīb*, vol.1, 80 (Ebu Muhammed Zekiyyüddin Abdülazim b. Abdülkavi Münziri, Et-Tergib ve't-terhib (Hadislerle İslam), trans. Ahmet Muhtar Büyükçınar et al. (İstanbul: Hikmet Yayınları, 1984) and for another version, see Bayhaqī's (d. 1066) *al-Madkhal ilā al-Sunan al-Kubrā*, 162-163, no 152 (ed. Muḥammad Ḍiyā al-Raḥmān al-Aʿẓamī, Kuwait: Dār al-Khulafāʾ li al-Kitāb al-Islāmī, n.d.)

[364] This ḥadīth which is known to have been cited by Tirmidhī (Manāqib), Ahmad ibn Ḥanbal (Musnad) and Ibn Mājah (Sunan) is taken from Suyuṭī's *Jāmiʿ al-saghīr* (cited in al-Munawī's Fayz'l-qadīr 4, 76) and Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr's *Jāmiʿ bayān al-ʿilm* (2, 91). [Online] Available at: http://www.enfal.de/kutub/index.htm [Accessed: 16 April 2011].

theologian Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī (893-974). In Ibn ʿAdī's explanation of the Trinity and Incarnation, the Farabian designation of God as the pure Intellect (in Aristotelian terms) is the central point on which his argument is based on. For him, the Son is the one who as the intelligising agent in the Trinity could be in real contact with humans. This could be done through neither the Father who is the pure Intellect nor the Holy Spirit who is intelligised by 'pure intellection'. What makes such unification possible is in the fact that man is created in the image of God, and God has a share in the intellect of man. Yaḥyā claims that this union is accomplished in Christ and in the perfect man (*al-insān al-tāmm* or *al-insān al-kāmil* as in al-Fārābī).[365]

What we find in this part of Gregory's oration is the image of Christ as the giver of knowledge through baptism. As far as the preparation period is concerned, this function of Christ becomes clearer. Before baptism, the catechumen is supposed to learn the principles of Christianity to be able to receive Christ and the Holy Spirit in him/her, whereas he/she is also expected to give an oral confession of faith. This also explains the reasons behind the delay of baptism in Gregory's day as the catechumenate took three years for some cases. After this preparation period, men become united with Christ by baptism and the agent in this union is the human intellect, which is created in the divine image.

Having drawn attention to the intellect, Gregory turns to senses, which should also be purified not just in a metaphorical but also in a real way. What Gregory says is that men should feel or search for the Word, who became incarnate for their sake, in a way that is worthy of Him (38,22-23 ἀλλὰ τὸν σαρκωθέντα δι' ἡμᾶς λόγον ψηλαφῶντες ὡς ἄξιον, تفتيش الكلمة التي تجسدت من اجلنا ويكون ذلك من حيث الواجب 38,16-17). Ibrāhīm's preference of تفتيش (visitation of a supernatural being) for ψηλαφῶντες (to feel about for, search after, and touch[366]) offers two readings, which does not ignore the meaning of "to search

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[365] John W. Watt, "Christianity in the Renaissance of Islam. Abū Bishr Mattā, Al-Fārābī, and Yaḥyā Ibn ʿAdī," in *Christians and Muslims in Dialogue in the Islamic Orient of the Middle Ages*, ed. Martin Tamcke (Beirut: Ergon Verlag Würzburg in Kommission, 2007), 104,105.

[366] For ψηλαφάω, see Liddell and Scott. *An Intermediate Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford, 1889). [Online] Available at: http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/morph?l=yhlafwntes&la=greek#lexicon. [Accessed: 16 April 2011]

for":[367] God's visitation[368] of humanity by Incarnation or by baptism.[369] In line with the argument put forth in paragraph thirty-eight which emphasises the purification of senses, the sense of touch is treated here in connection with the Incarnation since the meaning of the Incarnation is the realisation of God in terms of human senses.

The role of the Incarnation in the realisation of the Godhead is emphasised by Gregory in his reminding the audience of the Word's taking on the human body for their sake. What we find in the translation, however, is an interesting reading of the Incarnation, which will be examined in the following part according to the Melkite teaching that proclaims the union of the Word with *the universal man* but not with a particular human being. This reading seems to have provided a wider perspective for the salvation of humanity than the teachings of the other Christian denominations of Ibrāhīm's days.

After establishing that, through baptism, men have Christ dwelling in them, Gregory calls them to action. In their reformed and renewed forms, they are called to live a virtuous life which is attained only by holding on to the teaching of Christ (39,10 τῆς νοτμن 39,7-8 Χριστοῦ παιδείας, 39,7 بادب المسيح) both in heart (39,11 πιστεύεσθαι λόγον, 39,7-8 على الكلام) and in action (39,11 διὰ τοῦ πρακτικοῦ, 39,8 مع الفعال). Like the Apostles, they should always be ready to spread the message to reach the honour of being washed and cleaned by Christ. Their bodies should be all cleaned to receive the food that the Word offered but they should not be turned into gods (39,18 μὴ θεοποιεῖν, 39,12-13 لا يجعل ذلك الاها) by excessive nourishment which will deprive them of receiving the Word of the Lord.

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[367] As in 1.9: وزيادة في تفتيش (with an excessive investigation).

[368] In some dictionaries *taftīsh* appears as one of the synonym of the term "الزيارة" that is used in some modern Arabic sources (available online and mostly of popular religion) for the Visitation of Mary to Elizabeth (زيارة مريم لأليصابات), which symbolises the first sign of Jesus in the presence of human beings.

[369] For Susanna Elm's description of baptism in Gregory's theology as "the second Incarnation", see Susanna Elm, "Inscriptions and Conversions: Gregory of Nazianzus on Baptism (Or. 38-40)," in *Conversion in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Kenneth Mills and Anthony Grafton (New York: University of Rochester Press, 2003), 17.

What is also interesting in paragraph thirty-nine is the word [370]البيعة (39,10), *the church*, used for κλήσεως (39,15) in the most ancient manuscript of the translation *Mi* and in the two other Syrian manuscripts *JY*. Here, Gregory quotes a part of Phil. 3:14: τὸ βραβεῖον τῆς ἄνω κλήσεως (39,14-15). Ibrāhīm translated the second part of the phrase as تاج الدعوة العليا (39,10), which is in connection with the Modern Arabic Bibles, though there is difference in some of them, particularly in the first word "prize" or "βραβεῖον". Thus, *MiJY* reads the expression as "the crown of the high church" which appears as "the crown of the high call" in the other manuscripts. It is possible to suggest that later scribes who knew that it is a quotation from Phil. 3:14 changed the first reading.

At first glance, the word *tāj* (crown) does not seem to mean "prize" but it refers to royalty as 'جعالة', which is used in some of the modern Arabic translations of the Bible. Given the fact that *MiJY* contains the most ancient manuscript *Mi* (11th c.) and comes from the Syrian region, it offers the closest reading to the original translation. Therefore, it is possible to suggest there is an emphasis on the *church*, which is the *call* from God to men in Jesus Christ. Although it is not possible to identify whether this is the reading in Ibrāhīm's translation or it was changed when *Mi* was copied from the archetype, one should bear in mind that the time period we are concerned corresponds to the Byzantine reconquest of Antioch in 969.

Gregory calls his audience to be ready for the Good News or the Gospel (39,14 τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον, 39,11 للبشارة) and then for the prize of the high call to be able to reach to the level of the Apostles whose feet were washed by Christ. In the previous paragraphs (thirty-seven and thirty-eight), there appears an emphasis on the Apostles, first in their being called by Christ as the lights of the world and then in the example of Thomas who

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[370] In his description of the Christian society, Ibrāhīm's contemporary Sāwīrus ibn al-Muqaffa' also used *al-bī'ah*, which strongly recalls the legal status of Christians under *bay'ah* in the Islamic empire. This use of the word by Sāwīrus is in accordance with his Christology and treatment of the Christian tradition, which is interwoven with Islamic concepts. S. J. Davis, *Coptic Christology in Practice: Incarnation and Divine Participation in Late Antique and Medieval Egypt*, 212-213. His history of the Alexandrian Coptic Church is called *Kitāb siyar al-bī'ah al-muqaddasa*. Samir K. Samir, "Christian Arabic Literature in the Abbasid Period," in *Religion, Learning and Science in the 'Abbasid Period*, ed. J. D. Latham, M. J. L. Young, R. B. Serjeant (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 457. See also the Arabic version of the Pseudo-Dionysian Ecclesiastical Hierachy (*Riyāsa al-kahnūt al-bay'iyyah*) and Gerasimus' Kitāb al-kāfī, verse 88 for the description of the Church as *al-bī'ah* (*al-muqaddasa*). Bakhou: 328.

touched Christ's wounds to convince himself of His resurrection. This is an example for Christians to remind them that they should have a desire to be with Christ not metaphorically but in a real sense. It is no surprise to find that Gregory found support for his point in Phil. 3:9-21 in which Paul talks about sharing Christ by knowing Him and calls the believers to follow his example. What we find in these points is an emphasis on the status of the Apostles who were literally with Christ and the model they presented for the later Christians which is in fact symbolised by the Church.[371]

To the close of his discussion of the purification of man's body and soul, Gregory reminds his audience of the fact that as long as they do not offer themselves to God entirely, they will not be renewed and saved fully (paragraph forty). Then he moves on to the explanation of the doctrine of the Trinity upon which the baptism is given and actualised. It is from this point on that his language becomes much more fluent and enthusiastic to the extent that it is not difficult for his modern readers to imagine what kind of an effect he made on his audience.

Interestingly enough, here Ibrāhīm's language becomes much more fluent as well[372] and this makes us think that he was well aware of Christian Arabic literature whose beginning could be taken to as early as the second half of the eight century. If he did not know the Arabic terms used before by Arab Christian writers in their discussions of the doctrine of the Trinity and the Incarnation, he would not be able to express them in such a clear way.[373] It would be tempting to compare his terminology with the language of

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[371] For the emphasis on the Church in the vineyard parable, which is made with the addition of *al-kanīsa*, see Orat. 40.21 (Line 7).

[372] Besides his possible literary concern for a translation worthy of Gregory's excellent work, what we think of the reason behind this enthusiasm is an ideal he should have shared with Gregory for the enlightenment of his congregation. Although a lot of water passed under the bridge since Gregory's days in terms of the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation, one should keep in mind the circumstances in which Arab Christian theologians developed a theology in Arabic. However, it is possible to suggest that Gregory laid the foundation of the Melkite teaching long before the Council of Ephesus (451) and this is confirmed at least by his discussion of the passibility of Christ's human nature.

[373] This adds something to our knowledge about his education which we do not know much about. It is in fact proved by the fact that he wrote a hagiographical work and translated texts from Gregory of Nazianzus, Ephrem, Pseudo-Dionysius and John Chrysostom. Nasrallah, *Histoire du mouvement litteraire dans l'eglise melchite du Ve au XXe siècle*, 290. Graf, *GCAL*, vol. 3, 45.

Arab Christian theologians, which will be done in the following part of this chapter in terms of the Christology.

In the last six paragraphs of the oration, Gregory exposes his doctrine of the Trinity and the Incarnation in a very concise but impressive way that would make anyone feel the confidence in his explanation of these beliefs. What is more important is the link between doctrinal formulae and baptism as the latter was also considered a public expression of faith or a declaration of the group that one belonged to. Therefore, baptism is to be based on the true doctrine, otherwise, it would only mean a drowning or burial (44,23-24 τὸν βαπτιστὴν ἢ καταβαπτιστήν, 44,19 المغرق او الدافن, *the person who submerges and buries*) at the hands of heretics or even to be baptised in creatures (42,15 ἢ εἰς κτίσμα ἐβαπτιζόμην, 42,10-11 واصطبغت بمخلوق).

Gregory's mentinoning of the credentials of the baptisers (paragraph twenty-six) points to the strong effect of the different teachings about the Trinity and the Incarnation on the thinking of the period. Thus, it is not surprising to find Gregory using "المعمد" (the baptiser) (44.19) which is a dull word for the baptisers of other teachings, whereas the Orthodox priests were called as the dyer (44, 22 ὁ τελειωτής, *the accomplisher*, 44,17 الصابغ).

The baptisms based on unorthodox teachings would mean to be baptised into creatures as declared by the Apostle[374] (42,14 ὁ θεῖος ἀπόστολος, 42,9 الرسول). This clearly refers to the status of the Son and the Holy Spirit in the teachings of different groups. In fact, it is the baptism itself that prevents (43,10-11 καὶ οὐ συγχωρεῖ μοι τὸ βάπτισμα, 44,8 وليس تتركني المعمودية) any separation between the Persons of the Trinity as it is given by the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. However, it is not attested only by the faith but also by the roles of the Son and the Holy Spirit in baptism (43,11 τὸ βάπτισμα τελειοῦν με διὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος, 43,8-9 المعمودية وهي تتممني بالروح). Therefore, any separation in the Godhead (44,27-28 ὡς ὅ τι ἂν ὑφέλῃ τῶν τριῶν τῆς θεότητος, τὸ

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[374] Gal. 1:11-12.

πᾶν ἔσῃ καθῃρηκὼς, 44,21-22 اذ كنت مهما حطمته من اللاهوت لاحد الثلثة فبذلك نفسه قد حطمت الكل) would cause the destruction of the perfection promised by baptism (44,28-29 καὶ σεαυτῷ τὴν τελείωσιν, 44,23 وقد حطمت لنفسك التمام). This is where the roles of the priests become clearer as strongly indicated by Gregory who expected from his audience to give themselves to him faithfully (43,22 χεῖρα δίδου διὰ τῆς πίστεως, 43,16 وامدد الي بالامانة يدك). Thus, it is not just teaching, transforming, reforming or purifying role that is on the shoulders of priests as the heirs of Christ but also fighting for the true belief and its expression (43,20 Ἐμὸς ὁ πόλεμος ὁ ἔστω, 43,15 القتال علي; 43,21-22 τῷ προπολεμοῦντι δυνευχόμενος, 43,15-16 وادع لمن يقاتل عنك).[375]

Having established the pillars of the faith into which his audience will be baptised, Gregory advises them to keep safe the new inscription (44,11 φύλασσέ (μοι) τὰ γεγραμμένα, 44,8 ما كتب لك) فاحفظ (لي) written in them by baptism. They are also called to work upon the dogma they have been taught (45,45-46 ἐργάζου τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ θεμελίῳ τῶν δογμάτων, 45,31-32 ان تعمل الخير على اساس هذا الراي).[376] Yet, there is more than what is taught and this is a mysterious knowledge that could be learned only in the depths of the Trinity (45,48-49 τῆς Τριάδος χαριζομένης, 45,34-35 اذا ما وهب ذلك الثالوث) and should not be revealed to everyone (45,49-50 ἃ καὶ κρύψεις παρὰ σεαυτῷ σφραγῖδι κρατούμενα, 45,35 وتخفيه في نفسك وتكمن بالخاتم مضبوطا). After being baptised or made a disciple (45,9 σε μαθητεύων, 45,7 فستلمذك), the believers will meet Christ, the Bridegroom (46,6 ἀπαντήσομεν τῷ νυμφίῳ, 46,4 نلتقي الختن; 18,13-14 Χριστόν [...] νυμφίον, 18,11 بالمسيح الختن) who will give them the knowledge we know nothing about yet (46,29-30 τότε οἶδεν ὁ νυμφίος ἃ διδάξει, 46,25 كان الختان عالما بما يعلمه و يعرفه). The closing words of the oration is a supplication to Christ the Lord and "His Father and His Holy Spirit" (46,28 مع ابيه وروح قدسه, *add.*). Like his Muslim colleagues, the scribe of *E*

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[375] The central concern of the discussions in Ibrāhīm's days was the two natures of Christ; however, there was not a great difference between the circumstances in which Gregory and Ibrāhīm expressed their doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation in the context of baptism. It was, nevertheless, not the Arians or the Eunomians that led the Orthodox churchman to explain these doctrines in an impressive way but the Jacobite and the Nestorian teachings that posed a threat for the teaching of the Melkite Church.

[376] See also Orat. 40.25: Feed me with your life and deeds (35 θρέψον με πολιτείᾳ, 28 وغذني بسيرتك واعمالك) because this is how I rejoice when you celebrate it like this (35-36 οὕτως ἐγὼ χαίρω φιλοφρονούμενος, 28-29 هذا هو الذي افرح به اذا ما احتفلت بمثله).

did not forget to ask Christ for forgiveness by the intercession of His mother (اللهم بصلوات
ناقله عبدك خطايا اغفر والدتك).[377]

3.2. Christ: "God but Man"

3.2.1. The Incarnation

As demonstrated earlier, Christ is at the very centre of Gregory's theosis theology. The Incarnation as the biggest part of the divine plan granted humanity a second creation, which has the capacity to be turned into a divine life by the imitation of Christ and thus be rewarded with eternal salvation. Therefore, the Incarnation encompasses every part of the deification process.

As is to be expected, what we find in the Arabic text is a Melkite teaching of the Incarnation which has strong connections to the theology of Theodore Abū Qurra (750-823) and some earlier Melkite texts such as *On the Triune Nature of God* (755 or 788), *Jāmī' wujūh al-īmān* (before 877) and *Kitāb al-burhān* (9th c.). This does not mean that there is not any reference in it to the Jacobite and the Nestorian teaching represented by Abū Rā'iṭa (d. 828/9) and 'Ammār al-Baṣrī (died in the first half of the ninth century). Of similar importance is the similarities shared with some contemporary and later writers such as Sāwīrus ibn al-Muqaffa' (d. 987), 'Abdallah ibn al-Faḍl (11th c.) and Paul of Sidon (12th c.).

Gregory's Christology begins with the treatment of Christ's life-giving role, which is first the inbreathing into man and then giving a new life to humankind with His Incarnation and Baptism. These are followed by His Resurrection, which recalls the

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[377] For the expression "wa-ilā dahr al-dāhirīn" of Christian Arabic writings which means the same as "ilā abad al-adhār" of our text (46, 28-29), see Bacha, ed. *Un traité des oeuvres arabes de Théodore Abou-Kurra, Évêque de Haran*, 33.

general Resurrection by which the eternal life or salvation will be realised. While He was the Light above us, Christ came among us to be a mediator between divinity and humanity. Therefore, the Word appeared through veil or the Hidden Light became manifest through what is visible. He took upon Himself the form of a slave as He became poor and suffered for our sakes. He clothed the human body or He was made flesh to grant us with salvation as a whole. Begotten of the Father before all time and without body and born from Mary without any stain, He became a Son of Man in the latter days for the sake of humankind. In other words, He came to send a cleansing fire upon earth. He is Man and God or rather God and Man in one person, impassible in His Godhead and passible in what He assumed.

As indicated earlier, one of the most striking points in the Christology of the translation is the life-giving role ascribed to Jesus at such a time that Arab Christian theologians did hesitate to attribute the creative power to the Son. The first of the three births which appeared in Jesus (who honoured them in His person) is the first inbreathing that gave life (2,12-13 τῷ **ἐμφυσήματι** τῷ πρώτῳ καὶ ζωτικῷ, 2,8-9 الحياة افادت التي الاولى **بالنفخة** .)

Apart from *JY*, which renders "ὁ ἐμὸς Χριστὸς" (2,11-12) as "مسيحي", the other Arabic manuscripts translate the Greek expression as "ايسوعي" (2,8) يسوعي in *G* and يسوع in *HI PU DQ*).[378] The name 'Jesus' (Iēsoûs in Greek)[379] is rendered in some of the manuscripts as the version that has been popular among Arab Christians (*Yasūʿ*, the Arabic form of Aramaic/Syriac or Hebrew *Ye(ho)shuaʿ*).[380] The others chose a form that seems to be a mixture of the Qurʾānic "عيسى" and the Christian Arabic "يسوع". It is in fact because of the strong Aramaic/Syriac influence in the Middle Arabic texts, particularly in their use of proper names. As indicated by Grand'Henry,[381] the change of the Syriac name *Aysūʿ* of the earliest manuscript (*Mi*) into *Masīh* in the later

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[378] For Aysūʿ and Yasūʿ, see also Orat. 1.4, Orat. 21.29, 37, Orat. 44.2, 12, Orat. 45.16, 24 and Orat. 1.4, Orat. 21.8, Orat. 44.12, respectively. Tuerlinckx, ed., *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua II: Orationes I, XLV, XLIV (Arab. 9, 10, 11)*, 34, 132, 182, 228, 294. Grand'Henry, ed., *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua I: Oratio XXI (Arab. 20)*, 20, 84, 114.

[379] For the discussions over this name –old and modern–, see John Jandora, "Qurʾānic ʿĪsā: Perspectives on Derivation of the Name-Form," *The Muslim World* 101, no. 1 (2011).

[380] Gabriel Said Reynolds, *The Qur'an and Its Biblical Subtext* (London: Routledge, 2010), 235.

[381] Grand'Henry, "Contribution à l'histoire du texte de la version arabe du discours 40 de Grégoire de Nazianze," *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 99-100 (2002): 162.

manuscripts is a good example of this fact. There is another use of "يسوع" (*Y D*) as an addition to "سيدنا المسيح" in the Arabic introduction, most likely due to an emphasis on the historical Jesus and His baptism. It is reminded by this introduction that Oration 40 is a continuation of the one (Oration 39) that was delivered by Gregory the day before and was about the baptism of Jesus.

Aysūʿ appears in Paul of Antioch's *Christian Sects*, whereas *Yasūʿ* is the only name he uses in his other writings except the *Letter to a Muslim Friend* in which he constantly calls Jesus as "عيسى" in connection with "(ا)بن مريم" as in the Qurʾānic verses he quoted.[382] As Alexander Treiger[383] indicates in his analysis of the writings of ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl, *Yasūʿ* is the most frequent name given to Jesus in the Melkite texts.[384]

Leaving the analysis of these two names used for Jesus in Christian Arabic literature to further studies, we will discuss the place that Jesus occupied in Christian Arabic texts. As indicated by David Thomas,[385] the influence of Muslim thought on the development of Christian theology in Arabic were so powerful that Arab Christian theologians found themselves expressing their doctrines in terms of a Muslim context. This understanding appeared most often in Muslim objections to the Incarnation of the Word in which the roles of the Father and the Holy Spirit were questioned in terms of the fact that no division is allowed between the divine hypostases. As one of the results of this phenomenon, Christian discussions about the two natures of Christ changed their focus to the belief in the Incarnation itself.

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[382] Khoury, 73, 86 (Ar.). For the use of this phrase in *Jāmiʿ*, see Wafik Nasry, "Is There a Relationship between al-Mugadalah and Gami Wuguh al-Iman?," *Parole de l'Orient* 34 (2009): 66.

[383] Treiger, "ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī," in *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History. Volume 3 (1050-1200)*, ed. David Thomas and Alex Mallett with J. P. M. Sala, J. Pahlitzsch, M. Swanson, H. Teule, and J. Tolan (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011), 112.

[384] On ʿAbd al-Jabbār's (d. 1025) frequent use of Īshūʿ for Jesus (ʿĪsā) and the connection between this word and the West Syriac Yāshūʿ, see Reynolds, *A Muslim Theologian in the Sectarian Milieu: ʿAbd al-Jabbār and the Critique of Christian Orgins* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 74. In the Arabic version of Oration 21, the same name (Ayshūʿ) appears as the equivalent of τὸν Ἰησοῦν (*PG* 35.1085A, *SC* 270, 3, 116, l. 9). For a discussion of the connection between Yashūʿ and Joshua, see Grand'Henry, ed., *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua III: Oratio XL (Arab. 4)*, 9f.

[385] David Thomas, "Explanations of the Incarnation in Early 'Abbasid Islam," in *Redefining Christian Identity: Cultural Interaction in the Middle East since the Rise of Islam*, ed. H. L. Murre, J. J. Van Ginkel, Van Den Berg, T.M. Van Lint (Leuven, Paris, Dudley: Uitgeverij Peeters en Departement Oosterse Studies, 2005), 131, 134.

Similarly, because of their interest in the elucidation of the relationship between God and men, Arab Christian theologians ignored the message that Christ brought to humanity in his two natures or in his life and death.[386] Another reason for this was the lack of a theological environment as the one set by the Muslim discussions of the essence and attributes of God for the explanations of the Trinity.[387] What one finds in Theodore Abū Qurra's and 'Ammār al-Baṣrī's works is an emphasis on a transcendent God who nevertheless interacts with the world but not a stress on Christ intervening in history. Therefore, it is possible to say that, at the hands of Arab Christian theologians, the doctrine of the Incarnation lost its emphasis on God acting in history to redeem humankind and renew the link between divinity and humanity.

There were some strong attempts among the Jacobites, particularly in the writings of Abū Rā'iṭa who calls attention to Christ in history, to declare that the real reason for the Incarnation is the salvation of humankind. However, they did not focus on how the Incarnation happened which was in fact a matter of great debate among Arab Christian theologians at that time who used different terms to describe the relationship between divinity and humanity. What all those theologians did was, in reality, to shift the focus in the Incarnation from God's grace to His superiority over creatures. Thus, they did not go beyond providing evidence for the Incarnation and turning it into a matter of God's kindness and justice.[388]

Even though their discussions were around the two natures of Christ, as Sweetman[389] notes, there was an apparent low esteem of Christ's human body in Christian Arabic texts that has its roots in Gregory of Nyssa who believed that Christ misled the Devil with his humanity, which was not so real. In Sweetman's words, "It does seem as if

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[386] Ibid., 139, 140, 149.

[387] However, Abū Qurra's argument about the Sonship depends on the Muslim discussions of anthropomorphism and the divine attributes by which he explains the Sonship in the way that Muslims understand some qualities of God such as "hearing". Beaumont, 96, 97.

[388] Thomas, "Explanations of the Incarnation in Early 'Abbasid Islam," 145, 146.

[389] Sweetman, *Islam and Christian Theology: A Study of the Interpretation of Theological Ideas in the Two Religions* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1945), 73, 81, 82, 49.

these early writers and theologians found the true humanity of Christ an embarrassment to them". Timothy I's attitude in his dialogue with the Caliph towards Christ's eating, drinking and other earthly activities is what made Sweetman say this. He also indicates that the unique position of the Cappadocians, particularly of Gregory Nazianzen, lies in their emphasis on the humanity of Christ that resulted in a well-organised teaching of the human nature of Christ.

The human body of Christ as a means to deceive the Devil is one of the most peculiar elements of Gregory's Christology. Unlike some Christian theologians such as John of Damascus, Timothy I and Abū Rā'iṭa who tended to discuss the Incarnation only with the Word, Abū Qurra did not hesitate to talk of the Incarnation of the Son. He confidently calls the Word "Son" and describes His relation with the Father as "begetting", while these posed real challenges to the Qur'ānic teaching. However, he felt the need to adapt his doctrine of the Incarnation to the Muslim context in such a way as to interpret it as Christ's "taking a human body", which was understood until then as His "becoming human".[390]

'Ammār al-Baṣrī differs from Abū Qurra and Abū Rā'iṭa in his analysis of the human body or *temple* that Christ took to dwell in. It is *created* by the Word, argues 'Ammār, whereas his older colleagues found a more cautious way in "taking" and avoided from attributing the act of creation to the Word alone which is clearly denied in the Qur'ān. 'Ammār's Christology has an emphasis on the human nature of Christ which gives weight to a Jesus figure who is active in history.[391]

It is interesting to find that the writer of *Kitāb al-burhān* calls Christ al-Khallāq, al-'Allām (also al-'Allām al-ghuyūb), al-Ghaffār (also al-Ghaffār al-dhunūb),[392] Mālik yawm al-dīn and Dhu l-'arsh. What is more, "When He wills a things, He says to it, Be,

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[390] Beaumont, 59, 94, 95.
[391] Ibid., 77, 103.
[392] For these two names, see Paul of Antioch's *Christian Sects* (paragraph 12) in Khoury, 88 (Ar.).

and it is" (كن فيكون).[393]   This Melkite work from the 9th or the early 10th century[394] provides us with an excellent example of the expression of Christian doctrines, which were formulated by the Greek Fathers, particularly John of Damascus, in a language that is strongly shaped by Qur'ānic terminology. With its emphasis on the Creatorness of God and the divine order, *Kitāb al-burhān* has significant similarities to our text. However, its description of the Incarnation as the coming of Christ to dwell in men (or as the veiling of God in the human body)[395] and to take them to the Heaven, most particularly the connection drawn between baptism and theosis, is much more interesting in terms of their connections with our text.

The frequent use of the title "Creative Word of God"[396] for Christ in *Kitāb al-burhān* is important in relation to its emphasis on creation in a wider perspective of the divine plan, which is also emphasised in our text. As aptly put by Makhlouf,[397] the doctrine of Jesus Christ occupies a significant place in *Kitāb al-burhān* since the Godhead could be sensed in creation only through Him, whereas the majority of Christian Arabic texts discuss the Unity and the Trinity of God.

Sāwīrus ibn al-Muqaffaʿ describes the divine names such as al-Ḥayy, al-Rāziq, al-Khāliq and al-ʿĀlim as attributions of Christ, which refer to the different states He was in (in Davis's words "the communication of attributes" in "the body (*al-jism*) of the Incarnate One (*al-mutajassim*)"). This description is significant, particularly for the link drawn between the body of Christ and of human beings, which makes it possible for

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[393] Q 2:117, 36:82.

[394] Mark N. Swanson, "Peter of Bayt Ra's," in *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History. Volume 1 (600-900)*, ed. David Thomas and Barbara Roggema with J. P. M. Sala, J. Pahlitzsch, M. Swanson, H. Teule, and J. Tolan (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009), 92.

[395] For the same concept, see Orat. 40.10.

[396] See paragraph 237: كلمته الخالق. Eutychius of Alexandria, *The Book of Demonstration (Kitāb al-burhān)*, ed. Pierre Cachia, vol. I, 133.

[397] Avril Mary Makhlouf, "The Trinitarian Doctrine of Eutychius of Alexandria, 877-940 AD.," *Parole de l'Orient*, no. 1 (1974): 19. Like Graf, Makhlouf attributed *Kitāb al-burhān* to Eutychius of Alexandria; however, Blau, Haddad and Breydy later proved that Peter of Bayt Ra's is the author of it. Swanson, "Peter of Bayt Ra's," 903.

human beings to have the qualities of Christ's body in His Incarnation and Resurrection.[398]

In the light of the works of Ibrāhīm, Peter of Bayt Ra's and Paul of Antioch, it is possible to suggest that the Melkite writers did not hesitate to attribute creative powers to Christ. They not only referred to Jesus as the one who inbreathed the first breath into man but also used some of the names from *al-Asmā al-Ḥusnā* like Al-Khallāq and Al-Rāziq, which strongly denote God's creative power.[399]

It is possible to find Christ inbreathing into a creature to give it life in the Infancy Gospel of Thomas (Chapter 2) and the Qur'ān (3:49)[400] (أني **أخلق** لكم من الطين كهيئة الطير **فأنفخ فيه** فيكون طيرا بإذن الله). There is an interesting account of this miracle of Christ in Paul of Antioch's *Letter to a Muslim Friend*.[401] As aptly pointed out by David Thomas,[402] Paul replaced the original verb *khalaqa* (to create) in the the Infancy Gospel of Thomas with *'amala* (to make). Thus, he turned it into an explanation of the two natures in Christ, which acts together as in His "making of" and "breathing into" the bird. This interpretation of Jesus' miracle about enlivening the bird he made out from clay, which is in fact a Qur'ānic narrative not a Biblical one, provides us with an excellent example of a Christian reading of the Qur'ān.

However, this interpretation is not included in the *Letter from Cyprus*, which was sent by the Cypriot Christians to Ibn Taymiyya in 1316 and to Ibn Abī Ṭālib al-Dimashqī in 1321 with somewhat significant changes on Paul's text such as *khalaqa* instead of Paul's *'amala*. These changes become much more evident in the paragraphs that deal

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[398] Davis, *Coptic Christology in Practice: Incarnation and Divine Participation in Late Antique and Medieval Egypt*, 220.
[399] Nasry notes that both Jāmi' and al-Mujādalah discuss whether Christ is Creator or created. According to Nasry, by adding "the Word of God" to Christ in his description of Jesus, Theodore Abū Qurra declares that Christ is the Creator. Nasry: 65.
[400] See also Q 5:110. It is possible to find an excellent adaptation of this verse in *On the Triune Nature of God* in which the "redemption narrative" is set out with the creation: "He breathed into him the breath of life" (*nafakha fīhi nasamata l-ḥayāti*). Swanson, "Beyond Prooftexting: Approaches to the Qur'ān in Some Early Arabic Christian Apologies," *The Muslim World* 88, no. 3-4 (1998): 308.
[401] Khoury, 62 (Ar.).
[402] Thomas, "Paul of Antioch's Letter to a Muslim Friend and the Letter from Cyprus," in *Syrian Christians under Islam: The First Thousand Years*, ed. David Richard Thomas (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 210.

with the two natures of Christ. Paul's argument for the two natures of Christ was strengthened with his reading of some Qur'ānic verses but his editor replaced these verses with Biblical evidences.[403]

Paul's letter provides us with the example of an attempt to prove that Christ had two natures –at the expense of weakening the divine character of the miracle– whereas in the later edition of this letter there appears an emphasis on the creative power of Christ. Although what was done by the editor might not have been something other than correcting the supposedly well-known story of the miracle, it nevertheless reached the hands of the two Muslims mentioned above in a form, which has a strong emphasis on the title 'Creator' as an attribute of Christ.

The "divine inbreathing" is in fact an important element of the Patristic[404] discussions of the human soul, particularly in relation to its deification, and the two natures of Christ. In his articles on Leontius of Jerusalem, Dirk Krausmüller[405] examines the views of this radical seventh century Chalcedonian who mainly based his arguments on Origen and the Cappadocians in a time period when the soul entertained a high opinion of the Christian theologians. Given the fact that Christology is the main area where he emerged as an interesting interpreter of the link between the creation of Adam and the Incarnation, his identification of the divine inbreathing with the Son in the composite Christ becomes much more striking. Accordingly, the "soul in the composite Adam" is the "divine Word in the composite Christ". What is more, the soul or the divine

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[403] Ibid., 217, 220, 221.

[404] For the use of ἐμφύσημα θεῖον in Diodore of Tarsus' *Liber de Definitionibus* (Pseudo-Athanasian text from the seventh or early eight century), in Cyril of Alexandria (ἐμφύσημα) and in Pseudo-Justin's *De Resurrectione* (τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐμφύσημα), see Dirk Krausmüller, "Human Souls as Consubstantial Sons of God: The Heterodox Anthropology of Leontius of Jerusalem," *Journal for Late Antique Religion and Culture*, no. 4 (2010): 47-48. [Online] Available at:
http://www.cf.ac.uk/share/research/centres/clarc/jlarc/contents/Krausmuller%20Human%20Souls.pdf
[Accessed: 17 May 2011]

[405] See Dirk Krausmüller, "Conflicting Anthropologies in the Christological Discourse at the End of Late Antiquity: The Case of Leontius of Jerusalem's Nestorian Adversary," *The Journal of Theological Studies* 56, no. 2 (2005); _____, "Divine Self-Invention: Leontius of Jerusalem's Reinterpretation of the Patristic Model of the Christian God," *The Journal of Theological Studies* 57, no. 2 (2006); _____, "Human Souls as Consubstantial Sons of God: The Heterodox Anthropology of Leontius of Jerusalem."

inbreathing in Adam is "as an emanation from God". However, its appearance in Adam was not totally conceptualised as in the incarnate Christ.[406]

According to Leontius, this divine inbreathing is the human soul, which is not created either at the same time or after the creation of the body but rather has qualities that are close to divinity. Therefore, there is a link between the divine Word in Christ and the "human guiding word" (ἡγεμονικὸς λόγος),[407] which should be the human soul. What we see in this interpretation of the Incarnation in terms of the divine inbreathing that we find in Gen. 2:7 ([…] καὶ ἐνεφύσησεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνοὴν ζωῆς […]), is an attempt to demonstrate the Chalcedonian view of the Incarnation, which according to Leontius, should be understood in terms of a "composition of the Word with a human nature". In this interpretation, the divinity of the Son in the composite Christ is identified with the divine inbreathing, which at the same time suggests a divine origin for the human soul that, in Cyril of Alexandria's words, should be ascended to "its creative cause".[408]

This account of the Incarnation makes us draw a connection between Gregory's encouragement of his audience[409] to adopt the power of the miracles of Christ, which will give them a kind of divine power, and Jesus' miracle of creating a bird from clay mentioned above. While Gregory believed in the capacity of human beings to be deified by imitating Christ, Ibrāhīm's text (one should take into account the later scribes for the fact that "Jesus" does not appear in all of the manuscripts) made it more explicit in the person of Jesus. His reader must have well known what "نفخ فيه" meant in the Islamic tradition in terms of the divine creative power that is strictly confined to divinity as in Q 3:49 where Jesus says that he did his miracles by the permission of Allah .[410]

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[406] Krausmüller, "Human Souls as Consubstantial Sons of God: The Heterodox Anthropology of Leontius of Jerusalem," 56, 67.
[407] See Orat. 40.37 (2): τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ.
[408] Krausmüller, "Human Souls as Consubstantial Sons of God: The Heterodox Anthropology of Leontius of Jerusalem," 63, 62, 65, 48.
[409] Paragraph thirty-four.
[410] For the Ṣūfī belief in supernatural powers of the perfect man, see Chapter 4.

Having examined the creative quality attributed to Christ or Jesus in the translation, we will now analyse the Arabic words used to describe Gregory's Christology. As indicated before, Ibrāhīm preferred a literal translation for the most part of the text and this is also the case with his treatment of the Christological expressions of Gregory. However, beyond their literal character, some of the Arabic words used by Ibrāhīm refer to the discussions that occupied Arab Christian theologians for a long time. In fact, these words help us understand the Christological arguments of these theologians. Therefore, after introducing the Arabic translations of Gregory's Christological expressions, we will examine some other phrases, which provide us with a basis for reading the translation in the light of Christian Arabic literature.

Here is the summary of the Christology of Oration 40:

Πίστευε τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸν προαιώνιον Λόγον, τὸν γεννηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἀχρόνως καὶ ἀσωμάτως, τοῦτον ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν **γεγενῆσθαι** διὰ σὲ καὶ Υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου, ἐκ τῆς Παρθένου προελθόντα Μαρίας ἀρρήτως καὶ ἀρυπάρως –οὐδὲν γὰρ ῥυπαρὸν οὗ Θεὸς καὶ δι' οὗ σωτηρία–, ὅλον ἄνθρωπον, τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ Θεόν, ὑπὲρ ὅλου τοῦ πεπονθότος, ἵνα ὅλῳ σοι τὴν σωτηρίαν χαρίσηται, ὅλον τὸ κατάκριμα λύσας τῆς ἁμαρτίας· ἀπαθῆ θεότητι, παθητὸν **τῷ προσλήμματι**, τοσοῦτον ἄνθρωπον διὰ σὲ ὅσον σὺ γίνῃ δι' ἐκεῖνον Θεός· τοῦτον ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνομιῶν ἡμῶν ἦχθαι εἰσ θάνατον, σταυρωθέντα τε καὶ ταφέντα, ὅσον θανάτου γεύσασθαι, καὶ ἀναστάντα τριήμερον ἀνεληλυθέναι εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἵνα σε συναγάγῃ κάτω κείμενον·ἥξειν τε πάλιν μετὰ τῆς ἐνδόξυ αὐτοῦ παρουσίας, κρίνοντα ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς, οὐκέτι μὲν σάρκα, οὐκ ἀσώματον δέ, οἷς αὐτὸς οἶδε λόγοις, θεοειδεστέρου σώματος, ἵνα καὶ ὀφθῇ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκκεντησάντων καὶ μείνῃ Θεὸς ἔξω παχύτητος. Δέχου πρὸς τούτοις ἀνάστασιν, κρίσιν, ἀνταπόδοσιν τοῖς δικαίοις τοῦ Θεοῦ σταθμοῖς (45,21-39).

اومن بابن الله وكلمته الازلي المولود من الاب بلا زمان ولا جسم وانه ولد في اخر الايام من اجلك **وصار** ابن الله ابن الانسان قادما من البتول مريم بغير دنس من حيث لا يوصف اذ كان لا يكون دنس بحيث الله ولا عند من به الخلاص وكله اله انسان فكله اله ذلك من اجل الذي كله الم ليهب لكلك الخلاص ويحل دينونة الخطية كلها لا يالم من حيث اللاهوت وهو اليم من حيث **ما اتخذه** بهذا المقدار هو انسان من جهتك اي بمقدار ما تصير انت الها من جهته وهذا فقد سيق الى الموت من اثامنا وصلب ودفن بمقدار ما ذاق الموت وانبعث في اليوم الثالث وصعد الى السماوات لينشلك انت ويجمعك بعد ما كنت اسفل مطروحا وسياتي ايضا بمجده يدين الاحيا والاموات من حيث ليس هو

جسد ولا بغير جسد بل بجسد الهي النوع من حيث يعلم هو ليظهر للذين طعنوه يبقى الها بعيدا من غلط الاجسام (45,14-26)

Believe that the Son of God and His Eternal Word, generated from the Father timelessly and without body, in the later days for your sake (the Son of God) became (He is) son of man. Coming from the Virgin Mary without stain –in terms of the impossibility of any stain as far as God and the one who gives the salvation (with whom the salvation is) are concerned – He is whole man and whole God in His person. This is for the one who suffered entirely, to give you (as a whole) the salvation and to destroy the whole condemnation of sins. (He is) Impassible in the Godhead and passible in what He assumed to the extent that He became (is) a man for your sake (to the same extent) that you become God for his sake. And He was (driven) led to the death because of our sins. And He was crucified and buried to the amount that He tasted the death. And He rose in the third day and ascended to the heavens to take (you with Him) and unite you (after) since you were in the lowest (level) and rejected. And He will then come with His glory to judge the living and the dead, not with body and not without it but with a kind of divine body– as [only] He knows– to appear to those who pierced Him. And He remains God, away from the thickness of the bodies.

At first glance, there seems nothing unique about the way Ibrāhīm presented Gregory's Christology. Nevertheless, the verb "اتخذ" he used for "πρόσληψις" has definitely something to say about the Melkite teaching of the Incarnation just as "اختلط", which describes the union in Christ though in a metaphorical way. These are the other expressions used in the translation to refer to the Incarnation of Christ: التجسد 2,9 (فبالجسد in *FONG EHI Q*) (for σαρκώσει 2,13); صار معنا 6,12 (for ἡμῶν γενόμενον 6,18); 8,12 ... بالكلمة الالهي بسبب السترة 10,2 (for τῷ λόγῳ καὶ Θεῷ μου) توسط (for παραληφθείς 8,15); الضو المستور من اجل الظاهر 10,2-3 (for τῷ κρυπτῷ φωτὶ διὰ τὸ διὰ τὸ κάλυμμα 10,2-3); φαινόμενον 10,3-4); الذي اتخذ صورة عبد من اجلك 27,4 (for ὃς διὰ σὲ καὶ «δούλου μορφὴν ἐδέξατο 27,4-5); بحسب ما لبس الجسم 29,4-5 (for ὥσπερ καὶ σάρκα φορεῖ 29,5); 31,15 من (for καὶ ومن يساكنك بالنعمة 31,16 (for ξενιτεύσαντα ξένος 31,20); تغرب من اجلك εἰσοικισθέντα σοι διὰ τῆς χάριτος 31,20-21); انسانا ومع ذلك اله بل هو اله انسان 33,11-12 (for ἄνθρωπον, τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ Θεόν, μᾶλλον δὲ Θεὸν ἄνθρωπον 33,15); المسيح الذي 34,12 (for ὃ جا المسيح 36,12 (for Χριστὸν [...] τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς πτωχεύσαντα 34,15); تمسكن من اجلنا Χριστὸς ἦλθε 36,18); تجسدت من اجلنا 38,17 (for σαρκωθέντα δι' ἡμᾶς 38,22-23).

Leaving the analysis of the reason for the Incarnation– that is the thing that makes theosis possible and real– to our discussion below, we will now describe how it happened. As indicated by Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq in his thorough analysis of the doctrines of Arab Christian theologians in his *Kitāb al-radd 'alā al-thalāth firāq min al-Naṣārā*, the main arguments of the doctrines of the Incarnation in Christian Arabic literature are the mode of the Incarnation and the two natures in Christ.[411] Gregory says that Christ is the light that came to us (became with us) though He was above us (6,17-18 τὸ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς φῶς, μεθ' ἡμῶν γενόμενον, 6,12 الضو الذي صار معنا وهو فوقنا). He came to send the cleansing fire upon earth (36,18-19 πῦρ καθαρτήριον, ὁ Χριστὸς ἦλθε βαλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, 36,12-13 نارا اخرى مطهرة وهي التي جا المسيح يطرحها في الارض).

The Word appeared in respect of the veil (10,2-3 καὶ γὰρ τῷ Λόγῳ καὶ [Θεῷ μου] [...] διὰ τὸ **κάλυμμα,** 10,2 بالكلمة [الالهي] بسبب **السترة**) or He is the hidden light on account of the manifest (10,3-4 τῷ κρυπτῷ φωτὶ διὰ τὸ φαινόμενον, 10,2-3 الضو المستور من اجل الظاهر). The context here is the Temptation of Christ after His baptism and the veil or the manifest thing is the human body that the Word took on. 'Veil' is used for Christ in Christian Arabic writings and has its root in some Greek and Syriac theologians. Gregory of Nazianzus and Gregory of Nyssa[412] used it in connection with the image of a defeated Satan by the humanity of Christ.[413]

In our text, the root "s-t-r" appears in nine places of which only one is a verb (32,17 سترت), while the others are nouns (سترة) or adjectives (مستور). In the three of these cases, the Greek word rendered as "السترة" (or سترة [الفواحش] for συγκάλυμμα) is κάλυμμα.[414] Regardless of their grammatical status, these are the Greek words which were translated as المستور, سترة (في), سترت, سترة, المستورة, مستورا, respectively: κρυπτῷ (hidden, concealed), ἀφανῶς (unseen), ἐπικάλυψιν (καλύπτω: cover, veil) (2), ἀποκεκρυμμένην (hidden) and

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[411] Thomas, "Explanations of the Incarnation in Early 'Abbasid Islam," 147.
[412] Gregory of Nyssa, *Great Catechism* (Chs. 22-24) in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers: Second Series Volume V Gregory of Nyssa: Dogmatic Treatises*, ed. Philip Schaff (New York: Cosimo, 2007), 492-494.
[413] Sweetman, 73.
[414] 2.3, 4.11 and 10.3.

ἀπόρρητα (not to be spoken).[415] This clearly shows that Ibrāhīm preferred to render all these Greek words only by their Arabic equivalents with the root "s-t-r". Interestingly enough, he is so consistent in using words that are derived from the root "s-t-r" and he does not employ another word, particularly the one, which had frequently appeared in Christian Arabic writings written before him, *ḥijāb*. Here, two significant questions regarding Ibrāhīm's preference for *satara* await us.

The earliest manuscript *Mt*[416] proves that Ibrāhīm most often prefers to render the Greek expressions literally. Nevertheless, as a learned translator, he should have used different words that render the meaning clearer, or simply by following Gregory, he could have chosen various words among many options. Thus, one could ask whether he intentionally preferred *satara* just to keep the first image created in his readers' minds with his first use of the word, which would also maintain coherence in the text. Yet this does not seem convincing as far as the place that *ḥijāb* occupied in Christian Arabic literature is concerned. For this reason, it is plausible to suggest that he avoided using this word, which has strong connotations to Islamic tradition, as he must have known what it meant and in what contexts his predecessors used it.

It is worth reminding that this is the translation of a Patristic text and there was no need for an Islamicisation of the text at a time when men like Ibrāhīm tried to revive the Byzantine heritage to strengthen the Melkite identity. However, we still find it very interesting as far as the image that *ḥijāb* would evoke in his readers' minds is concerned which would definitely be more impressive in terms of theosis.

The verbs "satara" and "ḥajaba" share the meaning of "concealed, veiled and protected"[417]. At first glance, there seems to be no difference between these verbs at all.

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[415] 10.3-4, 16.10, 32.15 and 17-18, 38.15 and 45.48.

[416] Grand'Henry, "Contribution à l'histoire du texte de la version arabe du discours 40 de Grégoire de Nazianze," 157-158.

[417] It is interesting to note that in Lane's lexicon (volume 2, book I, 515-516), *iḥtajaba* and *maḥjūb* are explained with the example of a concealed or secluded king, which reminds the "disguised king" image that appears in some of the Melkite texts. For details, see Roggema, "Ḥikāyāt amthāl wa asmār: King Parables in Melkite Apologetic Literature," in *Studies on the Christian Arabic Heritage: In Honour of*

However, unlike other modern dictionaries, Lane's lexicon does not treat them as synonyms. Ibn Manẓūr (d. 1312)[418] (*Lisān al-ʿArab*) and William Lane[419] examine them together only in terms of Q 17:45 according to which "an invisible veil" appeared "between [Muḥammad] and those who believe not in the Hereafter" when "[He] recites the Qurʾān". In the expression "ḥijāban mastūran", the second word refers to the "thickness of the veil". Satara appears three times in the Qurʾān one of which is the verse just mentioned, whereas in the other two cases (Q 41:22 and 18:90) it denotes "hiding" and "protection". Of the eight places[420] *ḥijāb* appears in the Qurʾān, six refer to a veil or screen between two parts (human or non-human objects). In the other two cases,[421] it means "to be veiled" as in "the [Sun] was hidden in the veil [of night]" and "they will be veiled [from seeing their Lord in the day of Judgement]".

Among the meanings of the words with root "s-t-r", "protection" and "covering" come to the fore, whereas the different forms of "ḥ-j-b" most often refer to "preventing" and "intervening". Satara, which also means "became modest, chaste or dignified",[422] is related to morality as one of the attributes of Allah in Islamic tradition, "الستار" (Veiler of sins [shame, disgrace]) refers to. This word appears in our text as a quality of baptism: Baptism is a veil or cover for sins (32,17-18 ἐπικάλυψιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν, 32,15 سترة للخطية and 32,20 καὶ ὧν ἐπεκαλύφθησαν αἱ ἁμαρτίαι, 32,17 سترت خطاياهم). Ḥijāb generally (except Q 33:53 and 19:17 in which it is a curtain that divided the wives of Muḥammad from male visitors and Mary from her family, respectively, though it means something more metaphysical than a tangible curtain could suggest) refers to an unseen veil which both separates and unites –once lifted–two distinct spheres, known and unknown, earthly and spiritual. In the Islamic tradition, it refers to one of the ways through which revelation was given to the prophets. However, it came to be known as the body of Christ in the Christian Arabic tradition, which provides us with excellent examples of the use of this Islamic concept (they even did not hesitate to quote some part of Q 42:51) in the specific context of the Incarnation.

Father Prof. Dr. Samir K. Samir S. I. At the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday, ed. R. Y. Ebied and Herman Teule (Leuven: Peeters, 2004).

[418] Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab* (Beyrouth: Dār Ṣādir, 1955-1956), 343.

[419] Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, vol. IV (London: Williams and Norgate, 1863), 1305.

[420] Q 7:46, 17:45, 19:17, 33:53, 41:5, 42:51.

[421] Q 38:32 and 83:15.

[422] Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, vol. IV (London: Williams and Norgate, 1863), 1304.

Ibrāhīm could have chosen *al-sutrah* because of its strong connotations to a material or bodily being: (10,2-3 καὶ γὰρ τῷ Λόγῳ καὶ [Θεῷ μου] [...] διὰ τὸ **κάλυμμα,** 10,2 بالكلمة [الالهي] بسبب السترة). What is more interesting is the disappearance of *bi-sabab* in *MiJY*, which reminds us nothing but a strong emphasis on the human body of Christ as it reads, "The Word [My God] (the) Veil". This might simply be a scribal error but Ibrāhīm's preference of *al-sutrah* at the expense of *ḥijāb* seems to have been an emphasis on the humanity of Christ.

In the *Book of the Elucidation*, which is attributed to Sāwīrus ibn al-Muqaffaʿ –though its authorship is still problematic– it is said that Adam's "rūh ʿāqil" (rational spirit) was wrapped in a body and he and Eve were "spirit of angels" hidden in the body to deceive Satan. What is more is the interpretation of Christ's life up to His crucifixion as an escape from Satan in appearances that hide His reality. Accordingly, the Crucifixion put an end to this pretence. It is not surprising to find a comparison between the creation of Adam and the Incarnation in the same book in which the Incarnation is read through the creation story.[423] Similarly, in the Dialogue of Abraham of Tiberias with ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Hāshimī which took place in Jerusalem around 820, the Christology of the monk is based on the notion that the Messiah is the saviour of Adam who came from his descendants. He says, "The Messiah […] is God in man, in whom is the very being (jawhar) of God, His Word and His Spirit, veiled (muḥtajib) so that he could defeat Satan […]"[424]

According to ʿAmmār al-Baṣrī, who interpreted the Incarnation in terms of God's mercy and justice, God's justice required Him to raise the curtain to uncover Himself –that is the Incarnation itself– which at the same time necessitates veiling on account of His essence.[425] The notion of the Incarnation as the veiling (iḥtijāb) of God in the human body, which has roots in John of Damascus who was a faithful disciple of Gregory of Nazianzus, also appeared in *Jāmiʿ*. In the same line, Peter of Bayt Raʾs, reads the

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[423] Davis, 232-234.
[424] Griffith, "Answers for the Shaykh," 291-292.
[425] Thomas, "Explanations of the Incarnation in Early 'Abbasid Islam," 141-142.

Incarnation in connection with the human body, soul, and spirit which represent different veils that allow the divine nature to be seen in the material world.[426]

In *Jāmiʿ wujūh al-īmān*, the Incarnation is described as the self-veiling of God in the human body because of the inaccessibility of the Speech of God to human beings, if not revealed behind a veil:

> The Incarnation (*al-taʾannus*) is the indwelling (*ḥulūl*) of God in the Virgin Mary, the Purified One, and His selection of human flesh from her, and His self-veiling (*iḥtijābuhū*) beneath the human flesh. And that is because flesh has no access to the Speech of God (*laysa li-l-bashari ilā kalāmi llāhi sabīlun*) "except by revelation or from behind a veil"[427].[428]

According to the writer of *Kitāb al-burhān*, the veil protects man from "the knowledge that surpasses his capacity" ([A]nd [it is] veiled from them (وستر عنهم). Therefore, "every being who has seen God" has seen "Him not in His substance" because "no one ever saw Him without a veil, nor shall He be seen unless veiled" (الا ... من دون حجاب محتجبا).[429] However, the veil also leads man to contemplate on what is beyond it,[430] which is emphasised in the Qurʾān. The veil is the union of the hidden divine (and creative) substance with the human nature:[431]

[426] Swanson, "Ibn Taymiyya and the Kitāb al-burhān: A Muslim Controversialist Responds to a Ninth-Century Arabic Christian Apology," in *Christian-Muslim Encounters*, ed. Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad and Wadi Zaidan Haddad (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1995), 97,106.

[427] For the use of al-Shūrā (42):51 (*It is not fitting for a man that Allah should speak to him except by inspiration, or from behind a veil, or by the sending of a messenger to reveal, with Allah's permission, what Allah wills: for He is Most High, Most Wise.*) in *On the Triune Nature of God*, *Kitāb al-burhān* and *Sinai Arabic MS 434* (Swanson's "Questions and Rational and Theological Responses" or Griffith's "Answers for the Shaykh"), see Swanson, "Beyond Prooftexting: Approaches to the Qur'ān in Some Early Arabic Christian Apologies."

[428] London, British Library Or. 4950, f. 114ʳ cited in Swanson, "Beyond Prooftexting: Approaches to the Qur'ān in Some Early Arabic Christian Apologies," 300.

[429] Eutychius of Alexandria, *The Book of Demonstration (Kitāb al-burhān)*, ed. Pierre Cachia, vol. 1, 10-11. Eutychius of Alexandria, *The Book of Demonstration (Kitāb al-burhān)*, trans. W. W. Watt, vol. 1, 19.

[430] Eutychius of Alexandria, ed. Pierre Cachia, 10. Eutychius of Alexandria, trans. J. M. Watt, 8.

[431] Makhlouf: 11.

God willed to inform men that there was to be an incarnation of His Creator (الخالق) Word in a human nature (*jawhar*), so that two natures are united in one Christ (المسيح), one of them Divine (إله), creative, veiled (محتجب), united (متحد) with a created human nature; the two are joined by the hypostasis (*qawām*) of the one Word of God […].[432]

Moreover, "He (the Word of God) proved the best of those who deal [with the Satan] skilfully (فمكر بابليس كما مكر بآدم وكان خير الماكرين)"[433] and "*veiled* (or concealed) Himself in the flesh [which is] His veiling (احتجابه) [and] was the worthiest of God's creation for veiling God". "[The flesh] acted as a veil (فكانت له حجابا) for Him; the animal soul acted as a veil for it; and the solid body was a veil for what was more tenuous than itself."[434]

As Arab Christian writers very frequently did, the author of "the Dialogue of Abraham of Tiberias with ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Hāshimī in Jerusalem around 820", used the veil image in the first part of the monk's answer to the first question of the Shaykh, which is about the relation between the eternal being and the hypostases. Accordingly, due to the weakness of human beings in comprehending the divinity, God appeared to them in veil (*fī ḥijāb*) which is the humanity that made Him like men. To the close of his explanation of the hypostatic union,[435] the monk returned to the veil figure, which gave him the opportunity to demonstrate that the union appeared in veil because of the nature of the divinity that would be destructive if not veiled (*bi-lā ḥijāb*).[436]

According to Sāwīrus ibn al-Muqaffaʿs interpretation of the Incarnation, just as Moses's face had to be concealed behind a veil (*burquʿ*) after his meeting with God on the

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[432] Eutychius of Alexandria, ed. Pierre Cachia, 19. Eutychius of Alexandria, trans. J. M. Watt, 15.

[433] Q 3:54 and 8:30. Swanson, "Peter of Bayt Raʾs," 904. For the same notion in *On the Triune Nature of God*, *Jāmīʿ* and Sāwīrus ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, see Samir, "The Earliest Arab Apology for Christianity," in *Christian Arabic Apologetics During the Abbasid Period, 750-1258*, ed. Samir K. Samir and Jørgen S. Nielsen (Leiden, Boston and Köln: Brill, 1994), 91. Swanson, *Folly to the Hunafa: The Cross of Christ in the Eight and Ninth Centuries A.D.* (PhD diss., Pontificium Institutum Studiorum Arabicorum et Islamologiae, 1995), 29f, 28. Davis, 232-233.

[434] Eutychius of Alexandria, ed. Pierre Cachia, 69. Eutychius of Alexandria, trans. J. M. Watt, 56.

[435] "[…] And at the end of times He veiled Himself (*iḥtajaba*) through union with humanity (*al-insān*), and became manifest to His creation in the most exalted creature: the human (*al-insān*)." Sinai Ar. 434. f. 171ᵛ quoted in Swanson, "Beyond Prooftexting: Approaches to the Qurʾān in Some Early Arabic Christian Apologies," 301-302.

[436] Griffith, "Answers for the Shaykh," 288, 295.

mountain, the Word presented Himself (in a veil, *ḥijāb* which is the humanity of Christ)[437] in the proportion that was appropriate for the human nature.[438]

In her analysis of the king parables in Melkite apologies, Barbara Roggema[439] indicates that parables occupy an important place in the writings of Arab Christian theologians and points to the figure of a *disguised* (incognito) king in Christian Arabic writings, especially *Kitāb al-burhān* and *Disputation of George the Monk*. The first text does not give the story in detail. However, the latter one symbolises God with a king who enters into the garden of his ungrateful servant in disguise. There, he deceives people but says that he is innocent since the people have free wills. This disguised king is none other than the incarnate God who came to save men from Satan and his servants.

Roggema reads the frequency of this veil image in the writings of Arab Christian theologians such as Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, Paul of Antioch, ʿAmmār al-Baṣrī and Abū Rāʾiṭa in the light of Q 42:51. She thinks that Christ was somewhat thought to be the messenger who was sent to give God's message to human beings as mentioned in the Qurʾānic verse just after another mode of revelation, *from behind a veil*. It is interesting to note that some theologians such as the author of *Jāmiʿ* and Paul of Antioch found the reason behind the Incarnation in this very verse.[440]

In his explanation of the necessity for the Incarnation in *Letter to a Muslim Friend*, Paul of Antioch quotes the first part of Q 42:51.[441] He adds that as the creator of subtle things

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[437] Swanson, "Sāwīrus ibn al-Muqaffaʿ," in *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History 900-1050*, ed. David Thomas and Alex Mallett with J. P. M. Sala, J. Pahlitzsch, M. Swanson, H. Teule, and J. Tolan (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010), 501.
[438] Davis, 222.
[439] Roggema, "Ḥikāyāt amthāl wa asmār," 130.
[440] Ibid., 130-131.
[441] "*It is not fitting for a man that Allah should speak to him except by inspiration, or from behind a veil, or by the sending of a messenger to reveal, with Allah's permission, what Allah wills: for He is Most High, Most Wise.*"

(اللطايف) the Word –just as He spoke to Moses in a bush– appeared in a man (عيسى بن مريم) who is the most perfect one among creatures.[442]

Samir K. Samir[443] points to the figure of Christ as a veil, which appear in Christian Arabic texts in connection with Mary who is thought to be the veil that "God veiled himself through". The author of "The Dialogue of Abraham of Tiberias" describes Mary as the veil in which the Word of God dwelt.[444] Samir[445] also touches on the place this veil image occupies in Oriental Christianity, which is symbolised by the Iconostasis that is a barrier between divinity and humanity. Christ is the key to a relationship between these two realms and thus the "mediator"[446] between God and human beings. Mary is also a mediator because she gave birth to Christ who made it possible for human beings to "look towards God and live" or, in Samir's words, showed "the human destiny" which is expressed by the author of *On the Triune Nature of God* as "a mystical vision". Swanson[447] remarks on the uniqueness of this work in using the veil image in relation to Mary, which is definitely Qur'ānic, while all other uses in Melkite literature found their roots in the Greek tradition perfectly represented in Gregory of Nyssa's *prokalymma* that was used for the concealment of the divinity of Christ in the human body.

3.2.1.1. "God has become man in order that I may become god"

Gregory says that the Word became flesh (38,22-23 ἀλλὰ τὸν **σαρκωθέντα** δι' ἡμᾶς Λόγον, 38,17 [الكلمة التي **تجسدت** [من اجلنا) or He clothed Himself with the body though He did not have it [before] (29,5 ὥσπερ καὶ σάρκα φορεῖ, ἄσαρκος ὤν, 29,4-5 بحسب ما لبس فبا التجسد ولم يكن له الجسم). In our text, "becoming incarnate" or "taking on body" (2,9 الجسم 38,17 (ت)تجسد) appear two times in the strict sense of the word. It is not possible to find other forms such as *tajassum* and *ta'annus* that appear in some of Christian Arabic

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[442] Khoury, 72-73 (Ar.).
[443] Samir, "The Earliest Arab Apology for Christianity," 91, 97.
[444] Griffith, "Answers for the Shaykh," 304.
[445] Samir, "The Earliest Arab Apology for Christianity," 96.
[446] See paragraph eight, for the role of Christ as a mediator.
[447] Swanson, "Beyond Prooftexting: Approaches to the Qur'ān in Some Early Arabic Christian Apologies," 298.

texts. As far as 2.9 is concerned, it is interesting to find the exact word in *Mi JY*, whereas the later manuscripts only refer to an action related to body (فبا لجسد) but do not use the term that is widely used in Christian Arabic Literature for the Incarnation, *tajassada*.

The scribes of the later manuscripts might have intended to emphasise the link between the Incarnation and the human body as indicated in the previous lines of the same paragraph ("[Incarnation and] baptism is cutting off the veil that comes with birth"). Nevertheless, it is interesting to find such a translation of *sarkōsei* since the Arabic term used for the Incarnation should have reached to its final form in the 13th century, which is the period that the majority of the Sinaitic manuscripts (*F O N G*) belong to, whereas the others (*EHI Q*) come from as late as the 18th century.

As far as the corporeal part in the act of the Incarnation is concerned, there seems to be confusion, at first sight, in the use of the words "*jasad*" and "*jism*". However, Ibrāhīm is quite consistent in rendering "the human body in the corporeal sense" (σάρκα) as *jasad*, while using *jism* (σῶμα) for "the human substance/nature" except in two cases. In paragraph twenty-nine in which Gregory reminds his audience of Christ's putting on flesh for their sake, while He did not have any before, Ibrāhīm translates *sarka* by *jism*. What Gregory seems to imply here should be the Incarnation or the mere fact of becoming corporeal since the slight difference between *sarka* and *sōma* lies in the fact that the latter refers to substance, whereas the former denotes physical reality. Therefore, it is possible to suggest that Ibrāhīm might have intended to emphasise "the human nature" that Christ put on.

In paragraph forty-five, Gregory is consistent in rendering the physical appearance of Christ and the divine form that He will have in His second coming, which we know nothing about, as *sarka* and *sōma*. Ibrāhīm's use of jasad (45,24-25 ليس هو جسد ولا بغير النوع الهي بجسد بل جسد) for σάρκα, ἀσώματοω and σώματος (45,35-36) may suggest that either he was not quite sure about the difference between these two terms in philosophical and theological discussions, especially in kalām or he had literary

concerns such as constructing a fluent sentence which has rhythm. Taking into consideration the confusion in the previous example in which we have found an implication to the human nature that Christ put on which is emphasised in Melkite writings, one can assume that the first suggestion is more probable. However, considering the use of a phrase like *jasad ilāhī*, which seems to be rare in medieval Arabic writings, we assume that the second suggestion is also plausible.

It is possible to find a discussion of these two words in one of Ibrāhīm's contemporary, the Monophysite Sāwīrus Ibn al-Muqaffaʻ, who presented an interesting Christology which is based on the sacraments. According to Sāwīrus, the Word is called Christ (the Anointed One) because He is like men (through the Incarnation) (whose bodies are called *ajsām*) who are called "the anointed" (al-masīḥ) when they are anointed with the oil, which is also a substance (*jism min al-ajsām*). In other words, the Incarnation (*al-tajassud*) is the anointment by which the Word who did not have corporeality became anointed, i.e. took a [human] substance (*jism*).[448] Thus, the anointment made it possible for humans to be like Christ in their substances (*ajsām*) which would not be possible if He did not become corporeal (*jasad*) first.

Similarly, in his discussion of the divine names in terms of the divinity of the Word, Sāwīrus plays on these two words in such a way that it becomes difficult to suggest an explanation for the use of these words. This also confirms one of the arguments mentioned above which claims that Ibrāhīm used these words carelessly. When explaining that men can have the attributes of Christ by sharing in His Incarnation and Resurrection which be will seen in their bodies after the general resurrection, Sāwīrus calls Christ *al-mutajassim* to emphasise that He became incarnate in the body (*fī al-jism*). By doing this, he intends to clarify that the divine agency made the participation in divine qualities possible for human beings. However, he also describes the Incarnation in these words: "Indeed, God revealed himself to us and appeared to us in the last days in the body (*jasad*) belonging to his creation, from the body (*jism*) of the Virgin Mary. We heard his discourse from the body (*jism*) with which he was

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[448] Davis, 228.

united."[449] Despite the interchangeable use of these two words in their texts, we think that Sāwīrus and Ibrāhīm made a distinction with *jasad* and *jism* in the act of "becoming corporeal in the body" and "assuming the human substance".

According to Mark Beaumont,[450] it is not possible to find a detailed explanation of the Word's putting on human nature in *On the Triune Nature of God* ("God defeated Satan by clothing himself with human nature") in which Christ's divinity occupies more space than His humanity. Beaumont points to the use of *tajassud* for the Incarnation in the discourse of Timothy I with the Caliph al-Mahdī for the first time in Christian Arabic literature. The author of Sinai Arabic MS 434 (Griffith's *Answers for the Shaykh*) tried to explain the union of two natures of Christ with the help of *tajassum*, God manifested in Christ.[451]

Abū Qurra's *Confession of the Orthodox Faith* shows that he preferred *ta'annus* (*muta'annas*) to *tajassud*, which reveals his concern for the human nature of Christ as *tajassud* only refers to the representation in bodily form.[452] However, the title of one of his short treatises reveals that he prefers the more common term when writing against Muslims: *Fī al-radd ʿalā man yunkiru li-Allāhi al-tajassuda wa-al-ḥulūl* (Refutation of the one who denies the Incarnation and indwelling of God).[453]

David Thomas[454] points to the use of "the uniting" in Abū ʿĪsā Al-Warrāq's *Refutation of the Uniting* in slightly different forms (اتوحاد-اتحاد-اتوحد-اتحد) of which *tawaḥḥud* appear in ʿAmmār al-Baṣrī and al-Shahrastānī, being used by the latter in connection with *tajassud* as M. Watt suggests. By agreeing with Watt, Thomas indicates that al-Shahrastānī's use of *tawaḥḥud* is because of the harmony of the sentence and the

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[449] Ibid., 220.
[450] Beaumont, 19, 20-21, 23-24.
[451] Clare Elena Wilde, "The Qur'an in Christian Arabic Texts (750-1258 CE)" (PhD diss., The Catholic University of America, 2011), 121-122.
[452] Beaumont, 32.
[453] Thomas, *Early Muslim Polemic against Christianity: Abū ʿĪsā al-Warrāq's 'Against the Incarnation'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 52.
[454] Ibid., 86, 88 (Ar.), 294-295.

connection drawn by Abū ʿĪsā between *ittiḥād* and *taʾannasa* and *tajassada* (and *tarkīb*) is rather unusual. However, for Alexander Treiger,[455] as seen in the title of one of ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl's works, *Masāʾil wa-ajwiba ḥawl al-Tatlīth wa-l-Ittiḥād*, it is one of the words identified with the Incarnation in Christian Arabic literature.

It is interesting to find *tajassud* and *taʾannus* used together in at least four places in Paul of Antioch's *Christian Sects*.[456] In paragraph thirty-two, he claims that His Incarnation and becoming human (انه تجسد وتانس), which is in the credo of the Fathers, is the proof of the two natures of Christ. The divine eternal (and creative) nature is the Son of God and the created human nature is the son of Mary.[457] However, in his *Letter to a Muslim Friend*, *Exposé* and *Unicity and Union*, *tajassum* is the term that is used for the Incarnation.[458]

S. J. Davis[459] points to a new trend in Copto-Arabic theology –based mostly on Christian Arabic heritage, especially in al-ʿAssāl brothers (al-Muʾtaman and al-Ṣāfī) from thirteenth century Egypt who had an ecumenical purpose in their writings and their treatment of the Incarnation. While thirteenth century Copto-Arabic theologian Būlus al-Būshī (d. c. 1250) preferred *tajassud* to denote the Incarnation with a special emphasis on Christ's putting on a body, al-ʿAssāl brothers used *taʾannus* in which Christ's humanity prevails over His divinity. Davis thinks that the reason behind this description was their ecumenical concerns since it could have offered a common ground for all Christian denominations of the period that were eager to emphasise on the fact that God became human.[460]

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[455] Treiger, "Al-Ghazālī's "Mirror Christology" and Its Possible East-Syriac Sources," *The Muslim World* 101, no. 4 (2011): 704.

[456] Khoury, 86, 88, 90, 94 (Ar.).

[457] Paul draws an interesting connection between the Qurʾānic terms used for Christ and His two natures. For him, there is an implication to the two natures in Christ in the Qurʾānic descriptions of Him, which are "God's Word and Spirit" and "Jesus the Son of Mary" (*Letter to a Muslim Friend*, par. 40). Ibid., 180.

[458] Ibid., 72, 44, 99 (Ar.).

[459] Davis, 240, 255-256.

[460] For the ecumenical character of Christian Arabic texts coming from the 10th century in which the reason behind the disagreement between the different Christian sects was reduced to terminological nuances as pointed out by Swanson on the basis of Ibn Yumn's *Treatise on the Union* see Swanson, "Naẓīf Ibn Yumn " in *Christian Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History, Volume 2*, ed. J. Pahlitzsch,

Gregory says that He took the form of a slave (27,4-5 ὃς [διὰ σὲ] καὶ δούλου μορφὴν **ἐδέξατο,** 27,4 [وهو الذي **اتخذ** صورة عبد [من اجلك) or assumed the human body (45,29 παθητὸν τῷ **προσλήμματι,** 45,20 **اتخذه** [ما]) just as He became a stranger (31,20 ξενιτεύσαντα ξένος, 31,15 من تغرب) and a poor (34,15 Χριστὸν [...] πτωχεύσαντα, 34,12 المسيح الذي تمسكن). In one of his treatises (*Maymar fī anna-hū*), Abū Qurra employed[461] *ittakhadha*, which is not used in his confession of the Orthodox belief for the action of Christ related to the human body. This was in fact one of the most important arguments of the Muslim writers against the Sonship of Christ as they believed that God did not beget a Son.[462] The reason that made Abū Qurra use this verb might be that he intended to clarify the way that Christians comprehended the Incarnation. The most important part of this comprehension was the manner in which Christ took a human body.[463]

It is interesting to find the Jacobite Abū Rā'iṭa using a verb, *akhadha*, for the Incarnation that comes from the same root with the verb *ittakhadha*. What is most important is the fact that he used this verb in his works written for Muslims. However, this notion of "taking" appear in 'Ammār's criticism of the Chalcedonian view of Mary as the Mother of God in which he tried to prove the faultiness of the Jacobite and Melkite teachings. He criticised these teachings on the ground that they limited Godhead since the Word alone *took* the human body as his temple. Therefore, Mary cannot be called the Mother of God since she only gave birth to the Messiah. [464]

For Peter of Bayt Ra's,[465] Christ "*assumed* (اخذ) [the humanity], and gave it His own hypostasis for a hypostasis and created it as a temple for Himself". Al-Qāsim ibn

David Thomas and Alex Mallett with J. P. M. Sala, M. Swanson, H. Teule, J. Tolan (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010), 466-467.

[461] "Maymar fī anna-hū" in Bacha, *Les oeuvres arabes*, 83-91.

[462] Besides their problem with the fact that only the Son or the Word of God became incarnate but not the Father or the Holy Spirit, Muslims also struggled with God's taking on a human body, which, in their eyes, was definitely a limitation on God. Thomas, "Explanations of the Incarnation in Early 'Abbasid Islam," 127-129, 135.

[463] Beaumont, 39, 42.

[464] Ibid., 51, 77.

[465] Eutychius of Alexandria, The Book of Demonstration (Kitāb al-burhān), ed. Pierre Cachia, vol. I, 82. Eutychius of Alexandria, The Book of Demonstration (Kitāb al-burhān), trans. W. M. Watt, vol. I, 67.

Ibrāhīm (d. 860) describes Melkite Christology in his *Radd 'alā al-Naṣārā*, which is prominent, particularly for its detailed and accurate description of the two natures of Christ as understood by the Christians of that time, as follows: "[Christ] *took* [from Mary] a nature without hypostasis and became a hypostasis to the nature [taken] from her" (fa-*akhadha* minhā ṭabī'atan bi-ghayri uqnūmi fa-kāna li-ṭabī'atihā uqnūm).[466]

As shown above, Arab Christian theologians from different denominations explained the way that Christ became human with the concept of "taking". However, they differed in describing the relationship between the two sides of Christ though they all acknowledged a divinity and humanity in Him. In his letter to the Armenians in which, after establishing the authority of Chalcedon and the subsequent councils of Constantinople, Abū Qurra tries to strengthen his statement about "the two natures of Christ in one hypostasis" by the authority of some Church Fathers such as Cyril of Alexandria, Gregory of Nazianzus and Athanasius.[467] However, David Thomas[468] thinks that in some of his writings[469] he describes two natures as distinct things so much so that he almost does not bring on the unity at all and this emphasis is strengthened by his designating the human body of Christ as the place of sufferings.

As to the opposite party, particularly the Monophysites, it is possible to find in Abū Rā'iṭa a reading of *physis* in a very similar way to hypostasis which was not understood as such by the Chalcedonians and this caused one of the main problems of the debate among the diaphysite and miaphysite circles.[470] The main difference between these two Christian groups lies in their descriptions of the relation between the divinity and humanity of Christ which is clear in the Miaphysite formula of "two attributes of one nature" and in the Melkite doctrine of "one hypostasis and two natures".

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[466] Thomas, *Early Muslim Polemic against Christianity: Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq's 'Against the Incarnation'*, 39.
[467] Keating, "Ḥabīb ibn Khidma Abū Rā'iṭa al-Takrītī's 'The Refutation of the Melkites Concerning the Union [of the Divinity and Humanity in Christ]'", 43-44.
[468] Thomas, "Explanations of the Incarnation in Early 'Abbasid Islam," 136-137.
[469] Such as one of his short apologetic tract found in Bacha, *Les oeuvres arabes de Théodore Aboucara*, 180-6 and Graf (with a German translation), *Die arabischen Schriften des Theodor Abû Qurra* (Paderborn, 1910), 178-84.
[470] Keating, "Ḥabīb ibn Khidma Abū Rā'iṭa al-Takrītī's 'The Refutation of the Melkites Concerning the Union [of the Divinity and Humanity in Christ]'", 45.

Sandra Keating aptly points to the motive behind the arduous efforts of Abū Qurra and Abū Rā'iṭa: Abū Qurra thought that the Miaphysite teaching posed a threat which opened a way to the criticisms of Muslims, whereas Abū Rā'iṭa accused the Dyophysites with the same argument. For the Melkite theologian, the Jacobites restricted the divinity in limits that bind human nature. This accusation was directed by Abū Rā'iṭa against the Melkites on the basis of his assumption that the diophysite teaching removed human attributes from the divinity.[471] In the centre of this doctrine lied his belief in the unchangeable character of the substance of the Word, which was not affected by the human body.[472] He found the Melkite point as something, which disgraces the divinity by suggesting a human nature that was also active in Christ's actions. Having their somewhat negative attitude towards the humanity of Christ,[473] which was expressed in their objection to a human mind in Him, the Miaphysites saw the dyophysite formula as something that causes a division between the acts of Christ and also means an addition of another element to the Trinity.[474]

As in Abū Rā'iṭa's opposition to the Melkite teaching in terms of the acts of Christ, the discussions of Christ's divinity and humanity are also related to the arguments about His will and acts. Peter of Bayt Ra's says:

> Christ has two perfect physeis differing in their substance (كيانين تامين مختلفين في جوهرها) [the divine and human, combined in that hypostasis as one Christ and one Son], known by the activity of each one of them by itself and by its own volition. Each of the natures wills by its own volition and performs its own activity.

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[471] Ibid., 44-45.

[472] Beaumont, 46. In his answer to a question about the human qualities attributed to Christ with the Incarnation, Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī reminds the reader that Christ has two substances, with one of which humanity is attributed to Him, while that does not involve God's being attributed by human properties. Platti, "Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī," 429-431.

[473] The clothing image in the writings of Abū Rā'iṭa and 'Ammār used for the Incarnation rather suggests a humanity which is not active. This in fact seems to serve for the purpose of the Miaphysites. However, the reason that lies beyond 'Ammār's adoption of the image might be the weakening effect it has on the union of the divine with humanity, which would provide Muslims a more agreeable picture of the Incarnation. Beaumont, 75-76.

[474] Ibid.

However, in the discussion of the two natures of Christ, he also says, "[W]ith the substance of his humanity He was always obedient to the substance of His divinity, from the time He put on the flesh (منذ لبس البشر)."[475] ʿAmmār emphasised on the human nature of Christ, which was not, in a sense, free from sin, whereas Abū Qurra thought that divinity did not allow such a thing.[476] The monk of *Answers for the Shaykh* is very consistent in distinguishing between the divinity and humanity of Christ in his acts such as raising the dead and eating or drinking.[477] In his discussion of the divine will, Abū ʿĪsā declares that by emphasising the eternal hypostasis the Messiah had, the Melkites[478] changed His human body into an inactive being.[479]

Mark Beaumont[480] points to the difficulty caused by the two natures of Christ, particularly the one emerged with His death about which the Chalcedonians[481] and Nestorians agreed on the death of His human nature, while they rejected it on account of His divinity. For the Muslims this was the point where the two natures doctrine proves to be unacceptable.[482] Therefore, Beaumont[483] finds ʿAmmār's uniqueness in his analysis of the two natures of Christ at the time of death, which offers a solution that is

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[475] Eutychius of Alexandria, The Book of Demonstration (Kitāb al-burhān), ed. Pierre Cachia, vol. I, 84-89. Eutychius of Alexandria, The Book of Demonstration (Kitāb al-burhān), trans. W. M. Watt, vol. I, 66-67, 70.

[476] Beaumont, 81.

[477] Griffith, "Answers for the Shaykh," 293.

[478] For a standard Melkite creed with the formulae of the Trinity and the Incarnation that does not leave out the two wills and actions in Christ see the (Arabic) *Life of Theodore of Edessa* in Griffith, "Theology and the Arab Christian: The Case of the 'Melkite' Creed," in *A Faithful Presence: Essays for Kenneth Cragg*, ed. David Thomas and Clare Amos (London: Melisende, 2003), 191.

[479] Thomas, *Early Muslim Polemic against Christianity: Abū ʿĪsā al-Warrāq's 'Against the Incarnation'*, 215.

[480] Beaumont, 24, 26.

[481] See, *Kitāb al-burhān*: "[…] crucified and dead by His humanity, [but] not crucified and dead by His divinity […]." Eutychius of Alexandria, *The Book of the Demonstration (Kitāb al-burhān)*, ed. Pierre Cachia, vol. I, 101. Eutychius of Alexandria, *The Book of the Demonstration (Kitāb al-burhān)*, trans. W. M. Watt, vol. 1, 80.

[482] It is not surprising to find Paul of Antioch applying the Qurʾānic rejection of the Crucifixion into his demonstration of the two natures of Christ, which claims that as in the Qurʾānic indication, it was the humanity of Christ that was crucified but not his divine nature (*Letter to a Muslim Friend*, par. 38). Khoury, 73 (Ar.).

[483] Beaumont, "ʿAmmār al-Baṣrī," in *Christians at the Heart of Islamic Rule: Church Life and Scholarship in ʿAbbasid Iraq*, ed. David Richard Thomas (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003), 61-62.

more than mere separation.[484] Abū Rā'iṭa found the solution of this problem in comparing it to a wounded person who is called wounded on account of the wound in his head but not of his hand, which is in perfect health though he is still one person. Accordingly, it is not right to suppose that Christ died in his divine nature.[485] In a similar way, in his *Discourse on the Holy Trinity* (written after 1043), 'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl likens the death of Christ on the Cross to a man's death, which does not involve the death of his soul.[486]

Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq signifies an interesting point about the Melkite teaching of the union of Christ with humanity in which the Melkites differed from the others with their belief in the uniting of the Word with the universal man (*al-insān al-kullī*)[487]. This means to say that while the other two groups explained the uniting in terms of "a specific human being", Jesus, for the Melkites it was not a particular person but the universal human nature. Abū 'Īsā found this Melkite view questionable on the basis of difficulties raised by the problems concerning the sufferings He underwent and evidences for the existence of the Incarnation. He also underlines that for the Melkites, the Messiah had two substances but one hypostasis, and therefore, because he was not an individual, the universal man He joined with is not a hypostasis either.[488]

Here emerges the discussion of the difference between *hypostasis* and *nature* that for some Arab Christian theologians is the cause of misunderstanding about the two natures of Christ. According to Peter of Bayt Ra's,[489] "[…] Natures are not born […] only

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[484] "The death of Christ is not the dismemberment of the union of divinity and humanity, since the authority of the divine nature does suffer eclipse though not its eternal character a more suggestive approach to the suffering of the divine in Christ […]." Ibid., 61.

[485] Roggema, "Ḥikāyāt amthāl wa asmār," 115. For the appearance of Christ's divine nature as the agent that wanted to die to save human beings in Sulaymān al-Ghazzī's (died after 1027) prose texts, see Samuel Noble, "Sulaymān Al-Ghazzī," in *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History. Volume 2 (900-1050)*, ed. David Thomas and Alex Mallett with J. P. M. Sala, J. Pahlitzsch, M. Swanson, H. Teule, and J. Tolan (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010), 621.

[486] Treiger, "'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī," 99.

[487] For the *perfect man*, see Chapter 4.

[488] Thomas, *Early Muslim Polemic against Christianity: Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq's 'Against the Incarnation"*, 87, 64, 93.

[489] Eutychius of Alexandria, *The Book of the Demonstration (Kitāb al-burhān)*, ed. Pierre Cachia, vol. I, 81. Eutychius of Alexandria, *The Book of the Demonstration (Kitāb al-burhān)*, trans. W. M. Watt, vol. 1, 65.

hypostases are begotten […] the nature joins together the hypostases and the hypostases divide the nature […] since no human being gives birth to *ṭabīʿa* (nature) but to *uqnūm* […]" and therefore "the humanity of Christ has the uqnūm of the Son of God".[490] Paul of Antioch[491] touches on the same issue by indicating that for the Melkites, Mary is the Mother of God[492] because God is only one hypostasis (*Christian sects*, par. 7). In a similar way followed in Abū Qurra's text (Opusculum II) in terms of his refutation of the Nestorian and Monophysite Christologies, ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl applied the distinction between *qunūm* and *nature* of which the former is a philosophical and the latter is a logical term. For Ibn al-Faḍl, *qunūm* and *nature* cannot be thought as equivalents since they are not in the same category of terms. Therefore, one cannot assume one nature in Christ, whereas his hypostasis is certainly one. Similarly, Christ is not one substance as claimed by people who thinks that substance and qunūm are the same. Ibn al-Faḍl poses his argument against the Jacobites and the Nestorians by indicating that one of the natures of Christ is the creator, whereas the other is created and their union occurred in hypostasis not in nature.[493] The discussion of the two natures of the Messiah appears in Abū ʿĪsā al-Warrāq in another common form found in Christian Arabic literature which examines the relationship between these natures as the "anointing" and the "anointed one".[494]

3.2.1.2. The union of the two natures of Christ

Here emerges another element of the doctrine of the Incarnation, the union between the divinity and humanity in Christ. According to our text, "His coming was the mingling of the eternal light with the temporal one (6,15-16 ἡνίκα τὸ ἄχρονον φῶς τῷ χρονικῷ

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[490] Makhlouf: 18.
[491] Khoury, 86 (Ar.).
[492] After asking questions about the time of the union, i.e. before, during or after the birth, Abū ʿĪsā al-Warrāq reiterates the Melkite description of the Messiah as two substances and one hypostasis, which, according to him, means that Mary gave birth to divinity and causes problems relating to the sufferings that God endured. Thomas, *Early Muslim Polemic against Christianity: Abū ʿĪsā al-Warrāq's 'Against the Incarnation'*, 115.
[493] Samuel Noble and Alexander Treiger, "Christian Arabic Theology in Byzantine Antioch: 'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī and his Discourse on the Holy Trinity," *Le Muséon* 124, no. 3-4 (2011): 384-385, 388.
[494] Thomas, *Early Muslim Polemic against Christianity: Abū ʿĪsā al-Warrāq's 'Against the Incarnation'*, 237.

ἐμίγνυτο, 6,10 بالزماني الدهري الضو **اختلط** (لما). Mingling is one of the words that are frequently used in Christian Arabic texts to describe the mode of the union of the two natures of Christ. It is possible to find in al-Bāqillānī (d. 1013) a good description of the different views among the Christians of the time on the nature of this union. For him, some Christians understood this union, which is described as the Word's appearing and controlling things (tadbīr al-ashyā) through the human body, either as "mixing" or the "image marked in clay or reflected in the mirror".[495]

It is possible to find this notion in *Jāmiʿ wujūh al-īmān* according to which the Creator "has honoured us with His Incarnation and the unification of His humankind with His divinity and with His mingling (اختلط) with us and His living amongst us, which reconciled us".[496]

In *Kitāb al-burhān*, the notion of "mingling" appears in terms of the types of union suggested by Arab Christian theologians to explain the hypostatic union in Christ. "[T]he creative Word of God mingled (خالط) with the substance of the man […], the Word of God with His hypostasis became hypostasis of that humanity whose substance became complete by the hypostasis of the Word of God constituting it […]". Peter of Bayt Ra's describes the Monophysite and the Nestorian teaching in same (or similar) terms:

> Jacob adhered to [the idea of] the mixture and transformation and corruption, and asserted that the divine nature and the human nature became mingled (اختلطتا) in one Christ, so that He had one hypostasis and one

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[495] Ibid., 78. This Muslim description of different views of the Incarnation, which is also found in ʿAbd al-Jabbār (d. 1025), first appeared in Abū ʿĪsā al-Warrāq whose attribution of the *mirror image* to the Christians was refuted by Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī (though used by the same person in his other work) as indicated by Alexander Treiger in his recent article about the Christology this mirror image presents. Treiger explains that al-Ghazālī, by borrowing the concept from Abū ʿĪsā al-Warrāq like other Muslim theologians mentioned above, used this image to form his own Christology, which refutes any union or indwelling in Christ. Treiger finds the roots of this image in East-Syriac mystical tradition and questions the possibility of a specific group of Christians who held this concept to present a more cultivated Christology, which reprimands the other expressions used by their coreligionists in their descriptions of the Incarnation and would also be more acceptable in the eyes of the Muslims. Treiger, "Al-Ghazālī's "Mirror Christology" and Its Possible East-Syriac Sources," 705, 707, 699, 711, 714.

[496] For the Arabic text of this part of *Jāmiʿ*, see Roggema, "Ḥikāyāt amthāl wa asmār," 122-123.

mingled nature [composed] of two different natures, the divine and the human. Nestorius, on the other hand, adhered to [the idea of] the mixture of separateness and severance, and asserted that the one Christ had two different natures, a divine and a human, and two known hypostases, a divine and a human.[497]

However, he says:

God has explained this mixture in His scriptures and shown His prophets types of it in several places […]. God showed Moses a fire blazing in a thorn-bush on Mount Sinai […]. What clearer analogy than this [can there be] to the mixture in Christ of a fire, the substance of a creative Word, and of a man, the substance of a created humanity? and […] the live coal God[498] showed Isaiah (Is 6.6-9) [...] clearer than the previous analogy.[499]

In Sinai Arabic MS 434 ("The Dialogue of Abraham"), the description of the unity which seems to be an expression of the Melkite teaching, reads as follows: "[T]wo natures (ṭab'ayn) and two modes (naw'ayn) […] in a single […] perfect man […] *unmixed* and *unmingled*".[500] This is another description found in the same text: "[H]is bāṭin is the jawhar of God, and his ẓāhir is the Son of Mary, *united with a uniting that has no boundaries*."[501] Wilde[502] reports that in this text, Christ's divine nature is called "al-ḥāl fīhi" in which she finds a stress on its being "situated in Jesus" as in the depiction of Jesus as "a man like Moses, but with God in him"[503].

Paul Khoury[504] calls the union of the two natures, which are distinct yet not confused and separate the "*epiphanic union*". It appears as "hypostatic union" in John of

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[497] Eutychius of Alexandria, *The Book of the Demonstration (Kitāb al-burhān)*, ed. Pierre Cachia, vol. I, 69, 74. Eutychius of Alexandria, *The Book of the Demonstration (Kitāb al-burhān)*, trans. W. M. Watt, vol. 1, 56, 60.

[498] See paragraph thirty-six for the "coals of fire" that Christ gives us.

[499] Eutychius of Alexandria, ed. Pierre Cachia, 77-80. Eutychius of Alexandria, trans. W. M. Watt, 62-64.

[500] Griffith, "Answers for the Shaykh," 262.

[501] Sinai Arabic MS 434. Anonymous manuscript in St. Catherine's Monastery, Mt. Sinai, Egypt. Facsimile in Library of Congress. Folios 171ʳ-181ᵛ, [fol.175ᵛ].

[502] Wilde, 147, 155, 236.

[503] Sinai Arabic MS 434. Anonymous manuscript in St. Catherine's Monastery, Mt. Sinai, Egypt. Facsimile in Library of Congress. Folios 171ʳ-181ᵛ, [fol. 180ᵛ].

[504] Khoury, 81, 56, 192, 193.

Damascus, "mixture or connection (*khulṭa*)" in *Kitāb al-burhān*[505] and "epiphanic union" in Ibn Mu'ammil. Paul of Antioch finds the *epiphanic union* the best among other kinds of union to describe the hypostatic union in Christ. Paul talks about the three kinds of unions: epiphanic, vicinity and mixture. The first one is symbolised by the union of fire and iron, while the others are linked to the oil and water in a lamp and to vinegar and honey. According to Shahrastānī (1086-1153), while the last one invoked a union of mixture in the minds of the Melkites, the Jacobites and the Nestorians saw in it an epiphanic union and a union of a reflected or printed image, respectively. However, in Ibn Ḥazm (994-1064)'s *Fiṣāl*[506] those are the examples given to explain what the Jacobites, the Nestorians and the Melkites understood with union: water-wine, water-oil, fire-metal plate.

Khoury[507] interprets the *epiphanic union* as stated by Paul in terms of "predominance"[508] which means that the "subtle" nature has dominion over the tangible or palpable one. This is the reason that lies behind the theophany, i.e. the Incarnation. He thinks that Paul could explain the Incarnation without harming the transcendence of God with the notion of *theophany* as for him, "Christ is a divine hypostasis manifested in a human body". He signified that the human nature of Christ was created and therefore is an indication of the existence of the two natures in Him. He called the union

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[505] However, although he accepts *mingling* with the human substance, Peter of Bayt Ra's refutes mixture in terms of *physeis*, which would eventually end in one will and activity of Christ:

> If the two *physeis* had been mixed together in a confused *mixture* till they had become one *physis*, Christ would not have been part of the substance of the Father and the Holy Spirit after His incarnation because the substance of the Father and the Holy Spirit is an immaterial, simple substance, a creative light in which no compounding appears […]. He is of the substance (جوهر) of the Father and the Holy Spirit by His divinity, and He is of the substance of His mother and the rest of mankind by His humanity […]. The two *physeis* remained in their [original] condition in the one Christ, known by their two wills and their activity and by the unity of the hypostasis of the Sonship of the Word of God combining them both by its single particular property by which He is one Christ.

Eutychius of Alexandria, *The Book of the Demonstration (Kitāb al-burhān)*, ed. Pierre Cachia, vol. I, 86, 88, 107-108. Eutychius of Alexandria, *The Book of the Demonstration (Kitāb al-burhān)*, trans. W. M. Watt, vol. 1, 68-69, 86.
[506] Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣāl fī l-milal wa-al-ahwā' wa-al-niḥal*, ed. Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn, vol. I (Beyrouth: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1996), 70.
[507] Khoury, 193, 92, 94, 197, 202.
[508] In *Unicity and Union*, Paul reiterates his description of the union in Christ as the dominance of the uncreated over the created like in the case of the fired wood where there is no wood but only fire. Ibid., 101 (Ar.).

during the Annunciation "enhypostatique"[509] which, according to Khoury, literally says "the union through her in the hypostasis" and recalls the reader his previous mention of an *epiphanic union*.

In the last days, for our sakes, coming from the Virgin Mary without stain He became son, the Son of God became the son of man (45, 23-25 τῶν ἡμερῶν **γεγενῆσθαι** διὰ σὲ καὶ Υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου, ἐκ τῆς Παρθένου προελθόντα Μαρίας ἀρρήτως καὶ ἀρυπάρως, 45,15-16 (وانه ولد في اخر الايام من اجلك و **صار** ابن الله ابن الانسان). He is man and God or rather God and man (33,15 ἄνθρωπον, τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ Θεόν, μᾶλλον δὲ Θεὸν ἄνθρωπον, 33,11-12 انسان (انسانا ومع ذلك اله بل هو اله هو). He is entirely man and completely God (45,26 ὅλον ἄνθρωπον, τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ Θεόν, 45,17-18 (وهذا بعينه فكله انسان وكله الاه).[510] As noted by Beaumont,[511] it is possible to find the same expression, "صار انسانا", in Timothy I and Theodore Abū Qurra in whose texts he finds an emphasis on the human body as an individual entity in opposition to the miaphysite view, which always insists on the divinity as the acting and willing agent. Here, one should be reminded of the emphasis on the humanity of Christ in the Arabic version of Oration 40. This emphasis on Christ as a man occupies an important place in Gregory's theosis theology as the essential part of the moral education that human beings have to follow to reach the eternal salvation or theosis. Therefore, in the next part, we will examine the earthly part of theosis process as the perfect life that men can lead by following and imitating Christ the Teacher.

3.3. Christ as the Teacher and Master of virtues

It has been demonstrated that baptism occupies the central place in Gregory's theosis theology. As purification from old sins, it is not only the beginning of a new life but

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[509] *Christian sects*, par. 33: "The divine nature [has never left] since the union with her in the human hypostasis (the Annunciation) (فاما الطبيعة الاهية,من وقت **الاتحاد بها في القنوم** عند البشارة) and this is "the manifest union" (**الاتحاد الظهوري**) [...]". Khoury: «Quant à la nature divine, depuis l'union **enhypostatique** lors de l'annonciation-qui est l'union **épiphanique** précédemment mentionnée...» Ibid., 95 (Ar.), 197.
[510] Theodore Abū Qurra said that He became a perfect man (صار انسانا تاما) and He remained perfect God (الها تاما). Beaumont, *Christology in Dialogue with Muslims: A Critical Analysis of Christian Presentations of Christ for Muslims from the Ninth and Twentieth Centuries*, 31.
[511] Ibid., 32.

also its continuity and, in a sense, the very end of it, theosis. What made theosis and thus the way that leads to it (baptism) real is the Incarnation of the Son. Becoming incarnate, God revealed Himself to humankind and the main reason behind the Incarnation is the salvation of human beings. It is more than clear that the Son and His Incarnation are central in Gregory's thought. However, because Gregory's theology has been already studied in depth we have preferred to introduce tenth century Melkite view of Christology, which is for the most part a continuation of what was said by Gregory six hundred years ago.

It is known that the Melkite teaching followed the Chalcedonian formula whose seeds were sown in the 4th century by those like the Cappadocian Fathers.[512] Therefore, it is not surprising to find the same emphasis on the human nature of Christ both in Gregory's and in Ibrāhīm's texts. Having looked at the discussions of the natures of Christ and their union in Him among Arabic-speaking Christians of the Middle Ages to prepare a ground for further analysis of his human nature, we would like to introduce the human part of Christ as it appears in our text. As indicated before, in our opinion, this is the central point where Ibrāhīm found an excellent opportunity to propose his views, or, more properly, the ideals of the so-called Antiochene translation movement, which –though limited– is compared to the Abbasid renaissance.

It was not such a different period from Gregory's day when the orthodox theologians were struggling for the establishment of the orthodox faith. Here, the Greek tradition emerges as an important part of the two periods, which, despite the new disguise in which it was expressed, in fact never lost its links with the Melkite tradition. Gregory's *paideia* became *adab*, which carried with it a different worldview though not much different but rather strongly connected with the former. Either in *paideia* or in *adab* terminology, an important figure is placed at the very centre of the oration, Christ as the Teacher and the Transformer. His teaching represents the earthly part of the theosis

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[512] For the Cappadocian contribution to the differentiation between *ousia* and *hypostasis*, see Lössl, 181-183.

process, i.e. the continuity of what is given through baptism by leading a life, which is formed around the notion of the imitation of Christ.[513]

3.3.1. Paideia or *Adab* and the Jesus of the Adab Literature

Ibrāhīm translated *paideusis* and *paidagōgia* as adab, which has a history that goes back to the beginning of the Greek wisdom literature in Arabic in which *paideia* is mostly rendered as *adab*[514] whereas *apaideutous* appears as *bi-lā adab*.[515] *Adab* was used in the writings of some Arab Christian writers such as the author of Jāmi',[516] Peter of Bayt Ra's and Ibn 'Adī to refer to a process of training that encompasses intellectual and spiritual development.[517] In the discussion of *Kitāb al-burhān* of the begetting of the Son, the writer indicates that just as in the disc of the sun and its radiance or as in the reason and the words, "the innate knowledge [of human beings] is impressed upon (مطبوعا فيه) the [their] heart" and thus inseparable from it. This knowledge of "what is naturally good and evil with which God created Adam" needs to be supplemented by "knowledge acquired by learning" (علم التعليم فذلك بالأدب).

> If there were not in man's constitution knowledge imprinted upon it consisting of knowledge of good and evil and right and wrong (معرفة الخير والشر والصواب] والخطأ]) he would not be capable of receiving knowledge through instruction (علم الأدب); just as the beast which do not have reason or man's [innate] knowledge, do not receive that knowledge.[518]

[513] Orat. 40: 3,5 βίου μετάθεσις, 3, 3-4 انتقال المعاش (Illumination [baptism] is the conversion of life).

[514] See Gerhard Endress and Dimitri Gutas, eds. *A Greek and Arabic Lexicon. Fascicle 1* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992), 131-136.

[515] Dimitri Gutas, *Greek Wisdom Literature in Arabic Translation: A Study of the Graeco-Arabic Gnomologia* (New Haven, Conn.: American Oriental Society, 1975), 179, 186.

[516] The author of *Jāmi'* described some Christians who "conceal[ed] their faith and disclose[d] only what suit[ed] them" as follows: "[A] race in the midst of the people of this community (umma) ruling over them, a race born among them, grown up with them, and educated in their culture (*ta'addabu bi-adabihim*)". Griffith, "Arab Christian Culture in the Early Abbasid Period," 34.

[517] For the same use of the word, see *Jāmi'* (126ʳ) and *Mujādalah*. Nasry: 69. See also the second paragraph of the dialogue attributed to Abraham of Tiberias and thought to be written after the reign of Al-Ma'mūn in Davide Righi, "The Dialog Attributed to Abraham of Tiberias," *Parole de l'Orient* 34 (2009): 46-48.

[518] Eutychius of Alexandria, *The Book of the Demonstration (Kitāb al-burhān)*, ed. Pierre Cachia, vol. I, 43. Eutychius of Alexandria, *The Book of the Demonstration (Kitāb al-burhān)*, trans. W. M. Watt, vol. 1, 34-35.

In *Tahdhīb al-akhlā*q, Ibn ʿAdī used *adab* and *tahdhīb* (reformation or refinement) interchangeably, the former being in different forms such as *addaba*, *mua'ddaba*, *ta'dīb*[519] and *ādāb*.[520]

What we intend to demonstrate in this chapter is that not long before Ibrāhīm's day *adab* emerged as an interesting figure in the thought of the Islamicate world and exhibited a new form of the Greek *paideia*. Arab Christian translators were the main actors in the transmission of this *paideia* to the Arab culture. One of the most striking points about this transmission process is the role of Syriac texts and translators.[521] One can recognise a Syriac influence in Ibrāhīm's translations that needs further examination

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[519] For the use of these three forms in Ibrāhīm's translations of Orations 21, 24 and 45, see Grand'Henry, ed. *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua I: Oratio XXI (Arab. 20)*, 12, 14, 18, 19, 27, 36. _____, "La version arabe du discours 24 de Grégoire de Nazianze: Édition critique, commentaires et traduction", 248, 268, 272. Tuerlinckx, ed., *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua II: Orationes I, XLV, XLIV (Arab. 9, 10, 11)*, 74, 82, 90.

[520] Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī, *The Reformation of Morals: A Parallel Arabic-English Text*, trans. Sidney H. Griffith (Brigham Young University Press, 2002), xxxiv, 20, 18, 17, 23.

[521] After indicating that the lack of the intermediary Syriac translations have significant consequences in the field, Sebastian Brock criticises some modern scholars who neglect or underestimate the role of the Syriac translators and their texts without which, he believes, it is not possible to understand and explain the grand translation movement of the Abbasid period. Sebastian Brock, "Changing Fashions in Syriac Translation Technique: The Background to Syriac Translations under the Abbasids," *Journal of the Canadian Society for Syriac Studies* 4 (2004): 10. John Watt believes that the Graeco-Syriac translation movement that began two centuries before the activities, which originated in Baghdad can offer more than the depictive role assigned to it by some researchers in the identification of the motives behind the Abbasid revolution. He also suggests that a Syriac impetus might have triggered the Abbasid involvement in philosophy for pragmatic purposes. John W. Watt, "Syriac Translators and Greek Philosophy in Early Abbasid Iraq," *Journal of the Canadian Society for Syriac Studies* 4 (2004): 16, 17, 21. For the role of the Syriac monastic schools in the transmission of the Greek legacy, particularly the Aristotelian logic, to the Abbasid society (or "the Syro-Arabic reception of the Greek sciences" as described by Daniel King, in "The Genesis and Development of a Logical Lexicon in the Syriac Tradition," in *Interpreting the Bible and Aristotle in late antiquity: The Alexandrian commentary tradition between Rome and Baghdad*, ed. Josef Lössl and J. M. Watt (Ashgate, 2011), 226), see John W. Watt, "Commentary and Translation in Syriac Aristotelian Scholarship: Sergius to Baghdad," *Journal for Late Antique Religion and Culture* 4 (2010): 41. [Online] Available at: http://www.cf.ac.uk/share/research/centres/clarc/jlarc/contents/Watt%20Commentary%20and%20Translation.pdf [Accessed: 21 February 2011] (For the earliest Syriac translation of Aristotle's Categories, see Daniel King, *The Earliest Syriac Translation of Aristotle's Categories: Text, Translation, and Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 2010). For another explanation for the emergence of the Abbasid Graeco-Arabic translation movement, see George Saliba, "Revisiting the Syriac Role in the Transmission of Greek Sciences into Arabic," *Journal of the Canadian Society for Syriac Studies* 4 (2004): 29-31 in which the author discusses the application of a new system symbolised by *dīwān* in the Umayyad period that triggered an increase in the intellectual power of the Syriac Christians who, by provoking contention among the learned population for official posts, contributed to the renaissance of the Greek classical legacy. For *dīwān* and its relation to the *adab* literature, see C. E. Bosworth, "Administrative Literature," in *Religion, Learning and Science in the Abbasid Period*, ed. J. D. Latham, M. J. L. Young, R. B. Serjeant (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). For an analysis of the different attempts to explain the true character of the Abbasid Graeco-Arabic translation movement, see U. Vagelpohl, *Aristotle's Rhetoric in the East: The Syriac and Arabic Translation and Commentary Tradition* (Leiden: Brill, 2008).

in the light of this role of Syriac in the Graeco-Arabic translation movement. Arab Christian writers such as Elias of Nisibis, Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī and ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl wrote or composed moral writings as well. They not only transmitted one language to another (sometimes through the medium of Syriac) but also made their own contributions either in translations or in original works. The Arabic translation of Oration 40 provides us with valuable information about this Christian contribution to the extremely active intellectual atmosphere of the tenth and eleventh centuries.

What we find most striking in the Arabic text is the use of the word *adab* which, given the significant place of *paideia* in Christian Greek texts, quite naturally could have been transliterated by Ibrāhīm into Arabic as in some other Greek words and this could strengthen the voice of Gregory in the translation. In fact, although there is not such evidence, one might inevitably expect an increase in the use of Greek among the Melkites of tenth and eleventh century Antioch that was reconquered by the Byzantines when Ibrāhīm was probably nineteen years old. With the support of other evidences in our text, it is possible to suggest that Ibrāhīm intended to introduce Gregory to the Arabic-speaking Christians of the period in a translation as literal as possible. However, it does not seem logical to expect a pure transmission of Gregory's thought, which was expressed in an eloquent Greek, into Arabic that had long been the language of the Christians of the East.

The Arabic version of Gregory's Oration 40 emerges as an interesting example of this fascinating period of the transmission of Greek texts in which Greek thought was introduced to Arabic with a touch of Syriac. In this text, we find an emphasis on the humanity of Christ and the role of Jesus as the Teacher and Master of virtues in the deification of human beings. Ibrāhīm makes this emphasis felt strongly with the help of *adab*, which has strong links with theosis, whereas it is not possible to find this spiritual, let alone salvational dimension in the Greek *paideia* that could be transformed into a heavenly teaching only at the hands of Greek theologians like Gregory. Therefore, we need to know more about the wider context that lies behind the word *adab* to clarify the character of Ibrāhīm's translation and the role it played for the strengthening of the Melkite identity among the Antiochene Melkite Christians in the tenth and eleventh centuries. This will also enable us to identify to what extent

Gregory's text is preserved and to which degree it is transformed in Ibrāhīm's translation.[522]

In Greek tradition, *paideia* referred to the education of a child or a youth, which not only included intellectual education but also physical training and the development of social skills. However, above all, moral refinements of the young minds were aimed by providing them good models to imitate and to cultivate their inborn capacities or talents (physis) on the exemplary of these models. This process of creating good citizens followed a programme of study in which literature, grammar and rhetoric worked together with gymnastics, music and arts (téchnai). It was rather an ideal for a perfect society that was symbolised by Athens in the eyes of the Athenian promoters of paideia in ancient times and adapted to Roman society in the garment of *humanitas*. It was also understood as a unique art and perfect gift granted to men.[523] *Paideia* was a way of looking at the past, present and future since it provided continuity between these three realms by carrying, and teaching the values of the past and pointing to what is best for the present and the future.[524]

The more visible or material part of this educational programme was called *enkyklios paideia* and encompassed subjects ranging from dialectics, grammar and rhetoric[525] to

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[522] For a good example of a significant reference to the Greek tradition in the Arabic text, see paragraph five: 14-15 ὃ καὶ τοῖς ἔξω δῆλόν ἐστι. Φῶς γὰρ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὀνομάζουσι, 11-13 فاما الضوا الثالث فهو الانسان. Gallay (*SC* 358, 206) وذلك معروف عند **اليونانيين** لانهم قد يسمون الانسان فوس وهو اسم الضو **باللغة اليونانية** (add.). translated it as "gens du dehors, c'est-à-dire **les païens**" of which the explanatory part would normally be rendered in Arabic as "المشركين". Thus, instead of rendering it as "outsiders", which seems to be what the Greeks meant for Gregory, Ibrāhīm clarifies the reference: "Man was called light by *the Greeks*". For the rendering of Ἑλληνίζοντες (*PG* 36.628C) as للحنيفيين (from the Syriac *ḥanpo*: godless, pagan, a Gentile, Greek etc.) in the Arabic version of Oration 45, see Tuerlinckx, ed., *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua II: Orationes I, XLV, XLIV (Arab. 9, 10, 11)*, 62-63. Given the long history behind the reception of the Greek heritage in the East, "the Greeks" must have referred, in the eyes of Ibrāhīm's readers, to a bigger group than the pagan world of Gregory's day. Following the Graeco-Syriac and Graeco-Arabic translations of previous centuries, the translations of Greek patristic texts in tenth and eleventh century Antioch revealed the ever-increasing interest in Greek thought.

[523] Christes, Johannes (Berlin). "Paideia." Brill's New Pauly, 2012 [Online] Available at: http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/brill-s-new-pauly/paideia-e903780 [Accessed: 26 February 2012]

[524] B. Borg, *Paideia: The World of the Second Sophistic* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2004), 1.

[525] The function of *enkyklios paideia* in the classical education was to constitute a basis (*propaideia*) for further instruction especially in rhetoric and grammar. John W. Watt, "Grammar, Rhetoric, and the Enkyklios Paideia in Syriac," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 143 (1993): 46.

astronomy, geometry, arithmetic and music but still in close connection with the ideal of intellectual and personal development of individuals. In fact, with this schema of subjects, the ancient education was linked by the architects of this idea such as Plato and Isocrates to its future form in the Roman "artes liberales".[526]

The second part of the term that Gregory uses for what he sees as the ideal teaching or instruction that is symbolised by Christ (παίδαγωγία), following its literal meaning as "leading", also meant education in the ancient Greek culture. Unlike its Athenian equivalent, which is the study of general philosophical literature, Spartan ἀγωγή referred to physical and social or even military training of young people under seventeen who, despite not being among *paîdes* anymore, would only be reckoned as citizen warriors when they were thirty years old.[527]

In Greek society, the control of the actions of its members depended, more than anything else, on the relations between people among whom a class of men as perfect embodiment of *paideia* were acknowledged as "saints of culture" and functioned as the image and symbol of the learned aristocracy. For these men, living was an art and ritual. There was no apparent connection between *paideia* and religion except the fact that it mostly affected religious people.[528] In fact, *paideia* was the earthly reflection of the divine forms that govern the universe or nature (physis). Therefore, these divine forms were adapted to a value system that is for both individuals and society.[529]

Following al-Sijistānī's (d. 982) *Ṣiwān al-ḥikma*, al-Mubashshir (11th c.) called the education Aristotle had in Athens *al-muḥīt* or "the all-round". Ibid.

[526] "Enkyklios Paideia". Brill's New Pauly, 2012 [Online] Available at: http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/brill-s-new-pauly/enkyklios-paideia-e330600 [Accessed: 26 February 2012]

[527] Ibid.

[528] *Paideia* was not only about appearances and power but it also had the deeper ethical meaning that *adab* held in the Islamicate world. However, it lacks the point, which can be described as the religious or devotional part of *adab* or in G. Anawati's words "soucieux de bien se comporter 'en présence de Dieu'". Peter Brown, "Late Antiquity and Islam: Parallels and Contrasts," in *Moral Conduct and Authority: The Place of Adab in South Asian Islam*, ed. Barbara Daly Metcalf (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1984), 25-29.

[529] Christopher P. Jones, "Multiple Identities in the Age of the Second Sophistic," in *Paideia: The World of the Second Sophistic*, ed. Barbara Borg (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2004), 18.

Paideia took a new shape at the hands of Christians among whom the Cappadocian Fathers have the biggest part. They were educated in the Greek *paideia* and realised or rather felt the most compelling need for an adaptation of this pedagogical ideal into Christian society. It is known that the educational programme that Gregory followed together with Basil in Athens –which was preceded by Gregory's studies of rhetoric in the two Caesareas of the Roman Empire and Alexandria– consisted of rhetoric, grammar, mathematics, philosophy (along with physics, ethics and dialectics) and music.[530] However, this does not mean that they studied all these subjects systematically in an institution since the programme of the Athenian schools in the 4th century were not such comprehensive.[531] In fact, in those days, people could have some knowledge of these fields from handbooks that introduced them schematically.[532] What can be determined about the education they had is that it was rhetoric in close connection with philosophy. The teaching in the Academy in Athens was then given by the Neo-Platonists with a background of the Peripatetic philosophy[533] and one should keep in mind that the Christian thought of this period was also Hellenistic and Neo-Platonic.[534]

It is possible to find in Gregory an Aristotelian dialectics along with a Platonian understanding of God that supposes a relation between the divine intelligible forms and the created world, which has a Stoic order that requires a Cynic life.[535] Gregory's Neo-Platonism came from Origen's Christianised form rather than the teaching of the Neo-Platonist schools of those days particularly the ones that followed Plotinus.[536] Just like in the ancient *paideia*, rhetoric was the symbol of the Christian *paideia* that Gregory proposed and it required to be practised in a social world only for the sake of Logos and

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[530] Gregory tells us that Basil also knew medicine, which as in physics does not seem to be quite probable as an academic subject but could be practically possible as far as the potential medical role played by the house he founded for the poor is concerned. It is known that, in the 4th century, there was an interest in healing even among common people, who suffered much from leprosy and survived famines and earthquakes.
[531] Rosemary Radford Ruether, *Gregory of Nazianzus, Rhetor and Philosopher*, 24.
[532] Brian Daley, *Gregory of Nazianzus*, 6.
[533] Ruether, 25.
[534] A. S. Ellverson, *The Dual Nature of Man: A Study in the Theological Anthropology of Gregory of Nazianzus* (PhD diss., Uppsala University, 1981), 12.
[535] Daley, 34.
[536] Ruether, 26-27.

logoi.[537] Gregory is the first Greek writer that is known to edit his own orations, poems and letters and to attribute them an educative role in both the promotion of the orthodox doctrine and the education of the Christians.[538] The language he used is not, therefore, that of the Athenian style as it is to be expected from someone with his educational background or even not an exact follower of the Second Sophistic but the official language of the empire, which was also the language of the Christian education, *koine*.[539]

This language, which is nevertheless a follower of the Graeco-Roman rhetoric tradition and has a great number of the images and figures of the Greek literature in a Christianised form, especially in Orations 4, 5, 39 and 43,[540] was only devoted to the education and the spiritual development of Christian society.[541] All his efforts dedicated to the study and the use of rhetoric demonstrate that Gregory intended to develop a Christian rhetoric, which is the essential part of his ideal Christian *paideia*. Christians could express themselves better and in equal terms with the "pagan elite" by rhetoric that had long kept the control of the culture. The commentaries on Gregory's orations reveal a great interest in Greek literature and philosophy among the Christians of the late fifth and the sixth century. In this period, Gregory's works were not only studied as

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[537] Neil McLynn, "Among the Hellenists: Gregory and the Sophists," in *Gregory of Nazianzus: Images and Reflections*, ed. Tomas Hägg and Jostein Børtnes (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2006, 2006), 224, 226. Therefore, the criticisms of the large place given to asceticism in Christian *paideia* and its failure in turning into a broader social system like *adab* in which not only monks but also ordinary people could find a place, does not seem to be fair on at least Gregory whose thought despite emphasising on the importance of an ascetic life does not neglect common people and society at all. For an example of these criticisms, see Brown, 31-32.

[538] Daley, 30.

[539] Frederick Walter Norris, "Gregory Nazianzen's Doctrine of Jesus Christ" (PhD diss., Yale University, 1970), 19.

[540] His style is different from Basil's and Gregory of Nyssa's language in which it is not possible to find such a figure of Christianity that is so much Hellenised. Pseudo-Nonnus revealed the continuity of the strong interest in the Greek literary world among Christians some of whom did not find a way out than wholly adopting Greek tradition as the only means to express themselves. What Pseudo-Nonnus did was in fact employing one of the instruments of Greek exegetical tradition –which he did not hesitate to reveal his concerns about– to Christian orations. Jennifer Nimmo-Smith, *A Christian's Guide to Greek Culture: The Pseudo-Nonnus Commentaries on Sermons 4, 5, 39 and 43 by Gregory of Nazianzus* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2001), xxx, xxxvi, xlviii.

[541] For the role of Gregory in the Syriac reception of the Greek sources and the programme of a Syriac school with an emphasis on Greek knowledge that is different from the later educational circles of Syria and that of "Graeco-Syriac philosophers", see Daniel King, "Origenism in Sixth Century Syria. The Case of a Syriac Manuscript of Pagan Philosophy," in *Origenes und sein Erbe in Orient und Okzident*, ed. Alfons Fürst (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2011).

good examples of rhetoric that began to occupy a significant place in Christian literature but also came under scrutiny at the hands of commentators.[542]

Gregory's thought is in fact based on two concepts, one of which refers to an intellectual process that describes the life as a journey. The other metaphor he employs denotes a physical process and identifies the life with an upward movement towards the Highest Good.[543] The most striking point in his use of these metaphors is the connection drawn between the mental images and the meaning behind them. For him, images lead the human mind to the remembrance of God and then take it near to God through a long process of "meditating" and mimesis.[544] Therefore, although he did not write systematically on ethics, it is possible to identify the main elements of his moral philosophy as the ascetic and social life that are governed by the divine economy. Imitation by human beings of the way this *oikonomia* acts is the basis of his ethics and baptism that needs to be followed by a righteous Christian life lies in the very centre of this value system.[545]

With the increasing interest of the Christians in asceticism between the fourth and sixth centuries, there appeared another kind of *paideia* relevant to a group of people who built a different world for themselves. These ascetic people employed the means or technique of the ancient tradition though they were against the Greek *paideia* and lessened its

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[542] Nimmo-Smith, xv, xix, xxxii-xxxiii. In his discussion of the role played by the Greek poetry in Syriac literary education, John Watt points to the place given by Anthony of Tagrit (9th c.) in his Fifth Book of Rhetoric to the poems of Gregory along with Homer's lyrics. In the eyes of Anthony, Gregory who was called the "Christian Demosthenes" by the Byzantines was the "Prince of rhetors and Chief of sophists". Watt, "Grammar, Rhetoric, and the Enkyklios Paideia in Syriac," 61, 62. For the place of rhetoric along with philosophy and the subjects that were included in the Greek *enkyklios paideia* in seventh century curricula of the Syriac schools of Edessa, Seleucia and Qennshre, see John W. Watt, "A Portrait of John Bar Aphtonia, Founder of the Monastery of Qenneshre," in *Portraits of Spiritual Authority: Religious Power in Early Christianity, Byzantium, and the Christian Orient*, ed. J. W. Drijvers and J. W. Watt (Ledien: Brill, 1999), 162.

[543] Jostein Børtnes, "Introduction: Prompting for Meaning in Gregory's Rhetoric," in *Gregory of Nazianzus: Images and Reflections*, ed. Tomas Hägg and Jostein Børtnes (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2006), 13.

[544] Jostein Børtnes, "Rhetoric and Mental Images in Gregory," in *Gregory of Nazianzus: Images and Reflections*, ed. Tomas Hägg and Jostein Børtnes (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2006), 49.

[545] D. F. Winslow, *The Dynamics of Salvation: A Study in Gregory of Nazianzus* (Philadelphia Patristic Foundation, 1979), 147-148.

effect on Christian mysticism.[546] Among the educated Christians of Alexandria who, besides other intellectual occupations, taught rhetoric and defended Christian *paideia* in their discussions with the supporters of the pagan Greek culture, there was another reaction against the Greek *paideia*. These people, who were called *philoponoi*, even though not being clergymen but rather mostly holders of academic posts and students, were associated with the Church and monasteries,[547] especially in social works like caring for the sick. What *philoponoi* had in their minds as a new paradigm was that of the continuity of the ancient tradition in the garment of the Christian Sophistic,[548] which was under the influence of the Atticist movement.[549]

Having briefly looked at what paideia meant in ancient times and in the Late Antiquity, we can proceed with the analysis of *adab* (pl. ādāb). The etymological analyses of *adab* can be summarised in the discussions formed around two suggestions for its root, one of which is *da'b* that denotes "habit" or "custom" and the other *'db* referring to "feast, preparation"[550] or a "marvellous thing". However, the first explanation was accepted by the majority of the Muslim writers who interpreted it in terms of the *sunna* of the Prophet which was a role model for the next generations to come and defined it as "habit, custom and hereditary norm of conduct". Yet it came to be known in the following centuries of Islam as a new paradigm of civilisation against the Bedouin culture and thus had always an emphasis on the social and moral character of humanity.

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[546] S. R. Holman, *The Hungry Are Dying: Beggars and Bishops in Roman Cappadocia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 26.

[547] E. Watts, *City and School in Late Antique Athens and Alexandria* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2008), 214.

[548] The time period in which *philoponoi* acted as defenders of Christian values against pagan norms was active in terms of discussions between opposite groups and conversions to Christianity, especially of young people with the help of monks as the result of their questioning of pagan values. The latter was expressed by Severus of Antioch who was the patriarch of Antioch from 512 to 518 in these words: "[…] [M]any of the young men … speedily left their vain erudition (paideusis) and way of life and purified their minds of Hellenic myths […]." In Severus' day, Gregory's texts along with Basil's writings were studied in comparison to the speeches of orators such as Libanius of Antioch and this was seen as a way to save *catechumens* from the effects of the Greek *paideia*. F. R. Trombley, *Hellenic Religion and Christianization, C. 370-529* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2001), 7, 49-50, 2-3.

[549] In the late fourth century, Apollinarios of Laodikea transformed the majority of the Old and New Testament into Attic forms such as dialogue, prose and verse. Ibid., 19-45.

[550] This second etymological explanation of *adab* was interpreted in terms of a feast for the human mind and spirit and thus referred to moral philosophy. Moosa, Ebrahim. "Muslim Ethics?" *The Blackwell Companion to Religious Ethics*. Schweiker, William (ed). Blackwell Publishing, 2004. Blackwell Reference Online. [Online] Available at: http://www.blackwellreference.com/subscriber/tocnode?id=g9780631216346_chunk_g978063121634628 [Accessed: 26 February 2012]

Nevertheless, it continued to be evolved into a kind of moral discipline that also encompasses subjects like grammar, rhetoric and lexicography. Beyond its development from a collection of old customs with nationalistic intentions into the quite systematic form that appeared in the 9th century, lie the new ideal worldview of the Abbasids and the addition of the Hellenistic, Indian and Iranian traditions to the Abbasid culture either by translations of works from these cultures or by the encounter of the Arabs with people from these cultures who were not only their neighbours but also their subjects.[551]

Despite the brightest moments of *adab* in those days, it gradually became limited to the handbooks for officials and later came to be merely known as "literature". One of the fields that *adab* entered into quickly and had both practical and spiritual effects was Ṣūfism that employed it as guides for the seekers of the right path and as rules of conduct in general, but more importantly, as a way to draw near to God for which Ṣūfis created special *adab* for every single mystical moment (waqt) and stage (maqām) of the spiritual journey. Ṣūfism was in fact "proper manner" as put by a ninth century Ṣūfi, Abū Ḥafṣ al-Ḥaddād.[552] In the same vein, another Ṣūfi said, "All the paths of love are ādāb".[553]

Adab, along with *khuluq*[554] is the most important concept of Islamic ethics, which, though sometimes in different terms, mainly discusses the cultivation of the character (khuluq) and the establishment of the "norms of right conduct" (adab).[555] Just like in

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[551] Gabrieli, F. "Adab". Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition, 2012 [Online] Available at: http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/adab-SIM_0293 [Accessed: 26 February 2012].

[552] Ohlander, Erik S. "Adab in Ṣūfism", Encyclopaedia of Islam, Third Edition, 2012. [Online] Available at: http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-3/adab-in-sufism-COM_22733 [Accessed: 26 February 2012].

[553] Barbara D. Metcalf, "Introduction," in *Moral Conduct and Authority: The Place of Adab in South Asian Islam*, ed. Barbara D. Metcalf (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1984), 3.

[554] It is really interesting to find *khuluq* (pl. *akhlāq*), which is the central concept of Islamic ethics, in the Arabic translation of Oration 40 as the equivalent of τρόπος: 32,3 ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ τρόπου διόρθωσις, 32,3 بل واصلاح الاخلاق. This supports our argument for Ibrāhīm's mastery of the ethical thought of his day, be it Christian or Muslim.

[555] Moosa, Ebrahim. "Muslim Ethics?" *The Blackwell Companion to Religious Ethics*. Schweiker, William (ed). Blackwell Publishing, 2004. Blackwell Reference Online. [Online] Available at: http://www.blackwellreference.com/subscriber/tocnode?id=g9780631216346_chunk_g978063121634628 [Accessed at: 26 February 2012]

paideia, Islamic ethics is based on the imitation of the role models of whom the Prophet of Islam takes the lead among others such as teachers, scholars and Ṣūfi masters and even Greek philosophers or an impersonal thing like the Qur'ān.[556] The people of bad habits or the ones that do not act according to the norms of right conduct are described as "without *adab*"[557] whereas the person who wholly embodies *adab* is thought to be the closest one to God. In Ṣūfism, the way that leads to union is an ascetic life of discipline and called *ta'dīb*.[558]

In the Islamic tradition, there is no group of people for whom an *adab* is not established. In the whole adab literature, figures range from kings, saints, officials, scholars and teachers to artisans and the heads of families[559]. There were many books written for the rulers[560] in different types such as Naṣihāt al-Mulūk, Qābusnāma and Siyāsatnāma besides the ethical works of Muslim philosophers like al-Fārābī and Ibn Miskawayh and the Muslim jurist and political theorist al-Māwardī (d. 1058) that discussed politics for the sake of the welfare of society.[561] Despite the great number of other books on special subjects[562] such as "ādāb al-muftī" and "ādāb al-mu'allim wa muta'allim", *adab* literature survived in anthologies and collection of sayings.[563]

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[556] In Islamic ethics, the character of the Prophet is more important than his other achievements. In addition to the imitation of the Prophet, believers are called to imitate and embody the qualities of God (takhallaqū bi-akhlāq Allāh) in terms of getting close to Him. Al-Ghazālī, *On Disciplining the Soul, Book 22*, trans., T. J. Winter (Cambridge: The Islamic Texts Society, 1995), v, xxxiv.

[557] Metcalf, 3.

[558] Gerhard Böwering, "The Adab Literature of Classical Sufism: Anṣārī's Code of Conduct," in *Moral Conduct and Authority: The Place of Adab in South Asian Islam*, ed. Barbara Daly Metcalf (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press), 68.

[559] Metcalf, 4, 8. In the Muslim tradition of dream interpretation, which took many elements from other religions, conversion is interpreted in terms of one's relationship with God. Accordingly, if it was a slave or a woman who converted in his or her dream, he or she would be reproached for disobeying the head of the house or the husband as the representative of God or the divine authority. When the conversion dream was dreamed by a man, he was supposed to check his moral life and his relationship with God. Elizabeth Sirriyeh, "Muslims Dreaming of Christians, Christians Dreaming of Muslims: Images from Medieval Dream Interpretation," *Islam and Christian–Muslim Relations* 17, no. 2 (2006): 218.

[560] For administrative literature and *Mirrors for princes*, see C. E. Bosworth, "Administrative Literature."

[561] Böwering, 62-63.

[562] Among the works of *adab*, writings related to dream interpretation emerge as interesting sources of knowledge about the active daily life in Baghdad during the tenth and eleventh centuries. As in al-Dīnawarī, some writers of dream interpretation whose writings consist of multi-cultural elements such as Biblical verses, Jewish and Christian interpretations of dreams and Brahmin and Zoroastrian traditions, also wrote works of *adab*. Sirriyeh: 210-212.

[563] Franz Rosenthal, *Knowledge Triumphant: The Concept of Knowledge in Medieval Islam* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2007), 253.

The whole notion of *adab* is formed around the innate capacity (malaka)[564] upon which intellectual and spiritual development[565] is possible but in a mutual way between actions and the inner self as good behaviour has the power to transform the soul and vice versa. Therefore, knowledge, action and being are inescapably one.[566] *Adab* can be summarised as the knowledge and action for a true living that is of course related to the next world. Thus, besides the intellectual and practical part, *adab* also includes the heart and the feelings.[567] 'Usāma ibn Munqidh said that *adab* was defined by a philosopher as "the life of the hearts".[568] Heart is the place where thoughts and actions leave their marks, which by repetition turn into attributions or qualities that colour the whole personality of individuals. One should keep in mind another role of the heart as in the experiential character of the knowledge about God.[569] For al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī (d. 905-910), despite the fact that the everlasting life is bestowed upon the spirit, heart (qalb) is the place where the enlightenment of "a spiritual birth" can take place. Even the life in paradise cannot offer what man can achieve in his heart through being close to and "engrafted"[570] by God.[571] Therefore, in Islamic ethics, the way towards God is dependent upon "reason, faith and love".[572]

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[564] See in the oration: "And others even before they were illuminated were worthy of praise; partly by nature, and partly by the care with which they prepared themselves for baptism" (22,15-17 καὶ πρὸ τῆς τελειώσεως ἦσαν ἐπαινετοί, οἱ μὲν ἐκ **φύσεως**, οἱ δὲ κατὰ **σπουδὴν** προκαθαίροντες ἑαυτοὺς τῷ βαπτίσματι, 22,11-12 بالاكتساب واخر بالطبع فواحد ممدوحا المعمودية تمام قبل كان من ومنهم). Schaff, *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, 367.

[565] The character qualities (khuluq) are indivisible from creation (khalq) and disposition or nature (fiṭra). Therefore, human beings should get into contact with the divinity to activate their relations to the primeval state. Al-Ghazālī, xxv.

[566] Metcalf, 10.

[567] Ira M. Lapidus, "Knowledge, Virtue, and Action: The Classical Muslim Conception of Adab and the Nature of Religious Fulfillment in Islam," in *Moral Conduct and Authority: The Place of Adab in South Asian Islam*, ed. Barbara Daly Metcalf (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1984), 60-61, 40.

[568] Rosenthal, *Knowledge Triumphant: The Concept of Knowledge in Medieval Islam*, 321.

[569] Lapidus, 47, 51.

[570] For the discussion of "being engrafted by God" in terms of having the capacity to reach theosis, see Chapter 4.

[571] Rita Rached, "Les notions de rûḥ (esprit) et de nafs (âme) chez 'Abd Allâh ibn al-Faḍl al-Ḥakîm al-Anṭâkî, théologien melchite du XIᵉ siècle," in *L'Orient chrétien dans l'empire musulman: Hommage au professeur Gérard Troupeau: Suite au colloque organisé les 15 et 16 Octobre 2004 par le CRITIC (Centre de recherches sur les idées et les transferts inter culturels) à l'Université Jean Moulin Lyon 3 en collaboration avec l'Institut Catholique de Toulouse*, ed. Geneviève Gobillot, G. Troupeau, Marie-Thérèse Urvoy (Paris: Éditions de Paris, 2005), 196.

[572] Lapidus, 42.

Similarly, *adab* is also pedagogy in which 'ilm, 'aql and right conducts are inseparable elements. As in ancient Greek and Oriental tradition, knowledge is acknowledged as "food for the soul" and the "life" itself.[573] However, there is another point of *adab*, which requires concordance between its essential elements, i.e. knowledge and action that could only be accomplished by solidarity among the members of society to encourage one another and thus help for the wellbeing of the whole social body.[574] This social concern is summarised in a well-known ḥadīth in which the Prophet said, "The believers are mirrors one to another".[575]

In Abbasid culture, high officials who were talented and well educated in a wide range of fields such as rhetoric, poetry, astrology and music played important roles in the intellectual development of the society as in the nadīm Abū Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Yaḥyā's library *Khizānat al-Ḥikma* that was established and opened to the use of 'ulamā'. His relationship with Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq, the most famous figure of the Abbasid Graeco-Arabic translation movement, enlightens a period of the Abbasid history in terms of the intellectual and interreligious state that was different from al-Ma'mūn's (d. 833) day of forthright discussions and the later Buyid era (945-1055) of unrestrained communication among the intellectual elite.[576] This multi-cultural character of the Abbasid society itself promoted the development of a discipline like *adab*[577] and the uniqueness of the whole *adab* literature can be explained by the merge of Muslim and non-Muslim experiences of the time period.[578] As in Ḥunayn's *Ādāb al-falāsifa*, the Christian writers of the period shared the same interest in ethics with their Muslim contemporaries.[579] As aptly put by Sidney Griffith,[580] it also offered an appropriate

[573] Rosenthal, *Knowledge Triumphant: The Concept of Knowledge in Medieval Islam*, 320.

[574] Lapidus, 44.

[575] Abū Dāvud, Adab, 49; Tirmidhī, Birr, 18. Al-Ghazālī, 54.

[576] Swanson, "A Curious and Delicate Correspondence: The Burhān of Ibn al-Munajjim and the Jawāb of Ḥunayn Ibn Isḥāq," *Islam and Christian–Muslim Relations* 22, no. 2 (2011): 181-182.

[577] In the post-Abbasid society, *adab* did not lose ground but rather became more sophisticated at the hands of Ṣūfis. Metcalf, 12, 17.

[578] John Watt indicates that Syrian Christians played an important role in the transmission of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* within a Platonist environment that had political overtones to Farabian political philosophy in which religion is interpreted in terms of rhetoric. Watt, "From Themistius to Al-Farabi: Platonic Political Philosophy and Aristotle's Rhetoric in the East," *Rhetorica: A Journal of the History of Rhetoric* 13, no. 1 (1995): 41.

[579] Griffith, "From Patriarch Timothy I to Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq: Philosophy and Christian Apology in Abbasid Times; Reason, Ethics and Public Policy," in *Christians and Muslims in Dialogue in the Islamic Orient of the Middle Ages*, ed. Martin Tamcke (Beirut: Ergon Verlag Würzburg in Kommission, 2007),

ground for Christians and Muslims to discuss doctrinal issues under the cover of moral philosophy. As far as the 10th century is concerned, one can talk about an ideology, which had in its centre a moral life based on philosophy.[581] It is interesting to find Arab Christian writers fully integrated into the moral philosophy or teaching of the Islamicate world in which they must have found proper means to explain their views against the Muslims who, in their eyes, had loose morals.[582]

Another reason for the emergence of adab was the circumstances people found themselves surrounded by amidst political and religious rivalry and social disorder. The religious thinking of the second century of Islam witnessed severe reactions between opposite views (as in *Miḥna* that lasted for fifteen years between 833 and 848) that were mainly based on discussions about predestination (qadar) and free will, which had effects on ethics.[583]

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85. John Watt finds the importance of the role of Christian Aristotelians of the Baghdad school in their struggle for the Greek legacy at a time when the traditionalist view was not powerless. They not only provided the Aristotelian works of logic in Arabic and thus linked the Alexandrian heritage to Baghdad but also helped the pro-Hellenist party in their controversy with the traditionalist. Watt, "The Strategy of the Baghdad Philosophers: The Aristotelian Tradition as a Common Motif in Christian and Islamic Thought," in *Christians and Muslims in Dialogue in the Islamic Orient of the Middle Ages*, ed. Martin Tamcke (Beirut: Ergon Verlag Würzburg in Kommission, 2007), 155.

[580] Griffith, "From Patriarch Timothy I to Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq: Philosophy and Christian Apology in Abbasid Times; Reason, Ethics and Public Policy," 92, 95.

[581] John Watt argues for a Christian interest and endeavour in Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and *Poetics* in the broader sense of the tenth-century discussion of the relationship between religion and philosophy. He indicates that the supremacy given by Syriac Christians to philosophy, which included rhetoric and poetics, was in accordance with the religious and political circumstances of the period. Watt, "The Strategy of the Baghdad Philosophers: The Aristotelian Tradition as a Common Motif in Christian and Islamic Thought," 159-160. He also reminds the role played by al-Fārābī's interpretation of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* in the revival of rhetoric as a practical discipline. With his *Cream of Wisdom* (finished in 1286), which is the most comprehensive Syriac work on Aristotle's philosophy, Bar Hebraeus brought forth practical philosophy as the fourth part of philosophical study. This is where he changed the Avicennan division of logic, physics, mathematics and metaphysics and adopted al-Ṭūsī's ethical scheme. J. W. Watt with Daniel Isaac, Julian Faultless, and Ayman Shihadeh, *Aristotelian Rhetoric in Syriac: Barhebraeus, Butyrum Sapientiae, Book of Rhetoric* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 5, 17-18.

[582] Griffith, *The Beginnings of Christian Theology in Arabic: Muslim-Christian Encounters in the Early Islamic Period*, Variorum Collected Studies Series (Aldershot, Hants, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2002), 125.

[583] Böwering, 62-63. As noted by John Watt in the example of Ibn Qutayba (d. 889), there were two main reactions among ninth century Muslim thinkers to the relation between religion and reason. Ibn Qutayba's *Kitāb adab al-kātib* represents the anti-Hellenist position that extirpated the Hellenistic heritage. Watt, "The Strategy of the Baghdad Philosophers: The Aristotelian Tradition as a Common Motif in Christian and Islamic Thought," 153.

Before the 7th century, intellectual circles of Byzantine society were not interested in Greek culture. Later, the Greek-speaking Christians generated an interest in Greek literature and developed new kinds of literary works such as hagiographical writings, florilegia and homilies. They were also the main actors of the Abbasid Graeco-Arabic translation movement in Baghdad. Unlike Damascus which was home for many Greek-speaking Christians, the cultural atmosphere in Baghdad did not have the influence of the hostile attitude of Byzantium towards Greek tradition and thus prepared the ground for an extremely active period of translations mainly of Greek works of which a great number of writings were related to *adab*. In the eyes of the Abbasids, Greek science and philosophy occupied the highest place and therefore, by being indifferent to their own roots, the Byzantines were the symbol of ignorance.[584] In Dimitri Gutas' words, this attitude is an "anti-Byzantinism" that turned into "philhellenism".[585]

The days between the end of the Abbasid religious inquisition administered by the Muʿtazilī rulers and the coming of the Buyid dynasty into power fall into a time period in which different schools and teachings were in intellectual and constitutional development. If one looks at works such as Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist*, he or she will easily realise the extremely active atmosphere of the 10th century in terms of the distribution of books, which not always required wealthy sponsors[586] as it did in the translation activities. Besides the money paid to translators, it was necessary to provide for both the

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[584] Watt, "The Strategy of the Baghdad Philosophers: The Aristotelian Tradition as a Common Motif in Christian and Islamic Thought," 154. Watt points to the Farabian *history of philosophy from Alexandria to Baghdad* that marks the contribution of some Eastern centres like Harran and Antioch to the Abbasid revolution as an example of the Abbasid propaganda, which introduced the Muslim Arab culture as higher than the Byzantine civilisation in terms of the appropriation of the Hellenistic legacy. Watt, "Syriac Translators and Greek Philosophy in Early Abbasid Iraq," 20. For an alternative route ("Seleucia-on-Orontes, Qenneshre, and Syriac monastic schools and libraries in the region of Mosul") suggested by Watt, see Watt, "Commentary and Translation in Syriac Aristotelian Scholarship: Sergius to Baghdad," 42. _____, "From Sergius to Mattā: Aristotle and Pseudo-Dionysius in the Syriac Tradition," in *Interpreting the Bible and Aristotle in Late Antiquity: The Alexandrian Commentary Tradition between Rome and Baghdad*, ed. John W. Watt and Josef Lössl (Farnham, Surrey; Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2011), 257. King, "Origenism in Sixth Century Syria. The Case of a Syriac Manuscript of Pagan Philosophy," 192.

[585] Dimitri Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture: The Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early Abbasid Society (2nd-4th/8th-10th centuries)* (London: Routledge, 1998), 18, 19, 84, 85.

[586] It is known that even as late as the last decades of the tenth century scholars like the philologist and historian Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī (died after 961) could easily find people of Greek origin to translate a work they needed orally even though it required the intervention of the younger generation who spoke Arabic fluently. Ghada Osman, "Translation and Interpreting in the Arabic of the Middle Ages: Lessons in Contextualization," *The International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 207 (2011): 111.

personal development of the translators in Greek and the acquisition of the texts from some Byzantine cities.[587] It was not only series of translations but also a creative activity[588] that generated the philosophical and scientific terminology in Arabic we still use today. Therefore, the translations that come from this period reveal the motivation behind the activity of translation itself as the preference for some texts and the style in which they were translated enlighten the worldview that initiated such an enterprise. The last decades of the 10th century also correspond to a revival of sciences like medicine, especially with the establishment of the ʿAḍūdī hospital (982) of which the Melkite Naẓīf ibn Yumn is a significant figure. The interest in Greek works and thus their translations into Arabic was not weakened until the end of the Buyid dynasty in 1055.[589]

In the ninth and the tenth centuries, there appeared in Byzantium anthologies of sayings that reflect the Greek wisdom tradition on the popular level. A similar wave of collecting these wisdom sayings emerged in Abbasid territories but in a different way as it initiated the big Graeco-Arabic translation movement.[590] Works of translators such as Ḥunayn, his colleagues[591] and disciples were mainly of gnomological type that appeared in well-known *adab* writings like Ibn Qutayba's and Jāhiẓ's books.[592] The last period of the gnomological translations that already began in the first half of the eight century is

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[587] Although it is not possible to find any Byzantine cities involved in this translation movement, it was nevertheless connected to the First Byzantine Humanism in the 9th century. Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture: The Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early Abbasid Society (2nd-4th/8th-10th centuries)*, 179, 186.

[588] The Abbasid renaissance included original works written in Arabic as well. In Uwe Vagelpohl's words, "the texts produced during the Greek-Arabic translation movement are independent literary facts" and "literary creations in their own right". Vagelpohl, 209.

[589] Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture: The Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early Abbasid Society (2nd-4th/8th-10th centuries)*, 124, 135, 139-141, 146, 151-152.

[590] In the first phase of the translations from Greek into Syriac, ethics was one of the most approved subjects alongside theology, medicine and philosophy. Watt, "Syriac Translators and Greek Philosophy in Early Abbasid Iraq," 16.

[591] In Qusṭā ibn Lūqā's translation of Aetius, it is possible to see the influence of Greek rhetoric that must have been transformed from the Greek world to the Abbasid culture through Syrian Christian circles. Watt, "Eastward and Westward Transmission of Classical Rhetoric," in *Centres of Learning: Learning and Location in Pre-Modern Europe and the near East*, ed. A. A. MacDonald and J. W. Drijvers (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 68.

[592] In his examination of the way that the Arabic version of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* followed in the East, Vagelpohl points to *Kitāb al-saʿāda* whose authorship despite the former ascription of the book to al-ʿĀmirī is currently in dispute as an example from a phase in which the reception of Greek texts were not limited to philosophical works but also embraced gnomological sources of Greek origin. Vagelpohl, 189, 191.

the first decades of the eleventh century and consists of anonymous anthologies which depend on material that were translated earlier. The vast library of gnomological works functioned as popular educational and moral sources in the Arab society along with their intellectual and historical value. It influenced ethics and *adab* in particular more than other fields such as Ṣūfism and Arab poetry in which one could still find its traces.[593]

Sidney Griffith[594] points to the connection of three Christian Arabic writings from the period between the late ninth and the eleventh century with the Muslim philosopher al-Kindī's *Risāla fī l-ḥīla li dafʿ al-aḥzān* (The art of dispelling sorrows). In one of these three works, the Nestorian Elias al-Jawharī's (the 9th century) *Tasliyat al-aḥzān* (The consolation of sorrows), "God's discipline and testing" are found "more advantageous […] than the honour of the world and its favours". Therefore, "whoever resents God's discipline and His testing […] commits a sin and invites the anger of the Lord". In this vein, Sāwīrus ibn al-Muqaffaʿ and Elias of Nisibis wrote books called *Affliction's physics and the cure of sorrow* along with *Ṭibb al-ghamm wa shifāʾ al-huzun* and *Kitāb dafʿ al-hamm*, respectively. These works mainly based on al-Kindī's *Risāla* demonstrate that *adab* played a significant role in the integration of Arab Christian writers into the thinking of the Islamicate world.

Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī's *Tahdhīb* is an important contribution to the intellectual atmosphere of the 10th century whose discussions were mainly about the place of reason in religious matters and because of the high status reason held,[595] these discussions reminded some modern scholars of a "philosophic humanism".[596] *Tahdhīb* is a work of *adab* that was

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[593] Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture: The Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early Abbasid Society (2nd-4th/8th-10th centuries)*, 14, 446, 3, 451, 464-465.

[594] Griffith, *The Beginnings of Christian Theology in Arabic: Muslim-Christian Encounters in the Early Islamic Period*, 111-114, 116, 119, 125.

[595] In *Tahdhīb*, there is no implication to a specific divine source or to the world to come. Ibid., 126. Ibn ʿAdī's teacher al-Fārābī discussed the place of philosophy among other sciences or even in relation to theology in his works about human and social perfection such as *Kitāb taḥṣīl al-saʿāda* and *al-Madīna al-Fāḍila*. Watt, "The Strategy of the Baghdad Philosophers: The Aristotelian Tradition as a Common Motif in Christian and Islamic Thought," 158.

[596] The Christian philosophers of the Aristotelian school of Baghdad followed a different path from the patristic tradition particularly Origenian Platonism survived in the Cappadocian thought in which, despite the high position it held among Greek thinkers and patristic figures as the giver of wisdom against what is

written with social concerns, and supports the Aristotelian notion that happiness is found through virtues and this is in the capacities of human beings.[597] For Ibn ʿAdī, *tahdhīb* or *taʾdīb* means refinement or reformation of morals which happens in the rational soul and find its proper reflection in the *perfect* or *complete man* who is "someone of reformed morals and confirmed in humanity". He offered a comprehensive programme to "improve the rational soul, to empower and embellish it with virtues, refinement and good deeds" with the purpose of reaching to the "discernment of good and bad habits by rational sciences and the refinement of one's critical thinking". Beyond all his social concerns which appear strikingly in his discussion of virtues and vices in which he, unlike other adab writers, approve some qualities for rulers, whereas he rejects them in monks or scholars,[598] Ibn ʿAdī finds the ascetic life (اهل الورع والنسك)[599] the most appropriate way towards the fulfilment and perfection. He uses a spiritual language or a language of love to explain that as lovers of perfection (المحب الكمال or عاشقا لصورة الكمال), there is a powerful divine desire (القوة الالهية) in every human being to be fulfilled and completed for the sake of perfection.[600]

In the Arabic recension of the *Life of Theodore of Edessa* (probably written after 944 but before 1023) that is of Melkite origin and is not like its Greek version that has the only intention to strengthen the Chalcedonian doctrine and identity in the cities in which the Byzantine power was established again, there appears an emphasis on justice and peace that are believed to be realised in this world. Besides the confession of the faith and the practice on this faith even in difficult situations, there is another point emphasised in the work, which is the belief in the possibility of a perfect sacred life.[601]

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offered by rhetoric to common people, philosophy could not go further than being "a propaideia". Watt, "The Strategy of the Baghdad Philosophers: The Aristotelian Tradition as a Common Motif in Christian and Islamic Thought," 162.

[597] ʿAdī, xxi, xxiii, xxviii, xxxii.

[598] Ibid., xxxiv, xxxvii-xxxviii, xxxvi.

[599] Ibrāhīm translated "ἐγκράτεια" as "النساك" in two places in Oration 40 (paragraphs twenty-six and forty). It is possible to find it also in al-ʿAssāl brothers, the 13th century Monophysite Copto-Arabic writers and the followers of Ibn ʿAdī, who saw asceticism (*tanassuk*) as the inevitable element of perfection and mostly drew attention to the role of the mind and contemplation in the process of deification. Davis, 263.

[600] ʿAdī, 17, 19.

[601] Swanson, "The Christian Al-Ma'mun Tradition," in *Christians at the Heart of Islamic Rule: Church Life and Scholarship in ʿAbbasid Iraq, Volume 2001*, ed. David Richard Thomas (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003), 77-79. Abū Qurra believed that a true Christian life starts first with the cross at baptism and

It is known that Elias of Nisibis (975-1046) wrote about moral and ethical issues one of which his response to Ibn Buṭlān who was not sure about some points that are discussed by Elias under the titles of virtues, perfection, sins, judgment, forgiveness and the Resurrection. He furthers his analysis of virtues and vices in his *Kitāb dafʿ al-hamm* (The dissipation of sorrows) which suggests a virtues life and discipline as a remedy for vices and passions. This view is supported in his other works of which one appears to be an anthology of sayings about the welfare of the body and soul.[602]

Like some other adab writers, Elias was interested in the linguistic analysis of Syriac[603] and Arabic on which he wrote a treatise and composed a Syriac-Arabic lexicon. However, his comprehensive description of the discussion between him and the vizier of the Marwānid ruler Naṣr al-Dawla, Abū l-Qāsim al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī al-Maghribī, composed in the conversational style of the *adab* literature (*Kitāb al-majālis*) is an excellent source for the intellectual atmosphere of the 11th century. In this educational piece of work that is theological at the same time, Elias finds a way to demonstrate the power of Syriac in literature and sciences and thus strengthen the Syriac identity in a milieu in which the majority of the Christians spoke and wrote in Arabic.[604] It is not surprising to find Elias' younger contemporary Sāwīrus ibn al-Muqaffaʿ complaining about the Coptic Christians of his day who even in liturgy could speak neither Coptic nor Greek but only Arabic.[605]

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then continues with a living that is appropriate to the contract made with God at baptism, which always necessitates Christ's leading. Swanson, "The Cross of Christ in the Earliest Arabic Melkite Apologies," in *Christian Arabic Apologetics During the Abbasid Period, 750-1258*, ed. Samir K. Samir and Jørgen S. Nielsen (Leiden, Boston and Köln: Brill, 1994), 142. After reminding the reader the role of St Maximus the Confessor's ousia-hypostasis distinction in the diophysite teaching of the Melkite Church, Keating points out to his theandric doctrine, which provided a strong basis for deification since he defended the possibility of theosis by living a virtuous life, which through the divine image, ends in the reunion of Christ. Keating, 42f.

[602] David Bertaina, "Science, Syntax, and Superiority in Eleventh-Century Christian-Muslim Discussion: Elias of Nisibis on the Arabic and Syriac Languages," *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 22, no. 2 (2011): 199.

[603] It is known that Syrians had long been interested in grammar on the technical level and their grammatical writings reveal the influence of the Greek works on Syriac study of language. Watt, "Grammar, Rhetoric, and the Enkyklios Paideia in Syriac," 57.

[604] Bertaina: 200, 204, 206.

[605] Osman: 111.

As pointed out by Nasrallah,[606] the translation activities of patristic works that mainly took place in the tenth and eleventh centuries were sponsored by the Melkite Church. Among the Melkites of this period, scientific works appeared as well at the hands of persons such as Naẓīf ibn Yumn. Furthermore, there were literary writings spread in the Melkite circles like the novel *Barlaam and Josaphat* whose Christian Arabic recension might have come from Mar Sabas Monastery in the eleventh or twelfth century. *Physiologus*, a work that is attributed to Gregory of Nazianzus in most of the manuscripts seems to be Melkite as well. Other genres especially hagiographical writings such as the stories of "Anba Paula" and "Jeremy the Anchorite" occupied a significant place in Melkite popular religious thinking.

'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl is an important Melkite figure whose works shed light on the character of the Antiochene translation movement which was represented by Ibrāhīm just before the days he was active in translating and writing. Even though there is not concrete evidence for a relationship between these two Antiochene translators, it is more than probable to suppose a connection in the earlier period of Ibn al-Faḍl's life, which, given the fact that Ibn al-Faḍl's date of birth is supposed to be about 1000, should correspond to a period when Ibrāhīm should have been quite old. As demonstrated by Alexander Treiger[607] in his writings on Ibn al-Faḍl, the Antiochene translation movement had a strong ethical/moral point that just comes after its concerns for patristic works. While Ibrāhīm preferred to emphasise this moral concern with the words or the style he chose in his translations alongside his *Life of Christopher* in which he described Christopher's virtuous life in detail, Ibn al-Faḍl made it clearer and stronger in his works such as *Kitāb al-manfaʿa*, *Kitāb al-rawḍa*, *Kitāb bahjat al-muʾmin* and *Kitāb al-maṣābīh*.

In *Kitāb al-manfaʿa* (The Book of Benefit), Ibn al-Faḍl discusses subjects related to ethics, psychology, rhetoric, logic, sciences, philosophy, physiology and mathematics.

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[606] Nasrallah, 176-178, 186, 188.
[607] Treiger, "ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī." and Noble and Treiger, "Christian Arabic Theology in Byzantine Antioch: ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī and his Discourse on the Holy Trinity."

He forms his ethics[608] around the Biblical saying "fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom". His *Kitāb al-rawḍa* (The Book of Garden) is a florilegium that combines the sayings of the Fathers and the Biblical motives with the teachings of numerous Greek thinkers with the addition of his explanatory notes mostly on some Arabic words that he chose to make further lexicographical and grammatical explanations. In addition to his suggestion, which finds teaching Arabic grammar to Christians is one of the most important motives that lie behind the composition of this book, Treiger emphasises on the possible contribution of the works of this kind to the relationship between Byzantium and the East. Sources for a virtuous life might have been thought as a bridge that would fill the gap between the Greek tradition and the Arab Christian culture.[609] *Kitāb al-rawḍa* not only provided the Arabic-speaking world with some Byzantine texts that no longer existed in their originals but also presented a Christian adab work written in Arabic yet depending on both Greek and Arabic sources.[610]

Kitāb bahjat al-mu'min or *Joy of the Believer*, besides its treatment of Christology in which the humanity of Christ is emphasised, seems to be written as a handbook for the Christians of the 11th century that includes questions and answers related to different fields like theology, ethics and science with citations from figures such as Bardaisan (as quoted in Pseudo-Caesarius), Isaac of Nineveh, John of Damascus and Ibn 'Adī. Due to the lack of manuscripts, the content of *Kitāb al-maṣābīh* is not yet fully discovered but Georg Graf and Nasrallah mentioned about it as an ethical and theological work. According to Asad Rustum, who describes the book as Ibn al-Faḍl's "most important work", *Book of Lights* is composed of sayings taken from some sacred and profane

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[608] Rita Rached describes Ibn al-Faḍl's ethics as "natural" or "laic" in terms of his distinction between the spirit (rūh) and the soul (nafs) which links theosis to the spirit. Rached, 194, 197.

[609] There is an anonymous work called al-Firdaws al-'aqlī (The Noetic Paradise) and attributed to Gregory of Nyssa or John of Damascus which does not seem to be belonging to either of them. It seems to come from the eight or ninth century Palestine and exists only in its Arabic form. This ascetic work examines the path that will take the reader to paradise with special emphasis on the heart, mind, virtues and purification from evils. Noble and Treiger, "Christian Arabic Theology in Byzantine Antioch: 'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī and his Discourse on the Holy Trinity," 372. For another Melkite text, *Pandecte*, composed by Nicon, a monk at the Monastery on the Black Mountain, in the 11th century on morals and the Nestorian and the Jacobite ascetical works from the period between the ninth and the twelfth centuries, see Gérard Troupeau, "La littérature arabe chrétienne du Xe au XIIe siècle," *Année* 14 (1971): 13-14.

[610] Treiger, "'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī," 92-93, 101. One should also keep in mind the ground these Antiochene Melkite translators prepared for the later Arab Christian writers mostly the Copto-Arabic Christians. Noble and Treiger, "Christian Arabic Theology in Byzantine Antioch: 'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī and his Discourse on the Holy Trinity," 373.

sources. Joseph Zaytun reports that the last part of this work deals with divine love (al-maḥabba al-ilāhiyya) and includes verses from his contemporary Sulaymān al-Ghazzī (died probably after 1027), the Melkite bishop of Palestine.[611]

It is possible to find a Christian interest in *adab* in Theodore Abū Qurra's panegyric for the Caliph al-Ma'mūn (*Sinai Arabic 447*, 13th c.) which exhibits a social or political concern on the side of the Christians. Theodore Abū Qurrā seems to be reminding the ruling authority of his responsibility towards the non-Muslim subjects in terms of virtues among which justice and mercy come to the fore. In the same text, al-Ma'mūn is presented as an excellent example with his virtues that should be imitated by all. It might have been written with the intention of providing Christians with an example of dealing with the authorities in a proper manner.[612]

Having examined the meaning and place of *adab* in the intellectual atmosphere of the Abbasid period, we will introduce one of the main figures of the *adab* literature, the Muslim Jesus. Jesus is an important character of Islamic ethics and mysticism. Besides being the symbol of the transformation of the soul and thus drawing close to God, he is the perfect embodiment of moral values. This transformative role of Jesus is related to the purification and transformation of man's inner world,[613] which consists of his spirit, soul, heart and mind. In Muslim texts of different genres, Jesus' moral and transformative roles always appear as connected to each other. However, there were some works in which a figure of Jesus as the perfect human being stands out among his other qualities or functions that even go as far as to political and eschatological roles. These works ranging from the Tales of the Prophets (Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā') to anthologies of wisdom sayings are all described as *adab* writings.[614]

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[611] Treiger, "ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī," 103-105.
[612] Swanson, "The Christian Al-Ma'mun Tradition," 68-70.
[613] Milad Milani, "Representations of Jesus in Islamic Mysticism: Defining the 'Sufi Jesus'" *Literature & Aesthetics* 21, no. 2 (2011): 49.
[614] Alongside with these works, it is possible to find a great deal of information about Jesus' moral qualities and transformative role in the ḥadīth literature, commentaries of the Qur'ān and Ṣūfi texts which most of the time are enriched by the apocryphal gospels and the Syriac, Ethiopic and Coptic Christian texts. Tarif Khalidi, *The Muslim Jesus: Sayings and Stories in Islamic Literature* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 2001), 14, 25-26.

However, Jesus came to be well known mostly in popular religion, which is expressed best in the *adab* literature. Behind the rise of *adab* as a literature, lay various interesting motives among which the interaction between the Christian and Muslim culture[615] stands out. This was rather a Christian influence on the Muslim understanding of Jesus, which was mainly formed by the Qur'ān. Therefore, unlike his image in the Qur'ān, the Jesus of the *adab* literature or the "Muslim Gospel" as described by Tarif Khalidi was always open to interpretations that were more liberal.[616] Apart from the *adab* literature or Ṣūfī texts in which he appears as "the seal of saints"[617] and is always thought of as having a different kind or the biggest portion of divine wisdom from the one that other prophets were bestowed, even some commentators of the Qur'ān did not hesitate to attribute him a high place among the receivers of the divine knowledge.

3.3.1.1. "Walking with Christ"

In this part, we will narrate the story of Christ on earth, sometimes as a poor and a stranger who owns nothing of this world and sometimes as a teacher or even a leader whose teaching is the visible part of the divine message or economy that aims at a physically and metaphysically transformed humanity. Interestingly enough, this can be read as the story of Gregory's own life, which was nothing but a struggle between the world of theological discussions and a quiet contemplative life in asceticism. Although our knowledge on Ibrāhīm is yet limited, it will not be an exaggeration to expect from a churchman high ambitions as Gregory's for the religious and social welfare of his congregation as shown by his interest in church history and translations of patristic works which nevertheless did not lack an inclination towards mysticism and spirituality.

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[615] For Kufa as the birth-place of the sayings related to Jesus in Muslim texts and as an important figure in the early history of Christian-Muslim interaction, see Tarif Khalidi, "The Role of Jesus in Intra-Muslim Polemics of the First Two Islamic Centuries " in *Christian Arabic Apologetics During the Abbasid Period, 750-1258*, ed. Samir K. Samir and Jørgen S. Nielsen (Leiden, Boston and Köln: Brill, 1994).

[616] Khalidi, *The Muslim Jesus: Sayings and Stories in Islamic Literature*, 44.

[617] N. Robinson, *Christ in Islam and Christianity* (Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 1991), 58.

However, what we read in Ibrāhīm's work is more of a social reading of baptism, which draws our attention to the part of theosis that is rather turned towards this world.

In paragraph eighteen, Gregory summarises his views about virginity and marriage and emphasises on the adaptability of what is offered by baptism to every way of human life. Thus, baptism or the new life it bestows appears as the controlling factor of human lives by which human beings can keep themselves on the right path: 18,2-3 ταύτην ποίησαι τοῦ βίου κοινωνὸν καὶ συνόμιλον· αὕτη ῥυθμιζέτω σοι καὶ βίον, 18,2-3 شريكة في عمرك و مسامرة[618] و لتكن هي المرتبة لسيرتك. Although virginity is always preferred as the true philosophical life that Gregory has in his mind, marriage also occupies an important place especially in his thoughts about social or communal aspects of theosis. It is more about the welfare of Christian families but it is never ignored as a way that leads individuals to deification. However, it is not free from boundaries that are required for a divine life as indicated in Gregory's description of what is not wanted from a marriage: being married to flesh (18,9 σαρκὶ συνεζεύχθης, 18,8 تزوج الجسد).

How can marriage be dishonoured since Christ honoured[619] a marriage (18,11 ἐγὼ νυμφοστόλος, 18,9 للعرس مرتبا) and wrought a miracle (18,14 θαυματουργεῖ, 18,12 عمل الاعجوبة)? At first glance, this does not seem to be in line with Gregory's description of Christian life, especially in terms of achieving theosis, as the imitation of Christ who is the Bridegroom (18,14 νυμφίον, 18,11 بالمسيح الختن) and also the Groomsman: 18,13 νυμφαγωγον, and 18,11 نديم الختن) of the Church but at the same time the symbol of virginity. However, for Gregory, this is in fact a kind of imitation of what Christ did with his attendance at a wedding (18,13 Μιμήσομαι Χριστον, 18,11 اتشبه بالمسيح). Nevertheless, one should remember his advice not to follow every bit of Christ's life

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[618] It is interesting to find "συνόμιλον" rendered by "مسامرة", which refers to "friendly conversations especially at nights". Lane, 1425. Ibrāhīm must have preferred it to any other words that denote "association" because of the intensity that is felt in friendly talks during long Arabian nights, which is secretive most of the time in terms of sharing personal feelings. Here, this prominent figure of Arabic literature must imply something different or opposed to friendly relations, which is marriage as clearly understood from the context of the whole paragraph, a kind of comparison between marriage and virginity, and their connection with baptism.

[619] There is an emphasis in the translation on the notion of "honouring", which appears in Ibrāhīm's use of "crowning" in two places (18,10 مكللا [I will *crown* the wedding] and 18,12 ومكلله [the pure and *crowned* Bridegroom and Groomsman]), while there is no Greek equivalents in the original text.

since it is not always compatible with human capacity as appeared in his discussion of the Temptation of Christ. He argued the reasons put forth by Christians who postponed their baptism till an old age basing their excuses on Christ's baptism at the age of thirty. What he intended to emphasise is that there were some reasons for Christ's forty days fasting before the Temptation and being baptised not before he was thirty.

For Gregory, there is danger for married Christians only in filthy love or desires: 18,15-16 καὶ πόθοις ῥυπαροῖς, 18,14 العشق النجس. As he indicated throughout the oration that there is time appropriate for different kinds of activities, Gregory underlines that even for married Christians sometimes it is required to devote themselves to virginity and abstinence, which is much more honourable (18,19 τιμιωτέρα, 18,16 اكرم) when the time of prayer (18,18 εὐχῆς, 18,16 صلاة) comes. Thus, based on these moments dedicated to rituals and religious practices, Gregory assumes a virgin state in married life. Even though there were excellent examples of a perfect Christian life among the married couples around him, especially his sister Gorgonia's marriage,[620] Gregory seems to attribute this partial virginity, as in Eastern Christian tradition, which by the 6th century

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[620] In Gregory's works, marriage is symbolised by three women, his mother Nonna, his sister Gorgonia and his friend Basil's mother Emmelia. For Gregory, as wives and mothers, these female figures represented the perfect exemplary of an ideal Christian family. It is possible to see in Gregory's description of their achievements such as his mother's role in the conversion of his father and Emmelia's generosity towards the poor, these women had strong characters. One should also be reminded of the monastery founded for women by Emmelia and her eldest daughter Macrina in their family estate in Pontus. However, his sister Gorgonia was the main figure who provided Gregory with an excellent example to explain his thoughts about marriage, which is "a community of virtue" (Orat. 43.9). As "exemplar of every excellence" (Orat. 8.8), what she left to her children was "an example to imitate, and the desire to rival her in these things" (Orat. 8.12). Together with the Church, marriage represented the earthly part of theosis process in the eyes of Gregory. It is first of all, as in Greek thought, the continuation of humanity which in a sense is attainment of immortality. Therefore, "marriage was a bulwark (after the fall) against extinction" and "children made mankind steadfast" while "death made it transient". Children represent their parents' memories of the past and their dreams about the future just as in the example of Gregory's family where the names of children denote the relation of the parents with past, present and future: Gorgonia represents the Greek tradition while Caesarius and Gregory symbolise the imperial culture and Christianity, respectively. Raymond Van Dam, *Families and Friends in Late Roman Cappadocia* (Philadelphia, Pa. : University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 120,122,124. As aptly put by Mark Tarpley, for Gregory, church and liturgy are other factors that play an important role in the formation of children's characters and they are in close connection with familial bonds. A life formed around special days dedicated to feasts and martyrs or saints, not only shapes the community in various ways but also involves children in living in an environment where they find the opportunity to observe the perfect imitation of the life of Christ. Education after all begins with "religious habits and practices" (Orat. 21.6). Therefore, despite the power of letters, teaching should reach beyond words and aim at practising in a community that requires being in contact with different associations. Mark A. Tarpley, "Between Martyrdom and Christendom: A Consideration of Contemporary Family and Public Life Rooted in the Thought of Gregory of Nazianzus" (PhD diss., Southern Methodist University, 2009), 176,189.

developed a negative attitude towards the human body,[621] to Christians who are not talented enough to lead a life of virginity or asceticism.

It is marriage, which offers the healing, or transforming power of the religion that turns men into saints not theological thinking or reasoning.[622] Without its transforming function, virtue would be meaningless and it is in marriage that virtue is both generated and practised.[623] As a means for the transformation of both individuals and families, marriage gives an identity to all of its members. The first and foremost part of the formation of this identity is the education of children which is in fact leading them to the way through deification or "giving them to the Trinity" (17,24 Δὸς αὐτῷ τὴν Τρίαδα, 17,20 اعطه الثالوث) as Samuel's (Orat. 40.17) and Gregory's mother[624] did. Here appears again the significance of the female factor especially motherhood in the raising of children in a priestly manner (17,20-21 τῇ ἱερατικῇ στολῇ συνανέθρεψεν, 17,17 ورباته في لباس الكهنوت), which is always exalted by Gregory but might be a target of his harsh criticism when it does not function properly (17,17-18 ὡς μικρόψυχος εἶ μήτηρ καὶ ὀλιγόπιστος, 17,15 فما اصغر نفسك واقل ايمانك).

For Gregory, education does not need to be limited to religious knowledge, which is in fact compatible with Greek philosophy and wisdom. This is how he thinks of Greek *paideia*, which occupies an important place in his thought in terms of the relation between religion and philosophy. It was not just about a theoretical relation between these concepts but rather had practical consequences about the way of life he proposed. Although Gregory did not systematically write about education,[625] it was always related

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[621] Al-Ghazālī, xxv.

[622] Tarpley, 127.

[623] Tarpley points out the place of martyrdom in Gregory's thought and describes it as a strong element of his system of education, which emphasises on the proper adoption or representation of Christian values. This emphasis on human beings as the embodiment of virtues, which is an important feature of Oration 40 also appears in Orat. 7.10 in which he exhorts people to "being known as a Christian" just as his brother Caesarius did while he could choose other things among many options to be known with. Ibid., 176.

[624] *On his own Life* 182-199 from Denise Molaise Meehan (*Saint Gregory of Nazianzus: Three Poems* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1987), 82) cited in Brian Daley, *Gregory of Nazianzus*, 6, 191.

[625] Still it is possible to find a kind of program in *Carmina ad Seleucum* to be followed by students of classical knowledge that includes reading of texts by philosophers, orators, poets and historians but it always has to be directed towards God. Ruether, 165.

to his theosis theology, which can be summarised as a long process of moral and spiritual education with practical purposes. What he expected from education was giving young people the values upon which they could build a virtuous life.[626] Therefore, it is not surprising to find him either taking care of his nephew's intellectual development or discussing educational matters with the sophists of his day who were the main figures of profane learning in those days. It is known that even for a short period of time he taught rhetoric in Nazianzus[627] but did not find it appropriate for the true philosophical life he has in his mind.[628] His correspondence with some sophists some of which come from his last decade reveals his interest in schools and their curricula,[629] which would later on include his orations and poems in their programs of secondary schools.[630] As a poet who intended to attract young minds by his poems, he attributed an educative role to poetry that had been opposed by Plato on the ground that it is not good for morals.[631] *De vita sua* is a witness for this educative role of poetry where Gregory implied that his poems would serve well in pedagogy.[632]

Despite its significant role in the education of children and the moral and spiritual improvements of individuals, marriage always carries the risk of being entrapped by desires, which are exactly what Gregory is against, and therefore must not be led by "fleshly will".[633] Nevertheless, it is still possible to be devoted to God properly even in a married life[634] with the help of "mind which nobly presides over both wedlock and virginity, and arranges and works upon them as the raw material of virtue under the

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[626] It is interesting to find a "Christian child" image as a seeker for the right path and sometimes as a 'perfect master' who is freed from bad habits and qualities in Ṣūfī literature in which Jesus is the symbol of moral and spiritual teaching and mastery. Javad Nurbakhsh, *Jesus in the Eyes of the Sufis* (London: Khaniqahi-Nimatullahi Publications, 1983), 41.

[627] It is known that even after he gave up teaching of rhetoric he trained some students such as Eulalius, Helladius, Eudoxios and Cledonius. Celica Milovanovic, "Sailing to Sophistopolis: Gregory of Nazianzus and Greek Declamation," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 13, no. 2 (2005): 193.

[628] Ruether, 160.

[629] McLynn, 219, 232.

[630] Nimmo-Smith, xli.

[631] John A. McGuckin, "Gregory: The Rhetorician as Poet," in *Gregory of Nazianzus: Images and Reflections*, ed. Tomas Hägg and Jostein Børtnes (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2006), 209-210.

[632] McLynn, 234.

[633] Ruether, 140, 141.

[634] It is interesting to find a similar approach to marriage as a way to draw near to God in one of the early Ṣūfīs, Sahl al-Ṭustarī (c. 896) who equated "learned married men" to angels. Al-Ghazālī, xliii-xliv.

master-hand of reason".[635] In translating desire or passion as *'ishq*, Ibrāhīm follows Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī alongside with early Ṣūfīs and Muslim philosophers all of whom acknowledged the negative attitude of Greek philosophers towards *eros* or earthly love. In an Arabic collection of philosophical sayings, which includes words of Plato, Aristotle and Galen, Diogenes is reported to say that *'ishq* "is the disease of an empty, careless heart". Muslim philosophers like al-Kindī and Avicenna did not differ from Diogenes and Muḥammad ibn Zakarīyā al-Rāzī declared that *'ishq* could not find a place among Greek philosophers because of their devotion to more honourable subjects.[636]

For Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī, *'ishq* is "immoderate love (*ḥubb*) and intemperance in it" or in other words "an extravagant excess of love", which leads the one who possesses it to "bad habits".[637] Elsewhere in the translation (4.3), Ibrāhīm uses *'ishq* in the verb form as يعشق for ἐρωτικῶς (4.4) which means "being in love with or passionate about". His preference of *'ishq* in relation to bodily desires draws our attention to the fact that if he was not aware of the language used in *adab* literature or other works of ethics written in Arabic, he could easily choose another word (for πόθοις) with more emphasis on the destructive power of physical passions such as *shahwah*. In *Tahdhīb al-akhlāq*, Ibn 'Adī is interested more in the practical applications of ethics possibly to contribute to the moral development of a generation be it Christian or Muslim that lived in an intellectually active society of the 10th century that was fuelled long before by the Graeco-Arabic translation movement or the Abbasid renaissance. Although it is not structured as a systematic philosophical work of ethics, *Tahdhīb* had a high esteem among later writers.[638] Particularly with its use of the word *adab* and the emphasis on *reason* in the spiritual and moral ascent of human beings towards God together with its stress on scholars and ascetics, *Tahdhīb* might have been an influence for Ibrāhīm's translation.

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[635] Orat. 8.8.
[636] Al-Ghazālī, xliv.
[637] 'Adī, 49.
[638] Ibid., xi,xii.

After establishing that both virginity and marriage can be compatible with a life of purification, Gregory draws attention to the roles of priests in this process. It is more of exhorting rather than compelling (18,19-20 Οὐ γὰρ νομοθετοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ **παραινοῦμεν**, 18,17 فلسنا نقترض ذلك بل **نشير** به) as clearly seen in the nature of their task, which is taking something from their congregation to give them (eternal) security: 18,20-21 καὶ τῶν σῶν τι λαβεῖν ὑπὲρ σοῦ βούλομεθα, καὶ τῆς κοινῆς ὑμῶν ἀσφαλείας ἕνεκεν, 18,17-18 لانا نريد ناخذ منك شيا نقدمه عن وثاقتك و اخترازك. Priests are mediators between God and human beings who constantly strive for an ascent towards God and reacquisition of the divine image.[639]

"Pastoral ministry" is one of the main subjects of Gregory's corpus, which with his first three orations and particularly the second one[640] introduced the first and most prominent example of a theological treatment of pastoral leadership[641] that was an inspiration for John Chrysostom, Jerome and Gregory the Great to the field.[642] In these works, being well qualified in theology emerges as the most important feature of a priest who is also expected to be an exemplar of virtue with required technical skills. Oration 2 discusses what is required in the training of priests on the basis of the problems caused by the appointment of unprepared or inappropriate persons to clerical posts.[643] Gregory proposes a long process of training consisting of scriptural and spiritual study alongside rhetoric and philosophy. It is with the help of speaking of the Word among people that

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[639] Norris, 15. See (Orat. 2.22):
> The scope of [our] therapy is to provide the soul with wings, to rescue it from the world and give it to God to watch over that which is in his image if it abides, to take it by the hand if it is in danger, or to restore if it is ruined, to make Christ to dwell in the heart by the Spirit, and in short deify and bestow heavenly bliss upon those who have pledged their allegiance to heaven (Θεὸν ποιῆσαι, καὶ τῆς ἄνω μακαριότητος, τὸν τῆς ἄνω σωτάξεως).

PG 35.1857, 432. C. A. Beeley, *Gregory of Nazianzus on the Trinity and the Knowledge of God: In Your Light We See Light* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 270.
[640] See also Oration 42 for the credentials required for the pontifical post and Oration 43 for an excellent example of priesthood found in Basil in contrast to inappropriate people appointed to clerical positions in the Church of the fourth century.
[641] Beeley, 236-237.
[642] A. Sterk, *Renouncing the World yet Leading the Church: The Monk-Bishop in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 139, 122.
[643] It is not difficult to understand why Gregory was so harsh in criticising some of the appointments to the episcopal office as in Ambrose and Nectarius who were not even baptised when they were assigned as bishops. Daley, *Gregory of Nazianzus*, 56-57.

priests bring in the opportunity to partake in the Incarnation.[644] This is what Gregory as a priest tried to achieve with his rhetoric of the "true dogma" and a "new *paideia*".[645]

Although it is possible to read the ideal qualities that Gregory expects from a priest as an aristocratic view of pastoral ministry,[646] he is supposed to be best among others in terms of virtue more than everything else. Therefore, there is no difference between being baptised by a bishop (26,10 ἐπίσκοπος, 26,9 اسقف) and a metropolitan (26,11 μητροπολίτης, 26,9 مطران) from Jerusalem (26,11 ἢ Ἱεροσολυμίτης, 26,9-10 من اهل اورشليم)[647] either lowborn or of noble birth (26,12-13 εὖ γεγονότων, 26,11 من ذوي الحساب) or a priest (26,14 πρεσβύτερος, 26,12 قسيسا) who is celibate (26,14-15 οὗτος τῶν ἀγάμων, 26,12-13 ممن ليست له امراة) living an ascetic and angelic life (26,15 οὗτος τῶν ἐγκρατῶν καὶ ἀγγελικῶν, 26,13 او من النساك او ممن يساوي الملايكة في سيرتهم) as far as the gift that is given by baptism is concerned. Golden or iron, they are different rings that leave (26,28 ἐγκεχαράχθωσαν, 26,22 لينشق) one royal mark (26,28 εἰκόνα βασιλικήν, 26,23 صورة واحدة ملكية) on the same wax. In the twenty-sixth paragraph of Oration 40, one finds the voice of an annoyed preacher who was provoked by the credentials required for a baptiser in the eyes of the Christians of his own day. Gregory thought that someone should remind those Christians who constantly delayed their baptisms of how valuable is the gift that is offered by baptism and given at the hands of the "spiritual fathers"[648] (26,24-25 μηδὲ διακρίνου πρὸς τοὺς γεννήτορας, 26,20 من يوازي والديك). They are not to judge preachers (26,17 κηρύσσοντος, 26,14 الكارز) or baptisers (26,18 βαπτίζοντος, 26,15 **الصابغ**) by appearances (26,19 ἐπειδὴ ἄνθρωπος μὲν εἰς πρόσωπον, 26,15-1 اذ كان الانسان يظهر الى الوجه) since God only looks at the heart (26,19-20 Θεὸς δὲ εἰς καρδίαν ὄψεται, 26,16 والله يبصر القلب)[649] after all but there is one crucial point about

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[644] Holman, 142.

[645] McGuckin, 212.

[646] Sterk, 136.

[647] For different Greek equivalents, see the next paragraph (27.2) εὐπατρίδης [...] δυσγενεῖ (27,1-2 من لا حسب له اذا كنت حسيبا).

[648] For the spiritual birth, see a saying of Jesus in one of the Muslim adab works: "He who has not been born twice shall not enter the Kingdom of Heaven". Khalidi, *The Muslim Jesus: Sayings and Stories in Islamic Literature*, 201. For the *generation* of an interest in human beings by scholars and men of religion, see 'Adī, xliii.

[649] I Sam. 16:17. It also finds its reflections in the sayings of Jesus collected in Muslim *adab* works as in "[…] More dear to God than all these are the pure in heart" and "[T]he friends of God […] are the ones who look into heart of this world while the rest of mankind looks at its surface […]" Khalidi, *The Muslim Jesus: Sayings and Stories in Islamic Literature*, 80, 91. In a similar way to Gregory who emphasises on

the selection of baptisers which is their faith in the true dogma (26,21-22 μόνον ἔστω τις τῶν ἐγκρίτων καὶ μὴ προδήλως κατεγνωσμένων μηδὲ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἀλλότριος, 26,17-18 ان يكون من المتقدمين وممن ليست مذمته ظاهرة ولا هو غريب من الكنيسة). Here is another emphasis on the relationship between the true faith and baptism that is symbolised by the declaration of faith during baptism, which also reminds of the preparation period of catechumens before the sacrament. It was an opportunity for both Gregory and Ibrāhīm to renounce unorthodox doctrines or to claim that the baptisms offered by heretics were not valid. This rejecting of other Christian denominations is a feature frequently seen in most of the Melkite texts, particularly the creedal statements.[650]

Priests are expected to be virtuous not only for their most essential task, "philosophising about God"[651] which necessitates an adoption of a virtuous life and thus is not just a theoretical study of divinity,[652] but also for their responsibility as a leader of souls (ψυχῶν ἡγεμονία, 2.16) and as a teacher or a guide (ἄνθρωπον ἄγειν, 2.78) of Christian community. Even though their task included an exercise of authority (ἡγεμονία as in 2.4 or προστασία and ἐπιστατεῖν as in 2.78), which was like that of 'civil magistrates' through the end of the fourth century, priests are thought to be teachers and preachers above all other functions of pastoral ministry.[653] A priest is not someone who only presides over the celebration of sacraments[654] but also a shepherd of his flock that consists of various people with different talents or interests. Therefore, priests must be trained in many ways[655] to be able to feed their congregation with the divine word[656] in different times and situations.

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the work of baptisers not their personal qualities, it is reported in the Arabic books of Greek gnomologia that Pythagoras said, "He whose face is beautiful but whose morals are bad is like a golden vessel containing vinegar." Gutas, *Greek Wisdom Literature in Arabic Translation: A Study of the Graeco-Arabic Gnomologia*, 71.

[650] Griffith, "Theology and the Arab Christian: The Case of the 'Melkite' Creed," 189.

[651] See the Arabic version of Oration 21: 19,17 ان كهنوت قد تكون فيلسوفة وفلسفة. Grand'Henry, ed. *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua I: Oratio XXI (Arab. 20)*, 57.

[652] Daley, *Gregory of Nazianzus*, 35.

[653] Beeley, 241, 263. In his poem *On Himself and the Bishops*, Gregory criticises those who think of priesthood as an administrative job while it is very much connected to liturgy (λειτουργία) in the broader sense of headship. Daley, *Gregory of Nazianzus*, 57.

[654] Although liturgy and rituals occupy a significant place in Gregory's treatment of priesthood, he does not give an elaborate account of the celebration of baptism and the Eucharist. Sterk, 138.

[655] They must be "worthy of the Church", "worthy of the pulpit" and "worthy of the presidency". Daley, *Gregory of Nazianzus*, 57, 50-53.

In Oration 2, Gregory supports his attack against clerics unworthy of the church by reminding the prophets of the Old Testament who disapprove ministers and Jesus' criticism of the Pharisees and Sadducees. Interestingly enough, this image of Jesus appears even more strongly in *adab* literature, which is a product of a period that witnessed a profound interreligious interaction. Muslim or Christian, *adab* writers of the Abbasid period discussed ethics in terms of ordinary people and the ruling class in which the latter occupied an important place given the fact that they are supposed to be the best examples in the society. With the development of this literature from anthologies of moral sayings to the specific works written as guides for people, notably in the ruling class or for men of religion and education, the relationship between *adab* and the professional elites of society became deeper. In his *Tahdhīb*, Yaḥyā ibn ʻAdī devoted a considerable amount of place to the morals of ascetics (الزهاد), scholars (اهل العلم), preachers (الواعظون) and orators (خطباء) along with those in authority (متولي السياسات). However, though it is considered as an important Christian contribution to the intellectual environment of tenth century Baghdad, it is not possible to find the image of Jesus as the perfect embodiment of virtue as he appears in his ethical treatise, *The Treatise on Continence* (al-ʻiffa).[657]

One can find a large amount of sayings or parables attributed to Jesus especially in terms of his criticism of corrupt scholars –who were above all men of religion in the Middle Ages– in Muslim texts of different genres such as adab, zuhd, piety, qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ and Ṣūfī works.[658] Ibrāhīm must have known about these writings given the highly active intellectual atmosphere of the 10th century that must have triggered the translation activities in Byzantine Antioch. The works of his contemporary Elias of Nisibis (975-1049) and ʻAbdallah ibn al-Faḍl (died probably after 1052)[659] also exhibit a great interest in ethics. Therefore, it must not have been difficult for our translator to

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[656] Orat. 2.45. Schaff, *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, 214. Cf. also, Orat. 34.2. Ibid., 335.

[657] Griffith, "The 'Philosophical Life' in Tenth Century Baghdad: The Contribution of Yaḥyā ibn ʻAdī's Kitāb tahdhīb al-akhlāq," in *Christians at the Heart of Islamic Rule*, ed. David Thomas (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003), 149.

[658] Khalidi, "The Role of Jesus in Intra-Muslim Polemics of the First Two Islamic Centuries", 146.

[659] Treiger, "ʻAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī," 89.

explain what was meant in Gregory's writings by the *paideia* of Jesus Christ in the language of *adab*. Given the fact that his readers must not have spoken Greek but Arabic, *adab* was actually the only word with which he could make an emphasis on the teaching of Christ. The "evil" (al-ʿālim al-sūʾ) and "wicked scholar" (al-ʿālim al-fāsiq) are expressions attributed to Jesus in the Muslim texts of *adab* as in al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī's (d. 1071) *Iqtiḍāʾ* and al-ʿĀmirī's (d. 992) *Kitāb al-Saʿāda* where "he is the worst among men" since "if a scholar errs, a host of people will fall into error because of him"[660]. Jesus says in the Muslim Gospel:

> God shows the greatest hatred for a scholar who loves to be remembered when being abroad,[661] who is given much room in gatherings, who is (often) invited for dinner, and who has bags of provisions poured out for him.[662] In truth, I say to you, "Those have taken their wages in this world, and God will double their punishment on the Day of Resurrection"[663].[664]

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[660] He also says, "Truly I say to you, the most evil among you in fact is a scholar who loves this world and prefers it to right conduct. Could he do so, he would have all people act the way he does" as in "The scholars of evil are like a rock which has fallen into the mouth of a river: it neither drinks the water nor allows the water to pass to the crops. The scholars of evil are also like the channels of a sewer: their exterior is white plaster and their interior is foul; or like tombs which are grand on the outside and full of dead bones inside". Khalidi, *The Muslim Jesus: Sayings and Stories in Islamic Literature*, 61, 89, 165.

[661] "[...] who is fond of backbiting [...]" in Ibn Qutaybah's *ʿUyūn* and Miskawayh's *al-Ḥikma*. Ibid., 103.

[662] The message is very much the same in Ibn ʿAdī's *Tahdhīb*:

> As for monks, ascetics, elders and scholars –especially orators, preachers, and religious leaders– for them pomp and splendour and making a display of oneself are to be considered repugnant. What is to be considered good for them is clothing of hair and coarse material, travelling on foot, obscurity, attendance at churches and *mosques* and so forth, and an abhorrence for luxurious living.

ʿAdī, 61.

[663] Rosenthal, *Knowledge Triumphant: The Concept of Knowledge in Medieval Islam*, 316, 262. Rosenthal draws attention to the similarities shared with Mark 12:38 and Luke 20:46. See also: "Woe to you, evil scholars! For the sake of a despicable world and a calamitous desire, you squander the kingdom of paradise and forget the error of the Day of Judgement." Khalidi, *The Muslim Jesus: Sayings and Stories in Islamic Literature*, 117.

[664] For Tarif Khalidi, "Muslim Gospel" refers to the literature that consists of "works of ethics and popular devotion, works of Adab (belles-lettres), works of Sufism or Muslim mysticism, anthologies of wisdom, and histories of prophets and saints" which "form the largest body of texts relating to Jesus in any non-Christian literature". Khalidi, *The Muslim Jesus: Sayings and Stories in Islamic Literature*, 3. See also other sayings of the Muslim Jesus related to scholars: "Whoever possesses knowledge and applies it and instructs others, will be exalted in the celestial realm of the angels". Nurbakhsh, 75. "And how can someone be considered a man of learning if he desires speech in order to relay it to others rather than to act upon it?" "At the end of time, there will be religious scholars who preach abstinence but do not themselves abstain, who encourage yearning for the afterlife but do not themselves yearn, who forbid visits to rulers but do not themselves desist, who draw near to the rich and distance themselves from the poor, who recoil from the lowly and fawn upon the mighty. They are tyrants and the enemies of the Merciful God." "O reciters and scholars, how can you go astray after acquiring knowledge, or how can you be blind after acquiring eyesight, and all for the sake of a despicable world and base desires? Woe to you in this world, and woe to this world from you." "You sit on the road to the afterlife –but you have

Besides all technical (τέχνη) and artistic skills required for "the art of arts and the science of sciences" (2.16) or "leading the human being, who is the most cunning and many-sided of animals", the success of a priest lies in the own example of his life: "In one thing does the work of a priest lie, and only one: the purification of souls through his life and his doctrine […] reflecting like a *mirror* only the godly […]" (Carm. 2.I.12.751-760). Because of this by being anointed in their consecrations, bishops or priests are "made a Christ" and "entrusted with the Spirit" (Orat. 6.9) in order to be "an instrument of God, an instrument of the Word (ὄργανον λογικόν) tuned and plucked by the Spirit" (12.1) so that they can "play his congregation like a musician" (2.39). Priesthood is "prophetic not institutional".[665] In short, "[T]he priest is a steward, or administrator (οἰκονόμος), of the Word, sharing in the stewardship of the divine economy (οἰκονομία) (3.7), and it is God's own correction and loving-kindness (θεία νουθεσία καὶ φιλανθρωπία) that the priest exercises (16.13)."[666]

Priests are the reflections of the divine love on earth and therefore function as a "best man" or a "matchmaker" in the marriage of our hearts with the divine Lover (2.77).[667] Here we see once again a language that is formed around the concepts related to marriage. Just as Christ is described as the Bridegroom of the Church, in Gregory's day, a connection was drawn between bishops and their sees in terms of a newly wed couple in which the wife was symbolised by the see of the bishop whose moving into a new town was interpreted as that of a bride's leaving the house of her father.[668] For Gregory, despite this language of marriage that seems to be representing the active part of pastoral ministry in society, the perfect way of life for priests lies in asceticism.

The Byzantium epoch of Gregory's life can be read as an arduous attempt to make drastic changes in pastoral ministry that incorporates active and ascetic life or the

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neither walked this road to its end, nor allowed anyone else to pass by. Woe to him who is beguiled by you!" Khalidi, *The Muslim Jesus: Sayings and Stories in Islamic Literature*, 166, 103-4, 162, 202.
[665] Daley, *Gregory of Nazianzus*, 56.
[666] Beeley, 240.
[667] Daley, *Gregory of Nazianzus*, 55.
[668] Van Dam, 118-119.

harmony between *philosophia praktikē* and *philosophia theōrētikē*.[669] Beyond all that is said by scholars up to now about the conflict between active and contemplative living in Gregory's life in terms of an unresolved tension, Andrea Sterk[670] finds an intentional approach taken by Gregory to 'episcopal office' and in fact a theory based on these two inseparable parts of an ideal state of pastoral ministry. For us, this reading is not only accurate but also suggestive for an encompassing account of Gregory's life, which is more than a conflict of opposite worldviews, and in fact, in a sense the continuation of the Greek ideal of the philosopher-king that found its reflections throughout the history in all kinds of religious thinking. One should also keep in mind the moderate approach he –together with Basil– introduced to the monastic life that does not have the extremities of the Egyptian and Syrian asceticism but suggest a cenobitic life with special emphasis on social works.

For Gregory, there is no reason to think that baptism is not compatible (18,23 ᾧ μὴ τοῦτο λυσιτελέστερον, 18,19 لا توافقها هذه النعمة) with every way of life. This is the point where Gregory's emphasis on the necessity of having baptism or in other words beginning a new life with the intention of being deified by it makes itself felt most strongly especially in the translation. While Gregory refers to different kinds of life by ἐπιτήδευμα (18,23), Ibrāhīm renders it by three words to strengthen the stress on the material or visible part of the deification process as such it relates itself with every bit of human life: 18,19 ولا سيرة ولا مذهب ولا صناعة. It is peculiarly obvious in the last word, which refers to skills and crafts but with a definite emphasis on the technical part like in τέκνη. This is totally in line with the overall stress on the mastership of Christ in the oration as a teacher or a leader who, especially with the life he led or the message he had, formed a community consisting of various people of different interests. Here emerges an important aspect of *paideia* or *adab* that is related to it in terms of the society it stands for.

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[669] For Gregory, B. Daley says, "'The government of souls and leadership' is itself a form of the philosophic life." Daley, *Gregory of Nazianzus*, 59.
[670] Sterk, 128-129, 134, 137-138.

In his address to the audience, Gregory summarises people of different socio-economic background in these three groups: free-slave, unhappy-happy and poor-rich. By baptism free men (18,23-24 ὁ ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ, 18,20 صاحب السلطان) are supposed to be reined (18,24 τὸν χαλινόν, 18,20 اللجام) while slaves (18,24 ὁ ἐν δουλείᾳ, 18,20-21 ويا من في العبودية) are promised to have equality (18,24 τὴν ἰσοτιμίαν, 18,21 المساواة).[671] Similarly, those who are in grief (18,24 ὁ ἀθυμῶν, 18,21 و يا من قد مسه الحزن) will have consolation (18,25 τὴν παραμυθίαν, 18,21 السلواة) whereas the ones in great happiness (18,25 ὁ ἐν εὐθυμίᾳ, 18,21-22 يا من قد شمله السرور) are to be disciplined (18,25 τὴν **παιδαγωγίαν**, 18,22 المادبة). The poor (18,25 ὁ πένης, 18,22 يا فقيرا) will be granted richness that is not going to be taken away (18,26 τὸν ἄσυλον πλοῦτον, 18,22 الغني الذي لا يوخذ منك) while the rich (18,26 ὁ εὐπορῶν,[672] 18,22-23 يا غنيا) will learn to manage (18,27 οἰκονομίαν, 18,23 السياسة)[673] the things they have.

Similarly, the next passage (thirty-four) in which one finds the concept "paideia" or "adab" also deals with social aspects or in other words the human part of theosis. As a priest (34,3 ἱερεῖ, 34,3 كاهنك), Gregory assures his audience that their cleansing through baptism is more precious than the legal one (34,4 τῆς νομικῆς, 34,3 طهارة الناموس). It is clear that he implies the superiority of the law of Jesus[674] over the law of the Old Testament. This is also a reference to the role of priests, which occupies a significant

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[671] For the equivalents of these two words, see paragraph twenty-seven: (2) δεσπότης [...] δούλῳ and (2-3) مملوك [...] مالك. For the equality by baptism, see also paragraph eight: (32) καὶ ἰσομοιρίαν πίστεως, (25) وهو المساواة في الايمان.

[672] For another Greek word used for the rich, see paragraph nineteen: (1) πλούσιος.

[673] This is the only place where Ibrāhīm translates "οἰκονομία" as "السياسة" (the only use of the word in the text). For the rendering of this Greek word as *siyāsa wa-tadbīr*, see the Arabic version of Oration 45 (4,13-14). Tuerlinckx, ed., *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua II: Orationes I, XLV, XLIV (Arab. 9, 10, 11)*, 62. In the last two paragraphs of the oration, he rendered it as "مدبر" (44,9 οἰκονόμου) and "يدبره" (45,15 διοικούμενον) in line with its use in medieval Arabic texts. *Oikonomia* appears as *'ilm tadbīr al-manzil* in Muslim Arabic texts along with the other two components (*'ilm al-akhlāq* and *'ilm al-siyāsa* or *tadbīr al-mudun*) of practical philosophy. The majority of the authors of these texts such as al-Rāzī, al-Fārābī, Miskawayh, Avicenna, al-Ghāzālī and al-Ṭūsī (who with his Akhlāq-i Nāṣirī represents the climax of the Muslim ethical thought) are followers of the Neo-Pythagorean writer known as Bryson and reveal the influence of "Hellenistic ethics" on the *adab* literature. However, what oikonomia refers to in the Arabic literature is something more than an ideal of administration but a wider concept of a union between individuals, society and the whole world. Y. Essid, *A Critique of the Origins of Islamic Economic Thought* (Leiden, New York and Köln: E. J. Brill, 1995), 181-182, 188-189, 233. Similarly, siyāsa appears not only as a system of politics, law and economy but also as a governing body with ethical and philosophical concerns. J. L. Esposito, *The Oxford History of Islam* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 143.

[674] For His "law of grace" (وشريعة فضل), see Paul of Antioch's *Letter to a Muslim Friend*, paragraph 59. Khoury, 81-82. See also Eutychius of Alexandria, *The Book of Demonstration (Kitāb al-burhān)*, ed. Pierre Cachia, vol. I, 177-179.

place in Judaism. After reminding his audience of the great change provided by baptism, Gregory proposes a remedy for a sick hand that was withered before by meanness: it is giving all that we have to the poor (34,11 πένησιν, 34,8 للمساكين) as well as *not to turn down* the poor who ask for our help (31,13-14 Πένης προσῆλθε; 31,10 *add.* (فان تقدم اليك فقير (فلا تتجاوزه for the sake of Christ who for our sakes became poor.

As a concept that has connections with all the figures mentioned above, i.e. the rich, the slaves or the sick –which will be seen further below– the poor, occupied an important place either in the ancient times or in Late Antiquity. It had a significant change with the Christian paideia, which turned helping to the poor into one of the essential responsibilities of pastoral ministry as well as a virtue that has to be adopted by all Christians. Thus, it was not any more the *euergesia* of the rich in Greek society whose actions related to the poor were acknowledged as gifts to the citizens of their cities.[675] In Christian works, *penēs* refers to people who have limited income but not like *ptōchos* or beggars who do not work and live in outskirts in great poverty. It is not surprising to find *penēs* as a word that also denotes ascetics and in great contrast and sarcasm, the wealthy men whose gluttony reached an unquenchable level since both living styles were an important part of life in the 4th century.[676]

As in his other works such as Oration 14 that is specially dedicated to the subject, Gregory reminds his audience in Oration 40 that Christ became poor for their sake and thus gives voice to a class of people who cannot represent themselves in the society and even identifies them with Christ. Susan Holman[677] points out the social role played by paideia as such that it not only provided citizens with a social identity but also required them to express or protect this identity with a powerful rhetoric. Therefore, the poor needed someone to give them a social meaning in rhetoric. Unlike the ancient language that did not encompass all the classes of society, the orations on the love of poor delivered by the Cappadocian Fathers are perfect examples of a Christian rhetoric,

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[675] Sterk, 126.
[676] Holman, 5.
[677] Ibid., 25, 27, 83, 142.

which saw words as sacred and interpreted the salvation in terms of partaking in the divine Word and His Incarnation, which is the imitation of Christ who loved the poor.[678]

It is with this imitation motif the poor entered into liturgy, and were identified with the body of Christ as well as the altar where the humanity partakes in the divine or as in John Chrysostom's words become "temples of God" and loses all social differentiation in the community. However, this liturgy should not be understood only in metaphysical terms but it also refers to historical reality as in periods of crisis when bishops sold the treasures of churches to help the poor just as the one reported by Gregory in Oration 43 (34-36) that led Basil to establish his *ptōchotropheion*. This was a place where the poor were provided and supported. Thus, Basil was more interested in the social aspect of poverty whereas Gregory of Nazianzus along with Gregory of Nyssa incorporated it into theology in a way the former's oration "On the love of the poor" (Orat. 14) relates the poor with the body of Christ and the Church.[679]

In this piece of work, which fully integrates the Christian paideia into Christian rhetoric with the help of Biblical images in the most touching way, Gregory gives an identity to the poor as "brothers" and "celestial citizens" of a community whose members are called to help their "fellow heirs of Christ".[680] It is possible to find a broad account of the society he lived in that is formed around concepts such as justice, equality, patronage, illnesses all of which turn around one central motif, the imitation of God as the way to theosis. It is worth noting that sacraments play a significant role in the

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[678] Orat. 14.18. For the English translation of the oration see Daley, *Gregory of Nazianzus*, 76-97.

[679] Holman, 62, 60, 65, 74, 101.

[680] Just as in the case of men of religion where Jesus appears as the admonisher, He emerges as "a patron of the poor" in Muslim *adab* literature, mostly criticising the rich but also encouraging his disciples to help the poor and to do good. He said, "O disciples, gold is a cause of joy in this world and a cause of harm in the afterlife. Truly I say to you, the rich shall not enter the Kingdom of Heaven" as in "In truth I say to you, the folds of heaven are empty of the rich. It is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter paradise". He said to his disciples before eating the food he prepared (possibly the Last Supper), "This is what you must do for the poor" because God said to him "O Jesus, I have granted you the love of the poor and mercy toward them. You love them, and they love you and accept you as their *spiritual guide* and *leader*, and you accept them as *companions* and *followers*. These are two traits of character. Know that whoever meets me on Judgement Day with these two character traits has met me with the purest of works and the ones most beloved by me". He also said, "When someone turns a beggar away empty-handed, the angels will not visit his house for seven days." Khalidi, *The Muslim Jesus: Sayings and Stories in Islamic Literature*, 206, 87, 79, 73, 11.

transformation of those people who are related to these concepts as in baptism, which reins free men and gives equality to slaves, while it disciplines the gladsome and comforts the grieving and makes the poor rich, whereas it teaches the rich how to manage what they have (23-27 Gr., 20-23 Ar.). The imitation of God can be achieved only through virtues of which "doing good (to others)"[681] or philanthropy surpasses all other qualities of God that are to be imitated. Among many points of similarity between this sermon and Oration 40, the community spirit created based upon the imitation of the divine attributes that would in turn transform humanity to a deified state is the most significant one, which in fact seems to be the summary of the whole message of Gregory's theosis theology.

Gregory asks his audience to open their ears to the teaching (34,18 **παιδείαν**, 34,14 ادب) and counsel (34,18 νουθεσίαν, 34,14 عظته) of the Lord (34,18 Κυρίου, 34,14 الرب)[682] which will provide them with His healing power (34,23-24, τὰς Χριστοῦ θεραπέιας, 34,18 عجايب الميسح). However, they need to embrace it all or receive the Word as a whole (34,23 ὅλον [...] τὸν Λόγον, 34,17 الكلمة كلها) to own this healing power proper, which healed (34,25 τεθεράπευται, 34,19 الاشفية **والعجايب**) many individuals. It is something to be taken care of carefully as it will be lost easily through pride. Therefore, man should work hard (34,31 μόνον ἀεὶ φιλοπόνει, 34,23 فاعمل دايما) for his purification and have high ambitions for his spiritual ascent in his heart (34,32 ἀναβάσεις ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ διατιθέμενος, 34,23[683] كما قال النبي واجعل ارتفاعات في قلبك). Moreover, he should be diligent (34,33-34 συντήρησον, 34,24 بنشاط) about what he is given by baptism since the preservation of this gift is his responsibility (34,35 συντηρηθῆναι καὶ παρὰ σοῦ γένηται, 34,25 ومن جهة نفسك الحفظ).

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[681] For the discussion of this divine name (المحسن) in the translation, see Chapter 2.

[682] For "ādāb al-Rabb" or "discipline of the Lord", see Gerasimus' *Kitāb al-kāfī fī al-maʿnā al-ṣāfī*, verse 41 in Bakhou: 323-324.

[683] "ἀναβάσεις ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ διατιθέμενος" is related to Ps 83.6 in *SC* (p. 279) and to Ps 84.6 in *NPNF* (p. 742) though it is not possible to find any similarity between the exact words in Greek or the meaning in general. However, Ibrāhīm is very clear when he says "as the prophet said" which must at least refer to one of the books in the Old Testament.

The figure of Jesus as a physician[684] first appeared in the Gospels and the early writings such as Ignatius of Antioch's letter to the Ephesians found its reflections in the treatment of sacraments in a language of healing by the Alexandrian theologians particularly Theophilus (d. 412) and Cyril of Alexandria (d. 444). For these writers, the wine of the Eucharist is "an elixir of life" and a "quickening draught of immortality" that is a remedy for the trauma caused by the fall "from within".[685] Susan Holman[686] finds a "therapeutic language" in the orations of the Cappadocians that followed the manner of Christian texts from earlier times in which "Christ as a physician" and "the healing of the soul" occupy an important place as in Greek philosophical texts. Besides the way their theology sees human body as valuable, it is possible to suggest a medical awareness among the Christians of fourth century Cappadocia that is understandable given the nature of the society, which struggled with famines and illnesses like leprosy. This community of Christians sent one of his young talents to Byzantium as a court physician, the brother of Gregory of Nazianzus, Caesarius.

For Gregory, the main task of priests is the healing of souls (θεραπεία ψυχών) that comes from Christ whose divine economy[687] was "a kind of training (παιδαγωγία) from God (for us), and a healing (ἰατρεία) of (our) weakness". Their job is not easy since "the same medicine and the same food are not in every case administered to men's bodies, but a difference is made according to their degree of health or infirmity; so also are souls treated with varying instruction and guidance" (Orat. 2.25-26 and 30). To be able to heal the souls, pastors need to have the healing power of the miracles of Christ that can be achieved by the imitation of Him or becoming an embodiment of His virtues. As an illness that affects society, leprosy was discussed by Gregory in terms of its potentiality of transformation of an anomaly into a partaker of divinity as in his treatment of the poor. The rich were encouraged to touch and get into contact with

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[684] In his *On the True Religion*, Theodore Abū Qurra symbolises God with the hidden king who sends a doctor (the intellect *or Christ*) to his sick son (Adam). Olga Varsalyi, "The Role of the Intellect in Theodore Abu Qurrah's on the True Religion," *Parole de l'Orient* 34 (2009): 53-54. (Emphasis mine) Similarly, in 'Ammār al-Baṣrī's *Kitāb al-masā'il wa-l-ajwiba* (Part 4, Question 32), Christ appears as "an expert physician-pharmacist" as Swanson describes. Swanson, "Resurrection Debates: Qur'anic Discourse and Arabic Christian Apology," *Dialog: A Journal of Theology* 48 (2009): 251.

[685] Jason Zaborowski, "Arab Christian Physicians as Interreligious Mediators: Abu Shakir as a Model Christian Expert," *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 22, no. 2 (2011): 186.

[686] Holman, 28-30.

[687] Beeley, 243.

people suffering from leprosy to recover from their spiritual illnesses and this in fact referred to their care and nursing of the sick that would make them participate in the Incarnation by the imitation of Christ.[688] The reader should remember Gregory's proposal of giving everything we have to the poor (34,11-13 σκόρπιζειν, διδόναι τοῖς πένησιν, ἐξαντλεῖν ὧν ἔχομεν δαψιλως, μέχρις ἂν καὶ τοῦ πυθμένος ἁψώμεθα, 34,8-9 التبذير والعطا للمساكين ومن تبذير جميع ما لنا بغير اشفاق الى ان نصل الى القعر) as the prescription for a weak hand (34,10-11 Καλὴ θεραπεία χειρὸς ἀρρωστούσης, 34,8 فما احسن الشفا لليد المريضة), which suggests an ethics that attributes healing powers to virtuous acts.

The healing of souls also appears in the writings of Muslim philosophers and Ṣūfīs,[689] the former sometimes calling it *al-ṭibb al-rūḥānī* ("spiritual physic")[690] and the latter attributing healing powers to *murshids* or *shaykhs* whose remedy is to be adopted word for word by *murīds*. Al-Ghazālī uses the medical terminology of the Middle Ages that was formed around the four fluids in the body in his treatment of virtues of which four qualities stand among others as the balancing points of a sound soul: education, giving money to the needy, self-effacement and abstinence. His argument is based on Ibn Miskawayh's (d. 1030) *Refinement of Character* whose main source is Galen's philosophical thought that is combined with medical practice under the influence of the works of Plato, Aristotle and Hippocrates.[691] Al-Jāḥiẓ indicated that as in Moses who worked "magic" miracles in an Egyptian society, which was deeply interested in magic,

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[688] Holman, 144, 135, 167.

[689] When the Jesus of *adab* literature was asked what he did in the house of a prostitute he replied, "It is the sick that a physician visits". In one of his sayings about ignorant people, Jesus indicated that he "treated the leper and the blind and cured them both", while "the fool he treated made him despair" and thus "silence is the [best] reply to the fool". Jesus said, "The Lord granted me the power to bring the dead to life and make the blind to see and the congenitally deaf to hear, but He did not give me the power to cure a fool." Nurbakhsh, 86. He called the money as "the disease of religion" and the scholar as "the physician of religion" and warned about the latter when he "draws the disease upon himself" since he will not be "fit to advise others". He divided human beings into two groups, "the sick and the healthy" and advised people to "be merciful to the sick and give thanks to God for health". Khalidi, *The Muslim Jesus: Sayings and Stories in Islamic Literature*, 52, 96, 211, 213. However, the most striking similarity between the Jesus of *adab* literature and Gregory's attribution of His healing powers to individuals appears in these verses of Ḥāfiẓ:
> Were the Holy Spirit to favour us once
> More by its Grace, others too would
> Perform all the works of Christ.
Nurbakhsh, 9.

[690] It is known that Muḥammad al-Rāzī, al-Kindī and Ibn al-Jawzī used this as the title of their works and al-Fārābī discussed the concept in his *Fuṣūl al-madanī*. It is sometimes called "the medicine of hearts" as in Junayd's small treatise. Al-Ghazālī, LXXXIX, LXI.

[691] Ibid., LXI, 40.

Jesus was acknowledged as a physician because of the high position of the healing and physicians in His day.[692]

There are several references[693] in the oration to giving ourselves to God as a whole to receive grace entirely. However, the emphasis on the purification of all parts of the human body –not to mention the soul and the spirit– becomes crystal clear in their treatment by Gregory who begins with the head and finishes with the loins. It is not just about their purification but rather cultivation in goodness, which inevitably requires their participation in or even representation of the good qualities of a divine life. In paragraph thirty-nine, which also turns around the notion of *paideia/adab* Gregory draws a connection between the head (39,1 τὴν κεφαλὴν, 39,2 الراس) of human beings as the centre of senses (39,2 τῶν αἰσθήσεων, 39,2 الحواس) and the head of Christ as the agent that organises and harmonises every *thing* (*bodies* in the Greek text) (39,3-4 ἐξ ἧς τὸ πᾶν σῶμα συναρμολογεῖται καὶ συμβιβάζεται,[694] 39,2-3 الذي منه ينتظم الكل ويتفق). He believes that this is where we can change our destiny, which is shaped by sins, towards higher realms.[695]

He then continues with the other parts of human body such as the shoulders, hands and feet whose connection with the purification process is more of an adoption of the good qualities that are expected from the seekers or *catechumens* as in paragraph thirty-nine in which they are exhorted to hold fast to Christ's head (39,3 **κρατεῖν** τὴν Χριστοῦ κεφαλήν, 39,2 بان **يمسك** الراس المسيح). Accordingly, the shoulders (39,6 ὦμον, 39,4 الكتف) are supposed to be worthy of carrying the cross of Christ (39,7 τὸν σταυρὸν αἴρειν Χριστοῦ, 39,5 حمل صليب المسيح), whereas the hands (39,8 τὰς χεῖρας, 39,6 الايدي) and feet (39,8-9 τοὺς πόδας, 39,6 الارجل) are required to be devoted to holy things (39,9 ὁσίας, 39,7 موضع برة) but most importantly to the teaching or the discipline of Christ (39,10 τῆς Χριστοῦ παιδείας, 39,7 بادب المسيح) not to make Him angry (39,10-11 μή ποτε ὀργισθῇ

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[692] Annemarie Schimmel, *Deciphering the Signs of God* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994), 116.
[693] 31,23-24 (Gr.), 17 (Ar.) and 40,23-24 (G.), 17-18 (Ar.).
[694] Ephs. 4:16.
[695] For the role of the mind in the deification process of human beings, see Chapter 4.

Κύριος, 39,7 حتى يغضب الرب).[696] This teaching is symbolised in the harmony between belief and action (39,11 καὶ πιστεύεσθαι λόγον διὰ τοῦ πρακτικοῦ, 39,7-8 ونؤمن على الكلام مع الفعال).

Gregory's philosophical theology presupposes two essential elements and a true harmony between them in human life: *prāxis* and *theōria*. By adhering to the ancient identification of prāxis with *katharsis*, Gregory defines it in the broader sense of participation in the physical and metaphysical world. In the same vein, theōria has two aspects, the rational and spiritual,[697] the former referring to intellectual capacities that are to be cultivated by education whereas the latter denotes the transformational properties of soul, mind and spirit that need asceticism or contemplation to reach the ultimate goal, i.e. theosis. Although meaningless and futile without prāxis, it is theōria in which theosis can be achieved in a way difficult to explain or even impossible to talk about its nature. Before leaving this part of the subject to Chapter 4, we will describe here what prāxis means in Gregory's theosis theology in terms of participating in the social life, which was a world of Caesars and the Greek culture as opposed to Christianity.

It is known that for fourth century Christians "theology" meant talking of or philosophising about God whereas "economy" was more about salvation. What Gregory intended to achieve was to make theology understood well and complemented in economy that necessarily involves prāxis and his success in this granted him the title "the Theologian".[698] This is also what he envisaged as the perfect headship in the church, a pastoral power operating in society and enriched by theological expertise and virtuous acts. In the example of his brother, Gregory set the rules of a true Christian life in public by advocating a new paideia that is based on the imitation of the divine qualities or the life of Jesus. In their mimesis of the divine philanthropy, public authorities not only function well for the benefit of community but also get themselves in the process of deification: "[I]t is in this, in doing good, that man is preeminently

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[696] *Bi-adab* becomes *bi l-rabb* in *JY*, which still does not lose its connection with *paideias* since *rabb*, besides its first meaning as "God", denotes "someone who educates or teaches" in the sense of "leading".
[697] Ruether, 138, 149.
[698] Daley, *Gregory of Nazianzus*, 1-2.

divine […] [and] you can become God without hardship [therefore] do not forgo the opportunity for deification." (Orat. 17.9) In line with his general acknowledgement of virtue as something that brings people healing in the sense of proper function, Gregory links the virtues of public officials to their "throne(s)" (Orat. 43.38). In the same vein, Christians should yield to "rulers for the sake of public order"[699] which means submission to God as in the "brotherly love" (Orat. 17.6) for their Christian friends.[700]

In Gregory's ethical understanding, which is described by Mark Tarpley[701] as an "ethical rhythm between prāxis and theōria" individuals are also expected to imitate God particularly in His incarnate state[702] by "active participation in society" (Orat. 25.5). What is offered by baptism is a virtuous life in society while it is also related to another world that is "calm and settled, tending to union with God" (Orat. 25.5; 43.63) and led by theōria. The tensity of the active social life can be tranquilised through going back to theōria, which in a cyclical manner requires reintegration with prāxis. As far as the life that begins with baptism is concerned, Christians of Gregory's day thought of it as an exact ascetic life that necessitates giving away their possessions. Oration 40 should be read as his opposition to such a belief yet it exhorts the audience to escape from public square (19,3 σύγε καὶ τὶν ἀγορὰν, 19,3 فاهرب من الوسط) leaving the things of Caesar to Caesar (19,5-6 τὶ γὰρ σοι καὶ Καίσαρι ἢ τοῖς Καίσαρος; 19,4-5 ما لك مع قيصر او واخلص)[703] and find refuge in the mountains (19,11 ἐις τὸ ὄρος σῴζου, 19,8 مع اسباب قيصر الى الجبل). This implies a new way of life in the church among fellow Christians as the "heavenly polis" which invalidates the ancient *politikē aretē*.[704] As recommended particularly in his treatment of poverty, which is an excellent account of his social views

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[699] One should remember his treatment of paying taxes in the sense of drawing near to God along with his description of rhetoric as a kind of "sacrament" in Oration 19. Tarpley, 81.
[700] Ibid., 230-232, 214, 144.
[701] Ibid., 120, 101, 103.
[702] "Jesus himself for the most part, performed his deeds among the crowds, but confined his prayers to solitude and desert places. What principle was he teaching us? Our need, I think, to be quiet for a while, so as to converse with God without disturbance, and to lift up the mind for a little, above changeable things […] " (Orat. 26.7). Daley, *Gregory of Nazianzus*, 109.
[703] "What you have of Caesar or of his motives and purposes (reasoning)" (Ar.)
[704] Ruether, 143-145.

men should have a Christ-like life in this world to be able to "take up [their] crosses[705] and go after Him" for a new life.[706]

The main point in Gregory's discussion of participation in the public life is related to *paideia* which, even though was then in the progress of being transformed into its Christian interpretation at the hands of men such as Gregory, yet meant above all the Greek culture for the Christians of the 4th century. Among his other works all of which deal with *paideia* in different degrees, his invectives against the Emperor Julian emerge as his main manifesto for the Christian adaptation of the Greek culture. By prohibiting Christians from teaching Greek philosophy and rhetoric on the ground that they are connected to paganism so much so that no one who is not pagan can teach or even understand them, what Julian was opposed to was in fact a Christian worldview with a philosophy and value system. For someone like Gregory who identified the whole world that *logos* stands for with Christ, there was nothing irreconcilable in the classical culture with Christianity. However, despite all good things that Athens reminds him and his justifications for the acquisition of classical culture, it is not possible to say that Gregory could resolve the tension between Christianity and the Greek culture but rather preferred it to stay as a subject free from religious and political convictions.[707]

As in his words about scholars mostly in negative terms, the Jesus of *adab* literature[708] is interested in kings or rules like all other *adab* writers whose works devote

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[705] See above "The shoulders (39,6 ὦμον, 39,4 الكتف) are supposed to be worthy of carrying the cross of Christ (39,7 τὸν σταυρὸν αἴρειν Χριστοῦ, 39,5 حمل صليب المسيح)."

[706] Beeley, 257.

[707] Raymond Van Dam, *Kingdom of Snow: Roman Rule and Greek Culture in Cappadocia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 195-196, 199, 202.

[708] The *adab* literature in which *'ilm* (knowledge) and *'aql* (intelligence) are closely connected with *'amal* (action) but always in the light of wisdom attributes many sayings and stories to Jesus as in "Of knowledge (faith), little is needed; of action, much". Rosenthal, *Knowledge Triumphant: The Concept of Knowledge in Medieval Islam*, 261. Jesus said, "It is of no use to you to come to know what you did not know, so long as you do not act in accordance with what you already know. Too much knowledge only increases pride if you do not act in accordance with it." In the same manner, he indicated, "no good can come from any knowledge that does not cross the valley [of life] with you or make you improve the assembly of men." While admonishing false scholars, Jesus said, "The learning which is not put into practice by its possessor leaves his heart, abandons him, and renders him useless. As a plant thrives only in water and soil, so, too, faith can thrive only in knowledge and deed. Woe to you, slaves of this world! Everything has a sign by which it is known and which testifies for or against it. Religion has three signs

considerable space to the morals or ethics of the ruling class. Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī's *Tahdhīb*, which for some researchers is a work of adab rather than systematic ethics, gives us the opportunity to have an insight into the way tenth century Christians looked at people in authority or authority itself. Some modern commentators think that Ibn ʿAdī intended to criticise the rulers of his day who, particularly in the Buyid era (934-1055), did not prove to be the ideal examples of their class. Besides the possible readings *Tahdhīb* may offer about the Christian understanding of dhimmitude in those days, it is unique in its treatment of virtues and vices according to different classes in society. For instance, with all his social concerns, Ibn ʿAdī does not approve asceticism for the ruling class which has extra duties for the wellbeing of society and thus cannot meet the requirements of "the perfect man" (الانسان التام). Nevertheless, he thinks that kings and their rules are necessary for the cultivation of virtues and removal of vices in society.[709] Similarly, *adab* literature always had figures of kings but mostly the philosopher-kings.[710] In some *adab* works, Diogenes explains the reason behind this fact as follows: "The world is in good shape when its kings philosophise, and its philosophers are kings".[711]

As mentioned before, Gregory found a way in paying taxes to the authorities to draw near to God. Similarly, by emphasising the salvational character of the Incarnation, Sāwīrus ibn al-Muqaffaʿ described "Lord's paying tribute (*jizya*) to authorities" as God's humbleness expressed through His Incarnation.[712] In the same vein, the Jesus of

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by which it is known: faith, knowledge, and deed". Khalidi, *The Muslim Jesus: Sayings and Stories in Islamic Literature*, 76, 194, 216.

[709] ʿAdī, xxxiii, xxxvi, xli, xli, xliv.

[710] One of the ironical expressions Gregory used to describe the Emperor Julian draws a connection between philosophy and authority: "The philosopher emperor". Van Dam, *Kingdom of Snow: Roman Rule and Greek Culture in Cappadocia*, 199. It is clear that what Gregory meant by *philosophy* was not "the cultivated practice of self-mastery, the ability to live in peace even among life's most difficult circumstances, because one has learned to seek what is ultimately important which the Christianity realises is union with God" or even "a body of speculative doctrine or a systematic analysis of ultimate reality" (Daley, *Gregory of Nazianzus*, 37) but sophistry as "the father of lies and the source of all heresy" (Ruether, *Gregory of Nazianzus, Rhetor and Philosopher*, 159) as in one of the other titles he gave to the Emperor, "the sophist of evil".

[711] Rosenthal, *Knowledge Triumphant: The Concept of Knowledge in Medieval Islam*, 329.

[712] Davis, 229.

adab literature advised people to "fulfil their obligations toward rulers [so that] their faith will be made whole".[713]

Those who are after this teaching should be willing to run to the call of the Gospel (39,14 ἀλλ' ἑτοίμους εἰς τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον,[714] 39,9-10 تكون مستعدة للبشارة) and the prize of the high calling (39,14-15 καὶ πρὸς τὸ βραβεῖον τῆς ἄνω κλήσεως, 39,10 ولتناج الدعوة العليا). In fact, they are supposed to resemble the disciples[715] whose feet were washed by Christ (39,15-16 καὶ Χριστὸν ὑπονίπτοντα καὶ καθαίροντα δέχεσθαι, 39,10-11 حتى تصل الى ان يغسلها المسيح ويطهرها). In paragraph thirty-nine, there is a close connection drawn between Christ's *paideia* or *adab* and His disciples, the Gospel and the church in which the emphasis on the teaching of Christ seems to be much stronger than in the other three paragraphs that deals with this teaching described as *paideia* or adab: Holding the teaching[716] or the discipline of Christ firmly (39,10 **δράσσεσθαι** τῆς Χριστοῦ παιδείας, 39,7 ولتتمسك بادب المسيح) and to be zealous for the Gospel and the prize of the high calling or the church.

This figure of Jesus that is in close connection with the disciples recalls the Jesus of *adab* literature in which, similar to Matthew 5:14 where Jesus calls His disciples "the

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[713] Relations with rulers are described in terms of obedience to God: "They have been made into a temptation for you. Let not your love for them lead you into sinning against God, nor your hatred for them lead you out of God's obedience." Believers should "leave the world to kings just as they left wisdom or the other world to commoners". However, "a ruler should not be vicious, since it is to him that mankind looks for self-restraint; nor should he be tyrannical, since it is from him that mankind demands justice". Khalidi, *The Muslim Jesus: Sayings and Stories in Islamic Literature*, 55, 145, 151, 191.

[714] Eph. 6:15.

[715] In fact, by being baptised in this teaching, they will already be made disciples themselves: 45,9 βαπτίσω σε μαθητεύων, 45,7 فسأتلمذك واعمدك.

[716] Ibrāhīm is consistent in translating "μαθητάς" (30,13; 37;15; 6,19) as "تلاميذ" (30,11; 37,13; 6,13) in which an emphasis on teaching is apparent. He rendered Gregory's "ἀπόστολος" (38,14) with the word used in Christian Arabic writings for the Disciple(s), "الرسول" (38,18). The use of *al-rasūl* by Arab Christian writers might imply either an avoidance of the use of the Islamic term *al-hawāriyyūn* or the deliberate employment of an Islamic term used for the prophets to make an emphasis on the status of the disciples. For the use of *hawāriyyūn* (*al-rasūl*) and *talāmīdh* in the same sentence (الحواريين المرسلين وسائر التلاميذ المختارين), see *Kitāb al-burhān*, paragraph 149. Eutychius of Alexandria, *The Book of Demonstration (Kitāb al-burhān)*, ed. Pierre Cachia, vol. I, 91. For another Christian Arabic word for the Disciples or the Apostles with Syriac origin, *al-sillīḥīn*, see Theodore Abu Qurra's *Maymar fī ṣikhkhat al-dīn al-masīḥī* and the Arabic version of Oration 21. Bacha, ed., *Un traité des oeuvres arabes de Théodore Abou-Kurra*, 21. Grand'Henry, ed. *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua I: Oratio XXI (Arab. 20)*, 20, 78, 82. For the interesting rendering of μυσταγωγοί (*PG* 35.1089, *SC* 270, 9, 1.10) as حواريين in the Arabic translation of Oration 21, see Grand'Henry, ed. *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua I: Oratio XXI (Arab. 20)*, 24-25.

light of the world",[717] the disciples are called "the salt of the earth".[718] Adab writers always connected *adab* or *ta'dīb*[719] with education[720] and wrote specific books called "ādāb al-'ālim wa-l-muta'allim" ("rules of conduct for teachers and students") that are devoted to the rules for the relationship between teachers and students.[721]

What is most striking is the resemblance between the disciples of our text and "the perfect man" of *adab* literature. The disciples are thought to be on the highest level of human perfection that believers can reach only if they live according to the Gospel and

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[717] See Orat. 40.18.

[718] Matt. 5:13. Khalidi, *The Muslim Jesus: Sayings and Stories in Islamic Literature*, 55.

[719] Also the *muta'addib* (the individual undergoing education) and the *adīb* (the individual who is the product of education or a person qualified to teach and educate others).

[720] Rosenthal, *Knowledge Triumphant: The Concept of Knowledge in Medieval Islam*, 284, 286.

[721] Sebastian Günther, "Advice for Teachers: The 9th Century Muslim Scholars Ibn Saḥnūn and Al-Jāḥiẓ on Pedagogy and Didactics," in *Ideas, Images, and Methods of Portrayal: Insights into Classical Arabic Literature and Islam*, ed. Sebastian Günther (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 89. For Ibn Buṭlān (d. 1038 or 1066), a Christian physician of the 11th century, there must be a physical relationship between the teacher and the student for an effective process of education in terms of the study of texts that cannot be done without the leading of a teacher. His professional life –which corresponds exactly to the lifetime of our translator–, provides us with valuable information about the role and importance of education in the society of the Islamic Golden Age that witnessed an extraordinary network of scholars from different religions. Lawrence Conrad, "Ibn Buṭlān in Bilād Al-Shām: The Career of a Travelling Christian Physician " in *Syrian Christians under Islam: The First Thousand Years*, ed. David Richard Thomas (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 147, 156-157. In Muslim *adab* writings and particularly in Ṣūfī texts, the teacher (*murshid*) is the person who first generates an awareness and love for the divine knowledge in his student (*murīd*) whom is then led by the teacher to *theosis*. Muhammad Ajmal, "A Note on Adab in the Murshid-Murīd Relationship," in *Moral Conduct and Authority: The Place of Adab in South Asian Islam*, ed. Barbara Daly Metcalf (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1984), 241. Murīd is a "word sometimes rendered as 'neophyte', or 'disciple', but in reality denoting any spiritual seeker who has not yet attained the goal." Al-Ghazālī, LXV. In the process of deification, murīds are supposed to incorporate their masters within themselves to the extent that they become like their interior self and therefore becoming one with one's master is also a part of the theosis procedure. Barbara D. Metcalf, "Introduction," in *Moral Conduct and Authority: The Place of Adab in South Asian Islam*, ed. Barbara D. Metcalf (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1984), 11-12. For *adab* writers, what is aimed at by education is not only acquiring knowledge but also reformation of the character with virtues to draw close to God. Yasien Mohamed, "The Ethics of Education: Al-Iṣfahānī's al-Dharī'a as a Source of Inspiration for Al-Ghazālī's Mīzān al-'Amal," *The Muslim World* 101, no. 4 (2011): 647-648. Therefore, it is not surprising to find Jesus as the true and perfect master of virtues in Ṣūfī writings in which He appears to be saying, "I was taught by no-one. I perceived the ignorance of the ignorant man, and avoided it". Nurbakhsh, 9. Al-Ghazālī, 54. The Jesus of *adab* literature or the "teacher of virtue" as He is sometimes called, said to his disciples who were his "brothers and friends", "If you do what I did and what I told you, you will be with me tomorrow in the Kingdom of Heaven, abiding with my Father and yours, and will see His angels around His throne, extolling His praises and sanctifying Him. There you will partake of every pleasure, without eating or drinking". After He ate the food He prepared for His disciples whose hands and feet were also washed by Him, He told the disciples "to do [the same] to those whom [they] teach". His disciples were "afraid of sin" whereas He was "afraid of unbelief" according to al-Ghazālī's report of one of his sayings, which should have referred to the superficial knowledge of students that needs further enlightenment under the supervision of teachers of spiritual knowledge. Khalidi, *The Muslim Jesus: Sayings and Stories in Islamic Literature*, 189, 105, 141, 199, 174.

the church. The perfect man, according to Ibn 'Adī, is the "one whom virtue does not bypass, whom vice does not disfigure […] [and who] resembles angels more than he resembles men".[722] Accordingly, Gregory's κατηχούμενος (16.23) is the "muta'allim" or "muta'addib" of *adab* works or the "murīd" of Ṣūfī literature who is by the front door of the religion (16,23-24 ἐν προθύροις εἶ τῇ εὐσεβίας, 16,19 فانما انت في دهليز الايمان)[723] and expected to enter into the church (16,24-25 Εἴσω γενέσθαι σε δεῖ, τὴν αὐλὴν διαβῆναι, 16,20 وسبيلك ان تدخل الى داخل وتعبر الصحن). The catechumen is then supposed to be an "adīb" by walking toward the Holy of Holies (16,25-26 εἰς τὰ Ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων, 16,21 في قدس القديسين) and in the end to become "al-insān al-kāmil" who is in company with God or the Trinity (16,26 μετὰ τῆς Τριάδος γενέθαι, 16,21 وتصير مع الثالوث نفسه). Ibrāhīm did not prefer to transliterate *catechumenos* into Arabic but preferred to render it as غير معمود[724] (16.19) which clearly refers to the connection between catechumenate and baptism.

In Gregory's day, a catechumen was the Christian who did not have baptism and therefore was only allowed to stay in the church until the time of Biblical readings and could not attend the Eucharist. The preparation period before baptism could take three years and besides the instruction part, it involved the inspection of the catechumen's moral life by presbyters. It is interesting to note that people like actresses, gladiators, magicians and the ones that have concubines were not given baptism. Up to the 6th century when the Emperor Justinian demanded infant baptism, people delayed their baptisms[725] until the time of death. As in Gregory's own consecration by his mother to the church when he was newborn, babies were registered as catechumens in the 4th

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[722] 'Adī, xxxviii-xxxix.

[723] The Jesus of *adab* literature said, "Do not disperse wisdom to the *uninitiated*". Nurbakhsh, 86. He also said, "Do not impart wisdom to one who does not desire it, for wisdom is more precious than pearls and whoever rejects wisdom is worse than a swine." Khalidi, *The Muslim Jesus: Sayings and Stories in Islamic Literature*, 88.

[724] It refers to people of other faiths in *Kitāb al-burhān*: "[T]he general mass of those who have not been immersed in baptism (عامة من لم ينصبغ في المعمودية)". Eutychius of Alexandria, *The Book of the Demonstration (Kitāb al-burhān)*, ed. Pierre Cachia, vol. I, 149. Eutychius of Alexandria, *The Book of the Demonstration (Kitāb al-burhān)*, trans. W. M. Watt, vol. I, 121.

[725] Lössl, 213.

century.[726] Adults were expected to be educated by clergymen in church classes before having baptism.[727]

In his reply to the objection made by his audience who wanted to learn why they should be in such a hurry to have baptism, while Jesus was baptised when He was thirty years old, Gregory reminds them that He was God but still had some reasons for the delay of His baptism. He did not want to appear as pretentious or ostentatious (29,13 τοῦτε μὴ δοκεῖν ἐπιδεικτικὸς εἶναί τις, 29,11-12 حتى لا يظن به انه اراد الريا والتبجح) and besides being the perfect age to teach (29,15 καὶ τοῦ διδάσκειν καιρὸν ταύτης ἐχούσης τῆς ἡλικίας, 29,14 وهي سن التعليم), the age He was baptised is the symbol of maturity and excellence (29,14, ὡς τελείαν Βάσανον ἀρετῆς, 29,13-14 هي سن التمام الذي فيه الفضيلة). For Peter of Bayt Ra's, Jesus was baptised in the river Jordan at the hands of John the son of Zacharias when He was thirty years old because "ten is a perfect number; but thirty is more perfect than ten [since] it is ten multiplied by three". He also says, "All men will arise with the age of Christ's humanity on the day He rose –as perfect, fully grown men".[728] Similarly, according to the Islamic tradition, people of paradise will be thirty (or thirty-three) years old.[729]

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[726] J. A. McGuckin, *The SCM Press A-Z of Patristic Theology* (London: SCM Press, 2005), 55. J. A. McGuckin, *St. Gregory of Nazianzus: An Intellectual Biography* (Crestwood, New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2001), 51, 67.

[727] Nimmo-Smith, xvii.

[728] Eutychius of Alexandria, *The Book of the Demonstration (Kitāb al-burhān)*, ed. Pierre Cachia, vol. I, 162. Eutychius of Alexandria, *The Book of the Demonstration (Kitāb al-burhān)*, trans. W. M. Watt, vol. I, 131; vol. II, 16-17, 30. Al-'Āmirī (d. 992), tenth century Muslim philosopher, who like Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī was a follower of al-Fārābī, discussed ethical issues in his treatment of free will and by quoting from Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* ("Happiness is an activity of the soul through perfect virtue") defined happiness as "the goal of ethics". F. Rosenthal, *The Classical Heritage in Islam* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1975), 84. According to al-'Āmirī, "the writers of edifying literature (اهل الادب) say that a person is a child from the time he is born until he reaches puberty, a youth until thirty years of age, an adult until fifty years of age, and an old man after that". Gutas, *Greek Wisdom Literature in Arabic Translation: A Study of the Graeco-Arabic Gnomologia*, 230. This is a good example of the manner in which the *adab* literature looked at the stages of human life and then attributed different virtues and morals to those different phases. Although it is known that this age-centred educational view was supported in the works of ancient writers, given the over-growing interest in *adab* or ethics in the 10th century, the readers of Ibrāhīm's translation should have found the image of maturity at the age of thirty more familiar. Gutas, *Greek Wisdom Literature in Arabic Translation: A Study of the Graeco-Arabic Gnomologia*, 230.

[729] It was narrated from Mu'ādh ibn Jabal and transmitted by Tirmidhī (2545) that the Prophet said, "The people of paradise will enter paradise hairless, beardless with their eyes anointed with collyrium, aged thirty and thirty-three years". Rūdānī, *Büyük Hadis Külliyatı*, trans., Naim Erdoğan, 7 vols., vol. 5 (Istanbul: Iz Yayincilik, 2007), 411. In Ibn Sa'd's (d. 845) *Tabaqāt*, there is an interesting connection drawn between this Mu'ādh and Jesus: "Jesus was made to ascend to heaven at age thirty-three, and

The stomach or belly (39,16 κοιλίας, 39,11 الجوف) also gets its share from this process of purification as such it must not be filled with excessive food to the extent that it turns into a god (39,18 ταύτην μὴ θεοποιεῖν, 39,12-13 [730] ولا يجعل ذلك الاها). Thus, it will be ready to receive the Word (39,20 τὸν λόγον Κυρίον ἐν μέσῃ δέχεσθαι, 39,14 حتى يمكنه ان يقبل كلام الرب في وسطه). It is clear that what Gregory means here is the place of fasting or abstinence from food in the ascetic life, which has effects on human mind, spirit (39,24 πνεῦμα, 39,17 روحا) and soul. Many people in Cappadocia and Pontus were living a life of poverty out of obligation or on purpose as those who chose the ascetic life voluntarily while being wealthy.[731] Like Gregory, writers of *adab* works who based their arguments on the Hippocratic tradition wrote against eating too much food with interest in both the health of the body and the soul as in Mubashshir ibn Fātik's *Mukhtār*, which is a collection of Greek gnomologia. It is possible to find reflections of the ḥadīth in which the Prophet Muḥammad describes the stomach as "the house of sickness" in many Muslim texts relating to *adab*[732] one of which is al-Ghazālī's *Kitāb riyāḍat al-nafs* in which he says that "the belly [which] is the very well-spring of desires and the source of diseases and disorders".[733]

Gregory finishes this discussion with an assertion that the heart (39,23 καρδίαν, 39,16 قلبا)[734] and mind (39,24-25 τὸ διανοητικόν [...] τὰ τούτου κινήματα ἢ διανοήματα, 39,18 الفكر وحركاته وقياسته)[735] must be cleaned. It is now the turn of the shameful parts (40,14 τοῖς ἀσχήμοσιν, 40,11 الفاحش من اعضائنا) of our bodies which should not be ignored: the

Mu'ādh died at age thirty-three". Khalidi, *The Muslim Jesus: Sayings and Stories in Islamic Literature*, 159.

[730] "الهيا" in *Mi* which seems to be closer to "θεοποιεῖν".

[731] Van Dam, *Families and Friends in Late Roman Cappadocia*, 114. Holman, 5.

[732] Similarly, the Jesus of *adab* literature warns against "too much food [because it] kills the soul, just as too much water kills a plant" and exhorts people to "keep bellies empty [to] see the Lord in the heart" and to "strive for the sake of God and not for the sake of bellies [since] the excesses of the world are an abomination in God's eyes". Nurbakhsh, 76. Khalidi, *The Muslim Jesus: Sayings and Stories in Islamic Literature*, 60, 152.

[733] Al-Ghazālī, 106.

[734] The Jesus of the "Muslim Gospel" said, "Blessed is he who sees with his heart but whose heart is not in what he sees". Khalidi, *The Muslim Jesus: Sayings and Stories in Islamic Literature*, 106.

[735] For the discussion of the role of the mind in theosis, see Chapter 4.

loins (40,1 ἡ ὀσφύς, 40,1 الحقوين) and the kidneys (40,1 οἱ νεφροί, 40,1 الكلتين).[736] The first one must be girded and trained in self-control (40,3-4 περιεζωσμέναι καὶ ἀνεσταλμέναι δι' ἐγκρατείας, 40,2-3 لتكن اوساطكم مشدودة بالنسك مشتمرة) as it was asked of the people of Israel during the Passover. As very frequently observed in his corpus, Biblical images are significant parts of Gregory's creative rhetoric and are used to emphasise his points one of which here is the Judgement symbolised by the Exodus and the Destroyer. What he wants to underline is that those who do not discipline their loins (40,6-7 μὴ ταῦτα **παιδαγωγήσας**, 40,4-5 الا ان **يودب نفسه** باصلاح) will not escape from trials or even from this world itself since it is the symbol of desires. This discipline requires them or the things they refer, i.e. desires or lust, to be turned to another direction which is towards God (40,7-8 ὅλον τὸ ἐπιθυμητικὸν πρὸς Θεὸν μεταφέροντες, 40,6 تنقيلا الشهوة كلها وحركتها الى الله). Thus, they will be of the Spirit (40,10-11 Δεῖ γὰρ γενέσθαι ἄνδρα ἐπιθυμιῶν τῶν τοῦ Πνεύματος, 40,8 شهوات الروح [...] وسبيلي ان اصير رجل). It is such a discipline that makes men shout "O my Lord, all my desire is before you" (40,9 "Κύριε, ἐναντίον σου πᾶσα ἡ ἐπιθυμία μου", 40,7 "يا رب كل شهوتي امامك").[737]

Gregory explains why he treats these shameful parts of body –though he is against what is material (40,16 κατὰ τῆς ὕλης ἱστάμενος, 40,12 معاندة الهيولى)– by reminding his audience of the fact that to receive the gift entirely they must offer themselves wholly (40,20 ὅλους δὲ ἡμᾶς αὐτούς ἀνενέγκωμεν, 40,15 ان نقدم نفوسنا كلها لله) as reasonable holocausts (40,21 γενώμεθα ὁλοκαυτώματα λογικά, 40,16 قربانا ناطقا) and perfect sacrifices (40,21 θύματα τέλεια, 40,16 ذبايحا كاملة), which is the exact definition of giving oneself entirely to God (40,25 τὸ τῷ Θεῷ δοθῆναι, 40,19 يدفع الى الله). It is in this paragraph that the ancient *paideia* is perfectly transformed into a Christian one with special emphasis on chastity. Virginity or celibate life is one of the subjects that Gregory dwelt on much, either in his writings or in the monastic life that he built together with his friend Basil who appears to be his favourite example of an "angelic life"[738]. Despite his positive attitude towards marriage[739] and being an active part of the

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[736] Gregory draws a connection further down in the same paragraph (lines 18 and 22 in the Greek text and lines 14 and 16-17 in the translation) between human kidneys and kidneys of animals that were given by the people of Israel to their priests (40,22 ἱερατικὸν, 40,17 الكهنة) and by referring to Leviticus 7:34, where shoulders and breasts are presented as precious sacrifices opposes to the partial offerings to God.

[737] Psalm 38:9.

[738] Orat. 43.62.

social life, Gregory seems to find the perfect way to theosis in virginity and ascetic life, which is the symbol of union with the divinity in contrast to the duality that marriage brings. What Christ intended to do by his "law of virginity" was to keep human beings away from this world and rather link it to the future[740] since they are granted with a life without end by virginity as his friend Gregory of Nyssa puts it: "Corruption begins through birth, and those people who have stopped procreation through their virginity had established within themselves a limit to death."[741]

It is known that most of the Christians took refuge in renouncing the world and living an ascetic life against the troubles that the 4th century brought with it and this attitude toward the world continued increasingly in the following two centuries.[742] In Pontus and Cappadocia, many people chose different types of ascetic life such as living in virginity, chastity in widowhood or self-restraint in marriage. However, they were never considered inferior because of their withdrawal from the social world. They rather had strong identities as bishops, holders of civic posts, and rich aristocrats or women who gave up their conventional roles as wives and mothers for a new profession, which was to be devoted to God. Living in virginity or celibacy was a kind of profession and had social overtones as in rhetoricians.[743]

Among the works of *adab*,[744] some Christian Arabic texts such as Ibn 'Adī's *Treatise on Continence* and Elias of Nisibis' *Letter on Chastity* presented celibacy as the perfect way of living to get close to God. Ibn 'Adī indicated that since Socrates, Plato and Aristotle celibacy was understood in terms of a practice that is in the service of the

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[739] Among those who found the perfect example in God for both married and ascetic life, Gregory of Nyssa said, "that virginity is found in a father who has a Son". Van Dam, *Families and Friends in Late Roman Cappadocia*, 121.

[740] Orat. 43.62

[741] Van Dam, *Families and Friends in Late Roman Cappadocia*, 121.

[742] Brown, 30.

[743] Van Dam, *Families and Friends in Late Roman Cappadocia*, 116-118.

[744] In one of the stories that are related to Jesus who is the symbol of virginity in the *adab* literature, John asks Him about "how fornication begins" and He says, "With looking and wishing". Therefore, human beings should "beware of glances" for "they sow desire in the heart, which is temptation enough". Al-Ghazālī, 173. They should "not stare at what does not belong [them], for what [they] have not seen will not make [them] wiser and what [they] do not hear will not trouble [them]". The disciples were told to "be ascetics in this world [to] pass through it without anxiety" and "beware the world and [not to] make it [their] abode". Khalidi, *The Muslim Jesus: Sayings and Stories in Islamic Literature*, 62, 75, 117.

ultimate goal of humanity and it is best performed by Christ and His disciples.[745] In *Treatise*, the writings of some Arab philosophers are also consulted to demonstrate that the virginity recommended by Christianity promotes the living practised by scholars, monks, philosophers and prophets.[746] For Elias of Nisibis, whose *Letter* was a response to al-Jāḥiẓ's criticism of the Christian tradition of celibacy, rejection of passions is one of the reasons that celibacy is preferred over married life.[747]

One of the main figures of Gregory's rhetoric is his language of marriage that appears in close connection with baptism and thus purification and theosis in Oration 40. What we find in Oration 40 is Christ as the Bridegroom (18,13-14 τὸν καθαρὸν νυμφαγωγὸν καὶ νυμφίον, 18,11 الختن نديم الختن) whom Christians, "both teachers and taught" (46,32-33 οἵ τε διδάσκοντες ταῦτα καὶ οἱ μανθάνοντες, 46,27-28 معشر الذين نعلم هذا ونتعلمه), shall meet Him (46,6 ἀπαντήσομεν τῷ νυμφίῳ 46,4 نلتقي الختن) in His Bride Chamber (46,10 νυμφῶνος, 46,9 الخدر) to have His teaching that only He knows about (46,29-30 τότε οἶδεν ὁ νυμφίος ἃ διδάξει, 46,25 كان الختان عالما بما يعلمه و يعرفه).[748]

The Jesus of *adab* literature has a similar profile and in one of the stories where God reveals Him that "under the shadow of God's throne and in the abode of His mercy, He will be married to a thousand comely maidens" in a wedding where "people will be fed for a thousand years" and "on the Day of Judgement, a crier shall announce: 'Come and attend the wedding of the ascetic[749] friend of God'".[750] Death as the union with God is

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[745] 'Adī, xlv.

[746] Griffith, "The 'Philosophical Life' in Tenth Century Baghdad: The Contribution of Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī's Kitāb tahdhīb al-akhlāq," 149.

[747] Bertaina: 199.

[748] Elsewhere, in his Oration on his sister Gorgonia, Gregory presents baptism as a purification period before the wedding of his sister who is "Christ's bride" (Orat. 8.14) and "desired to be purely joined with her fair one and embrace her beloved (*erômenon*) […] and her lover (*erastên*) completely" (Orat. 8.19) in her death. The image of ascetic women, who, besides being called brides, are described as martyrs, is linked to the idea of an eternal union with God as their Groom in their moments of death. Virginia Burrus, "Life after Death: The Martyrdom of Gorgonia and the Birth of Female Hagiography," in *Gregory of Nazianzus: Images and Reflections*, ed. Tomas Hägg and Jostein Børtnes (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2006), 156, 160, 163, 164, 167.

[749] Besides His social character as the physician, miracle worker or teacher of virtue, Jesus as "stranger" and "traveller" or "a guest in this world" is the symbol of living an ascetic life in Muslim texts that are frequented by many sayings of Him relating to the renouncing of the world. Khalidi, *The Muslim Jesus: Sayings and Stories in Islamic Literature*, 34, 41.

[750] Ibid., 93.

an image that appears frequently in Ṣūfī texts which has come to be best known by Rūmī's saying "My death is my wedding with eternity". In a language of marriage similar to Gregory's rhetoric, some Ṣūfīs who identified themselves with women married to God are called "the true brides of Allah" and "lovers" or "friends"[751] of God that will be "married with God" in their moments of death. In some Ṣūfī poems, Jesus is likened to a lover who enlivens with his kiss his nearly dead lover from her death.[752] He as the symbol of love[753] is also called "the Prophet of the Heart" by al-Ghazālī who collected the largest amount of sayings and stories attributed to Him because He believed and taught that "heart can be a vessel of wisdom if is not torn by desires, defiled by avarice, or hardened by luxury".[754]

3.4. Christ as the Transformer of the Soul and the Role of the Holy Spirit in Theosis: "Reformation of the Image" and "Looking into the Holy of Holies" or Becoming a Deified Member of the Church

Having examined Christ's mission of teaching and leading to a divine life through His Incarnation, we must now briefly refer to the role of the Holy Spirit in baptism and theosis. Before doing that, however, we need to touch upon Christ's role as the Transformer and Reformer of the human soul which will open the doors to the spiritual character of the deification process. So far, the earthly part of the deification process has been introduced in connection with Christ's teaching either as a doctrine[755] or as a way of life.[756] However, the process of theosis or the divine plan for the human salvation[757]

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[751] Richard Kurin, "Morality, Personhood, and the Examplary Life: Popular Conceptions of Muslims in Paradise," in *Moral Conduct and Authority: The Place of Adab in South Asian Islam*, ed. Barbara Daly Metcalf (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1984), 216.

[752] Schimmel, 103.

[753] Nurbakhsh, 39.

[754] Khalidi, *The Muslim Jesus: Sayings and Stories in Islamic Literature*, 164, 113.

[755] "Your judgment are a light upon the earth" (6,3 φῶς τὰ προστάγματά σου ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, 6,2-3 نور وصاياك (على الارض). Cf. Prov. 6:23. See also Eutychius of Alexandria, *The Book of Demonstration (Kitāb al-burhān)*, ed. Pierre Cachia, vol. I, 56, 144. Eutychius of Alexandria, *The Book of Demonstration (Kitāb al-burhān)*, trans. W. M. Watt, vol. I, 46, 116-117.

> [T]he knowledge is hidden from creation whereas the command is clear and well-known [...] by means of God's laws, prescriptions and ordinances, for these bring near to Him (تقرب اليه), and turn the hearts (وتصرف قلوب الذين يلزمونها واهواءهم الى الله) and inclinations of those who keep them towards God and away from the wiles of Iblīs and his devils.

[756] "[A]nd tamed (or *honoured* [يشرف], JY) the wilderness" (6,12-13 ἡμερῶσαν τὴν ἔρημον, 6,8 وطرق (البراري). Cf. Ex. 13:21.

also includes the transformation and renewal of humanity in a spiritual way. According to our text, God who is the Just (Judge) (δίκαιος, العادل),[758] loves human beings (φιλάνθρωπος, المحب للبشر)[759] and His grace is a mercy to His creation (οἴκτος or ἔλεος, الرحمة)[760].[761]

[757] According to Oration 40, "the universe which was created from nothing and governed by the divine Providence (45,15 καὶ προνοίᾳ τοῦ ποιήσαντος διοικούμενον, 45,10-11 وهو يدبره بعنايته) receives a change to a better state" (45,16 δέξασθαι τὴν εἰς τὸ κρεῖττον μεταβολήν, 45,11 ينقله الى ما هو افضل منه). See also 40.44: "I am the director and fulfiller of your soul by baptism" (44,8-9 τοῦ τῆς σῆς ψυχῆς οἰκονόμου, καὶ τελειοῦντός σε διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος, 44,6-7 انا اليوم مدبر نفسك ومتممها بالمعمودية). As demonstrated before, the divine economy does not appear only in the discussion of God as the Creator but also in the treatment of theosis, particularly in connection with the Incarnation. After all, "the Lord did not risk leaving His creation unaided" (7,7-6 οὐκ ᾤετο δεῖν ἀβοήθητον τὸ ἑαυτοῦ πλάσμα καταλιπεῖν ὁ Δεσπότης, 7,5-6 لم ير السيد ان يترك خليقته بلا معونة) because He has a plan to save humanity. For this notion of God's not leaving the creation unaided, see also *Fī Tathlīth* (217-218). Samir, "The Earliest Arab Apology for Christianity," 85-87. In Christian Arabic literature, this divine plan is generally described as *al-tadbīr*. See Eutychius of Alexandria, *The Book of Demonstration (Kitāb al-burhān)*, ed. Pierre Cachia, vol. I, 141 for the uses of *tadbīr* in *Kitāb al-burhān*. For the term "controlling" used in Melkite teaching of the Incarnation and ʿAmmār al-Baṣrī's unique approach to this doctrine along with their interpretations by Abū ʿĪsā Al-Warrāq and al-Bāqillānī, see Thomas, *Early Muslim Polemic against Christianity: Abū ʿĪsā al-Warrāq's 'Against the Incarnation'*, 300, 69, 78. See also Davis, 210, 226 for a similar discussion of the divine economy in one of Ibrāhīm's contemporaries, Sāwīrus ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, who, after listing types of baptism with reference to Gregory of Nazianzus' list of five different baptisms, emphasises on the new existence brought by Christ and fulfilled in baptism with the Holy Spirit as "the divine economy" (*al-tadbīr al-ilāhī*) envisaged. For him, baptism together with a life in Christ turns humans into "sons of God". For Platti's reference to the uniqueness of Ibn ʿAdī's text on the necessity of the Incarnation (*Maqāla fī wujūb al-taʾannus al-ilāhī al-mukarram*) in linking one of God's essential attributes, bounty (jūd), to his famous triad and attributing the necessity to God's (who is *al-Khayr al-Maḥḍ*) essence as in the works of some Muslim philosophers, see Platti, "Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī," 427, 432. In our text, it is not possible to find an exact reference to the necessity of the Incarnation apart from the above-mentioned expression about God's wish not to leave His creation unaided. However, in addition to the general argument of the oration about the creation as an outflow of the Godhead, in the Arabic text, there is another reference to necessity in terms of the relationship between God and human beings. "The (first) commandment (testament or instruction) given to the first-created (human being) (6,1-2 ἡ τῷ πρωτογόνῳ δοθεῖσα πρωτόγονος ἐντολὴ, 6,1-2 الوصية التى اوصيت الى الاول من المخلوقين out of necessity (اوجبت in *Mi O EHI JY PU* or اوحيت in *NG Q*) was also from light (6,1 Φῶς μὲν ἦν, 6,1 لقد كانت من النور). Jacques Grand'Henry took the reading in *D* (اوصيت) and indicated that the other two readings are corruptions on the ancient text. Grand'Henry, ed., *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua III: Oratio XL (Arab. 4)*, 20. However, if we accept the reading in *Mi O EHI JY PU* (اوجبت), which contains the most ancient manuscript and the Proto-Syrian manuscript family, it means that God gave the commandment out of necessity, i.e. it was necessary for Him to spread His light to His creation. This is also one of the foundations of Gregory's theosis theology in terms of the creation of human beings in the image of God or with a share in divinity. It is also worth asking whether Gregory refers to the necessity of the Incarnation in paragraph thirty-eight (38,22-23 ἀλλὰ τον σαρκωθέντα δι' ἡμᾶς λόγον ψηλαφῶντες ὡς ἄξιον, 16-17 قصدنا با للمس تفتيش الكلمة التي تجسدت من اجلنا ويكون ذلك من حيث الواجب).

[758] 19.23, 2.19-20, 45.38-39 (Gr.); 19.18, 23.17, 45.27 (Ar.).

[759] 19.23-24, 22.1, 22.4-5, 33.12 (Gr.); 19.18, 22.1, 22.3, 33.9 (Ar.).

[760] 9.2, 17.9, 19.2 (τὸ φιλάνθρωπον), 38.7, 46.11 (Gr.); 9.2, 11.15, 17.9, 19.2, 38.7, 46.8 (Ar.). Samir showed that, in *On the Triune Nature of God,* there is no use of *ḥubb* or *maḥabba*, which is a central part of the Christian faith, in particular the doctrine of the Incarnation. He noted that the author frequently uses *raḥmān* for God's (Who is *Raḥmān* and *Arḥam al-Rāḥimīn*) mercy to redeem humanity; therefore, it is possible to suggest that he should have thought that his text would be read also by the Muslims. The same approach is also found in Abū Rāʾiṭa to whom Samir could attribute only one use of *maḥabba* in his text on the Incarnation. Samir, "The Earliest Arab Apology for Christianity," 89. Samir lists the words

Therefore, asceticism and philanthropy are both the imitations and the means of the divine economy. They are the two aspects of a divine life on earth symbolised by Christ and by baptism, in particular.[762] The new situation after the Incarnation that is the new divinised state of human beings is realised and internalised in baptism.[763] According to Gregory, the illumination bestowed by baptism is the "restoration of the creation" (3,8-9 πλάσματος ἐπανόρθωσις, 3,5 اصلاح الجبلة) and the "alteration (or transmission) of the composition" (3,13 συνθέσεως μεταποίησις, 3,8 نقل التركيب). It is the "restoration of the image", which suffered from sin (7,12-13 καὶ τῆς παθούσης εἰκόνος διὰ τὴς κακίαν ἐπανόρθωσις, 7,9-10 وللصورة التي قد المت من تلقا الشر اصلاح). God gave us by baptism, which is the "laver of regeneration" (4,8 λουτρὸν παλιγγενεσίας, 4,6 حميم اعادة الكون), "a new creation that is divine and superior to the first one"[764] (7,9 οὕτως ὑποστάντας

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frequently used in Christian Arabic works to denote mercy and love as jūd, ra'fah, ḥanān, raḥmah, taḥannun and ḥubb. Samir, *The Significance of Early Arab-Christian Thought for Muslim-Christian Understanding*, Occasional Papers Series (Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding, History and International Affairs, Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, 1997), 17. For God's *taḥannun 'alā l-bashar* (philanthrōpias), see Orat. 40.31.

[761] In 'Ammār al-Baṣrī's rather different approach to the reasons that lie behind the Incarnation in which, besides the possibility for human beings of seeing God and being granted by eternity, God's eternal design comes forth with special emphasis on His justice and authority. Beaumont, *Christology in Dialogue with Muslims: A Critical Analysis of Christian Presentations of Christ for Muslims from the Ninth and Twentieth Centuries*, 70-71. Similarly, the writer of *Kitāb al-burhān* says, "God who created out of mercy and righteousness for the sake of spreading His goodness is the ruler and organiser of everything (مدبر)" and "He orders by His wisdom (يدبر بحكمته) and draws near by His mercy (ويدنوا برحمته)". Eutychius of Alexandria, *The Book of Demonstration (Kitāb al-burhān)*, ed. Pierre Cachia, vol. I, 43, 23, 10. Eutychius of Alexandria, *The Book of Demonstration (Kitāb al-burhān)*, trans. W. M. Watt, vol. I, 39, 19, 8. In line with Ibn 'Adī's approach, Paul of Antioch's treatment of the Incarnation is unique in its presentation of it as something necessary according to the divine plan drawn by the generosity of God. It is, in fact, the theophany that completes the chain, which began with creation and revelation personified in prophets. According to Paul of Antioch, the Incarnation is the best and the most perfect revelation and Jesus Christ or the incarnate Word was sent (نزل) by God to bring the law of grace. Khoury, 54, 107. Paul of Antioch's description of the Incarnation as theophany reminds the parallel views of other Arab Christian writers like Abū Qurra, Abraham of Tiberias, Peter of Bayt Ra's, the monk Georges, Abū Rā'iṭa, Ibn 'Adī and Ibn Zur'a which are mainly based on the mercy and justice of God who appeared behind a veil. See also *On the Triune Nature of God*, Samir, "The Earliest Arab Apology for Christianity," 86-87, 97. Reminding very much of the Arabic version of Oration 40 with its emphasis on the role of the teaching of Christ in human salvation, Paul of Antioch's *Exposé* and *Short rational treatises*, found his soteriology on God's generosity, justice and "*divine pedagogy*". Khoury, 47, 76-77, 133-134, 156 Paul believed that the names of God make it possible for creatures to be in relation with their Creator. It is a part of the divine *pedagogy* accomplished in the Incarnation with the manifestation of the Word in a human body, which like the divine names makes it easier for human beings to comprehend God. For the discussion of the role of the divine names in deification process, see Chapter 2.

[762] Winslow, 148, 153-154.

[763] N. Russell, *The Doctrine of Deification in the Greek Patristic Tradition*, 221. For Būlus al-Būshī (d. c. 1250), baptism is "one fruit of the Incarnation". Davis, 246.

[764] See also Orat. 40: 2,10 καὶ τὴν χάριν ᾐδέσθη τῆς ἀναπλάσεως, 2,7 واستحيت من نعمة عودة الخليقة ([whether mankind] worshipped the grace of its new creation).

ἀνέπλασε, πλάσιν θειοτέραν τε καὶ τῆς πρώτης ὑψηλοτέραν, 7,7-8 بل كما خلقنا ولم نكن قبل (ذلك فذلك بعد خليقته عاد فجبلنا جبلة اشد الهية من الاولى واعلى). The composition is the beginning of the separation (or difference) (7,6 σύνθεσις γὰρ ἀρχὴ διαστάσεως, 7,5 لان التركيب ابتدا الخلف ومقاومة). By rebuilding us (8,9 ἀνακτίζον, 8,7 ويعود فيبنينا) with a covenant for a second and purer life (8,10-11 συνθήκας πρὸς Θεὸν δευτέρου βίου καὶ πολιτείας καθαρωτέρας, 8,9 وثيقة لله على الانسان بسيرة ثانية وعمر طاهر لا دنس فيه), God acts as a Mediator in the world (8,14-15 τὰς πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ὁμολογίας ἐμπεδοῖ Θεὸς μέσος ταραληφθείς, 8,12 فيما بين الناس اذا توسطها).

God came as an aid to the (our) first creation (8,6-7 ὃ τῆς πρώτης γενέσεως ἐπικουρία, 8,5-6 اذ هو معونة للكيان الاول) and made us new and divine instead of the old state we were in (the image we had) (8,7-8 τυγχάνον καινοὺς ἀντι παλαιῶν καὶ θεοειδεῖς ἀντι τῶν νῦν ὄντων ἐργάζεται, 8,6-7 فيجعلنا جديدين بدل عتق ومتصورين بصورة الله بدل صورتنا هذه). From the day of the new birth by baptism, all the old marks are removed and Christ is put on all in one form" (27,5-6 Ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας μεταποιῇ, πάντες εἶξαν οἱ παλαιοὶ χαρακτῆρες·μιᾷ μορφῇ πᾶσι Χριστὸς ἐπιτέθειται, 27,5-6 وانت اليوم الذي تنتقل اليه فقد انصرفت عنك ساير الصورة القديمة وصارت على الجماعة صورة واحدة وهي المسيح). By being buried and raised with Christ through baptism (9,16-17 συνταφῶμεν οὖν Χριστῷ διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος, 9,13-14 نقبر مع المسيح بالمعمودية حتى نقوم بقيامته ننحدر معه), [we] have been set up again by the Word" (33,3 σήμερον ἀνωρθώθης ὑπὸ τοῦ Λόγου, 33,2 واليوم قد استقمت من قبل الكلمة) and [we] have been made sound (33,20 ὑγιὴς γέγονας,[765] 33,15 قد صارت صحيحا). There is not a second generation or recreation or a return to the former state (8,19-20 καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ οὔσης δευτέρας ἀναγεννήσεως οὐδὲ ἀναπλάσεως οὐδὲ εἰς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἀποκαταστάσεως, 8,15-16 وليس لنا ميلاد ثان ولا خليقة معادة ولا انعطاف الى قديم كون) after baptism.

Briefly, Christ, as the Transformer of the human soul and the Mediator between the divinity and humanity, first by His Incarnation and then through baptism, brings a new creation or image that is transformed into a divine form. However, it still needs to be perfected and now the role of the Holy Spirit in human deification as the Fulfiller or the Completer comes to the fore.

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[765] John 5:14.

Although it does not occupy a great deal of Oration 40, Gregory is known mostly for his contribution to the doctrine of the Holy Spirit,[766] which seems to have been the leading problem of the Council of Constantinople (381). In fact, the middle ages have not added much to the development of this doctrine apart from the discussions of the procession of the Holy Spirit and of the divine essence and hypostases. Therefore, it is not possible to find a specific work –at least to our knowledge– devoted to the Holy Spirit in medieval Christian Arabic literature,[767] which rather focused on the doctrine of the Trinity and the Incarnation, most particularly the relationship between the divine essence and attributes and the doctrine of revelation.

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[766] After acknowledging that Gregory "devotes fewer passages to the explicit discussion of the Spirit than he does to his ascetical theory, to Christ, or to the Trinity", C. Beeley notes, "[i]n many respects, it is Gregory's Pneumatology that most distinctively characterises his theological project". Beeley, 154.

[767] In medieval Christian Arabic writings, the Holy Spirit (*al-Rūḥ al-Qudus* or sometimes *Rūḥ Qudus* or *Rūḥ al-Rabb*) appears most often in the discussions of the doctrine of the Trinity (the divine essence and the hypostases, the Unity and the Monarchy in the Trinity, the procession of the Holy Spirit). For *Rūḥ Quddusahu*, see Orat. 40.46. For the use of *Qudus* as adjective in Christian Arabic writings, see Treiger, "The Arabic Version of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite's Mystical Theology, Chapter 1: Introduction, Critical Edition, and Translation," *Le Muséon* 120, no. 3-4 (2007): 383. It is worth noting that two forms of invocation emerged in Melkite epicleses in Syriac, one for the Father to send the Spirit and one for the Spirit to come. The epiclesis over the water in the Melkite liturgy of Basil reads as "Do you now too, Lord God, *send* upon this water by means of this sanctified oil of true unction *your dove* which is beyond all ages, namely *your living and holy Spirit* and perfect it […]". The *epiclesis* of the Holy Spirit in the short Melkite baptismal service, which represents the ancient and genuine Antiochene rite that is very close to the Syriac *ordines* used in the Antiochene Church before the Byzantine reconquest of Antioch in 969 is as follows: "May your Spirit, living and holy, *be sent*, and *may he come* and reside and rest and dwell on this water, and sanctify it and make it like the water which flowed from your side on your cross". Sebastian P. Brock, "A Short Melkite Baptismal Service in Syriac " *Parole de l'Orient* 3, no. 1 (1972): 119, 121, 124. _____, *The Holy Spirit in the Syrian Baptismal Tradition* (Bronx, N.Y.: Fordham University, 1979), 72-73. It is known that, in the Trinitarian schemes used by Arab Christian theologians to explain the hypostases as the divine attributes, the Holy Spirit was described as the Living (*al-Ḥayy*), the Powerful (*al-Qādir*) and the Intelligible (*al-Maʿqūl*) or the Known (*al-Maʿlūm*). He also appears in the discussions of the doctrine of the Incarnation, which was criticised by Muslim writers on the ground that only the Word became Incarnate but not the Father or the Spirit since it goes against what is taught by the doctrine of the Trinity. Arab Christian theologians responded to this accusation by claiming that the Incarnation took place with the divine will or with the consent of the Father and the Holy Spirit. Despite their different views of Christ's taking on a (or *the*) human nature and body, they also claimed that Christ was born from the Holy Spirit and Mary. Theodore Abū Qurra makes this point clear in the title of his treatise in which he exhorts to prostration to the image of Christ: "… [A]l-Masīḥ ilāhinā lladhī tajassada min Rūḥ al-Qudus wa-min Maryam al-adhrā'…" (… Christ, our God, Who became incarnate [took flesh] from the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary …) John C. Lamoreaux, "Theodore Abū Qurra " in *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History. Volume 1 (600-900)*, ed. David Thomas and Barbara Roggema with J. P. M. Sala, J. Pahlitzsch, M. Swanson, H. Teule, and J. Tolan (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009), 463.

Gregory's pneumatology consists of proofs derived from his Trinitarian doctrine (Unity of the Essence, distinction of the Hypostases) and from the traditional worship of the Holy Spirit.[768] However, he found the strongest argument in his soteriology according to which, because He is God, the Holy Spirit is active in all parts of the divine economy from the creation[769] to the general resurrection. As already indicated in the Introduction, Oration 40 came out of an atmosphere in which different theologies were expressed in different cosmologies and theories of salvation. Therefore, it is not surprising to find Gregory warning his audience about unorthodox views, as they cannot make them perfect because of their wrong beliefs that are not based in the *homoousios*[770] of the Persons of the Trinity.[771]

In paragraph forty-two, Gregory presents his argument for the divinity of the Holy Spirit that is derived from theosis as follows: 14-16 Εἰ ἔτι κτίσματι προσεκύνουν ἢ εἰς κτίσμα ἐβαπτιζόμην, οὐκ ἂν ἐθεούμην, 10-11 فان انا سجدت للخليقة واصطبغت بمخلوق فلست اتاله (If I worshipped the creation and was baptised into a creature, then I would not be made divine[772]); 20-21 αὐτὸς ἢ μὴ προσκυνῶν τὰ δύο, εἰς ἃ συμβεβάπτισμασι, ἢ προσκυνῶν τὰ ὁμόδουλα[;], 14-16 اذا ما انا لم اسجد للاثنين الذين بهما اصطبغ او ان سجدت لهما واعتقدت انهما في العبودية مشاركان فهما عبدان على هذا الراي (While I either did not worship the two with whom I was baptised or I worshipped them and believed that they are both created [then,

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[768] For the reflection of this argument, see the short Melkite baptismal service in which, after sealing the child with the sign of the cross, the priest prays as follows: "… is signed to the glory of God the Father, and to the knowledge of the only-begotten Son, and to the worship of the Spirit of holiness, amen". Brock, "A Short Melkite Baptismal Service in Syriac": 123. What is most interesting, however, is his theory of revelation, which describes it in progressive terms. Among the patristic writers, Gregory was the first one who provided such an understanding of revelation. J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines* (London: Adam&Charles Black, 1977), 261. Winslow, 25f. Interestingly, this understanding also appeared as divine pedagogy in Christian Arabic literature, which relates it to the Holy Spirit. This theory, which claims that the divinity of the Holy Spirit was declared only when human beings were ready to receive Him, is related to Gregory's letter-spirit distinction in exegesis. C. Beeley says, "In a manner not seen since Origen, Gregory's Pneumatology reflects a fundamental interconnection between dogmatic, epistemological, and hermeneutical concerns […]". Beeley, 165. For him, a spiritual reading of the Bible would certainly prove the divinity of the Holy Spirit.

[769] By reading Gen. 1:2 as an evidence for the Holy Spirit's being active in creation, some Syriac writers described baptism as a new creation. Brock, *The Holy Spirit in the Syrian Baptismal Tradition*, 83.

[770] See Orat. 31.10: "What, then, is the Spirit of God? Of course! Then, is it homoousion? Yes, if it is God."

[771] Orat. 40.44.

[772] For the Arabic term for theosis, *ta'alluh*, see Chapter 4.

according to this view, it means that they are fellow servants] [...]).[773] In the following paragraph, he says that even if he wanted to use the word "greater" for the Son as to the Spirit, baptism, which makes him perfect through the Spirit, would not allow him to do that: 43,10-11 καὶ οὐ συγχωρεῖ μοι τὸ βάπτισμα τελειοῦν με διὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος, 43,8-9 وليس تتركني المعمودية وهي تتممني بالروح.

As in Jesus' baptism in the river Jordan and at Pentecost, baptised Christians were strengthened by the Holy Spirit.[774] Therefore, his mission consists of the regeneration or the perfection of what is given by the Incarnation.[775] In Oration 40, Gregory describes this mission both as a guide for a divine life and as a spiritual cleansing:[776] 2,9-10 εἴτε τῇ σαρκὶ μόνον ἐπηκολούθησεν εἴτε τῷ Πνεύματι συνανῆλθε, 2,6-7 ان كانت تبعت الجسد وحده ام صعدت مع الروح ([The humankind will give account to its Creator] whether it has followed the flesh alone or ascended with the Spirit); 3,8 Πνεύματος ἀκολούθησις, 3,5 اتباع الروح (baptism or illumination is the following of the Spirit). The cleansing provided by baptism is twofold, one with water and the other with the Spirit (8,3 δι' ὕδατός τέ φημι καί Πνεύματος, 8,3 وهما الما والروح).[777] Therefore, water and the Spirit give power to

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[773] See also Orat. 31.28: "If [the Spirit] is not to be adored (προσκυνητόν), how can it deify me by baptism? And if it is adored, how is it not worshipped (σεπτόν)? And if it is worshipped, how is not God (θεός)? The one is linked to the other, a truly golden and saving chain." *PG* 36.165A.

[774] For this mission of the Holy Spirit, see *Fī Tathlīth* (381-388) whose argument can be summarised as follows: If Christ was not truly God, the works of the Apostles would not be proven. However, He supported them by the Holy Spirit and they did all sorts of signs (*āyāt*). Their situation solidified itself all over the world, though they became strangers and poor (ghurabā' masākīn)." Samir, "The Earliest Arab Apology for Christianity," 105.

[775] See also Al-Majdalus, *Commentary on the Nicene Creed*, trans. Samuel Noble [Online] Available at: www.tertullian.org/fathers/al-majdalus_01_translation.htm [Accessed: 21 January 2012] (between [150] and [152]):

> The birth from the flesh decays and changes while the birth from the spirit does not decay and does not change because it is the birth of life, the birth from God to perfect the human form (المولود من الله ليكمل الصورة الانسانية) by this second birth (الميلاد الثاني) because the Spirit of perfection (روح الكمال) is in baptism and brings the salvation of the soul (خلاص النفس) from the darkness of the body.

[776] For the spiritual character of this mission, see *Kitāb al-burhān*, paragraph 274:

> [The Spirit] illuminates the person immersed in [the water] by His light, and indwells his soul so that he knows spiritual matters which fleshly persons do not know [...] [A]nd his soul becomes shining and is rightly guided by that light, both in its earthly stay and sojourn in the body, and after its leaving the body.

Eutychius of Alexandria, *The Book of Demonstration (Kitāb al-burhān)*, ed. Pierre Cachia, vol. I, 151. Eutychius of Alexandria, *The Book of Demonstration (Kitāb al-burhān)*, trans. W. M. Watt, vol. I, 122-123.

[777] Through baptism, infants are cleansed by the Spirit (possibly because they do not need the cleansing of water as they are not stained with sin): 17,16 ἐξ ὀνύχων καθιερωθήτω τῷ Πνεύματι, 17,13 وهو طفل وطهره بالروح.

the baptised ones to defend themselves against conflicts (10,5 Προβαλοῦ τὸ ὕδωρ, προβαλοῦ τό Πνεῦμα, 10,4 قدم الما قدم الروح). They will also be sealed by the unction and the Spirit (15,3-4 σημειωθεὶς καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα τῷ χρίσματι καὶ τῷ Πνεύματι, 15,2-3 ووسمت نفسك وجسمك بالمسوح والروح). The Spirit to whom the baptiser lends his hands is eager to consecrate the catechumen through baptism (44,19-21 ἰδοὺ κίχρημι τὰς χεῖράς τῷ Πνεύματι. Ταχύνωμεν τὴν σωτηρίαν [...] σφύζει τὸ Πνεῦμα, 44,16-17 وها يداي اعير هما للروح فهلموا نسرع الى الخلاص ... فان الروح **تختلج**).[778]

Although we do not possess textual evidence from Oration 40, it is possible to say that the role of the Holy Spirit in theosis is to turn the baptised believer into a deified member of the Church. This is in line with the general mission attributed to Him by Gregory, which is turning the grace or salvation offered by the Incarnation to human beings into a personal and more intimate relationship with God.[779] The Syriac baptismal tradition[780] and the pneumatology of Arab Christian theologians strongly reflect the central importance that this point plays in human perfection.[781]

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[778] It is known that 'spirit' or 'wind' was rendered in Syriac as a feminine word, *ruha*, and this is confirmed by the earlier writings in which the Holy Spirit is called 'Mother'. Nevertheless, one cannot claim that this title was regularly used in the writings on baptism though some of them kept it sometimes only for the sake of metrical composition. It is in fact possible to find the same title used in Gregory of Nyssa's commentary on the Song of Songs 6:8 in which, by referring to Christ's baptism, the Holy Spirit is called the "Mother of the chosen dove (the Church)". For Syriac writers, baptism is the mother of Christians and the baptised are like Mary in that they are in contact with the Holy Spirit. The Melkite rite depicts Holy Spirit as the dove that carries the olive branch, while baptism in general is described as the death and resurrection of Christ and as the general resurrection. Similarly, water is described as a womb, and the 'water of rest', and the primordial water or the water in the pool of Bethesda. It is also as the water that flowed from the side of Christ on the cross, while the font symbolised the river Jordan. Brock, *The Holy Spirit in the Syrian Baptismal Tradition*, 2-4, 18, 73-74, 132.

[779] Beeley, 163.

[780] Besides being extremely interesting in its own, the Syriac baptismal tradition brings us closer to the reception history of Gregory in the East and to the Melkite liturgical texts, which for the most part had a Syriac origin until the Byzantine reconquest of Antioch in 969. According to this tradition, with his work during the baptism process, the Holy Spirit allows human beings to take part in Christ's life thus enter into a "sacred time". It is known that Oration 40 exists in two Syriac variations and Ibrāhīm should have consulted with one or both of these translations. Brock, *The Holy Spirit in the Syrian Baptismal Tradition*, 31. In Eastern Christian tradition, the Holy Spirit comes to the scene in the second part of the ritual, i.e. in the post-baptismal anointing after the gifts of the Sonship are given. Among the descriptions of these gifts, which are most of the time depicted in the background of a wedding feast, one finds the recreation of the body as the temple of the Spirit, becoming like Christ or the Second Adam, (re)entering into paradise and becoming priests and kings. Sonship appears as one of the gifts of the Holy Spirit through which the baptised become not only brothers to Christ but heirs of the divine kingdom. This allows them to call God as 'Father'. It is described as *parrhesia* or the "uncovering of the face". Moreover, the baptised are accepted into Christ's congregation like lost sheep returning to their flocks whereby they are strongly planted in the soil of the Church. Brock, *The Holy Spirit in the Syrian Baptismal Tradition*, 38-

Now is the time to look at the deeper implications of the Holy Spirit's inspiring role in theosis, which found one of its best expressions in medieval Arabic writings that describe human deification as the union with the Active Intellect (*Ruḥ al-Qudus* or *Gabriel* of Islamic tradition) or as a heavenly journey towards God. This is in fact the world beyond the Holy of Holies[782] opened to the new member of the Church by the Holy of Spirit.

3.5. Conclusion

In this chapter, we introduced the Christology of Oration 40 with special emphasis on the social dimension of the theosis process as is stressed in the Arabic translation. Besides the theological elements of this Christology such as the words used to describe the mode of the Incarnation or refer to the humanity of Christ, we find significant references in the text to the social life which this theology suggests. What is most important about the Christology of the Arabic text is the way it draws the picture of an

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41, 45-46, 50-57. On the reflection of the notion of sonship and brotherhood in Christian Arabic theology, see Kitāb al-burhān, paragraphs 261 and 262:

> The immersed one has become one of the children of light, whom the Holy Spirit has illumined with His light, who the Father has adopted as His own, and whom the Son, Christ, has adopted as His brother (وصار المصبوغ من **بني النور** قد أنارته روح القدس بنورها **وتبناه الآب** **وتوخاه الابن المسيح**). Thus it becomes permissible for him to call God "Father" through brotherhood with Christ, through the indwelling of the Holy Spirit in himself [...].

Eutychius of Alexandria, *The Book of Demonstration (Kitāb al-burhān)*, ed. Pierre Cachia, vol. I, 145-146. Eutychius of Alexandria, *The Book of Demonstration (Kitāb al-burhān)*, trans. W. M. Watt, vol. I, 118. For the description of Christians as "the children of one baptism (اولاد المعمودية المقدسة)" in Gerasimus' *Kitāb al-kāfī* (v. 34), see Bakhou: 321, 324. For a similar description, the "sons of baptism", in the short Arabic recension of *The Legend of Baḥīra* (18.34, 18.68), see Roggema, *The Legend of Sergius Baḥīrā: Eastern Christian Apologetics and Apocalyptic in Response to Islam*, 421, 429.

[781] The link between the Holy Spirit and the Church in general is in fact one of the most important points, which appear in the discussions of Christian Arabic literature concerning the Holy Spirit. The central figures of Christian Arabic theology such as the author of *Fī Tathlīth*, Theodore Abū Qurra and Abū Rā'iṭa described the councils and the doctrines formulated by the Fathers as the instruments through which the Holy Spirit inspires. This is also connected with Gregory's theory of divine pedagogy which found its reflection in Abū Rā'iṭa. Moreover, these writers had to challenge a Muslim argument, which identified Muḥammad with the Paraclete who represents the Holy Spirit in Christian tradition. Swanson, "Folly to the Ḥunafā': The Crucifixion in Early Christian-Muslim Controversy," in *The Encounter of Eastern Christianity with Early Islam*, ed. Mark N. Swanson, Emmanouela Grypeou, David Richard Thomas (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 247. Griffith, "'Melkites', 'Jacobites' and the Christological Controversies in Arabic in the Third/Ninth-Century Syria," in *Syrian Christians under Islam*, ed. Thomas David (Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill, 2001), 42, 44. _____, *The Beginnings of Christian Theology in Arabic: Muslim-Christian Encounters in the Early Islamic Period*, 281, 283, 289. Keating, 46, 52.

[782] See Orat. 40.16.

ideal Christian life with the help of the words that represent the time period in which it was produced. It is, therefore, a language which represents the medieval Islamicate world (as in *al-mā'ida* in 10.27 and 31.12). After introducing the spiritual role of Christ in the perfection of humanity, this chapter ends with the description of the Pneumatology of Oration 40 which does not add much to our understanding of the Holy Spirit apart from its contribution to His role as the Personalising Agent of perfection in the theosis process.

The Arabic version of Oration 40 does not differ from the Greek text in describing the perfection that comes with baptism as "clothing of immortality" (29.8-9, 47.5-6 etc.) and "putting on Christ" (10.23, 31.22-24 etc.). Similarly, the two texts describe the Incarnation as Christ's putting on flesh (29.4-5). Besides the verbs like ṣāra (45.15-16), ittakhadha (27.4, 45.20) and ikhtalaṭa (6.10) that frequently appear in Christian Arabic writings to denote the Incarnation, Ibrāhīm, according to the Proto-Syrian version, uses tajassada (2.9) which was converted into a lighter form, *fa-bi-l-jasad*, in later manuscripts. What we find here might be nothing more than a difference of emphasis in terms of the reading in *MiJY* that stresses on the event of the Incarnation but it also takes us to another point which shows Ibrāhīm's success as a translator. He very successfully renders 'becoming corporeal in the body' or 'the human body in the corporeal sense (sarka)' as tajassada and jasad whereas he translates sōma as jism or 'assuming the human substance' or 'the human substance (nature) itself'.

Gregory's theology is known for its emphasis on the personhood of the Persons of the Trinity in which the humanity of the incarnate Word occupies an important place. The stress on the human nature of Christ finds its best expression in Ibrāhīm's preference of sutrah (10.2) for kalumma to denote the humanity of Christ that the Satan tried to assail. As shown in our semantical analysis of sutrah and ḥijāb, Ibrāhīm seems to have avoided using the latter word for its strong Islamic connotations while sutrah invokes something more material and solid in nature. This is in line with the whole emphasis of the Arabic text on the historical Jesus (*Aysū'* 2.8, introduction in *Y D*). As to the connection of this emphasis with theosis, one should be reminded of the role of Christ in Christian Arabic thinking as the Intelligising or Realising Agent of the Trinity that could be in real contact with humans or more properly the perfect men. In fact, in Christian Arabic theology we do not find an emphasis on Christ's intervention in history whereas the

apparent low esteem of His human body makes itself felt. The Christo-centric language of the Arabic text with special emphasis on Jesus is therefore significant.

The second concern of the Arabic version of *Oration on baptism* is a Christian community which is directed by Christ's life and teaching. In addition to its calling of the audience as a group (27.6; 31.23; 31.29), the Arabic text wants them to be known as the embodiment of their faith (11.14) and thus puts an emphasis on the public expression of religion. As a declaration of the group one belongs to, baptism needs to be a special mark or, in Ibrāhīm's words, a distinctive colour (2.9, 44.22) which is different from the heterodox teachings that offer nothing more than drowning or burial (44.19). The dyeing process is concerned with a total change in the morals (32.3) of catechumens or those who have not been baptised (16.19) or have not entered into the deification process.

In addition to Christ's teaching, catechumens are called to follow the Disciples to become the lights of the world (37.14) and to give the miracles and healing powers of Christ to others (34.17-18). When referring to Christ's being called as fire, the Arabic text puts an emphasis on tradition by rendering anagōgēs as al-idmān (36.13-14) or al-azmān (*Mi FONG EHI JY PU DQ*). Either as bī'ah (39.10 *MiJY*) or as kanīsa (21.7), the church is similarly emphasised by our translator. However, one of the most important contributions of the Arabic translation to our understanding of the tenth-eleventh century Melkite Church is the word *adab* which refers to a much broader world than what is denoted by *paideia*. As the product of the Abbasid golden age and its multi-cultural society, *adab* refers to a way of life based on ethics and discipline. This life finds its best expression in Ibrāhīm's rendering of epitēdeuma (18.23) as "sīra wa-(lā)-madhhab wa-(lā)-ṣinā'a" (18.19) which denote one's life, way of thinking (religious, political etc.) and occupation. Accordingly, the divine life that is offered through baptism is compatible with different ways of life.

Theologically speaking, the Arabic version of Oration 40 provides a diaphysite Christology which gives a special place to the human nature of Christ. This doctrine that is expressed within the terminology of medieval Christian Arabic writings might have greatly contributed to the literature of the Melkite Church in the middle ages. Besides this literary point, our text should have played a significant role in ecclesiastical matters

since it deals with issues such as the roles of priests and the catechumenate period. In fact, Gregory built his whole argument of baptism and theosis around the concept of church but Ibrāhīm made this connection more pronounced.

What we find in the Arabic text is a call to the Christians of the period to act as a group or community in constructing a Christian identity on the basis of Christ's teaching and tradition. This identity finds its best expression in the deified or perfect man about which the medieval Arab thinkers had loads to say. It perfectly fits to the political and cultural circumstances of tenth-eleventh century Antioch which were determined by factors like the Byzantine rule and its impact on the Church and the Arab culture that was created by both Christian and Muslim citizens of the region. Under these circumstances, which were accompanied by intra-Christian discussions of Christ's natures, the true dogma and the salvation, Ibrāhīm might have found a good basis in Oration 40 for the expression of the Melkite Christology upon which he could present the tenets of an ideal Christian life based on ethical and social refinement and the belief in theosis or a divine life. As an Arabic text which both continued and transformed the theosis theology of a Greek Church Father, Ibrāhīm's translation of Oration 40 might have helped the Melkite Christians of tenth-eleventh century Antioch not to lose their unique Arab Christian identity when they were faced with the Byzantinisation policies of their new rulers. It might also have given them power to stand for their diaphysite Christology against the miaphysite teaching that was represented by the Jacobite Patriarchate which always made its power felt in the city. In short, it might have made the Melkite community felt confident to express themselves clearly to their Christian and Muslim neighbours with whom they shared the same language and culture.

CHAPTER 4: LIFTING THE VEIL AND "REJOICING IN THE LORD"[783]

4.1. Theosis as an Intellectual and Mystical Concept and as an Eschatological Reality in Gregory of Nazianzus' Theology

The recent discussions of theosis shed light on the understanding of theosis in the past, present and future since it is not possible to understand the capacity of this concept without looking at its later interpretations especially the Byzantine[784] and the modern Orthodox ones. These later interpretations perfectly reveal to what extent Gregory's theosis theory is continued and to what degree it is transformed.[785] However, here is not the place to dwell on the current discussions of theosis;[786] therefore, the chapter will begin with a brief conceptual analysis of Gregory's theosis theology. It is almost impossible to find any treatment of theosis, medieval or modern, which does not base its argument on the Fathers and particularly on Gregory of Nazianzus.[787] Gregory is not

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[783] Orat. 40.25.

[784] Beeley claims that it was Gregory's soteriology in general, and his theosis theology in particular that shaped and developed the Byzantine understanding of salvation for a millennium, which through figures like Cyril of Alexandria and John of Damascus found reflection also in the West. C. A. Beeley, *Gregory of Nazianzus on the Trinity and the Knowledge of God: In Your Light We See Light*, 320-321.

[785] It is worth noting that the close connections between some ideas such as the 'union in the divine energies' of the Orthodox tradition and the 'union with God in His names and attributes' of the Ṣūfī teaching show that theosis is important not only for modern intra-Christian discussions but also for Christian-Muslim relations. It is possible to find excellent examples of this close connection in J. S. Cutsinger, *Paths to the Heart: Sufism and the Christian East* (Bloomington, Indiana: World Wisdom, 2002).

[786] It is acknowledged that an interest in human deification appeared in the West with the discovery of the Byzantine theology in its Palamite form and an interest in the modern Orthodox thought. With this increasing interest in and attention given to theosis, the concept has come to be known as a distinguishing mark of the theological differences between Eastern and Western Christianity and its Protestant interpretation. The Orthodox view of deification is distinguished from other Christian teachings by the Palamite distinction between God's essence and energies. Along with this distinction, *hesychasm* (an eremitic life of contemplation and continual prayer, which aims at reaching theosis as the true meaning of human life) became the basis of Eastern Orthodox theology. Peter Samsel, "A Unity with Distinctions: Parallels in the Thought of St Gregory Palamas and Ibn Arabi," in *Paths to the Heart: Sufism and the Christian East*, ed. James S. Cutsinger (Bloomington, Indiana: World Wisdom, 2002), 192-193. There have been some recent attempts among Western theologians, mainly Roman Catholic to understand the Palamite theology in its own terms, which for long had been subject of serious criticism in the West because of its incompatibility with the Thomistic teaching.

[787] However, there is not much difference between Winslow's complaining words uttered in 1979 about the lack of interest in or underestimating remarks about Gregory's theosis theology and J. A. McGuckin's reproach for the insufficiency of studies about Gregory's theology along with his image created by modern writers as a disappointing figure among the Cappadocians. D. F. Winslow, *The Dynamics of Salvation: A Study in Gregory of Nazianzus*, 181. J. A. McGuckin, *St. Gregory of Nazianzus: An*

only responsible for coining the word "theosis"[788] and building a theology of deification but also for his influence on Eastern theologians such as Dionysius the Areopagite, Maximus the Confessor and Gregory Palamas who were the key figures in the development of the patristic doctrine of theosis[789] in a spiritual way.[790]

Gregory's argument for theosis begins with the notion that human beings have the *divine image* that comes with the creation and a high capacity to know God in a transformative way. However, it is a matter of question where exactly this image resides in. It is possible to say that, for Gregory, the human soul is the medium between the

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Intellectual Biography, xxii. Even after eleven years he wrote these words, we share McGuckin's concerns and are sorry to announce that among the newer studies there are some works, which does not even touch on Gregory's theosis theology. Some other works are carelessly done such as Daniel Clendenin's attribution of [*Questions*] *To Thallasios* to Gregory in his *Eastern Orthodox Christianity: A Western Perspective* (1994 and 2003) and Puppo's doctoral thesis (2007) which uses Clendenin's citation and quotation in four places. Puppo even named the third chapter of her thesis after the expression "theosis, the blessed telos for which all things were made" which is in fact Maximus the Confessor's but attributed to Gregory as it was done by Clendenin in the first edition of his book and not changed in the later edition. Clendenin, in fact, took the expression from Panagiotes Chrestou's (Panagiotis Christou) *Partakers of God* (Brookline, Mass.: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1984, 36) where Christou quotes from Maximus' Προς Θαλάσοιον (60, *PG* 90.621A): "[…] This is the blessed telos for which all things have been made." [Online] Available at: http://www.myriobiblos.gr/texts/english/christou_partakers_forw.html#_edn11 [Accessed: 20 March 2012] In Puppo's analysis Gregory appears rather frequently but is not examined under a title as in Irenaeus, Athanasius, Gregory of Nyssa, Symeon and Gregory Palamas and is quoted and cited only through other sources. D. B. Clendenin, *Eastern Orthodox Christianity: A Western Perspective* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2003). J. M. B. Puppo, *Sacrament of Deification: The Eucharistic Vision of Alexander Schmemann in Light of the Doctrine of Theosis* (PhD diss., Duquesne University, 2007).

[788] N. Russell gives a list of the various forms of the term 'theosis' that are employed by Gregory and points to the dates and orations they were used in. Russell, *The Doctrine of Deification in the Greek Patristic Tradition*, 214-223. Therefore, later in the chapter, we will only refer to the Greek words used in Oration 40 with their Arabic equivalents in Ibrāhīm's translation. For the rhetorical analysis of the words used by Gregory, see Rosemary Radford Ruether, *Gregory of Nazianzus, Rhetor and Philosopher*, 63-83. and Vladimir Kharlamov, "Rhetorical Application of Theosis," in *Partakers of the Divine Nature: The History and Development of Deification in the Christian Traditions*, ed. Jeffery A. Wittung and Michael J. Christensen (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2008).

[789] With Dionysius and Maximus who adapted Gregory's teaching, most especially his terminology, the concept entered into the Byzantine tradition as a matter of theology. The definition of the concept itself first appeared in Dionysius who described it in his *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* (1.3) as "ἡ δὲ θέωσίς ἐστιν ἡ πρὸς θεὸν ὡς ἐφικτὸν ἀφομοίωσίς τε καὶ ἕνωσις" (*Theōsis* is the attaining of likeness to God and union with him so far as is possible). Russell, 14, 248.

[790] We believe a reading of the mystical tendency in eleventh-century Byzantine theology as represented by St Simeon the New Theologian (949-1022) in connection with Ibrāhīm's translations can offer new insights about the reception history of Gregory in the medieval East. In the mystical tradition of Eastern Orthodox theology, St Simeon stands between Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite (the late fifth or the early sixth century) and Gregory Palamas, and these three figures gave a significant place to Gregory in their mysticism of divine lights. Although it is still not fully accommodated in the Western Christianity, a mystical perspective of theosis with the notion of divine energies or lights in its centre, which is not detached from the social world, can be more inclusive for modern Christians in ecumenical terms or for modern people in the context of what is called the perennial philosophy.

mortal and the immortal realm and refers to our immaterial nature, whereas the intellect is a power or faculty placed in it and bestowed upon man to rule over not only his whole being but also the two worlds, visible and invisible. Nevertheless, the question about the place of the divine image in man, which necessarily brings forth its role in theosis, still awaits an answer. While it is not easy to make strict definitions of terms like mind, intellect, reason, spirit, soul and heart in Gregory's theology, it becomes more difficult when one tries to distinguish their roles and activities.[791] However, the clear references in Gregory's writings to the intellect as the seat of the divine image[792] make it necessary to examine the role of the intellectual faculties.

We learn from Gregory's writings that going up to the Mountain, be it the foot or the top of it, to meet God depends on purification and *theoria*. According to Gregory, purification is passing of the *mind* from the visible world to the invisible sphere or from the sensibles to *intelligibles*.[793] Purification and illumination end in a "conversation with God", which is in fact knowing Him, however, this knowledge is not a *noēsis* (νοούμενον in Orat. 40.5) but a *gnōsis* because of its experiential nature.[794] As in Gregory's own vision,[795] a mystical experience symbolises initiation into a new life or

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[791] It is not possible to say that Gregory made a distinction between *dianoia* and *noesis* as the later Greek fathers, who, following Plato, specified the first as reasoning, abstraction or analysis, whereas the second was linked to participation in the contemplated object. Therefore, their distinction about the knowledge of God, which is expressed as follows, is not applicable to Gregory: "Through *dianoia* we know about God; through *nous* we know God." Timothy Kallistos Ware, "The Soul in Greek Christianity," in *From Soul to Self*, ed. M. James and C. Crabbe (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), 60-61.

[792] Plagnieux called "nous, noēsis, dianoia" as "[la] pouvoir prodigieux d'atteindre au divin". Jean Plagnieux, *Saint Grégoire de Nazianze Théologien* (Paris: Éditions Franciscaines, 1951), 145 quoted in A. N. Williams, *The Divine Sense: The Intellect in Patristic Theology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 91.

[793] It is an "escape from matter (ὕλην), and from the fleshly cloud (or should we call it a veil) by means of *reason* (λόγου) and *contemplation* (θεωρίας), so as to hold communion with God, and be associated with the purest light (in so far as human nature can attain to it)". In short, the deification (θεώσεως) is "conferred by true *philosophy* (φιλοσοφῆσαι χαρίζεται) and by rising above the duality of matter (ὑλικὴν δυάδα) through the unity which is perceived (νοουμίνην) in the Trinity". Orat. 21.2. *PG* 35.1084.

[794] See Orat. 38.7, *PG* 36.317C:

> [...] [B]y that part of It, which we cannot comprehend, to move our *wonder*; and as an object of wonder to become more an object of *desire*; and being desired, to *purify*; and purifying *to make us like God* (θεοειδεῖς ἀπεργάζηται); so that, when we have become like Himself, God may, to use a bold expression, *hold converse with us as Gods, being united to us* (ἤδη προσομιλῇ [...] Θεὸς θεοῖς ἑνούμενός), and *known by us* (τε καὶ γνωριζόμενος); and that perhaps to the same extent as He already knows those who are known to Him (ὅσον ἤδν γινώσκει τοὺς γινωσκομένους).

[795] The following are the select verses from *De Rebus Suis* (*Carm.* 2.1.1, vv. 194-204, 210-212, *PG* 37.985-986 quoted in McGuckin, 66.) which describes his vision:

> My soul was melded with radiant spirits of heaven,
> and my *spiritual intellect* carried me aloft.

state. It is possible to say that Gregory believed in the transforming powers of mystical experience in human life since the disciples were called "the light of the world".[796] This is also related to sainthood, which was reinterpreted and gained a wider meaning in Gregory's 'social theology'.

Similar to mystical vision, which opens the door of another world, the end of this life is the beginning of a new world. This new life has an angelic form but it does not refer to an ontological change as the outcome of theosis in the next world. Our knowledge of it is limited to this description of the new state the saved ones will be in. As to the vision of God in the next life, it is not possible to find a direct reference in Gregory's writings in the strictest sense of the term. However, either as an eternal knowledge of the divine

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[…] thence it arose and took refuge
in the innermost chambers of heaven.
Where the radiance of the Trinity shone around our eyes brighter than any light I have ever known,
[…] And I became like the living dead,
as devoid of strength as a dreamer
[…] And yet with the *eyes of the mind* made pure
I shall gaze upon the Truth itself.

And these are from his narrative of his famous vision in *Carmen lugubre* (*Carm.* 2.1.45, vv. 191-204, 229-269, *PG* 37.1367 quoted in McGuckin, 67-69.)*:*

[…] Secondly he [Christ] gave to me, in visions of the night;
a divine and burning love for the life of wisdom.
So hear the tale if you are godly souls

[…] Then when I was asleep there came to me this dream
which drew me so sweetly to the incorruptible life.
There appeared to me two virgins dressed in shining robe,
[…] One answered: I am Virginity; the other, Simplicity.
We stand within the presence of Christ the Lord,
rejoicing in the beauty of the heavenly choir of virgins
But come now, child, and meld
your mind with ours; merge your lighted flame with ours,
until we bear you up on high, transfigured in light,
[…] to stand in the radiance of the Immortal Trinity.
[…] These things were all *as a dream*
But long after, my *heart* would take delight
in these beautiful appearances of the night,
these shining images of incorruption,
And yet, *their sacred discourse worked on my mind*
until discernment of good and ill became fixed and stable in my soul,
And the spiritual mind at last was master of my desires.

We find it most impressive that it is also mentioned in his *Epitaph and Synopsis of His Life* he composed in his last days: "A nocturnal vision instilled in me a burning desire for purity" (ἀφθορίης δὲ θερμὸν ἔρωτα χέεν ὄψις ἐμοὶ νυχίη). C. White, *Gregory of Nazianzus: Autobiographical Poems* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 58-59, 100-101, 120-121, 182-183.

[796] Orat. 40.37.

presence or a face-to-face vision in Heaven, it is the realised form of theosis or the end of it.[797]

4.2. Theosis in the Arabic Translation of Oration 40

This part of the chapter invites the reader to a different world in which, alongside the frequent emphasis on man's rational faculty and its functions in theosis, emerges a mystical language that uses Islamic terms most effectively. Just as in the discussion of God's essence and His names and attributes, the Arabic translation of Oration 40 shares similarities with the Islamic theory of knowledge, mysticism and eschatology expressed by the Muslim philosophers of the tenth and eleventh centuries. The legacy of those medieval philosophers such as al-Fārābī and Avicenna and their critics like al-Ghazālī and Averroes (d. 1198) not only shaped Islamic thought as a whole but also influenced the western thinking in many ways. However, as discussed before, there was a channel through which the ancient philosophy found its way to the world of these Muslim philosophers: the Syriac and Arabic-speaking Christians of the period between the eight and tenth centuries. Our text belongs to the end of this period and thus gives us the opportunity to trace the course of development that some key concepts of theosis went through for centuries.

Some of these concepts like the Aristotelian *entelekheia/istikmāl* and *teleiōtes/tamām* drew the attention of scholars of Arabic philosophy who discovered the role of the Neo-Platonist interpretation of Aristotle known in Alexandria in the development of this philosophy. These two terms are not only connected with *ta'alluh* but also used as an alternative to it, particularly in the case of the latter. *Tamām* should have come to the

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[797] There is no evidence to reject a face-to-face vision since it does not denote a change in the boundary between God and man. Although it is still open to interpretation, Gregory's "mirror" and "veil" imagery seem to be suggestive of a face-to-face vision as in these lines:

> No longer from afar will I behold the truth,
> As if in a mirror (ἐσσόπτροιο) reflected on the water's surface.
> Rather, the truth itself will I see with eyes unveiled (ἀγνοΐς)
> The truth whose first and primary mark the Trinity is,
> God as one adored, a single light in tri-equal beams.

Carm. 2.2.4.85-90, *PG* 37.1512 quoted in Winslow, 170.

help of some philosophers like Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī who did not prefer *ta'alluh*, possibly sharing the same concerns with some Muslim writers that took refuge in using *tashabbuh* and *takhalluq* instead of a provocative word like *ta'alluh*. What makes *ta'alluh* important, however, is its appearance in the writings of figures like al-Ghazālī. Here it emerges as a concept with strong mystical overtones, which always allows for a symbolic reading and thus softens the radical character of the word to some extent.

In the following lines, we will continue to analyse the theosis theology of our text by focusing on the key concepts such as *ṣūra* (image), *ʿaql* (mind), *dhawq* (taste), *maʿrifa* (knowledge) and *miʿrāj* (heavenly journey). Ibrāhīm's translation is unique in using various words for the different functions of the rational faculty of man. It also has words like *al-Naʿīm*, *saʿāda* and *wajh al-Rabb* which give the impression that our translator, alongside his knowledge in Christian Arabic theology, was a learned follower of Muslim discussions of mystical knowledge, happiness and the afterlife. As indicated throughout this study, Ibrāhīm's knowledge of the language of Islamic theology and philosophy is evident. Furthermore, the connections we will draw below between the thought of al-Fārābī and Avicenna and our text do not seem to be artificial as far as the Gregorian tradition in Arabic is concerned. An Arabic apocryphal writing attributed to Gregory, which should have belonged to a later period than Ibrāhīm's day reveals a much stronger influence of the Islamic language. Just as in this eschatological text, Ibrāhīm's translation comes closer to the Islamic terminology, particularly in its discussion of the afterlife.

4.2.1. "My God through the Veil"

As demonstrated in Chapter 3, there is an emphasis in the translation on the visible part of the theosis process, which is symbolised by acquiring divine qualities and imitation of the life of Jesus Christ.

The title of this section, "My God through the Veil", which first emerged in the discussion of the Incarnation is chosen to refer to the knowable God or the world before the veil. Baptism or illumination as it is frequently called is the "removing of the veil (2,5 κάλυμμα περιτέμνουσα, 2,3 ويزيل السترة)"[798] which comes by birth or creation (2,5 πᾶν τό ἀπο γενέσεως, 2,3-4 التي من الكون كلها) and therefore symbolises the visible world. The rational faculty of man and its activities, which will be treated in the following pages of the chapter as the opposite of mystical thinking are emphasised in the very first paragraph of the oration: 1,10-12 Προσέχειν δὲ ἄξιον τοῖς λεγομένοις, καὶ μὴ **παρέργως**, ἀλλὰ **προθύμως** τὸν περὶ τηλικούτων δέξασθαι λόγον, 1,8-10 وقد ينبغي ان نتامل المقولات ليس بمعارضة [وزيادة في تفتيش] بل نقبل الكلام في مثل هذه الاشيا بنشاط. Grand'Henry[799] points out the addition of *bi-nashāṭ* to the ancient text and remarks that it was added to render *prothumōs*, which had not been correctly translated with the phrase in square brackets. In the critical edition, there is no further discussion of this point in terms of the manuscripts so we are not able to trace the course of this phrase in square brackets – which seem to be a scribal deletion mark– unless we do not assume that it has been preserved in all manuscripts.

Indeed, what is most important is the fact that the phrase "and further inquiry" belongs to the earlier period of the history of our text. The role of the scribes of the South-Palestinian and Sinaitic monasteries should be revisited again with the evidence of *bi-nashāṭ* as the translation of *prothumōs*, which proves that, at least at some point in the history of the translation, the Arabic version was compared to the Greek text. Grand'Henry[800] renders the phrase "and further inquiry" as "(mais) avec un surcroît de recherche" and by linking it to the previous expression ("non de façon indirecte") indicates that the text encourages the reader to make further inquiries into the meaning and power of baptism. One must remember, as we mentioned in Chapter 3, that *taftīsh* appears in paragraph thirty-eight in the context of cleansing every member of our bodies. Gregory informs us that what is meant by touching is to search (38,23 ψηλαφῶντες, 38,16 يكون قصدنا با للمس تفتيش), as Thomas did, for the Word who became

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[798] For a similar expression found in al-Ghazālī (*zawāl al-ḥijāb*), see Treiger, *Inspired Knowledge in Islamic Thought* (Chapter 4, 34).

[799] Grand'Henry, ed., *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua III. Oratio XL (Arab. 4)*, 9.

[800] Ibid.

incarnate for us. It is interesting to find him here referring to Thomas whose faith, as Jesus implied in John 20:29, seems to have been weaker than that of those who believe in Christ without seeing Him. Nevertheless, the message of the verse fits well into his argument about accepting what is said in the oration without engaging in unnecessary search.

At first glance, it is possible to draw the opposite conclusion because of these two points: there is no reason to separate "and further inquiry" from "not with opposition" and thus it reads as "not with opposition and further inquiry". The phrase in square bracket in the sense of an encouragement for further research as suggested by Grand'Henry does not fit well between *laysa* and *bal*. *Bal* offers something to replace what is negated with *laysa* in the first part of the structure, therefore the phrase in question belongs to this first part and bears a negative meaning. Moreover, the sentence preceded by *bal*, "but (on the contrary) we **accept** the words in this kind of matters vigorously" can be read as a reference to the supremacy of faith over reason though the following sentence equates "**knowing** (1,13 γνῶναι, 1,10 نعرف) the meaning and power of baptism (1,13 τοῦ μυστηρίου τὴν δύναμιν, 1,10-11 معنى السر وقوته)" with illumination (1,13 φωτισμός, 1,10 من النور). This knowledge, however, does not have to rely upon rationalisation alone but can also include mystical knowledge and experience though, as will be discussed below, neither *'a-r-f* nor *gnōsis* always refers to mystical thinking.[801]

However, the verb preferred by Ibrāhīm to render προσέχω offers more than "turning towards something attentively" or "devoting oneself to a thing" in terms of deep thinking. *Ta'ammala* refers to attentive study, consideration, investigation but above all contemplation and reflection.[802] Interestingly, it appears in our text only once in the sense of reflection whereas it was used in the Arabic translations of Aristotle's *Physics*,

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[801] Alexander Treiger underlines this fact in his thorough analysis of al-Ghazālī's understanding of mystical cognition by indicating that *ma'rifa* does not always refer to a "deeper and more mystical" knowledge than the one *'ilm* denotes. Therefore, says Treiger, it is not correct to translate *ma'rifa* as gnosis. If not specified as in "al-ma'rifa al-ḥaqīqiya" ("true cognition") or employed to denote the knowledge related to *sa'āda*, *ma'rifa* and *'ilm* can be used interchangeably. The former appears to be superior to the latter only in the context of the superiority of theoria to praxis. It is also possible to find al-Ghazālī describing these two words as synonyms or indispensable to each other. Treiger, *Inspired Knowledge in Islamic Thought* (Chapter 1, *Cognition*, 91-94).

[802] Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, vol. I, 99.

Rhetoric and *On Interpretation* along with the Pseudo-Aristotelian treatise *De mundo*, (Pseudo) Galen's *De theriaca ad Pisonem* and Nicomachus' *Arithmetic*, in addition to προσέχω, as the equivalents of various verbs like σκοπέω, θεωρέω, ὁράω, λαμβάνω.[803] Throughout the translation, Ibrāhīm rendered these same verbs with their Arabic equivalents, which denote different functions of the mind, mainly based on observation and premises, but *ta'ammala* that mostly refers to reflection and contemplation did not find a place among them. Put it short, in this first paragraph of the oration, we are encouraged to think deeply about what is going to be said in the speech because the subject matter deserves careful thinking, be it based on observation or reflection or experience.

It is possible to come across further in the text a more interesting discussion of the relationship between excessive reasoning and accepting uncritically what is said about the meaning and power of baptism. After narrating the Biblical parable of the labourers in the vineyard, Gregory invites his audience to "believe (21,15 πείσθητι)" or "come to (فهات ارجع 21,15)" and to "his words (21,15-16 τοῖς ἐμοῖς ... λόγοις, 21,15 الى كلامي)" and to leave "misinterpretations and opposition (21,16 παρεξηγήσεις καὶ ἀντιθέσεις)" or "debates and defences (المحاورات والمدافعات 21,15-16)".[804] They are called to "search for (21,17 πρόσελθε)" or "proceed towards (وتقدم الى 21,16)" the "gift (21,17 τῷ δώρῳ, 21,16 النعمة)" without "reasoning (21,17 ἀσυλλογίστως)" or "excess in syllogism and thinking (بغير زيادة في قياس وفكر 21,16)". They would otherwise be "taken before the realisation of their hopes (حتى لا تخطف من قبل امالك 21,16-17) and become someone who does not realise the harm in reasoning (21,17-18 فتكون ممن قد خفي عنه ان تفقهه ضرر على نفسه)". Unlike the English and French translations of the oration, Ibrāhīm's work prefers to read σοφιζόμενος (21,18) as تفقهه (21,18) and thus blames "reasoning" in the sense of "judging" but not sophistries or quibbles (*arguties*).[805] However, σοφιστά (10,23) appears in paragraph ten as محتالا (10,16) in a similar context in which the deceitful

[803] Gerhard Endress and Dimitri Gutas, *A Greek and Arabic Lexicon (GALex): Materials for a Dictionary of the Mediaeval Translations from Greek into Arabic. List of Sources and Corrigenda* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 399-401.

[804] The same phenomenon of leaving the prolonged argument or debate appears again through the end of the oration where the reader is called to accept the summary of faith that they will be baptised in: 44,1-2 Τί μοι δεῖ μακροτέρων λόγων; Διδασκαλίας γὰρ ὁ καίρος, οὐκ **ἀντιλογίας**. «Μαρτύρομαι ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν ἀγγέλων» (1 Tim. 5:21), μετὰ ταύτης βαπτισθήσῃ τῆς πίστεως, 44,1-3 وما حاجتي الى التطويل في الكلام وهذا وقت تعليم وليس بوقت **محاورة** الا انني اشهد بين يدي الله وملايكته المختارين انك بهذه الامانة تصطبغ.

[805] Nazianze, *Discours 38-41*, 245.

(*sophist* in the English translation) are accused of suppression of the divine words. Also in paragraph sixteen, *iḥtāla* and its noun form are used five times in successive sentences whose main theme is the plots of the Evil One: 16,7-8 ὢ τῶν τοῦ πονηροῦ **σοφισμάτων**, 16,7 لحيل الشرير; 16,10 ἀφανῶς **ἐπιβουλεύει**, 16,8 احتال في سترة; 16,11 τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν, 16,9 من **حيله**; 16,12-13 Ὅπερ οὖν κἀνταῦθα σαφῶς **τεχνάζεται**, 16,9-10 فهذا هو الذي **يحتال** به في هذا الموضع بينا; 16,11 فهو **يحتال** عليك; 16,14 ἡμιοῖ σε διὰ.

In Chapter 3, we discussed Gregory's relationship with sophists, which is not always as negative as it appears at first sight. In fact, it is a matter of debate whether sophists were portrayed as deceitful by the ancient philosophers who, since Plato and Aristotle, came to be differentiated from them as the possessors of true knowledge. Nevertheless, the word "Sophists" was used by Muslim theologians to describe sceptics in terms of epistemology and this designation found its reflection in the writings of Muslim philosophers. One just needs to look at al-Fārābī's *Iḥṣā' al-'ulūm* to have an opinion about the negative attitudes of Muslim thinkers towards sophists.[806]

Al-Fārābī dealt with sophistical objections and threats to belief in his epistemological analysis of certain truths (*Conditions of Certitude*). Certitude (*al-yaqīn*) was rendered in the Arabic translation of Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics* by Abū Bishr Mattā in terms of demonstration (*apodeixis/burhān*) that is connected with 'ilm (*episteme*) and qiyās (*sullogismos*). For al-Fārābī, certitude stands for "knowledge" as opposed to "opinion". Although he does not ignore intuition as a source of certainty about things, which are not universals or necessary truths, al-Fārābī's strict definition of certitude threatens certain beliefs and opens the way to sophistical and sceptical objections. Therefore, his assigning to empirical and sensible knowledge and contingent truths a place within certitude as well as his inclusion of another category of certitude that is not necessary or

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[806] Franz Rosenthal, *Knowledge Triumphant: The Concept of Knowledge in Medieval Islam*, 51, 302. Rosenthal describes this attitude as follows: "'Sophistic' skepticism with regard to the reality and possibility of any knowledge was the greatly feared and consistently rejected bugaboo of all the [medieval] authors (cited here)." Michael I (d. 1199), the Syrian Orthodox patriarch of Antioch, shows us that the word "sophist" was used for dialecticians or mutakallimūn of the day, indeed in a pejorative sense: "Because he (Theodore Abū Qurra) was a *sophist*, and engaged in dialectics with the pagans (*ḥanpê*, i.e., the Muslims) and knew the Saracen language, he was an object of wonder to the simple folk." Thāwdhūrus Abū Qurrah, *A Treatise on the Veneration of the Holy Icons*, trans., S. H. Griffith (Leuven: Peeters, 1997), 2.

absolute is important. The status of experience as a source of knowledge, which is not syllogistic yet certain is another significant point of al-Fārābī's epistemology that was further analysed by Avicenna who expounded the attainment of universals by experience.[807] Thus, it is possible to suggest that sophistical and sceptical objections to certain knowledge and belief did not pose a strong challenge to late antique and medieval epistemologies, which were wide enough to include different kinds of knowledge and reasoning.

In the oration, we come across the same phenomenon of accepting (peacefully) what is said by Gregory without arguing and presenting "proofs": 31,1-2 Εἴ τι οὖν ἐμοὶ πείθεσθε, τοὺς μὲν τοιούτους λόγους χαίρειν ἐάσατε, 31,1 فان رايتم القبول مني فاتركوا هذا الكلام والاحتجاج بسلام. The word *iḥtijāj* or *proofs* is an addition to the Greek text and, as on six other occasions in the translation, means providing evidence or argument. Sometimes it also means "excuse" (or "to excuse") as follows: 24,12-13 Τὸ καὶ τὸ σκήπτῃ καὶ προφασίζῃ προφάσεις ἐν ἁμαρτίαις, 24,9-10 تحتج بكذا ثم بكذا وتكثر الاحتجاج في الخطايا (You argue like this and then like that and increase your excuses in sins.); 10,10 τὸ πεινεῖν ἐπιθέμενος, 10,7 واحتج بالجوع (He put forward hunger as an excuse [or evidence]). On two occasions, it appears in the context of the Day of Judgement and is related to the act of "giving an account of" one's life: 2,7-8 τῷ πλάστῃ παραστησόμενον καὶ λόγον ὑφέξον τῆς ἐνταῦθα δουλείας, 2,5-6 ويقفها قدام باريها لتقوم بالحجة عما خدمته 33,30-31 ἀλλὰ κριθησόμενον καὶ λόγον ὑφέξον ὧν εὖ ἢ κακῶς ἐθησαύρισεν, 33,23-24 بل ليحكم عليها وتقوم بالحجة عما خزنته حسنا ام قبيحا.

However, it also bears resemblance to the way it was used in medieval Muslim sources in different fields, including fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence), ḥadīth, kalām and manṭiq (Islamic logic), as in the following examples: 28,6-7 Καὶ τούτου λόγος ἡμῖν ἡ ὀκταήμερος περιτομή, 28,5-6 والحجة على هذا عندنا من الختان بعد ثمانية ايام (We have the proof for it from the circumcision on the eight day); (Arabic introduction, lines 16-18) وقد بينا صحة الراي فيما دعيا الناس اليه بحجج تبين من كلامهما نفسه للقاري المستفيد (And they [Basil and Gregory] demonstrated the validity of the opinion to which they call people with

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[807] Deborah L. Black, "Knowledge ('Ilm) and Certitude (Yaqīn) in Al-Fārābī's Epistemology," *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy* 16, no. 1 (2006): 2, 13-14, 19, 27, 32, 36, 40, 42.

proofs/arguments that expound their words for the reader who knows/wants to benefit [from them]). Although it has received various interpretations in the fields mentioned above,[808] *ḥujjah*, for the most part, has been used in the context of its dictionary meaning. However, it came to be known as a "convincing evidence" or "demonstrative proof" and therefore have been used interchangeably with *dalīl*, *burhān* and *bayyina*.

As a Qur'ānic concept, *ḥujja* denotes "conclusive (and contrary) argument that leaves an opponent without a reply" and is distinguished from other Qur'ānic terms such as *bayyina* ("clear evidence or proof", "sign"), *burhān* ("brilliant manifestation") and *sulṭān mubīn* ("authoritative proof") in its demonstrative character while the others refer to a manifest evidence. Therefore, it is against *ẓann* or opinion.[809] It appears in the writings of Avicenna either as a "process of argumentation" which includes *qiyās*, *istiqrā'*, *tamthīl* and other ways of reasoning or as a dialectical argument (as the opposite of *burhān*). Interestingly, it also denotes the "point of arrival of judgment or **acceptance**".[810] Al-Ghazālī followed the way of *mutakallimūn* and *falāsifa* in using it to refer to a rational proof and a process of argumentation.[811] Swanson[812] reminds us of the use of *burhān* in the titles of some Christian Arabic apologetical writings like 'Ammār's

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[808] *Ḥujja* refers to the Qur'ānic or the ḥadīth evidence or proof from reason in Islamic jurisprudence, whereas, in the field of ḥadīth, it is the description of a ḥadīth transmitter or scholar whose word is accepted as evidence. Its use in kalām is not precise and often subordinated to *dalīl*. However, as in *falsafa*, it generally denotes dialectical argument. It has been interpreted in Shiite theology in a different way, which took its Qur'ānic meaning as a proof of God to the world (used for the prophets) and applied it to their *imāms*. Through these imāms who are the proof of God, the divine world is opened to human beings. [Online] "Hudjdja." *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*. Brill Online, 2012. Available at: http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/hudjdja-COM_0297 [Accessed: 28 June 2012]

[809] Swanson, Mark N. [Online] "Proof." *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*. General Editor: Jane Dammen McAuliffe, Georgetown University, Washington DC. Brill Online, 2012. Available at: http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-the-quran/proof-SIM_00343 [Accessed: 28 June 2012]

[810] In the traditional definition of *taqlīd* (to follow, to imitate) as expressed by the Ash'arī mutakallim and Shāfi'ī faqīh al-Shirāzī (d. 476/1083), *ḥujja* is a concept that is not compatible with *taqlīd*: "[taqlīd is] qabūl qawl al-ghayr min ghayr ḥudjdja (accepting the opinion of another without proof)". In al-Ghazālī, *taqlīd* in the sense of accepting without arguing is related to the opinion of the ordinary people (*'awāmm*) but is not acceptable as a way to true knowledge. Treiger, *Inspired Knowledge in Islamic Thought* (*Notes*, 71, 109-110). A similar approach is seen in al-Fārābī who distinguished "instruction" (*ta'līm*) which is related to 'ilm or theoretical knowledge from "education" (*ta'dīb*) that is ethical (akhlāqiyya) teaching. Deborah L. Black, "Al-Fārābī on Meno's Paradox," in *In the Age of al-Fārābī: Arabic Philosophy in the Fourth-Tenth Century*, ed. Peter Adamson (London: Warburg Institute, 2008), 14. What is intended in our text by acceptance should rather refer to "testament" and "assertion" (by providing evidence) which are among the dictionary meanings of *ḥujja*.

[811] "Hudjdja" (As in note 808)

[812] "Proof" (As in note 809)

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Kitāb al-burhān as a "response to the Qur'ān's challenge: hātū burhānakum".[813] It is also possible to come across *ḥujja* in the titles of the works by Arabic-speaking Christian theologians like Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī whose *Ḥall ḥujja man rāma* (or *arāda*) *an yulzim inna ittiḥād (al-ilāh) al-Kalima bi-l-insān fī ḥāl mawtihi ghayr mumkin*[814] was written against the Christians who refused to attribute death to Christ's divine nature. We find ʿAmmār using *ḥujja* in the preface to his *Kitāb al-masā'il wa l-ajwiba* where he assigned the role of a *mutakallim* to the amīr al-mu'minīn of the time:

> [The role of the Commander of the Faithful is] to exert an effort to strengthen it [religion], to certify the knowledge of it, to set up the argument (*al-ḥujjah*) against those who disclaim it, or deny it, or differ from it, or turn away from it […] so that he may thereby encourage the Muslims, hold them together, scrutinize their opinions, exercise discernment, in the balance of the mind with which God has graced him, when something comes to his ears which departs from their doctrine, or the meanings of their arguments.[815]

In fact, *ḥujja* embraces every kind of proof and syllogism, ḥaqq or bāṭil, qāʾṭiʿ or ẓannī, burhānī or jadalī (or khaṭāba (rhetoric), shiʿr (poetic) and mughālaṭa (sophistry)).[816] Therefore, Ibrāhīm's preference for *ḥujja* is important because it includes a wide range of argumentative evidence, be it demonstrative or sophistical. It does not seem to be as manifest and as strong as burhān, bayyina and sulṭān[817] in terms of logic and in the

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[813] Q 2:111 ("And they say: 'None shall enter Paradise unless he be a Jew or a Christian.' Those are their (vain) desires. Say: '**Produce your proof** if ye are truthful.'"). Peter of Bayt Ra's who adopted a language which is close to the Qur'ānic diction used expressions that are reminiscent of the kalām terminology: "It is a sufficient proof from God to His creatures (fa-kafā bi-hā *ḥujjatun* lillāhi ʿalā khalqihi) that He has set His image (or form) in all of them … and it is sufficient as a demonstration (wa-kafā bi-hi *burhānan*) and an enduring foundation (wa baqā' aṣl) and an established proof (wa thabāt *ḥujja*) […]. Eutychius of Alexandria, *The Book of Demonstration (Kitāb al-burhān)*, ed. Pierre Cachia, vol. I, 23. Eutychius of Alexandria, *The Book of Demonstration (Kitāb al-burhān)*, trans., W. M. Watt, vol. I, 28. Ibrāhīm is no different from Peter in his (sometimes) kalamic language: برهانا ... برهانا يقينا (a certain demonstration). Grand'Henry, "La version arabe du discours 24 de Grégoire de Nazianze: Édition critique, commentaires et traduction," 264.

[814] "Invalidation of the argument of those trying to prove that the union of (God) the Logos with man is impossible in the state of his death". Platti, "Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī," 429.

[815] Sidney H. Griffith, *The Church in the Shadow of the Mosque: Christians and Muslims in the World of Islam* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2008), 84.

[816] Yusuf Şevki Yavuz, "Hüccet," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 2001), 445-446.

[817] We come across *ṣulṭān* in paragraph twelve, which begins with Gregory's questioning his hearers about the reasons that lead them to postpone their baptisms. Here, Gregory asks them why they do not receive the blessing by their free will but by force or authority (12,3 Τί μὴ τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν βίαν;).

context of the Qur'ān but rather refers to the process of argumentation. Ibrāhīm seems to be careful not to confuse it with these words, which have specific uses and Greek forms like *apodeixis*, whereas he rendered as *ḥujja* a loose word, *logos*, and verbs with a wide range of meanings, *skēptō* and *epitithēmi*. What is interesting is the context of his employment of this word that is very similar to the Qur'ānic usage in which *iḥtijāj* (argumentation) is not recommended if one does not have knowledge of the subject just as the rejection of *ḥujaj* (proofs) when not based on certain knowledge.[818] Similarly, it is stated that there is no point in arguing with people who do not accept certain *ḥujaj*, while submission to God is better than persistence in arguing.[819] Interestingly enough, the Qur'ān is persistent in reminding its demonstrative character and in encouraging arguments based on *ḥujaj*, as our text in which there is an emphasis on reasoning and the activities of the rational faculty of man in general.

"Excessive" reasoning or "philosophising" on (and deluding) what compromises our salvation (18,27-28 μηδὲν σοφίσῃ, μνδὲν τεχνάσῃ κατὰ τῆς σεαυτοῦ σωτηρίας, 18,23-24 ولا تتفلسف ولا تتحيل بما يفسد خلاصك) is not allowed because it is considered to be deceiving oneself and this is in fact a big fault and ignorance (18,30 ἀνόητον, 18,26 جهل). The emphasis on the excessive character of the thinking activity that is referred to in the other manuscripts does not appear in *Mi* (تفلسف). This explains the correction made in the later manuscripts in which philosophising is not criticised if not excessive. Given the context of this and the following paragraph that is about the relationship between baptism and different ways of life, particularly the active life in public affairs, the version in *Mi* should regard it as a waste of time. This reading is strengthened by the rendering of *tekhnasē* as *tatakhayyala* in the same manuscript (*takhayyala* in *D*), which recalls the faculty of imagining. If it was not just a matter of a missing dot, the later scribes should have intended to emphasise that salvation is not something to play with, whereas *Mi* complements reasoning with imagination, which also recalls believing. If it was not the scribe of *Mi* who failed to notice the dot on the third letter, the archetype or the original text should have had an emphasis on the role of the mental faculties in the salvation of human beings.

Ibrāhīm's rendering of βία as سلطان is one of the most interesting aspects of his quality as a translator since the two words denotes both authority and argument.
[818] Q 3:65-66.
[819] "Hüccet."

Before commending his audience not to misinterpret the parable of the labourers in the vineyard with excessive syllogising and thinking, Gregory touches on the issue of exegesis. He invites his hearers to come and listen to his interpretation of the parable not to be damaged by the Scriptures due to their lack of knowledge or experience: 20,9-10 Ἀλλὰ δεῦρο καὶ τὴν παραβολὴν ἑρμηνεύθητι, ὡς ἂν μὴ βλάπτῃ τοῖς γεγραμμένοις ἐξ ἀπειρίας, 20,7-8 فهلم افسر المثل حتى لا يدخل عليك الضرر مما كتب بقلة خبرتك. Interestingly, the scribe of *U* felt the need to change *'alayka* (to you) with *'aqluka* (your mind) which makes the meaning of *khibratuk* in the sense of understanding or knowledge explicit. *Khibra* is an interesting word, which refers to both knowledge and experience or knowledge gained through experience or study, whereas *apeiria* mostly denotes want of skill or experience. Here, we are told that the true understanding of the Scriptures depends on knowledge gained through experience, which is interpretation that becomes harmful if not made by an expert.

Tafsīr, which probably gained a special meaning in Christian Arabic for translation activity,[820] normally denotes commentary and exegesis in Islamic tradition. Ibrāhīm aptly translated hermeneutics with *afsara* as the activity of interpreting, if not a discipline, since he elsewhere rendered exegesis or explanation in general terms as "what you understand by it (21,1-2 ἡ παραβολὴ σκιαγραφεῖ κατὰ τὴν σὴν ἐξήγησιν, 21,1 فان كان المثل يدل عندك على معنى)". We learn that, departing from the same Biblical parable, Gregory's hearers drew a connection between God's mercy and their good will to have baptism. In other words, what they understood by the parable is that they did not have to hasten to baptism since, because of their good will and faith; the labourers that entered into the vineyard last were rewarded with the same prize that the first ones received.

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[820] Grand'Henry, "Les discours de Grégoire de Nazianze et la tradition manuscrite arabe syrienne," 257. The Arabic paraphrase of the Syriac parts of Elias' (of Nisibis) *Tafsīr al-amāna al-kabīr* (Commentary of the Great Creed), written before 1046, is also called *tafsīr* while the following commentary section is described as *ta'wīl*. Juan Pedra Monferrer Sala, "Elias of Nisibis," 740.

Gregory finds this explanation enigmatic: 22,4 Αἰνίγματι λέγεις ὅμοιον, 22,2-3 ان قولك هذا المثل يشبه الرمز. Grand'Henry[821] informs us that *ainigmati* was wrongly translated in *Mi* as "parable" that was corrected by *al-ramz* in the latest manuscripts in which "parable" was not only preserved but also added to "this" though the true form of the expression should have been *mithl hādhā*. However, it is possible to read the expression in *Mi* as "your reference to the parable is like saying that" which does not yet imply a sense of criticism that is already observed in the following sentence where the illogical character of the connection drawn between God's being merciful and good will as a sufficient condition for salvation is shown. Nevertheless, Gregory felt the need to explain what he thought about this subject and believed that "every man of reason and intuitive cognition" would agree with him in this matter (22,7-9 Ἐγὼ δὲ ὡς ἔχω περὶ τούτων εἰπεῖν θαρρήσω, οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συνθήσεσθαι τοὺς νοῦν ἔχοντας, 22,5-7 واما انا فاني اقول ما عندي في هذا الباب وفي ظني انه يوافقني عليه ساير اولى العقول وذوي الالباب). Despite being convinced that his explanation of the fact that some non-practising Christians also receive the gift, Gregory does not seem to offer a convincing solution[822] except the one at the end of the following paragraph where he compares imagining having the glory of God to experiencing it (23,30-31 καὶ εἰ διὰ τοῦτο δικάζῃ περὶ τῆς δόξης, ἀρκείτω σοι καὶ πρὸς δόξαν ἡ τῆς δόξης ἐπιθυμία, 23,24-26 ان كان يقنعك في قوة المعمودية **الشوق** اليها فليقنعك في المجد والنعيم الاشتياق اليهما وما عليك في الا تصال وتنالهما اذا كان الشوق قد حصل لك؟).

In fact, following its use in the Qur'ān (Q 3:41), *ramz* appeared in medieval Muslim writings as "symbol".[823] Although it is closely connected with riddle (*lughz*) as it sometimes causes misinterpretation and thus creates enigma, *ramz* refers to a veiled and hidden language that has two layers of meanings, exoteric (*ẓāhir*) and esoteric (*bāṭin*). According to the writer of an eleventh century book of magic, *Ghāyat al-ḥakīm*, *ramz* refers to "an expression that does not signify its external sense, but its internal, spiritual sense [and] has two sides, one known and one unknown". It appears in the later part of

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[821] Grand'Henry, *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua III. Oratio XL (Arab. 4)*, 88.

[822] He is even ready to accept the paradoxical character of the parable: 20,18-19 εἰ καὶ παράδοξός πως ὁ λόγος, 20,14 وان كان الكلام في ذلك عجيبا.

[823] Sāwīrus ibn al-Muqaffaʿ named his now lost work which is thought to be a compilation of Old Testament testimonia *Kitāb al-mithāliyyāt wa-l-rumūz* ("The book of likeness and types"). Mark N. Swanson, "Sāwīrus ibn al-Muqaffaʿ," 507. Given the fact that "likeness" or "ideals/models" as the translation of *mithāliyyāt* does not fit into the title of a book that might have collected Old Testament passages which have signs foreshadowing Christ and the use of *ramz* as "symbol" in the majority of the medieval texts, "The book of signs and symbols" seems to be a better translation.

the preface to *Kalila wa-Dimna* written by its translator, 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Muqaffa' (d. 756), who reminds the reader of its symbolic language. In the Arabic versions of the biographies of Greek philosophers, *ramz* denotes the symbolic language of Pythagoras, Socrates and Plato of whom the last was distinguished from Aristotle by al-Fārābī for his deliberate use of a hidden diction to protect his wisdom from those who do not deserve it.[824] It is possible to find *ramz* in the discussions of Ibn 'Adī and Ibn Zur'a who, like the founder of the Baghdad school, Abū Bishr Mattā ibn Yūnus, thought that philosophy is superior to religion in terms of the metaphorical (*kināya*) and symbolic (*ramazū*) character of the religious language which needs to be explained and clarified by philosophy.[825] If the later scribes of our text did not confuse *ramz* with *lughz* (riddle) either because of their frequent uses in the same context or because of their misunderstandings of these terms, *ramz* should refer to a symbolic reading, which seems to be true at first sight but is not right in reality.[826] Thus, what Gregory intends to mean is that the connection drawn between God's mercy and man's good will in terms of human salvation is not altogether wrong but is not applicable to everybody and in every situation. This also neglects one of the most important points that are emphasised by Gregory throughout the oration, the unbreakable link between theory and practice.

There appears another point related to interpretation where, after listing some verses from the Bible in which one of them refers to the fire that Christ came to send upon the earth (Luke 12:49), Gregory reminds us that Christ is anagogically called fire (36,19-20 καὶ αὐτὸς ἀναγωγῆς λόγοις καλούμενος, 36,13-14 وهو ايضا قد يدعى نارا في معنى من معاني الادمان). As discussed in Chapter 3, the last part of the Arabic sentence is not very clear to the modern reader; however, either in the sense of "exercise" or "having a habit of

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[824] L. I. Conrad, *The World of Ibn Tufayl: Interdisciplinary Perspectives oṇ Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān* (Leiden, New York, Köln: E. J. Brill, 1996), 117-119, 121. We learn from al-Ghazālī that the content of the science of unveiling can only be talked about "in hints and allusions, symbolically and succinctly (bi-l-*ramz* wa-l-īmā' 'alā sabīl al-tamthīl wa-l-ijmāl)" as the prophets did and this approach should be followed by scholars. Treiger, *Inspired Knowledge in Islamic Thought* (Chapter 2, *The Revival*, 29). Because of this, al-Ghazālī himself must have preferred a figurative diction to complement his rather rational language. This diction is enriched by metaphors, stories, images, gnomes and interpretation of Qur'ānic verses along with ḥadīth narratives. E. Moosa, *Ghazālī and the Poetics of Imagination* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina and London: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 65, 69.
[825] John W. Watt, "The Strategy of the Baghdad Philosophers: The Aristotelian Tradition as a Common Motif in Christian and Islamic Thought," 160.
[826] Cf. 8,2-6 ἡ κάθαρσις ... δι' ὕδατός τέ φημι καὶ Πνεύματος ... τοῦ μὲν **τυπικοῦ**, τοῦ δὲ **ἀληθινοῦ**, 8,2-5 الطهارة ... الما والروح ... واحدهما على معنى **الرسم** والاخر على سبيل **الحق**.

long standing", *al-idmān* should refer to a mystical or spiritual activity which is most likely mystical interpretation. Alternatively, if the last word is "the times (الازمان)"[827] as in thirteen manuscripts, it might refer to Christ's designation as fire by the "tradition". A similar but more specific approach is found in the Arabic translation of Oration 45 in which *anagōgikōs* is rendered as *ta'wīl* and opposed to *chronikōs* or *zamānī*:[828] 16,645B χρονικῶς τε καὶ ἀναγωγικῶς, 16,20 والتاويل من حيث الراي في الزمان.[829] The context of the paragraph is the Jewish sacrifices, which, for Gregory, gained a new (and mysterious) interpretation through Christ. However, the chronological or anagogical reading that is offered is for Ephesians 4:26, which in fact does not seem to require a mystical interpretation but an anagogical one, in the true sense of the word.

In Islamic tradition, *tafsīr* and *ta'wīl* is distinguished from each other in terms of their different approaches to interpretation, one of which follows tradition while the other assumes a hidden meaning behind the letters. Thus, *tafsīr* symbolises tradition and, in a sense, official reading and teaching whereas *ta'wīl* requires a different kind of instruction which is called by mystics as "unveiling". Therefore, it is not surprising to find the Qur'ān described as a "bride" by al-Rūmī who considered bride's veil as an obstacle to be removed by the bridegroom in order to see his wife's beauty. In mystical tradition, however, *ta'wīl* does not represent the highest level of man's knowledge which is the experience or vision of the Reality.[830] As shown above in his treatment of exegesis or interpretation, particularly within the context of *tafsīr* and *ta'wīl*, it is possible to suggest that Ibrāhīm was well aware of the terminology of his day. As mentioned above, Ibrāhīm's younger contemporary, Elias of Nisibis, called the Arabic

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[827] The obscurity in the Arabic expression, however, is not removed with this second reading. It is worth noting that this version exists in the majority of the manuscripts and refers to the earlier period of the history of the text (this group includes *Mi*). Although it is attested in manuscript *A* from the 13th century, the version that is preferred in the critical edition, most likely for its relative closeness to the meaning given by *anagōgē*, might point to a later period in which *idmān* might have conveyed a special meaning as *mystical*. In addition to this historical explanation, it is worth noting that none of the four manuscripts (*A*, *K*, *L*, *X*) that have *idmān* comes from the Syro-Sinaitic family to which the earliest manuscript *Mi* belongs.

[828] The contrast between "temporal" and "symbolic" meaning appears in paragraph thirty where Gregory tries to show that one cannot always draw connection between his and Christ's actions. Christ's acts provide us with examples (30,17 τύπος, 16,15 رسما ومثالا) to be followed but do not have to be compatible with what is temporal (30,16 οὔτε συνέζευκται χρονικῶς, 30,14 زمانيا) ولا تتصل بها اتصالا).

[829] Tuerlinckx, ed. *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua II: Orationes I, XLV, XLIV (Arab. 9, 10, 11)*, 132-133.

[830] S. Murata, *The Tao of Islam: A Sourcebook on Gender Relationships in Islamic Thought* (State University of New York Press, 1992), 226-227.

paraphrase of the Syriac parts of his *Commentary on the Great Creed* as *tafsīr* whereas his exegesis is described as *ta'wīl*. This, at least, is in accordance with the traditional distinction between *tafsīr* and *ta'wīl* in terms of their exoteric and esoteric features.

In fact, mystical interpretation and tradition are related to each other as distinct traditions emerged out of different views of interpretation. The tradition that followed a spiritual or allegorical interpretation of the Bible, which was represented by the Alexandrian theologians, was against the literal approach of the Antiochene School of biblical exegesis. In biblical interpretation, Gregory, who was also an exegete of the Scriptures, upheld Origen's letter-spirit distinction but did not distance himself from the Antiochene tradition that focused on the letter. Thus, he proposed an approach, which does not involve in excessive allegorical and figurative interpretation yet does not ignore the significance of symbols. Although his approach to biblical interpretation cannot be described in specific terms, it is possible to suggest that the orthodox tradition is the most important element of his exegetical system. For Gregory, it is not possible to separate the Bible from the tradition; therefore, the different methods used by the orthodox writers in interpretation are approved as long as they do not contradict with doctrines.[831]

In Chapter 3, we discussed the practical aspects of ethics in which rhetoric as a powerful cultural and political tool occupied an important place. Here, in this last chapter, we are dealing with where these practical points originate in, the mind, the heart, or the spirit. This is not only a discussion of the superiority of theory to practice or vice versa or their

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[831] As discussed earlier, tradition or the Fathers was equally important for Arab Christian writers, especially in doctrinal matters. However, it is still interesting to find the Fathers such as Dionysius the Areopagite, Gregory of Nazianzus (or Gregory of Nyssa, or both), Basil the Great and John Chrysostom called "al-a'imma al-'ulamā' (the learned imams)" by Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī in his treatment of the doctrine of the Trinity. Ibn 'Adī indicated that the doctrine of the Trinity put forth by these learned imams was accepted by the three Christian sects of his day. In fact, what was done by these imams was not solving the *mystery* but rather giving it an expression with the help of philosophy, which is free from contradictions. H. A. Wolfson, *The Philosophy of the Kalam* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1976), 335-336. By putting two words (*a'imma* and *'ulamā'*) together which have strong Islamic connotations, Ibn 'Adī points out that the Fathers were not only *leaders* whose doctrines and commentaries (sometimes spiritual) established the tradition of the Church and were followed by generations but also were *scholars* who explained their theologies with the help of philosophy and perhaps science.

interdependence with each other on the epistemological level but also a discourse on the role of experience in theosis. Leaving the treatment of the last point to the following parts, we should now question practical knowledge and its relationship with tradition or culture. The autonomy of the practical or ethical world from the theoretical sphere and the irreducible quality of practical knowledge has been discussed since Aristotle who distinguished the two realms and linked practical wisdom to perception not to nous. However, in al-Fārābī's interpretation, Aristotle connected it with the intellect (practical intellect in *Nicomachean Ethics*). Similarly, al-Fārābī called the "practically wise" man "muta'aqqil" (from *ta'aqqul* and in connection with *'āqil*, "intelligent"). His system holds practical knowledge to be indispensable from the "theoretical-rational faculty" of man without which "happiness" can be known and the virtuous acts required for *sa'āda* can be built upon.[832]

As indicated before and will be treated in the following parts of the chapter, Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī presented, though expressed in a popular form with practical concerns, the outlines of a theoretically-based ethics which emphasises the importance of logic. Here arises the question of the epistemological status of practical wisdom. For Avicenna, although it has roots in human nature, practical knowledge is not self-evident and relies on the cultural realm. It does not, therefore, lead to the knowledge of universals. For this reason, Avicenna finds rhetoric important as it boosts "the spirit of community" and thus "true judgements about practical matters". However, it is not the ground that practical wisdom grows which, above the knowledge that is conveyed by rhetoric in simpler terms, needs a sound reasoning process to determine the good actions. Because they thought that practical wisdom is dependent upon true theoretical knowledge, Muslim philosophers had an elitist approach to ethics and, in a sense, deprived the multitude from having the highest degree of happiness through contemplation or even the earthly paradise created by a virtuous life. Even though he offered dialectic as the

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[832] Deborah L. Black, "Practical Wisdom, Moral Virtue, and Theoretical Knowledge: The Problem of the Autonomy of the Practical Realm in Arabic Philosophy," in *Les philosophies morales et politiques au Moyen Âge (Moral and political philosophies in the Middle Ages): actes du IXe Congrès international de Philosophie Médiévale*, ed. Eduardo Andújar, Bernardo C. Bazán, Léonard Gregory Sbrocchi (Ottawa: Legas, 1992), 452, 454.

supplier of premises for practical knowledge, it is not possible to discern whether Avicenna thought that the multitude could draw closer to the wisdom of the elite.[833]

In his discussion of certitude mentioned above, al-Fārābī deals with rhetoric and dialectic as sources of indirect ("second-hand or pseudo") knowledge that is not certain and cannot be attested or confirmed by the direct relationship of the knower or the believer with the object of the knowledge or the subject of the belief. However, in the *Epitome of the Posterior Analytics*, they are not altogether excluded from the realm of certitude but considered to be related to "accidental certitude". This happens when someone is led to a true belief by way of testimony (*al-shahāda*). It is called dialectic if this is the *shahāda* of all or the most of the people and described as rhetoric as far as an *authority* is concerned. Thus, certitude loses its absolute or necessary character when it is not based on the knower's or the believer's own cognition but on an external authority and through "non-demonstrative logical methods".[834]

The relationship between the theoretical and practical intellect[835] will be clearer in our discussion below of the operation of man's mental faculty. Here, what we intend to point out is that *phronesis* either as a virtue of our practical intellect in Aristotelian terms or acting on reason or knowledge in general, is a kind of knowledge and is closely connected to rationality and our theoretical thinking. Culture or tradition can affect our thinking by either providing the ground to unfold ethical norms[836] or supplying knowledge and role models. Therefore, the Fathers like Gregory who combined

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[833] Ibid., 457, 458, 459, 461, 464.

[834] Black, "Knowledge ('Ilm) and Certitude (Yaqīn) in Al-Fārābī's Epistemology," 23, 30-31, 37.

[835] Although not expressed in terms of the Aristotelian distinction between theoretical and practical intellect, Gregory's ethics assumes the control of the sense appetites to be one of the functions of the reason. Theory is considered superior to practice in Gregory's moral philosophy –which, however, never neglects the role of the practical realm in human perfection– as in ethical theories of medieval Arabic-speaking philosophers in which the practical intellect was systematically subdued to the theoretical intellect. Deborah L. Black, "Psychology: Soul and Intellect," in *The Cambridge Companion to Arabic Philosophy*, ed. Richard C. Taylor and Peter Adamson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 323.

[836] In his description of practical wisdom (*al-taʿaqqul*) as understood by the ancients, al-Fārābī points to its connection with the knowledge of *particulars* and *experience*: "And this faculty is not attained by knowledge (*bi-maʿrifa*) of the *universals* of the art and by an exhaustive enumeration of them all, but through length of experience concerning individuals." Black, "Practical Wisdom, Moral Virtue, and Theoretical Knowledge: The Problem of the Autonomy of the Practical Realm in Arabic Philosophy," 462-463.

theology with philosophy, rhetoric and mysticism are both mediators between the divine and human realm and examples of the perfection of practical and theoretical thinking.

We saw above that there is no room for argument and controversy as to what is said in the oration. It poses a threat to salvation as it perplexes the mind and wastes our time. Therefore, human perfection lies in submission to God and His message that is represented by the tradition of the Fathers. The notion of submission appears in our text, particularly in Ibrāhīm's use of *al-i'tiqād*, not only in connection with tradition but also as the opposite of certain knowledge.[837] It is interesting to find *i'tiqād* used by Ibrāhīm in this sense as he rendered *pisteuō* and its cognates as '-m-n and thus distinguishes it from opinion which is still a kind of knowledge.[838]

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[837] However, his distinction is not as apparent and as systematic as al-Ghazālī's differentiation of knowledge from *i'tiqād* which finds its roots in Plato. Plato's epistēmē-doxa distinction drawn in Meno (97a ff.), Symposium (202a) and Republic (Book V, 47bd ff.) seems to leave room in his Theaetetus (187b5 ff.) for opinion in the second definition of knowledge as the "true opinion" (doxa). Treiger, *Inspired Knowledge in Islamic Thought* (Notes, 111-112).

[838] When it comes to distinguishing *i'tiqād* from *īmān*, it becomes difficult to reach a definite conclusion. The confusion in the definition of δόξα began with its rendering in the Arabic version of Aristotle's *De Interpretatione* (21a, 32-3) as *tawahhum* (imagination), while it was translated in other places as *i'tiqād*. [Online] "Wahm." *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Secon Edition*. Brill Online, 2012. Available at: http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/wahm-COM_1330 [Accessed: 28 May 2012] Although doxa, as the contrast of epistēmē in Greek tradition, was often rendered as *ra'y* in Arabic, not by *ẓann* as in the Arabic version of *Posterior Analytics*, it was used in al-Fārābī's *Conditions* as a wider word encompassing epistēmē as well. H. Yaman, *Prophetic Niche in the Virtuous City: The Concept of Ḥikmah in Early Islamic Thought* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 241-242. Ibrāhīm also must have thought that they are synonyms since in the paragraph just before the closing passage and after the summary of faith he provides, he calls the new Decalogue he wrote ra'y: 45,45 ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ θεμελίῳ τῶν δογμάτων, 45,31-32 على اساس هذا الراي. Either consciously or unconsciously made, Ibrāhīm's preference for ra'y is a good choice as it refers to the subjective aspect of dogmatic formulae or, in other words, it reminds that statements of faith are prepared by men and ultimately shaped by their opinions. Dogma comes from δόξα after all, but what is interesting is we do not come across here the exact word, *'aqīda*, perhaps because of the Islamic tone it has. For the rendering of δόξα (*PG* 35.1185C) as الاجتهاد in the Arabic translation of Oration 24, see Grand'Henry, " La version arabe du discours 24 de Grégoire de Nazianze: Édition critique, commentaires et traduction", 268-270. As to the use of these terms in the Christian Arabic literature, it is not possible to say that we have a clearer picture. In the titles of some Christian Arabic works, we frequently find phrases like "mā yu'minū" and "mā ya'taqidū" (what Christians believe) but it is in [al-]Jāmi' wujūh al-**īmān** (or *Summa theologiae arabica* as it is introduced by Sidney H. Griffith) that one of these terms appeared as a technical word. This mid-ninth century text, which is well known to the students of Christian Arabic theology, was called by its unknown Melkite author Al-Kitāb al-jāmi' wujūh al-īmān bi-tathlīth waḥdāniyyat Allāh wa-ta'annus Allāh al-kalima min al-ṭāhira al-'adhrā' Maryam ("Compilation of the aspects (or the tenets) of the faith in the Tri-unity of God and the Incarnation of God the Word from the pure one, the Virgin Mary"). Mark N. Swanson, "Al-Jāmi' wujūh al-īmān," in *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History. Volume 1 (600-900)*, eds. David Thomas and Barbara Roggema with J. P. M. Sala, J. Pahlitzsch, M. Swanson, H. Teule, and J. Tolan (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009), 791-798. _____, "Resurrection Debates: Qur'anic Discourse and Arabic Christian Apology," *Dialog: A Journal of Theology* 48 no. (2009): 251. However, Sulaymān

We also find Ibrāhīm rendering πιστεύομεν (8,23) as **"ونحن به مصدقون"** (8,17-18). The verb *ṣadaqa*, which points to the psychological aspect of faith, as an inner quality that changes the whole character of the believer, finds its reflections in medieval philosophical and mystical writings. In al-Ghazālī (*Iḥyā*, Book 35), it appears as the fourth level of tawḥīd that comes after the state of those called *muqarrabūn* (those brought near to or "the privileged [ones]" as Treiger)[839] renders it). In this respect, the epithet "ṣiddīq" given by the Prophet Muḥammad to Abū Bakr upon his acceptance of the miʿrāj account without any questioning and hesitation, while grave doubts were

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al-Ghazzī's two prose treatises, which are on the same subject and have nearly the same wording in their titles with the exception of the terms we are discussing, present a good example of the lack of clarity in their usage: Fī maʿnā **iʿtiqād** al-Naṣāra l-urthūdhuksiyya fī waḥdāniyyat al-Khāliq and Fī maʿnā **īmān** al-Naṣāra l-urthūdhuksiyya bi-ilāh wāḥid. Samuel Noble, "Sulaymān al-Ghazzī," 620. Nevertheless, the way the writers such as Sāwīrus ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, Elias of Nisibis and ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl used *īmān* and *amāna* in their commentaries on the creed may make us think that there could have been a specific expression for this kind of work though it does not seem to be common in medieval Arabic literature. *Tafsīr al-amāna* first appeared in Ibn al-Muqaffaʿs Kitāb tafsīr al-**amāna** l-muqaddasa allatī rattabahā l-thalāthamiʾa wa-thamāniyata ʿashara usqufan which should have been known to Elias who used the phrase in his Tafsīr al-**amāna** al-kabīr. Similarly, Ibn al-Faḍl called his "theological masterpiece" *Sharḥ* al-**amāna** l-mustaqīma wa-ibānat ghalaṭ al-yaʿāqiba wa-l-nasṭūr ʿalā sabīl al-ījāz. Alexander Treiger, "ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī," 108 (Emphasis Treiger's). Sāwīrus also wrote a short catechetical exposition of faith called Kitāb al-bayān al-mukhtaṣar fī l-**īmān** whereas Elias' work, Kitāb al-burhān ʿalā ṣaḥīḥ al-**īmān**, is a comprehensive book in which the Trinity is expounded in connection with the Muslim discussions of the divine attributes. Swanson, "Sāwīrus ibn al-Muqaffaʿ," 499, 504. Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala, "Elias of Nisibis," 737, 740. Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī called his epistle on the belief in the Creator as one substance with three attributes Maqāla fī ṣiḥḥat **iʿtiqad** al-Naṣārā fī l-Bārīʾ ʿazza wa-jalla annahu jawhar wāḥid dhū thalāth ṣifāt. Iʿtiqād also appeared in the title of Naẓīf ibn Yumn's Maqāla/Risāla fī l-ittiḥād whose longer form is either Risāla fī **iʿtiqād** al-Naṣārā fī māhiyyat al-ittiḥād or Risāla fī l-ittiḥād ʿalā mā **taʿtaqiduhu** firāq al-Naṣārā al-thalāth. Ibn al-Ṭayyib's now lost work which is thought to have been his *Summa theologica* is called Maqāla fī l-uṣūl al-**dīniyya** which, judging from its title, would easily be confused with a work of kalām that is also known as uṣūl al-dīn. One also finds a more technical term in the title of the treatise of a twelfth century Nestorian writer, Hibat Allāh ibn al-Tilmīdh: Risāla fī ithbāt **ʿaqāʾid al-dīn al-Masīḥī**. Platti, "Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī," 419, 466. Faultless, "Ibn al-Ṭayyib," 683-684. Herman G. B. Teule, "Hibat Allāh ibn al-Tilmīdh," in *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History. Volume 3 (1050-1200)*, eds. David Thomas and Alex Mallett with J. P. M. Sala, J. Pahlitzsch, M. Swanson, H. Teule, and J. Tolan (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011), 632-634. Considering the titles of these works together with their contents, one gets the impression that *iʿtiqād* is used in the texts which deal with problematic issues either for Christians or for non-Christians such as the union of the two natures of Christ and the Unity in the Trinity. The writings of Naẓīf ibn Yumn, Ibn ʿAdī and Ibn al-Tilmīdh would lead us to think this way only if the other works listed above were not contradictory to this interpretation. These works are Jāmiʿ, Kitāb tafsīr al-amāna and Fī maʿnā īmān al-Naṣāra and Sharḥ al-amāna l-mustaqīma in which the writers deal with issues somehow related to intra-Christian or Christian-Muslim discussions. However, it is still possible to suggest that as far as *īmān* is concerned the writers present a wider and deeper perspective, which covers more than the demonstration of faith. One also recognises that *dīn* seems to have come to enjoy popularity in the texts written in and after the eleventh century as in the works of Ibn al-Ṭayyib and Ibn al-Tilmīdh along with al-Muʾtaman ibn al-ʿAssāl's Majmūʿ uṣūl al-dīn.

[839] Treiger, *Inspired Knowledge in Islamic Thought* (*Notes*, 152-153).

raised among the people of Mecca is important.[840] In Avicenna's *Ishārāt*, it appears as "burhān al-ṣiddīqīn" to refer to the ontological proof in the discussions of God's existence. Although the context is neither like that of Avicenna's nor more of a mystical theme in the strictest sense, *muṣaddiqūn* of our text yet refers to believing without doubt.[841]

It should be noted that one would still expect to find such a word like *muṣaddiqūn* used in our text with a different context like a mystical theme or a reference to the psychological aspect of faith that reveals the connection between believing and becoming an embodiment of faith, which with the concept of *shahāda* would have a stronger effect. Ibrāhīm's use of *shahāda*, however, makes us feel this impression: 44,2-4 **Μαρτύρομαι** ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν ἀγγέλων, μετὰ ταύτης βαπτισθήσῃ τῆς πίστεως, 44,2-3 أشهد بين يدي الله وملائكته المختارين انك بهذه الامانة تصطبغ (I bear witness before (or in the presence of) God and His elected angels that you are going to be baptised in this faith).[842] Although the rendering of *marturomai* as *ashhadu* may not

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[840] Ṣidq and miʿrāj both point to an aspect of faith which is the belief in invisible beings and supernatural things. Therefore, the discussions of certitude in belief require taking into account different ways to acquire knowledge than rational thinking. We will see below that belief is related to imagination and prophetic wisdom. In al-Fārābī's epistemological definition, truth (*al-ṣidq*) is a "certain relation of the belief to what is believed (*iḍāfa mā li-l-iʿtiqād ilā al-muʿtaqad*) insofar as the latter is external to the soul; or insofar as it is external to the belief; or insofar as it is a subject (*mawḍūʿ*) of the belief". Black, "Knowledge ('Ilm) and Certitude (Yaqīn) in Al-Fārābī's Epistemology," 19. We will see below that belief is related to imagination and prophetic wisdom.

[841] Treiger, *Inspired Knowledge in Islamic Thought* (Notes, 153). In the Qurʾān, either as a person who always speaks truth or as someone like Abū Bakr who is the embodiment of truth, *ṣiddīq*, or a true believer such as the Virgin Mary, Abraham and Joseph, is opposed to *munāfiq* and *kāfir*:

> And those who believe in Allah and His messengers- they are the Sincere (lovers of Truth) (*al-ṣiddīqūn*), and the witnesses (who testify) (*al-shuhadā*), in the eyes of their Lord: They shall have their Reward and their Light […] (Q 57:19).
> Among the Believers are men who have been true (*ṣadaqū*) to their covenant with Allah: of them some have completed their vow (to the extreme), and some (still) wait: but they have never changed (their determination) in the least. That Allah may reward the men of Truth (*al-ṣādiqīn*) for their Truth (*bi-ṣidqihim*), and punish the Hypocrites (*al-munāfiqīn*) if that be His Will, or turn to them in Mercy: for Allah is Oft-Forgiving, Most Merciful (Q 33:23-24).
> […] His mother was a woman of truth (*ṣiddīqah*) […] (Q 5:75).
> Also mention in the Book (the story of) Abraham: He was a man of Truth (*ṣiddīqan*), a prophet (Q 19:41).
> "O Joseph!" (he said) "O man of truth!" […] (Q 12:46).

For the antonym of *ṣādiqūn* (the truthful ones), see paragraph 8: 13-14 μὴ **ψεῦσται** τῆς ὁμολογίας ταύτης φαινώμεθα, 11 حتى لا نكون **كذابين** ولا نحقر هذا الاقرار (Not to be untruthful to this covenant and not to despise it).

[842] See also the end of the tenth-century Melkite creed in Sinai Arabic MS 453 (ff. 1ʳ-13ᵛ): "This is the faith, *al-īmān*, I believe, this is the belief, *al-iʿtiqād*, I profess. In the articles of this creed, *al-amāna*, I

seem particularly interesting at first sight, the Arabic verb, which is accompanied by a powerful phrase such as *bayna yaday Allāh*,[843] has a strong emphasis on a public declaration of faith.[844]

We remarked above that there is an emphasis in the oration on man's mental faculties. However, this is not always the case as demonstrated in the analysis of some expressions, which reject opposition, further inquiry, misinterpretations, excessive syllogising, thinking and philosophising, and sophistry as far as what is said in the oration is concerned. It is not difficult to realise that this is also a discussion of the relationship between faith and reason. The Arabic translation is unique in its references every now and then to reason and other mental activities such as *takhayyul*, *'aql* and *khibra*. It also emphasises reflective thinking as opposed to reasoning and points to a different kind of knowledge, which is gained through experience and is most likely mystical. Biblical interpretation has also been discussed in terms of the place of spiritual

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was baptised; I am satisfied with them". Griffith, "Theology and the Arab Christian: The Case of the 'Melkite' Creed," 198.

[843] Both in Muslim and Christian texts, we come across this expression especially in connection with God's greatness and mercy towards His creatures. Orat. 45: 12,11-13 حنان الله ابينا اذ لم يصبر على ان يخسر الانسان الذي هو صنعة يديه (The mercy of God, our Father, did not want to leave the man [alone], whom he created by his hand, to be lost [again]). Tuerlinckx, ed. *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua II: Orationes I, XLV, XLIV (Arab. 9, 10, 11)*, 106.

[844] *Shahāda*, which, as a confession of belief in God and His Messenger, comes first in the Five Pillars of Islam, has strong connotations of a public pronouncement of faith. Thus, it is not only the verbal confession of belief but also a declaration of identity and new life. It is not, therefore, difficult to imagine that "taking *shahāda*" should have resembled baptism in the eyes of Ibrāhīm's readers, as they both are rites of initiation and acknowledgements of the citizenship of heaven. The same readers should have been familiar with these two Qur'ānic verses, which call the Disciples "muslims", or "the ones that submit" and "those who bear witness", respectively:

> When Jesus found Unbelief (*al-kufr*) on their part He said: "Who will be My helpers to (the work of) Allah?" Said the disciples: "We are Allah's helpers (*naḥnu anṣār Allāh*): We believe in Allah (*āmannā bi-llāh*), and do thou bear witness that we are Muslims (*wa-shhad bi-annā muslimūn*)." "Our Lord! We believe in (*āmannā*) what Thou hast revealed, and we follow the Messenger; then write us down among those who bear witness (*faktubnā ma'a-shshādīn*)." (Q 3:52-53)

We find the author of *Jāmi' wujūh al-īmān* insisting that Christian(s) must declare and pronounce (*yashhadu*) the belief in "God is the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit". Mark N. Swanson, "Al-Jāmi' wujūh al-īmān," 794. A tenth century Melkite (probably) writer, al-Majdalus, whose language is very similar to that of his Muslim friends, uses expressions like "mu'minan bi-llāh wa-shāhidū" in his *Tafsīr al-amāna al-urtudūksiyya*. Al-Majdalus. 2009. *Commentary on the Nicene Creed* (Trans. by Samuel Noble) [Online]. Available at: http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/al-majdalus_01_translation.htm [Accessed: 5 May 2012]. For *shāhada* and *mushāhada* in the sense of "experiencing", as in Ibrāhīm's translation of Oration 45 (*PG* 36.624C-625A … συνέστηκεν …, 2,22-24 ان الملايكة هم المقربون العقليون, الطاهرون الذين هم الى المجد العلي ناظرون وبه شاهدون ان كان يمكنهم الكل من التسبيح), see Tuerlinckx, ed. *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua II: Orationes I, XLV, XLIV (Arab. 9, 10, 11)*, 48.

exegesis in the religious understanding of human beings. Thus, this part of the chapter is designed to stir up curiosity and interest about the nature of the knowledge that carries us to theosis before the analysis of rational and mystical knowledge in the following pages. However, before that, we need to look at on which ground theosis is thought to be possible (to be realised) for human beings.

4.2.1.1. From *eidos* to *eikōn*: A journey through the world of "ṣūra"

In the previous pages, we have outlined the general approach taken to baptism in the oration, and baptism has so far proved to be a matter of faith. It maintains this character, which becomes stronger when it turns out to be a mystical phenomenon as will be discussed later in this chapter. Then there is the other side of the coin. The intellectual faculty of man has also its share in human deification and we must now turn to the origin of this faculty. Here is the schema that underlines this part of the chapter. The divine image planted in man is the seed of theosis and it follows a path that begins with the creation and becomes intricate in the world of composition until the image is restored by the incarnate God and protected in its perfected form up to the moment when it will rejoin its origin.

Before commencing the main discussion of the oration, we should say a few words about the title. *Ṣūra*, in its first sense, is the equivalent of *eidos*, which came from *eidō* (to see), and appeared in non-philosophical Greek texts as human figure or form and later took the form of a philosophical concept in Plato's Theory of Forms. *Eide* or Plato's "primary realities" appeared in Aristotle's psychology in terms of the "process of knowing". In Scriptural language, it is a "manner", "face" or an "idol".[845] However, even in the form of *eidōlon* or idol, it is still an image or likeness in the mind, whereas another word, *eikōn*, signifies the material likeness and image. Therefore, the worshipped idol is in fact the spirit behind the icon. Nevertheless, it came to be known as the object that is worshipped and therefore have been differentiated from icon by

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[845] Joseph A. Novak, "A Sense of Eidos," *EIDOS: Canadian Graduate Journal of Philosophy* 19, no. 2 (2005): 2-5.

Christian writers who because of their veneration of icons or image-worship have faced the accusation of idolatry. Despite the use of a specific word (*ayqūna*) in the discussions of Christian images, *ṣūra* had a wide range of uses in medieval fields of study such as philosophy, theology, cosmology, art and visual theories. Although not as wide as the range of its medieval uses, there is still a wide range of meaning in *ṣūra* of our text.

As noted in Chapter 2, man is the third light according to Gregory's hierarchy of beings. Angels are called the second lights because of their nature which is very close to the divine nature (7,3-4 ὅτι καὶ τῆς ἀγγελικῆς, ἢ ὅτι ἐγγυτάτω τούτου, διὰ τὴν πρὸς Θεὸν ἐγγύτητα, 7,3-4 ان مثل ذلك او قرب منه قد يخص طغمة الملايكة لموضع قربها من الباري) and therefore sinless, whereas with the creation of man sin is brought to the universe (7,5 τὸ δὲ ἁμαρτάνειν, ἀνθρώπινον [καὶ τῆς κάτω συνθέσεως], 7,4-5 واما الخطا فهو للبشرية [والتركيب السفلي]). Yet man is not left alone and unarmed in the world of composition where, without the divine help, he would draw away from his Creator (7,6-8 οὐκ ᾤετο δεῖν ἀβοήθητον τὸ ἑαυτοῦ πλάσμα καταλιπεῖν ὁ Δεσπότης οὐδὲ περιιδεῖν κινδυνεῦον τὴν ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ διάστασιν, 7,5-7 فلهذه الحال لم ير السيد ان يترك خليقته بلا معونة ولا يغفل عنها وقد عطبت بالبعد والانفصال عنه). Man was called light by the Greeks because of our intellectual faculty (5,16 τὴν τοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν λόγου δύναμιν, 5,13 من اجل قوة النطق الذي فينا) and because some of us, who are the closest ones to God (5,17 καὶ μᾶλλον Θεῷ πλησιάζοντες, 5,14 فهم الى الله اشد قربا), are like God or the carriers of the divine image (5,16-17 καὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν πάλιν οἱ θεοειδέστεροι, 5,13 ولموضع المتصورين منا بصورة اللاهوت).

The creation story in Genesis appears in Oration 45[846] but in *Kitāb al-burhān,* it is possible to find a comprehensive account of how God created man in his image within the broader context of the divine economy and the Incarnation. Having explained the doctrine of the Godhead in terms of the "unity of His substance and the trinity of His

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[846] "He (the Word) **fashioned** a living being out of both, I mean, the invisible and visible nature, then He **created** the man": 7,7-8 الانسان **فخلقت** والطبيعة المبصرة التي لا ترى والطبيعة اعني جميعا هذين من حيوانا **صنعت**. Tuerlinckx, ed., 72. In his explanation of the first article of the Creed or the doctrine of God as the Creator, the East Syrian writer of *Kitāb al-majdal* (12th c.) recites the Biblical verse (Genesis 1:27) in another popular form: "*ṣawwara* al-insān 'alā mithālihī" (**fashioned** man in his image). Bo Holmberg, "Language and Thought in Kitāb al-majdal, Bāb 2, Faṣl 1, Al-Dhurwa," in *Christians at the Heart of Islamic Rule: Church Life and Scholarship in ʿAbbasid Iraq*, ed. David Richard Thomas (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003), 169.

aspects" upon which Christians are baptised, Peter of Bayt Ra's proceeds with the details of man's creation in God's image:

He (God) has put something of His form and likeness in their (human beings) nature (جعل في خليقتهم من صورته وشبهه). […] He created an image (صورة) for Himself (لنفسه) and for His substance (جوهره).[847] [B]y His breathing in the face of Adam (بنفخته في وجه ادم) […] He made this image an established (ثابتة) element in all men alike. […] He sealed it with his (Adam) created spirit [and] fixed His form in it (like the engraving of king's seal) (صورته اثبت). […] God also laid out for him a garden (فردوسا).[848]

Now we should ask: What is the real nature of the divine image in us? We learn from the *Letter from the People of Cyprus* that "'[God said] Let us make a human in our own image and likeness (على شبهنا ومثالنا)'", and what is meant here by his image and likeness is nothing "other than his Word and Spirit (غير كلمته وروحه)?"[849] However, in the Arabic version of Oration 45, it becomes clear that the divine image placed in man after the creation of his body from the matter (الجسم من الهيولى 8-9) is the "rational soul": *PG* 36.632A, ὅ δὴ **νοερὰν ψυχὴν** καὶ εἰκόνα Θεοῦ [οἶδεν ὁ λόγος], 7,10 وهي **النفس العقلية** هي التي [يرى القول انها] صورة الله.[850] As to the same question, we are told by Peter of Bayt Ra's that

He (God) had love for them (ولحبه اياهم) because of the **rational and logical[851] spirit within them** (من الروح العاقلة الكلمانية) which is in His own image and likeness (وشبهه لما فيهم من صورته) and with which He honoured

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[847] "Which cannot be seen, cannot be enclosed in speech or thought". Eutychius of Alexandria, *The Book of Demonstration (Kitāb al-burhān)*, ed. Pierre Cachia, vol. I, 28. Eutychius of Alexandria, *The Book of Demonstration (Kitāb al-burhān)*, trans. W. M. Watt, vol. I, 23.

[848] Eutychius of Alexandria, ed. Pierre Cachia, 25, 28, 31. Eutychius of Alexandria, trans. W. M. Watt, 22-23, 25.

[849] R. Y. Ebied and D. R. Thomas, eds., *Muslim-Christian Polemic During the Crusades: The Letter from the People of Cyprus and Ibn Abī Ṭālib al-Dimashqī's Response* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 116-117.

[850] Tuerlinckx, ed. *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua II: Orationes I, XLV, XLIV (Arab. 9, 10, 11)*, 72, 75.

[851] Samir Khalil Samir remarks that the word "kalimānī" is very rare, and could mean "spiritual". Samir K. Samir, *The Significance of Early Arab-Christian Thought for Muslim-Christian Understanding*, 15.

them above all the rest of His creation (التي اكرمكم بها على سائر خلقه) and He desired to fulfil His view of them (ولما اراد من **استتمام** رايه فيهم).[852]

In the Arabic version of the *Life of John of Edessa*,[853] we find another discussion of Genesis 1:27, which is started by the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd who cites the verse as "… our image and our likeness" (... شبهنا ومثالنا ...). Then we find John of Edessa explaining the verse to the attendees of the debate that took place in the presence of the Caliph between him and the Jewish Phineas as follows:

> Do you not see that a person resembles him [i.e., God] in these three things that are in a person: the **mind** that is hidden, the **word** that is begotten of the mind, and the **spirit** through which a person is animated and lives?
>
> ان يشبه الانسان به بهذه الثلثة التي في الانسان من **العقل** الخفي **والكلمة** المولودة من العقل **والروح** الذي بها يتنفس الانسان ويعيش؟[854]

The "(immaterial) rational and logical spirit" (الروح العاقلة الكلمانية), according to Peter of Bayt Ra's, is the "higher creation within himself (man)" (الخلق الاعلا) or the "joyfulness" (الفرح), "knowledge" (العلم) and "nearness to the Creator" (القرب من الخالق).[855] The connection drawn by the thirteenth century Coptic theologian al-Ṣafī ibn al-'Assāl between man's creation in the likeness of God and human perfection is more explicit:

> It is […] necessary that the Creator (فلزم جود البارئ بذاته علينا) give(s) us of His essence to perfect us [a]nd this took place in [H]is union with us (وهذا كان باتصاله بنا). […] He creates man in His likeness (انه يخلق الانسان بشبهه) and the likeness is close to union (مقربة **للاتصال** والمشابهة). […] It is therefore necessary

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[852] Eutychius of Alexandria, *The Book of Demonstration (Kitāb al-burhān)*, ed. Pierre Cachia, vol. I, 59. Eutychius of Alexandria, *The Book of Demonstration (Kitāb al-burhān)*, trans. W. M. Watt, vol. I, 48.

[853] The *Life of John of Edessa* is a (fictional) Melkite text of Palestinian origin, presumably written around 900. John C. Lamoreaux, "The Life of John of Edessa," in *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History. Volume 1 (600-900)*, ed. David Thomas and Barbara Roggema with J. P. M. Sala, J. Pahlitzsch, M. Swanson, H. Teule, and J. Tolan (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009), 898-901.

[854] J. C. Lamoreaux and H. Khairallah, "The Arabic Version of the Life of John of Edessa," *Le Muséon* 113, no. 3-4 (2000): 451, 456.

[855] Eutychius of Alexandria, *The Book of Demonstration (Kitāb al-burhān)*, ed. Pierre Cachia, vol. I, 53. Eutychius of Alexandria, *The Book of Demonstration (Kitāb al-burhān)*, trans. W. M. Watt, vol. I, 43.

that God unite [H]imself with us[856] […] when we were not capable (لما عن بلوغ **كمالنا** الانسان)[857] of arriving at our human perfection (قصرنا).

As the divine image in man has a rational character, the whole notion of "being in the likeness of God" is somehow related to knowing and knowledge. This is how the Paradise story goes on in the Arabic version of Oration 45:

(God) placed (the man) in the Paradise (الفردوس), however it may have been for some time, honoured him with the power to command (free-will) (التسلط) in order that the good belongs to him, no less than to him who is the giver of its seed. He made him a cultivator of immortal plant (لنبات لا يموت) and this could be divine thoughts (افكارا [كانت] الهية) about (very) simple and perfect things. On account of the simplicity and inartificial life, he was naked and free from every covering and cloth (حاسرا من كل سترة وكسوة) since he, who was created in the very beginning (first), had to be in this image (لان بهذه الصورة كان ينبغي ان يكون من كان في الابتدا الاول). And (God) gave him a law of free-will. And this Law (الناموس) was a precept which teaches him what he must take from the Tree and what he must not. And this was the Tree of Knowledge (عود **المعرفة**)[858] which was not planted in the beginning as a bad plant and banned out of avarice. (Let not) the adversaries of the Godhead (معاندوا اللاهوت) extend their tongues in that direction and imitate the serpent. However, it was good if taken at the right time (ولكنه كان جيدا اذا ما اخذ في وقته), since this tree was knowledge (*PG* 36. 632D, θεωρία) (كان ذلك النبات **علما**), according to my knowledge, [and] is safe only for those who has a perfect character and morals (*PG* 36.632D τελεωτέροις ... τέλειος, من كانت سجيته **كاملة** وطريقته **تامة**). But it is not good for the one who is simple and greedy in his passions in the same manner that solid food is not beneficial to who is tender and in need of milk. Then he forgot the precept that was imposed upon him (فلما انسي الوصية التي دفعت اليه) because of the malice introduced into the woman (المراة) due to her weakness, and what is brought by her persuading him and his acceptance. O my weakness, it is the ancient weakness that comes from (my paternal) ancestors. Then he was defeated and forced to taste the bitterness. He was banished from the Tree of Life (عود الحياة), and from the Paradise and from God (وصار نفيا ... من الله) because

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[856] One should remember that this happened by the mediation of a rational soul. Orat. 45: 9,23-24 وسع توسطت اللاهوت بوساطة **نفس عقلية**. Tuerlinckx, ed. *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua II: Orationes I, XLV, XLIV (Arab. 9, 10, 11)*, 88.

[857] Samir, *The Significance of Early Arab-Christian Thought for Muslim-Christian Understanding*, 22-23.

[858] See, Orat. 45: 28,6 شجرة المعرفة. Tuerlinckx, ed. *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua II: Orationes I, XLV, XLIV (Arab. 9, 10, 11)*, 208.

of this malice. He put on the coat of skin, which was perhaps the coarse flesh, mortal and solid. And he learned (his) shame for the first time (وعرف في الاول خزيه) and hid himself from God. He gained something from this and it is the death and the cutting off the sins in order that the evil may not be immortal. Thus his punishment becomes mercy (حنانا) and I read (interpret) the God's punishment in this way.[859]

Similarly, the Islamic tradition found the root of theosis in the Qur'ānic verse (2:31) "He [God] taught Adam the names, all of them"[860] and the Prophetic dictum "God created Adam in his own form [ṣūra]" (Fa inna Allāha khalaqa ādam 'alā ṣūratihi)[861] which is a reiteration of the Biblical principle. By creating human beings in his own form, God placed in their hearts the love for "union". Being separated by the creation from their real home and sent to the world of veils, human beings strive to return to their unique divine forms. The creation itself is a sign of God's love to be known by His creation as expressed in a well-known ḥadīth qudsī or divine saying: "I was a hidden treasure and I wanted to become known, so I created the world to make myself known" (*kuntu kanzan makhfiyyan fa aḥbabtu an u'rafa fa-khalaqtu al-khalq likay u'rafa*). This notion appears in an early Christian writer, Theophilus of Antioch (d. c. 183-185), who says in *Autolycus* 2.10 (*PG* 6.1164C), "God wished to make man so that he might be known by him" (και ηθέλησεν ἀνθρωπον ποιήσαι ᾧ γνωσθῇ) and "to this end He prepared the cosmos beforehand" (τούτῳ οὖν προητοίμασεν τὸν κόσμον). In the same vein, the author of *Kitāb al-burhān* informs us that "He (God) led men to know Himself by that image of Him (بصورته تلك فدل العباد على معرفته) and brought them out of doubt when He said: 'This is my image' (واخرجهم من الشك اذ قال: ان هذه صورتي)."[862]

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[859] Ibid., 76-82.

[860] Al-Tīn (95):4. This verse finds its reflection in *Kitāb al-burhān*: "[Then] at his command man gave everything a name" (وامره فسما كل شئ باسمه). Eutychius of Alexandria, *The Book of Demonstration (Kitāb al-burhān)*, ed. Pierre Cachia, vol. I, 54. Eutychius of Alexandria, *The Book of Demonstration (Kitāb al-burhān)*, trans. W. M. Watt, vol. I, 44.

[861] Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, *Istidh'ān* 1; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, *Birr* 115, *Janna* 28; Musnad Ibn Ḥanbal 2:244, 251, 315, 323, 434, 463, 519.

[862] Eutychius of Alexandria, ed. Pierre Cachia, vol. I, 29. Eutychius of Alexandria, trans. W. M. Watt, vol. I, 38. For a similar approach which describes the incarnate Word as the theophany of God who wanted to be known by human beings, see Khoury, *Paul d'Antioche*, 92-94.

One of the most interesting discussions of form or *ṣūra* appears in Muslim philosophers who like Aristotle[863] and his Neoplatonic commentators interpreted human perfection in terms of the perfection of the intellect.[864] We find *ṣūra* in al-Fārābī's discussion of first and second perfection of man in which he makes a synthesis of the Aristotelian and Neoplatonic commentary tradition or the "Ammonian synthesis" as Robert Wisnovsky[865] calls it. Al-Fārābī states that actuality (having *al-ṣūra*) is more perfect than potentiality (having *al-mādda*)[866] in regard to existence (*wujūd*)[867] and causality as a thing in actuality is a cause while a potential thing is not. To cut a long argument short –which will be discussed in detail later– the difference between the first (*awwal*) and the second (*akhīr*) perfection (*entelekheia*, *teleiotēs*, *kamāl*) is that in the second state a thing is a cause and effects issue from it. It is in Alexander's words the "transition from not-contemplating to contemplating" or *metabolē kat' eidos*.[868] This point will be clearer in al-Fārābī's discussion of human perfection in terms of the union of the intellect with the Active Intellect[869] or Avicenna's[870] *Wāhib al-ṣuwar* (Giver of forms).[871]

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[863] Arisṭūṭālīs, Fī n-nafs, 29,9-30,4: "Matter is a potentiality, and form is an entelekheia, meaning perfection, this [i.e., entelekheia] being of two types: the first is like **knowledge**, and the other is like **contemplating**" (wa-ṣ-ṣūratun hiya **anṭalākhiyā** ya'nī t-**tamām**). Aristotle, DA 2.1, 412a6-28: d'**eidos entelekheia**. Alexander equated Aristotle's form or *eidos* with "actuality" (entelekheia) and "perfection" (teleiotēs). R. Wisnovsky, *Avicenna's Metaphysics in Context* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2003), 22, 43-44.

[864] In this section, one should bear in mind the Late Antique and Medieval theories of knowledge, which describe the process of knowing as "intellect's becoming one with its object (or the intelligible form as Aristotle (DA 3.2, 426a16; 3,4, 430a3) put it)". Ibid., 47.

[865] Ibid., 64.

[866] For Themistius, the matter symbolises a mere disposition whereas form is "perfection" (*teleiotēs*) because it represents the inherent disposition of a thing as well as its *proagōgē* or progress towards its goal. Ibid., 56.

[867] In his refutation of the Ash'arite theory of *iktisāb* or acquisition, Ibn 'Adī reminds one of the definitions of creation in terms of *ījād*: "[Khalq] is ījād jawhar murakkab min *'unṣur wa ṣūra*" ("faire exister une substance composée de matière et de forme"). Emilio Platti, "Yahya ibn Adi. Réflections à propos de questions du kalam musulman," in *Studies on the Christian Arabic Heritage: In Honour of Father Prof. Dr. Samir Khalil Samir S. I. At the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Herman G. B. Teule and R. Y. Ebied (Leuven: Peeters, 2004), 180.

[868] Wisnovsky, 47.

[869] Ibid., 108-110.

[870] Wisnovsky notes that, for Avicenna, perfection or *kamāl* is different from form or *ṣūra* which is narrower than the former. Ibid., 117.

[871] H. A. Davidson, *Alfarabi, Avicenna, and Averroes on Intellect: Their Cosmologies, Theories of the Active Intellect, and Theories of Human Intellect* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 78.

In his epistemology, Avicenna describes two ways of attaining knowledge about God. According to his theory, the intellect can know God through His signs in the creation and through an immediate and direct relationship with Him. This conception of knowledge is based on the Plotinian distinction between *noesis* (non-discursive) and *dianoia* (discursive) and the difference drawn between universals and particulars in the Aristotelian philosophy as well as the connection between cause and effect in intellect's knowledge of God. In his commentary on the *Theology of Aristotle* where we find the true meaning of his oriental philosophy in Aristotelian and Plotinian terms but not purely mystical as it has been thought to be, Avicenna distinguishes intellectual knowledge of God from discursive thought. However, the intellectual knowledge attained through God's traces and therefore limited to effects and contingency is inferior to the *true vision* which, by God's *tajallī* (revelation or theophany) or *emanation* to the intellect, "leads to a superior intellection which can be understood [still] along the same lines as normal intellection" as Peter Adamson[872] explains it.

In Islamic philosophy, the relationship between God and creation is based on God's being the source of the existence of the creation. Therefore, either sensible (*maḥsūs*) or intelligible (*ma'qūl*), all things in the world (*mawjūdāt*) are theophanies of God and reflect His Being as a mirror. This view is based on a distinction between two worlds: the world of the visible (*'ālam al-shahāda* or *'ālam al-**mithāl***) and the world of the unseen (*'ālam al-ghayb* or *'ālam al-malakūt*). One finds a reference to the first world as a "world of forms" in the Arabic version of Pseudo-Dionysian *Mystical Theology* as *ṣūra kathīra* (polueidēs).[873] In al-Ghazālī, it is possible to find an excellent account of the relation between these two worlds and the human intellect, which is called heart, possibly because of its broader implications for our knowledge of God. Al-Ghazālī's system acknowledges the interaction between the world of *al-mulk wa l-shahāda* (the World of Sense Perception and the Visible or the World of Witnessing) and the world of *al-malakūt* (the World of Dominion) or *'ālam al-shahāda* and *'ālam al-malakūt* or *'ālam al-ghayb* (the World of the Unseen) as they are commonly known in Qur'ānic terminology and Ṣūfī literature: "There is nothing in the world of *al-mulk wa l-shahāda*

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[872] P. S. Adamson, "The Arabic Plotinus: A Study of the "Theology of Aristotle" and Related Texts" (PhD diss., University of Notre Dame, 2000), 315-318.
[873] Treiger, "The Arabic Version of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite's Mystical Theology, Chapter 1: Introduction, Critical Edition, and Translation," 392.

that is not a symbol (*mithāl*) for something spiritual in the world of *al-malakūt*, just as if it [the spiritual referent] were [the thing's] spirit and meaning."[874]

As an *amr ilāhī*[875] or *rabbānī* ("divine (or lordly) amr" (command)), *qalb* symbolises the divine part in man which is the "locus of cognition" (*maḥall maʿrifat Allāh*) and related to *ʿālam al-malakūt* or *ʿālam al-amr* ("world of command"). It is more inclusive than *ʿaql* as it encompasses both praxis and theoria. Qalb is like a mirror that needs to be polished to be able to reflect the images (*ṣuwar*) and the realities of things (*ḥaqāiq*). The "knower" is that in whose heart "the image of the realities of things (or the "knowables") is located" and the images appear in its mirror as the "knowledge".[876]

According to this worldview, man is the *khalīfa* or viceregent of God on earth[877] and a miniature cosmos in himself *(ʿālam al-ṣughrā)*.[878] The cosmos is similarly called a great man (*ʿālam al-kubrā*) and is said to be "the image of man" who in turn symbolises "the spirit of the universe". However, having been given the intellect, the faculty of speech and free will, he is the most precious creature or in Gregory's words, the one who is inspired by virtue of his rational mystery (Orat. 45 7,12 وموحى اليه بسر العقلية).[879] Nevertheless, this does not mean that he is given his perfection from the beginning.[880] As we touched upon earlier in our mention of the symbolic[881] or hidden character attributed by some philosophers to their teachings, medieval philosophers, like their Late Antique predecessors, had an elitist approach to human perfection. Although these

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[874] *Jawāhir al-Qurʾān*, 28-29 cited in T. J. Gianotti, *Al-Ghazālī's Unspeakable Doctrine of the Soul: Unveiling the Esoteric Psychology and Eschatology of the Iḥyā* (Leiden, Boston and Köln: Brill, 2001), 150. These two worlds also refer to the two sides of the heart: physical and spiritual. The spiritual *qalb* is a stranger in *ʿālam al-shahāda* and longs for its homeland, *ʿālam al-malakūt*. Ibid. 159.

[875] Q 17:85.

[876] Treiger, *Inspired Knowledge in Islamic Thought* (Chapter 1, *Heart*, 1-3, 9-10; *Knowledge*, 82-83).

[877] For the same notion, see the Arabic version of Oration 45 where the man is said to be created as a "malikan ʿalā mā fī-l-arḍ" (king of the things on earth). Tuerlinckx, ed. *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua II: Orationes I, XLV, XLIV (Arab. 9, 10, 11)*, 75.

[878] Orat. 45: 7, 11 فجعلتها مثل عالم ثان (He created him as a second world). Ibid.

[879] Ibid.

[880] Al-Fārābī says, "Man is one of the beings not given their perfection at the outset. He is rather one of those given only the least of their perfections and, in addition, principles for labouring (either by nature or by will and choice) toward perfection". Muḥsin Mahdī, ed. *Alfarabi: Philosophy of Plato and Aristotle* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2001), 76.

[881] We will see later in the chapter how al-Ghāzālī weaved the images such as the "lamp in the niche" and "hand-pen-throne-tablet-footstool" imagery into the fabric of his theory of mystical cognition.

philosophers thought that human beings are inclined by their *fiṭra* (intuition or nature) to know God,[882] they differ in their capacity or willingness to have the knowledge (*'ilm* or *ma'rifa*) and the experience of God. Therefore, it is not surprising to find Avicenna who recommends his much-discussed book, *al-Falsafa al-mashriqiyya* (Oriental Philosophy), to those further interested in truth (*ḥaqq*), indicating that what he says about the essentials of wisdom (*ḥikma*) is only for the divinely-gifted intellectuals.[883]

Gregory says that, in the world of composition, man became confused with images and went astray. He prostrated before the idols of goddesses and gods such as Astarte, Chemosh and Baal (of Sidonians) (42,16-18 Τί φήσω πρὸς τοὺς τὴν Ἀστάρτην προσκυνοῦτας ἢ τὸ Χαμὼς βδέλυγμα Σιδωνίων, 42,12-13 الذين يسجدون لاصطرت او لخاموص رذالة الصيدانين) or image(s) of star(s), which was worshipped by those for whom, though being a created thing, it was like a god (42,18-20 ἢ τοῦ ἄστρου τὸν τύπον, τοῦ μικρὸν ὑπὲρ ταῦτα θεοῦ τοῖς εἰδωλολάτραις, πλὴν κτίσματος καὶ ποιήματος, 42,13-14 او لصورة (الكوكب ومن عبدها **وتصورها** الاها غير انه يعبد مخلوقا ومصنوعا.

Aristotle used *eikōn* in *De memoria* (1.450a22-451a14) to denote a description of a specific individual, *Coriscus*, not a depiction of someone that has the same form. In his innovative approach to the Aristotelian understanding of imagination which is not only

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[882] Avicenna says, "… But not everything which human nature (*fiṭra*) necessitates is true; rather much of it is false. Only the nature of the power which is called intellect is [necessarily] true". *Kitāb al-najā*, p. 99 quoted in Deborah L. Black, "Estimation (Wahm) in Avicenna: The Logical and Psychological Dimensions," *Dialogue* XXXII, no. (1993): 234. In the traditional description of the primordial state of man, it is stated that, before joining to the body, human soul or *fiṭra* was pure and angelic. It had the reason (*'aql*) and was capable of knowing the essence of things and God.

[883] Yaman, 260, 262. For a similar approach but with an emphasis on critical thinking capacity, one should see al-Ghazālī's *The Jewels of the Qur'ān* where he describes the reader for whom his previously undisclosed opinions are disclosed as follows: "… [He] has brought his knowledge of outward acts (*'ilm al-ẓāhir*) to perfection … [and] he is provided with illuminating prudence, critical natural disposition, sharp intelligence and clear understanding." Al-Ghazālī, *The Jewels of the Qur'ān: Al-Ghazālī's Theory*, trans., M. Abul Quasem (Kuala Lumpur: 1977), 44. Similarly, we find the copyist of the Arabic version of Pseudo-Dionysius's *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, Jiwarjis b. Yūḥannā b. Sahl b. Ibrāhīm, saying in the colophon of Sinai Arabic MS 268 that he was responsible

> […] not [to] distribute it except to all those to whom God gave intellect and knowledge (من منحه الله العقل والعلم), since this book suits only the most excellent people, and among them only those who have a good grasp of philosophical sciences (حسن البصيرة بعلوم الفلسفة), whereas one who does not conform to my description will not benefit from it [at all], unless God, blessed be His name, should wish to grant him [extra] intellectual capacity (قوة فهيمة).

Treiger, "New Evidence on the Arabic Versions of the Corpus Dionysiacum," 229-230.

expanded but also refined and elaborated with his theory of the internal senses particularly estimation or *wahm*, Avicenna links images to the intentions (*ma'ānī*), which turn them into icons of specific individuals.[884] Therefore, what sees the holiness beyond the icon is nothing other than man's intellect and the faculty of imagination that associates objects with images and representations of things.

"The napkin (منديلا) in the church of al-Ruhā (Edessa) in the region of Jazīra (in Syria)", says Peter of Bayt Ra's, is the "most wonderful of [the] relics which Christ has bequeathed". On it was "His face […] a clear image (حلية بينة), not made by painting or drawing or engraving, and not changing" (من غير صورة ولا رقم ولا نقش ولا تتغير).[885] We learn from the Arabic version of the *Life of John of Edessa* that, before the debate which would take place at Hārūn al-Rashīd's court, the saint went to the Church of the Image of Christ and prayed for success against his Jewish (and most likely the Muslim) opponent: "I swear that I shall enter your holy temple and shall not leave it […] you will convince me that you will give me power to overcome this Jew […] in your presence in the place of your holiness, in which we see you (نعاينك في موضع قدسك الذي فيه)." The Georgian manuscript describes the place in more detail: "[…] in which is your image, our Lord God, Jesus Christ, which was given by your hand to Abgar the king to *fortify his belief and on account of his upright mind.*"[886] It is known that in 944 the image of Jesus or *mandylion* (or *acheiropoiētos*) was taken from Edessa to Constantinople.[887] Therefore, it is possible to suppose that in Ibrāhīm's childhood and youthful days the memory of mandylion was still fresh in the minds of Oriental Christians.

One of the interesting points in John of Damascus' discussion of the images of Christ is his description of the "Son of God" as the "living image of the invisible God and His unchanging likeness". Therefore, an image of Christ is, for him, the "image of the invisible God, not as invisible, but as having become visible for our sakes by partaking

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[884] Black, "Estimation (Wahm) in Avicenna: The Logical and Psychological Dimensions," 219, 227.
[885] Eutychius of Alexandria, *The Book of Demonstration (Kitāb al-burhān)*, ed. Pierre Cachia, vol. I, 207. Eutychius of Alexandria, *The Book of Demonstration (Kitāb al-burhān)*, trans. W. M. Watt, vol. I, 384.
[886] Lamoreaux, "The Arabic Version of the Life of John of Edessa," 451, 456.
[887] Swanson, "The Christian al-Ma'mun Tradition," 77.

of flesh and blood".[888] Al-Majdalus, (probably) a tenth century Melkite Christian, calls the Son of God the "image of his (God's) eternity" (*ṣūra azaliyyatihi*) in his *Tafsīr al-amāna al-urtudūksiyya* (Commentary on the Nicene Creed). Christ is frequently called "the Word in the image of humanity" (*al-Masīḥ kalima bi-al-ṣūra al-bashariyya*) by the same writer.[889] This notion finds its roots in Athanasius' *Contra Gentes-De Incarnatione Verbi* where the writer indicates that, as Johan Leemans[890] informs us, "humankind was created in the image of the Logos (who himself is the image of the Father), in contemplative union with God and with the gifts of immortality and incorruption". The Son is also called, in the same book, the "express image of the Father".[891]

Besides this Biblical understanding of Christ as the image of God or the Father, one cannot help but think of the human soul and the body of Christ that are called "veil" by Gregory as the "image" of the Son which would then mean that Jesus was the image of the Word. Here is how the veil is described in *Kitāb al-burhān*:

[…] His (وروحه العاقلة الكلمانية التي هي صورة الله في الانسان وشبهه), […] The spirit veiling (احتجبه), […] it was the worthiest of God's creation for veiling God. It acted as a veil (فكانت له حجابا) for Him; the animal soul (النفس الدمية) acted as a veil for it; and the solid body (الجسد الغليز) was a veil for what was more tenuous than itself (لما الطف منه).[892]

[888] Griffith, "'Melkites', 'Jacobites' and the Christological Controversies in Arabic in the Third/Ninth-Century Syria," 29.
[889] Al-Majdalus. 2009. *Commentary on the Nicene Creed* (Trans. by Samuel Noble) [Online]. Available at: http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/al-majdalus_01_translation.htm [Accessed: 5 May 2012].
[890] Johan Leemans, "'God Became Human, in Order That Humans Might Become God': A Reflection on the Soteriological Doctrine of Divinity," in *The Myriad Christ*, ed. J. Haers and T. Merrigan (Leuven: Peeters, 2000), 211.
[891] Frances Young, "Christology and Creation: Towards an Hermeneutic of Patristic Christology," in *The Myriad Christ*, ed. J. Haers and T. Merrigan (Leuven: Peeters, 2000), 199. In the second statement of the Dedication Creed (341), Christ is designated as the "exact image" (ἀπαράλλακτος εἰκών) of the Divinity, power, being, will and glory of the Father. Beeley, 18.
[892] Eutychius of Alexandria, *The Book of Demonstration (Kitāb al-burhān)*, ed. Pierre Cachia, vol. I, 69. Eutychius of Alexandria, *The Book of Demonstration (Kitāb al-burhān)*, trans. W. M. Watt, vol. I, 109. See the Legend of Baḥīra for the interesting connection between the "precise *sūrah*" of Q 47:20 and "a veiled (*ṣūra*) mighty king" who made himself visible through the Incarnation. Barbara Roggema, "Ḥikāyāt amthāl wa asmār," 131.

One expects to find a theology of icons in the writings of the Orthodox or the Melkite theologians such as John of Damascus and Theodore Abū Qurra but, not having faced the iconoclast crisis, they only dealt with defending themselves against the Muslim attacks on the veneration of crosses[893] and icons.[894] It is not surprising to find the discussion of the issue in the writings of these writers since, while they were not iconoclasts, the Jacobites and Nestorians preferred the sign of the cross, and the defence of the veneration of icons was the stock of the Melkites.[895] We know that Abū Qurra wrote his tract *A Treatise on the Veneration of the Holy Icons* at the request of someone called Abba Yannah who informed him about the problems arose among the Christians of Edessa. It is not therefore related to the iconoclast controversy in Byzantium as it was written at a time when the Council of Nicea II (787) was not known to the Christians of the East.[896] The content of the tract also confirms this historical fact. It is clearly described by one of the copyists as follows: "A discourse … in which Abū Qurra affirms that prostration to the image of Christ, our God, who became incarnate from the Holy Spirit and from the pure Virgin Mary, as well as to the images of his saints, is incumbent upon every Christian." It was in fact aimed at the Christians of the Church of the Image of Christ among whom a negative approach to the venerations of icons gained ground. Unfortunately, in this work, there is no mention of the famous image or *acheiropoiētos* at this church.[897]

Like his predecessor John of Damascus who wrote on images before him and prepared the ground for further discussions, Abū Qurra thought that if a Christian rejects the

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[893] For the place of the cross in Christian Arabic Literature, see Mark N. Swanson's doctoral thesis "Folly to the Ḥunafāʾ: The Cross of Christ in Arabic Christian-Muslim Controversy in the Eight and Ninth Centuries A.D." (Pontifical Institute for Arabic and Islamic Studies, Rome, 1992).

[894] John of Damascus, in Sidney Griffith's words, appears to be "pay[ing] less attention to the theoretical resemblance between icon and prototype than he does to what one might call the practical issue of the actual participation in the grace of the divine […]". He is right to say that this "cult of the icon" or the "public art of proskynesis" that John dwells on was the main factor behind the Muslim objection to the veneration of icons and crosses. Griffith, "'Melkites', 'Jacobites' and the Christological Controversies in Arabic in the Third/Ninth-Century Syria," 30-31.

[895] Ibid., 14.

[896] Historical data shows that Abū Qurra was aware of the iconoclastic controversy in Byzantium but for some reason avoided to mention it. It should be either because of the different motives behind the Constantinopolitan controversy or its irrelevancy to the problems of Eastern Christians. One must also take into account that it would do nothing but contribute to the negative image of Christians in the minds of Jews and Muslims. Abū Qurra's main concern was the iconophobia that arose among the Edessan Christians. Sidney H. Griffith, "Theodore Abu Qurra's Arabic Tract on the Christian Practice of Venerating Images," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 105, no. 1 (1985): 71.

[897] Ibid.: 58.

veneration of icons, he or she should also abandon other religious practices since it would be illogical. In the following are the arguments he proposed to prove the correctness of the practice. First, those who claim that a kind of bodiliness is ascribed to God by images miss the point of the nature of the scriptural diction, which, because of the human factor, cannot escape from bodiliness.[898] Moreover, as the other practices that are not mentioned in the Bible but have been transmitted by the apostolic tradition, the veneration of icons is of Christian origin. It is found in orthodox sources (*al-sharī'a*) like Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*, Pseudo-Athanasian *Quaestiones ad Antiochum Ducem* and Gregory of Nazianzus' words about Christ's cradle and the stone in Bethlehem.[899] In his other argument, which occupies the largest part of the treatise, Abū Qurra explains that prostration (προσκύνησις, *al-sujūd*) to the icons does not mean worship of idols but adoration to God and honour to the saints.[900] He claims, "Names and icons are equivalent in the indicative function; whatever contempt or honour is shown to names or icons makes contact with that to which the icons or names point". They are also equivalent to "writing" and because of that the "tablets of the Law were shown the greatest honour […] [and it was] the Lord's handwriting that was set down on them; they were an icon for the Incarnation of the Word God". The reason tells us that the "status of matter, before writing or an icon is stamped on it, is not the same as its status once it has been stamped".[901]

In his discussion of the Muslim view on images, he included the ḥadīth about those who make images of a living thing, and will be called on the Day of Judgment to blow the spirit into the works of their hands. He dwells upon images of plants that are mentioned in the related ḥadīths, which, according to him, are also in the category of living things and should not be excluded as the Law forbids images of "anything in heaven, or on earth, or in the waters under the earth".[902] Abū Qurra then reminds the situation of

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[898] We find him referring to the ṣifāt Allāh discussion of kalām, which he employed elsewhere in his apologetic argument: "He himself, without a doubt says that God sits on the throne, and he says that God has hands and a face, and other such things which we cannot be bothered to pursue here." Ibid.: 66.
[899] Aside from the reference to Gregory, these examples are adapted from John of Damascus. Ibid.: 56.
[900] Ibid.: 56-57.
[901] Qurrah, 64, 65, 72, 91.
[902] As noted by Griffith, Abū Qurra's account of this ḥadīth is accurate not only in his wording of the main part of the Prophetic saying but also in regard to the context of the ḥadīth at an early date when the ḥadīths were not collected in books. Griffith, "Theodore Abu Qurra's Arabic Tract on the Christian

Solomon and Moses who, while being God's friends, were allowed to commit sin by God Himself according to the reading of his opponents.[903] Although he did not develop a theology of icons or at least dwell on the metaphysical side of the teaching, he was well aware of that what made Muslims object to Christian images was in fact the doctrines behind them.[904]

'Ammār al-Baṣrī adopted a more direct approach than that of Abū Qurra in responding to the Muslim objection to the kissing of the cross: "As for those who speak with disdain about kissing of the cross, we reply to them with the argument: more remarkable than that is their kissing of a stone which the *associators* used to venerate and kiss." *Al-ḥajar al-aswad* or the Black Stone also appears in the *Correspondence of al-Hāshimī and al-Kindī* and the correspondence of the Byzantine Emperor Leo III with 'Umar II within the same context.[905]

There is an interesting story in al-Ghazālī's *Scale* and *Revival*, which is also narrated by al-Rūmī in *Mathnawī* (Book 1, vv. 3462-85, 3499) with a change in the characters' roles: A long time ago, there was a competition of painting between Byzantine and Chinese artists in the presence of a king. The two groups of artists were separated from each other by a curtain (*ḥijāb*). When the curtain was lifted, there appeared the wall brilliantly engraved by the Byzantine artists and the wall that had been polished by the Chinese artists to reflect the images on the other panel so perfectly that the reflection overshadowed the original. It is interesting to find the Byzantines doing the polishing work in *Mathnawī* while they were the masters of iconography and other arts like

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Practice of Venerating Images," 62. For this ḥadīth, one should look at al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* in which it appears at least ten times.

[903] After mentioning the theory that assumes a progressive development in the Islamic objection to images in the ḥadīth tradition with particular connection to the Arabisation and Islamisation policies of the caliphs, Griffith draws attention to the religious origin of this opposition. It is not only emphasised in the Qur'ānic verses which attribute creation only to God and call Him "al-Khāliq al-Bāri' al-Muṣawwir" but also attested by a ḥadīth qudsī that was narrated by Abū Ḥurayra (d. 679) and is therefore thought to be earlier and more reliable than Ibn 'Abbās account due to the unchangeable character of the sacred ḥadīth. Ibid.: 69.

[904] Ibid.: 67.

[905] Barbara Roggema, "Muslims as Crypto-Idolaters: A Theme in the Christian Portrayal of Islam in the near East," in *Christians at the Heart of Islamic Rule: Church Life and Scholarship in 'Abbasid Iraq*, ed. David Richard Thomas (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003), 4.

frescoes and mosaics and the Chinese were known for their mirrors in medieval times.[906]

Man, being still in the world of corporeal sensation, is under the constant attacks of his lower soul. Even though he does not lose himself in pleasure or passion so much so that he worships it, his soul and body are yet stained (38,6-7 Κἂν γὰρ τῷ πάθει μὴ προσκυνήσωμεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐμολύνθημεν, 38,4-5 وان لم نسجد للالم نفسه فقد دنسنا النفس وصورتها).[907] Gregory says, in the Arabic translation of Oration 45, that man had a share in the image of God (*PG* 36.636A, τῆς εἰκόνος) but he did not protect it[908] and for this reason God took his corporeality to save the image and make the flesh immortal: انا نلت من صورته فما حفظتها فاتخذ هو من جسمي ليخلص الصورة ويجعل الجسم لايموت 9,27-29.[909]

In *Kitāb al-kāfī*, Gerasimos (12th or 13th c.) emphasises one of the features of the divine image in man: the free will.[910] It occupies an important place in his explanation of the divine plan or in his soteriology, which is based on man's being created in the likeness and image of God, the fall and the restoration of the creation by the Incarnation of the Son.[911] Aside from the whole positive meaning attributed to the free will, it is in fact what leads man to the corruption of his divine image. However, God had a grand plan for the restoration of this image which had fallen through sin (7,12-13, τῆς παθούσης εἰκόνος διὰ τὴν κακίαν ἐπανόρθωσις, 7,9-10 وللصورة قد المت من تلقا الشر اصلاح). In an undated pseudo-epigraphical text, the Arabic *Apocalypse of Peter I*, which is an eschatological biblical account of the Paradise story re-written in a Muslim context, the

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[906] Treiger thinks that Rūmī could have changed the parable because he was from Rūm. Treiger, *Inspired Knowledge in Islamic Thought* (Chapter 4, *Al-Ghāzālī's Taxonomy*, 10; *Notes*, 69, 239)

[907] For Aristotle, form symbolises the spirit of the body but here, as an addition to the Greek sentence, it basically seems to denote the physical part of the human beings, i.e., the body, and refers to the impurity both in body and soul.

[908] For the notion of "protecting the image and likeness" (*PG* 35.1188B τὴν τῆς εἰκόνος τήρησιν καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀρχέτυπον ἐξομοίωσιν, وذاك حفظ الوصية والصورة والشبه بالاصل), see Ibrāhīm's translation of Oration 24. Grand'Henry, ed. "La version arabe du discours 24 de Grégoire de Nazianze: Édition critique, commentaires et traduction," 277.

[909] Tuerlinckx, ed. *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua II: Orationes I, XLV, XLIV (Arab. 9, 10, 11)*, 90.

[910] On the free will in Christian kalām, see Sidney H. Griffith, "Free Will in Christian Kalam: The Doctrine of Theodore Abu Qurrah," *Parole de l'Orient* 14, no. (1987).

[911] Bakhou, "Kitāb al-kāfī fī al-ma'nā al-ṣāfī (The Complete Book of the Proper Meaning): The Christian Apology of Gerasimus," 329-331.

creation of Adam is described in the context of the divine plan, particularly the Incarnation. Christ says, "I created Adam because of my incarnation and I will return him to Paradise in the body which he had when he was driven out". The immortal character of man plays a significant role in the restitution of the primeval Paradise.[912] In the same vein, the twelfth/thirteenth century Coptic writer, Būluṣ al-Būshī describes the Incarnation as "God's saving his image through his image".[913] The human response to this saving act should be, says Gregory in the Arabic version of Oration 1, to give back to the Image what is (related to) made after the Image (ونعطي الصورة ما يخص الصورة).[914]

Christ upon whom Christians are baptised took the form of a slave for their sake (27,4-5 المسيح 27,4 Χριστός, ᾧ σὺ βαπτίζῃ σήμερον, ὃς διὰ σὲ καὶ «δούλου μορφὴν»[915] ἐδέξατο, 27,4, (عند تعمدك اليوم معه وهو الذي اتخذ صورة عبد من اجلك) and they are transformed and freed from all the old marks or images (27,5-6 Ἀφ᾽ ἧς ἡμέρας μεταποιῇ, πάντες εἶξαν οἱ παλαιοὶ χαρακτῆρες, 27,5-6 وانت اليوم الذي تنتقل اليه فقد انصرفت عندك ساير الصورة القديمة): they all took upon a new image, which is Christ (27,6 μιᾷ μορφῇ πᾶσι Χριστὸς ἐπιτέθειται, 27,6 وصارت على الجماعة صورة واحدة وهي المسيح).

Thus begins the story of the improvement of the soul while being still in the world of images. As the cleansing of both the body and the soul by water and the Spirit, baptism penetrates the depth of us and purifies it since it came to the help of our first existence.[916] It thus renews our old existence[917] and, by changing the image we have, makes us resemble the image of God (8,8 θεοειδεῖς ἀντὶ τῶν νῦν ὄντων ἐργάζεται, 8,6-7 ومتصورين بصورة الله بدل صورتنا هذه). It is not only a cleansing of the body but also a change in the *ṣūra* (32,1-2 Γενέσθω σοι τὸ λουτρὸν μὴ τοῦ σώματος μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς

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[912] Emmanouela Grypeou, "The Re-Written Bible in Arabic: The Paradise Story and Its Exegesis in the Arabic Apocalypse of Peter," in *The Bible in Arab Christianity*, ed. David Richard Thomas (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 119-120.

[913] Harald Suermann, "The Rational Defense of Christology within the Context of Islamic Monotheism," in *The Myriad Christ*, ed. J. Haers and T. Merrigan (Leuven: Peeters, 2000), 284.

[914] Tuerlinckx, ed. *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua II: Orationes I, XLV, XLIV (Arab. 9, 10, 11)*, 16-18.

[915] Phil. 2:7.

[916] 8,1-3 ψυχῆς ... καὶ σώματος ... ἡ κάθαρσις, δι᾽ ὕδατός ... καὶ Πνεύματος, 8,1-3 ... الطهارة ... النفس والجسم; 8,6-7 ὃ τῆς πρώτης γενέσεως ἐπικουρία, 8,5 καὶ τὰ βάθη καθαίροντος, 8,5 ويصل الى العمق فيطهره ;الما والروح 8,5-6 اذ هو معونة للكيان الاول.

[917] 8,7 τυγχάνον καινοὺς ἀντὶ παλαιῶν, 8,6 فيجعلنا جديدين بدل عتق.

εἰκόνος, 32,1 (ليكن لك هذا الحميم طهورا ليس للجسم وحده بل للصورة) which is the image of the soul that has one of the images of the Creator (32,2 يعني بالصورة النفس لانها عنده صورة من) (صور الباري).[918] Therefore, baptism should not only cleanse you from your sins but also improve your character (32,2 μὴ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ἔκπλυσις μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ τρόπου διόρθωσις, 32,2-3 ولا يكون غسلا للخطايا وحده بل واصلاح الاخلاق).

In his journey through perfection, man is supported by the men of God who had followed the same path before him. It is the priest who can save you from leprosy (34,1-2 Εἰ λέπραν ἔβρυες τέως τῆς ἄμορφον πονηρίαν, 34,1 ولو كنت مملوا من البرص وهو الشر القبيح الصورة) and by cleaning the evil matter give you the new image (34,2-3 ἀπεξέσθης δὲ τῆς κακῆς ὕλης καὶ τὴν εἰκονα σώαν ἀπέλαβες, 34,1-2 وقد تنظفت من هذه المادة الردية واخذت الصورة الجديدة). As a talented calligrapher, he is also the one who can change what is written in you other than the true teaching (44,4-5 Εἰ μὲν ἄλλως ἐγγέγραψαι ἢ ὡς ὁ ἐμος ἀπαιτεῖ λόγος, δεῦρο καὶ μετεγγράφηθι, 44,3-4 فان كان قد كتب فيك غير ما يقتضيه كلامي فهلم حتى اغير الكتابة). If you already have the true teaching written in you, then you must protect it (44,9-11 Εἰ δὲ οὕτως ἔχεις καὶ καλοῖς ἐνεσημάνθης τοῖς γράμμασι φύλασσέ μοι τὰ γεγραμμένα, 44,7-8 وكنت قد اوتسمت بكتاب جيد فاحفظ لي ما كتب لك).

However, he is not saved all over or promised a long life. Although you have the divine image and are so proud of it, this does not mean that you are exempt or protected from death which comes easily (14,18-20 τί γὰρ τοῦ ἀποθανεῖν ἄνθρωπον εὐκολώτερον, κἂ μέγα φρονῇς τῇ εἰκόνι, 14,15 اذ كان لا شي اسهل من موت الانسان وان كان يتبجح عظيما بالصورة). Nevertheless, the Evil is bound to be defeated by those illumined by Christ (10,34-36 Ἀπελεύσεται ... οὕτω τῶν ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνου πεφωτισμένων, 10,25-26 كذلك ينهزم ممن قد اناره المسيح) who as the hidden Light behind the Veil won victory over him (10,2-3 καὶ γὰρ τῷ Λόγῳ καὶ Θεῷ μου προσέβαλε διὰ τὸ κάλυμμα, τῷ κρυπτῷ φωτὶ, 10,1-2 لانه قد فعله بالكلمة).

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[918] This part, which is an addition to the Greek sentence, was one of the questions occupied my mind from the beginning and in the last stage of this study it occurred to me that what was meant by Ibrāhīm could be a reference to God's names and attributes or His divine energies (*logoi*). The following sentence, which is about the improvement of character, leads me to think that, for Ibrāhīm, the human soul is created to represent the different qualities of God. God is reflected in different souls in different ways and thus there are many reflections of Him either in an individual or in humanity as a whole. This also reminds me the Muslim understanding of the human spirit as coming "from (one of) God's command(s)" (Q 17:85) and as an inspiration or revelation (Q 42:52) which is interpreted as a *sign* of God. Given the connection between *image* and *sign*, here it would mean that the human soul is one of the signs of God.

ὥσπερ ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ, 10,34-36 Ἀπελεύσεται ... but الالهي بسبب السترة وتقدم على الضو المستور 10,25 (انهزم من المسيح). Now, you are in a state in which you are not only able to reject what he offers of property or dominion (10,28 πάσας ὑποδεικνύων τὰς βασιλείας, 10,20 واراك الممالك انها له) but also commend him, who asks you to worship him (10,30 ἀπαιτῶν τὴν προσκύνησιν, 10,20 وطلب منك السجود), to prostrate before you (10,30-34 Εἰπέ ... σύ με προσκύνησον, 10,21-24 وقل ... فاسجد لي انت) because you have the image of God (10,31 εἰκών [εἰμι] καὶ αὐτὸς Θεοῦ, 10,22 [انني انا] صورة الله) and you put on Christ (10,33 Χριστὸν ἐνδέδυμαι, 10,23 [قد لبست] المسيح) by being remodelled through your baptism (10,33 Χριστὸν μεταπεποίημαι τῷ βαπτίσματι, 10,23-24 [وقد انجبلت] بالمعمودية بصورته). You did not fall from the highest glory because of pride (10,31-32 τῆς ἄνω δόξης οὕτω δι' ἔπαρσιν, ὥσπερ [σύ], καταβέβλημαι, 10,22-23 [سقطت] كما سقطت من المجد الاعلى وما بالتكبر).[919]

It is a completely different man we have seen in the previous lines. This is the man who left behind the world of images[920] and embarked upon a journey in a new world described in the Plotinian account of the ascent of the soul.[921] As mentioned in Chapter 3, the Jesus of the adab literature is the symbol of the purification from the images of this world. Qushayrī says, "And it is said that the Lord purified his heart from the perusal of things that change and the spectacle of images and impressions in all states and stages".[922] As a perfect human being or a saint who is in fact the Seal of Common Sainthood, Jesus is the mirror that reflects the divine attributes or the "universality of

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[919] According to the Paradise story in the Arabic *Apocalypse of Peter 1*, the angelic realm from where Satan had fallen would be occupied by the righteous people from the lineage of Adam. Grypeou, 119.

[920] One must take into account the Aristotelian definition of the soul as the "form of a body" and the Platonian and Neoplatonic description of it as an immaterial substance yet related to the body. However, as we have seen in Gregory's description of Christ's body as a "veil", in medieval texts the human body is frequently referred to as an image or a representation of corporeality and therefore seen as an obstacle in the perfection of the human soul.

[921] "Theologia" VIII, 132-143 in Plotini Opera; Plotinus, Enn., V, 1.5-6 cited in Gina M. Bonelli, "Farabi's Virtuous City and the Plotinian World Soul: A New Reading of Farabi's *Mabadi' Ara' Ahl Al-Madina Al-Fadila*" (PhD diss., McGill University, 2009), 196-197.

> [The soul] casts his gaze on the true One alone, and leave behind all things outside it, and return to himself and stand there, for he will see with his mind the true One reposing, still, superior to all things, the intellectual and the sensible. *He will see all other things standing as if they were images* and inclining towards it.

[922] N. Robinson, *Christ in Islam and Christianity*, 183.

God"[923] and therefore is a theophany (*maẓhar*) of the All-Comprehensive Name, *Allāh*.[924]

Abū Qurra's treatise on the veneration of icons informs us about the Qur'ānic origin of the notion of prostrating to man, which developed later in Ṣūfi literature:

> It is not permitted that prostration be made to anything other than to God, and they mock the Christians for their prostrating to the images and to people. They maintain that the act of prostration is an act of worship, all the while themselves recalling that "God commanded all the angels to prostrate themselves to Adam, and they prostrated themselves, except Iblīs refused, and came to be among the kāfirīn".[925] If the prostration was an act of worship, then inevitably, according to what you say, God commanded the angels to worship Adam. Far be it from God to do this.[926]

We also find him referring to a Qur'ānic verse (Yūsuf (12):100) in his discussion of prostration to saints' icons as a sign of honour: "[Jacob and his sons] bowed down to Joseph as one's making prostration (*sujjadan*)".[927] He says, "Whoever makes prostration to a saint's icon rouses the saint to pray to God in his behalf" since "the saints are intermediaries between God and man" and "in both their life and their death they make him pleased with man". We learn that there were some among the people around Abū Qurra who said, "[S]ince you deem it right to make a prostration to the icon of anyone who deserves honour, make prostration to me, who am the image of God".[928] He countered them with the story of a king who grieved for the damaged image of his daughter and reminded them how they damaged their likeness to God.[929]

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[923] Milad Milani, "Representations of Jesus in Islamic Mysticism: Defining the 'Sufi Jesus'," 57.
[924] Javad Nurbakhsh, *Jesus in the Eyes of the Sufis*, 26, 33-34.
[925] Cf. Q 2:34.
[926] Griffith, "Theodore Abu Qurra's Arabic Tract on the Christian Practice of Venerating Images," 66-67.
[927] Ibid.: 67.
[928] Qurrah, 69, 90.
[929] Roggema, "Ḥikāyāt amthāl wa asmār," 121.

In the Arabic version of Oration 24, one finds the image of martyrs as the intermediaries who restore our fallen image (4 ويستعيد الشهدا الصورة التي زلت).[930] We also find the word "ṣūra" used in Ibrāhīm's translations in the sense of "(role) model" and "character" as seen in the following examples: Orat. 21.9, 19-20 ملايكيا في الصورة اشد ملايكية في الفكر (Athanasius […] was angelic in appearance, more angelic in mind). Orat. 45.11, 13-14 وحده ادبه من وقريبا في **الفضيلة** موسى بصورة كان لمن يتصور قد مما (These are to be understood only by those who resemble Moses in virtue and are close to his education or morals). Orat. 24.6 عزا للكلام **وصورة صنما** وللطبيعة ([Cyprian was] the idol of (good) character and (great in) reason).[931] These examples refer to the perfect(ed) state of humanity in which, according to the passage cited above, man becomes worthy of honour or even an object of worship or prostration.[932] This notion appears in the descriptions of the perfect man (*al-insān al-kāmil*) in Ṣūfī literature, which sees him as an embodiment of the divine qualities. *Al-insān al-kāmil* is a friend of God (*walī* (pl. *awliyā'*) *Allāh*) for whom God becomes the ears that he hears with, the eyes he sees with, the hands that he holds with, the feet that he walks with, the heart that he reasons with and the tongue that he speaks with.[933]

Baptism or the perfection it brings is a representation of *sa'āda* of which we have only images in this world.[934] Therefore, the real meaning of theosis will be unfolded in the next world in which there will be no room for representations or images but only the realities. Among the names given to baptism is that "image of the heavenly bliss" (4,17 τοῦτο εἰκὼν τῆς ἐκεῖθεν μακαριότητος, 4,13 هذا صورة السعادة) which the heavens rejoice in (10,15-16 Τούτῳ συγχαίρουσιν οὐρανοί, 10,12 تفرح به السماوات) and angels praise (10,16 τοῦτο δοξάζουσιν ἄγγελοι, 10,12-12 تمجده الملايكة) because of its likeness [to the heavenly beatitude] in brightness and splendour (10,16-17 διὰ τὸ συγγενὲς τῆς λαμπρότητος, 10,13 لاجل مجانسته اياها في الضيا والبها). We are not yet able to praise it worthily (10,18-19 ἡμεῖς ἐξυμνεῖν βουλόμεθα μέν, οὐ δυνάμεθα δὲ ὅσον ἄξιον, 10,14-15 التي هناك هذا قد نوثر ان نسبحه الا اننا لا يقدر على ذلك بحسب استحقاقه).

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[930] Grand'Henry, "La version arabe du discours 24 de Grégoire de Nazianze: Édition critique, commentaires et traduction," 244.

[931] It is also used in Oration 40 in the neutral sense: 37,11-12 Ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν τοιοῦτοι καὶ οὕτως ἔχοντες, 37,8 ولكن فليكن اوليك هكذا ولتكن هذه صورتهم (But they are like that [and] in this character).

[932] In the Ṣūfī tradition, being the most precious creature of God, even a man who is not perfect is worthy of prostration.

[933] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Riqāq, 38.

[934] According to the writer of the Paradise story in the Arabic *Apocalypse of Peter 1*, the Paradise is created "after the image of the Church" and is therefore the "pre-established Church". Grypeou, 121.

4.2.1.2. Knowledge as a Way towards Theosis

In this part of the chapter, we will examine "knowledge" both as a means to an end and as an end in itself. It is the way that human beings construe the sensible world with the help of the internal senses and this is where we find our text having a very similar language to the one employed by medieval Arabic philosophers in their discussions of human cognition. Therefore, we will begin by noting the references made to the sensible world and the internal senses in our text and ask whether there is a distinction between two types of knowledge, i.e. *ma'rifa* and *'ilm*, a question which will shape our discussion in the following part of the chapter. We will then see the emphasis of the text on thinking as being the key to perfection and look at the Arabic terms used to render the functions of the intellect such as reasoning, judgement, comprehension, discernment, imagination, etc. Finally, we will point out that it is possible to find the traces of an emanationist theory of theosis, which reminds the description of the human perfection made by al-Fārābī and Avicenna in terms the conjunction with the Active Intellect.

According to our text, God is the highest or supreme light which cannot be comprehended by the mind and cannot be expressed by (the faculty of) speech (5,1-2 Θεὸς μέν ἐστι φῶς τὸ ἀκρότατον καὶ ἀπρόσιτον καὶ ἄρρητον, **οὔτε νῷ καταληπτὸν οὔτε λόγῳ ῥητόν**, 5,1-2 به نطق اللفظ به يصل ولا يدركه عقل لا الاقصى النور هو الله). However, He illuminates every reasoning nature (5,2-3 πάσης φωτιστικὸν **λογικῆς φύσεως**, 5,2 النطق **طبيعة** لساير المنير وهو) as He is in the world of intelligibles, what the sun is in the world of sense (5,3-4 Τοῦτο ἐν **νοητοῖς** ὅπερ ἐν **αἰσθητοῖς** ἥλιος, 5,2-3 ما المعقولات في هو هي الشمس في المحسوسات).[935] Yet, the sensible world is also of importance. Therefore, how good is to cleanse the heads as it is necessary to purify the head which is the source of

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[935] A slightly different version of the sentence appears in the Arabic translation of Oration 21: 1,11-13 وما Grand'Henry, ed. هو الشمس **للمحسوسات** فهو الله **للمعقولات** فالشمس تنير **العالم المنظور** اليه والله ينير **العالم الذي لا يبصر**. *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua I: Oratio XXI (Arab. 20)*, 4-5. For the translation of τὰ αἰσθητά and τὰ νοητά as المحسوسات and المعقولات in the Arabic version of Pseudo-Dionysius' *Mystical Theology*, see Treiger, "The Arabic Version of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite's Mystical Theology, Chapter 1: Introduction, Critical Edition, and Translation," 369, 392. According to al-Fārābī, "sense perceptions (*maḥsūsāt*)" or the "impressions of sense perceptions" are "stored in the imaginative faculty" whereas they become "intelligible thoughts in the rational faculty". Davidson, 51, 58.

the senses (39,2-3 ὡς καθαίρεται **κεφαλή**, τὸ τῶν **αἰσθήσεων** ἐργαστήριον, 39,1-2 [936] فما الحواس الذي هو ينبوع الراس ان يطهر ينبغي كما الرووس نطهر ان اجود). Thus, we (you) turn the sins that are in the lower part of our soul into something better which is in the highest part of it (39,4-6 καὶ τὴν ὑπεραίρουσαν ἡμῶν ἁμαρτίαν κάτω βάλλειν, ὑπεραιρομένην τῷ κρείττονι, 39,3-4 منها افضل هو ما الى بالعلوا اسفل الى الخطية تطرح وبان).

As we discussed before, one needs to make his faith apparent in the world of sense to be called a true believer. In Gregory's words, by being taught and baptised in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and in one common name for the Three, the Godhead, one will know, both by signs and by words, that he or she rejects all ungodliness and thus are united to all the Godhead (45,11-12 Γνώσῃ καὶ τοῖς **σχήμασι** καὶ τοῖς **ῥήμασιν**, ὡς ὅλην ἀποπέμπῃ τὴν ἀθεΐαν, οὕτως ὅλῃ θεότητι συντασσόμενος, 45,8-9 اللاهوت مع هكذا وترتبت كله الكفر طرحت قد انك والكلام الاشكال من وستعرف كله).

We also find a description of the next life in a language of light and darkness: In the world to come, the reward of those who purified their thoughts (in this life) will be the light, which is God visible or seen and known (by them) proportionate to the degree of purity (45,39-41 Ταύτην δὲ εἶναι φῶς τοῖς κεκαθαρμένοις τὴν διάνοιαν, τουτέστι Θεὸν **ὁρώμενόν** τε καὶ γινωσκόμενον, κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῆς καθαρότητος, 45,27-29 نور فهي الطهارة بمقدار ويعرفونه يبصرونه فهو الاه والنور افكارهم تطهرت للذين). However, to those whose minds suffered from blindness is the darkness (45,42-43 **σκότος** δὲ τοῖς **τυφλώττουσι** τὸ ἡγεμονικόν, 45,29-30 عقولهم عمهت قد للذين ظلمة وهي) and it is being away from God proportionate to the blindness in their minds (45,43-44 τουτέστιν ἀλλοτρίωσιν Θεοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῆς ἐντεῦθεν **ἀμβλυωπίας**, 45,30-31 ما بمقدار الله من البعد فهو والظلام عقله عشي عمى من واحد كل بداخل).

Although it does not appear as a theme, it is nevertheless interesting to find in our text the traces of medieval discussions of the internal senses. As the result of an attempt to

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[936] Man has five (external) senses (خمس حواس ذو). Khoury, 69.

explain how human cognition works,[937] internal senses occupied an important place in the philosophies of great medieval thinkers such as al-Fārābī, Avicenna, al-Ghazālī, Averroes and Maimonides.[938] However, it is more interesting for our purposes to find a discussion of it in two important figures of the Graeco-Arabic translation movement: Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq and Qusṭā ibn Lūqā. These Christian thinkers had a naturalistic view of man and especially with the latter's different terminology in the description of some of the mental faculties and his emphasis on the mediating role of the spirit between soul and body presented a different picture than that of the Arabic philosophers. With the addition of John of Damascus' contribution to the field, this picture becomes more interesting.

In our text, there is no mention of "internal senses", which is used in medieval sources to denote the inner powers or faculties in opposition to the "external senses" or the five senses. However, as noted above, there is reference to the head as the source of external senses and it is followed by an advice, which exhorts us to develop our better part by casting down sins. It is known that the external senses are generally considered to be related to passion and thus sin due to their connection with the external world and they symbolise the passage from the material to the immaterial as far as human cognition is concerned. Therefore, it would not be going too far to say that there is a reference to the internal senses in the phrase "our better part". The passage itself begins with the purification of the head and the senses theme and ends with David's prayer to have "a clean heart" and "a right spirit" which is interpreted by Gregory as "the mind and its movements or thoughts". Just before this, he says that the heart and inwards parts should also be purified and in view of all of this, he, as the majority of Greek philosophers, seems to think that the heart is the seat of the internal senses. It is worth

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[937] Black notes that Avicenna attributes "[…] all discursive operations of understanding to the intellect's association with corporeal cognitive powers" and adds that cognition takes place in the brain with the help of the internal senses. Black, D. L. Imagination, Particular Reason, and Memory: The Role of the Internal Senses in Human Cognition. Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 19 February 2010. [Online] Available at: http://individual.utoronto.ca/dlblack/articles/ImagPartRweb.pdf [Accessed: 3 March 2012] (page 4-5)

[938] Medieval discussions of the internal senses brought a new concept to the field: intentionality. For Avicenna, intention or *ma'nā* is "what is intended by the soul". It is in other words an object for the cognitive faculty. The theory of intentionality is an important contribution of the Arabic philosophers to the study of human cognition in terms of their share in the expansion of the Aristotelian explanation of cognition as the reception of the form of the object that is conceived. Black, "Psychology: Soul and Intellect," 311-312.

noting that in our translator's day the Galenic placement of the internal senses in the brain was predominant, especially in the writings of Ḥunayn and Qusṭā. In the following are examples of Ibrāhīm's uses of some Arabic terms for the individual internal senses that appear in the discussions of the thinkers listed above. There are some uses, which are not exactly technical such as *fahm*, *dhikr*, *tamyīz*[939] and *nuṭq*.[940] However, particularly with his rendering of *fantasia* as *takhayyul* or *taṣawwur* and *dianoētikon* as *fikr*, Ibrāhīm seems to be well aware of the technical language of his day.[941]

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[939] "Because the virtue is always judged by our Righteous Judge (and Who loves the humanity) very carefully" (19,22-23 κρίνεται γὰρ ἀεὶ μετὰ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων τὸ κατορθούμενον παρὰ τοῦ δικαίου καὶ φιλανθρώπου τῶν ἡμετέρων κριτοῦ,19,17-18 لانه لا تزال الفضيلة **تميز** بتدقيق من النظر عند دياننا العادل المحب للبشر). Judgment (*kriseis*) or discernment, which is one of the functions of *dianoētikon* in John of Damascus' discussion of the internal senses, appears in the Arabic philosophy as *tamayyuz*. *Tamyīz* is an important concept in Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī's *Tahdhīb* in which human perfection is based on a discerning mind that is attained through the "acquisition of rational sciences" and "refinement of one's critical thinking" (*tadqīq al-fikr*). Griffith, "The 'Philosophical Life' in Tenth Century Baghdad: The Contribution of Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī's Kitāb tahdhīb al-akhlāq," 122, 134. We find the same two terms, i.e. *tamyīz* and *tadqīq* in Oration 24 in which St Cyprian's perfection (التدقيق) in understanding and clarity in speech (or explanation) (التميز في بيان) are praised. Grand'Henry, " La version arabe du discours 24 de Grégoire de Nazianze: Édition critique, commentaires et traduction," 248.

[940] "Man was called light by the Greeks because of our intellectual faculty" (5,16 τὴν τοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν **λόγου δύναμιν**, 5,13 من اجل **قوة النطق** الذي فينا). *Nāṭiqa* appears as the fourth element of Ikhwān al-Ṣafā's classification of the internal senses and it is used in the Arabic philosophy as the equivalent of *logikē* or *logistikē* as well as Aristotle's *theōrētikē*. Grand'Henry notes that both *nuṭq* and *kalām* appear as the equivalent of *logos* in the manuscripts of the Arabic version of Oration 24. Grand'Henry, " La version arabe du discours 24 de Grégoire de Nazianze: Édition critique, commentaires et traduction," 243. This is in fact the case with all the Arabic versions of Gregory's orations in which we find *nuṭq* used in the sense of reason as in the classical Arabic. Cf. the Arabic version of the *Mystical Theology* in which we find *nuṭq*, *qawl* and *kalima* as the equivalent of *logos*. Treiger, "The Arabic Version of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite's Mystical Theology, Chapter 1: Introduction, Critical Edition, and Translation," 389, 392. The rational or intellectual part of man is generally called "al-nafs al-nāṭiqa" in Arabic philosophy. Man is superior to brute nature because of this rational character of his soul: Orat. 24, 5 and 7 النطق ... طبيعة البهيمة. Grand'Henry, "La version arabe du discours 24 de Grégoire de Nazianze: Édition critique, commentaires et traduction," 246, 248. In Paul of Antioch's words, man has "[a] living and rational soul with the faculty of speech" (النفس الحية العاقلة الناطقة). Khoury, 68.

[941] Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq adopted the Aristotelian classification of the internal senses: imagination (*takhayyul*), cogitation (*fikr*) and memory (*dhikr*). H. A. Wolfson, "The Internal Senses in Latin, Arabic, and Hebrew Philosophic Texts," *The Harvard Theological Review* 28, no. 2 (1935): 73. Qusṭā ibn Lūqā's classification, which is quite different in terminology, does not seem to be adopted by later writers. His categorisation stands somewhere between the rather basic classification of Ḥunayn and the more complex list of Avicenna: Imagination (*phantasia*), understanding (*al-fahm*), thought (*al-fikr*), foresight/forethought (*al-rawiyya*), learning (*al-tamyīz*), memory (*al-dhikr*) and recollection (*al-fikr fīmā qad kāna*). Judith Wilcox, "Qusṭā ibn Lūqā's on Difference between the Spirit and the Soul in Medieval Considerations of the Internal Senses," in *Corpo e anima, sensi interni e intelletto dai secoli Xiii-Xiv ai post-cartesiani e spinoziani*, ed. V. Sorge, G. Federici Vescovini, C. Vinti (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2005), 64-66. In al-Fārābī's classification, the internal senses are five: Imagination (*muṣawwira*), estimation (*wahm*), memory (*ḥāfiza*), compositive human imagination (*mufakkira*), compositive animal imagination (*mutakhayyila*). Wolfson, "The Internal Senses in Latin, Arabic, and Hebrew Philosophic Texts," 94. Although he does not call them "internal senses", Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī, enumerates these four features of the rational soul (*al-nafs al-nāṭiqa*): thinking (*al-fikr*), memory (*al-dhikr*), discernment (*al-tamyīz*) and comprehension (*al-fahm*). I. R. Netton, *Al-Fārābī and His School* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), 60. Avicenna also enumerates five internal senses (*al-ḥawāss al-bāṭina*): Common

Gregory says, "When David asked for a clean heart to be created in him and a right spirit to renew[942] what is inside him, I think, he meant the thought and its movements and reasoning" (39,24-25 τὸ **διανοητικόν** οἶμαι, οὕτως δηλῶν καὶ τὰ τούτο κινήματα ἡ διανοήματα, 39,17-18 الفكر وحركاته وقياساته على بذلك يدل انما اظنه وفيما). When I imagine any one of the Three I see (think) Its power as a whole (41,19-20 Ὅταν ἕν τι τῶν τριῶν **φαντασθῶ**, τοῦτο νομίζω τὸ πᾶν, 41,16 الكل قدرته قدرته فقد الثلثة من واحد **تخيلت** واذا). God is in the world of intelligibles, what the sun in the world of senses and He is seen to us proportionate to the degree of our purification (5,4 ὅσον ἂν καθαιρώμεθα, **φανταζόμενον**, 5,3 لنا **يتصور** نتظهر ما بحسب.)

Before dealing with the functions of the intellect mentioned in our text, we should have a look at two words and their cognates: *ma'rifa* and *'ilm*. Contrary to what is believed, *ma'rifa* and its cognates do not always refer to a mystical knowledge in contradistinction to *'ilm* (rational or scientific knowledge) in medieval Arabic philosophical texts.[943] This is also the case with our text, which nevertheless makes a distinction between these two words in terms of comprehensiveness and duration of the cognitive process.[944] As will be seen below, *ma'rifa* seems to denote knowledge

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sense (*al-ḥiss al-mushtarak*), the retentive imagination (*al-khayal* or *al-muṣawwira*), estimation (*wahm*), memorative faculty (*al-ḥāfiẓa* or *al-mutadhākkira*), and compositive imagination (*al-mutakhayyila*). Black, "Psychology: Soul and Intellect," 314-315.

[942] See also the Arabic version of Oration 44: 2,10-11 في مستقيمة وروحا مفطورا ذاته في قلبا الالهي داود يلتمس وقد مجددة احشايه. Tuerlinckx, ed. *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua II: Orationes I, XLV, XLIV (Arab. 9, 10, 11)*, 230-231.

[943] Black notes that in Avicenna *ma'rifa* denotes perception by the senses differing from intellectual knowledge or *'ilm*. In Demonstration 1.3, 58 Avicenna says, "… the perception of particulars is not knowledge (*'ilm*), but rather, acquaintance (*ma'rifa*)". Interestingly, he uses the word *'ārif* which is a common mystical term in his discussion of self-awareness though he compares self-awareness to *ma'rifa* as the former is a kind of innate knowledge whereas the latter refers to an acquaintance with the object of knowledge. Deborah L. Black, "Avicenna on Self-Awareness and Knowing That One Knows," in *The Unity of Science in the Arabic Tradition: Science, Logic, Epistemology and Their Interactions*, ed. Tony Street, Shahid Rahman, Hassan Tahiri (Springer, 2008), 75-76, 85. For an example of the criticism levelled at some writers like Goichon, L. Gardet and H. Corbin who interpreted some Avicennan terms such as *'ārif* and *'irfān* only in mystical and gnostic terms, whereas they, especially in *Ishārāt*, refer to the intellectual knowledge, see Davidson, 105-106.

[944] The traditional distinction between these two types of knowledge is based on the cognitive character of *'ilm* and a personal relationship or contact with the object of knowledge (acquaintance) that is ascribed to *ma'rifa*. Black, "Knowledge ('Ilm) and Certitude (Yaqīn) in Al-Fārābī's Epistemology," 20.

attained through a longer thinking process whereas *'ilm* refers to (immediate) perception and learning[945] at a given time.

As is to be expected, *gnosis* is rendered by Ibrāhīm as *ma'rifa*: Knowing the meaning and power of the mystery or the sacrament (baptism) is itself the illumination (1,12-13 καὶ τοῦτο ἐστι φωτισμός, τὸ **γνῶναι** τοῦ μυστηρίου τὴν δύναμιν, 1,10-11 اذ كان هذا من 1,10-11 **نعرف** معنى السر وقوته (النور ايضا ان). God knows the intentions and distinguishes the belief **وعارفا** بالنيات يميز 22,2-3 καὶ **γνωστικόν** γὰρ ἐννοιῶν δοκιμάζει τε τὴν ἔφεσιν, 22,2-3 (الاعتقاد). Some people know and honour the gift of baptism (23,5 οἱ δὲ **γινώσκουσι** μὲν καὶ τιμῶσι τὴν δωρεάν, 23,5 النعمة **يعرفون** من ومنهم ويكرمونها) but put it off. We should kindle for ourselves the light of knowledge (37,12 ἡμεῖς δὲ φωτίσωμεν ἑαυτοῖς φῶς **γνώσεως**, 37,9 **المعرفة** واما نحن فسبيلنا ان نضي لنفوسنا ضو). You shall know, both by signs and by words that you reject all ungodliness (45,11-12 **Γνώσῃ** καὶ τοῖς σχήμασι καὶ τοῖς ῥήμασιν, ὡς ὅλην ἀποπέμπῃ τὴν ἀθεΐαν, 45,8-9 **وستعرف** من الاشكال والكلام انك قد طرحت الكفر (كله).

However, in the following are the other uses of the root "'-r-f" whose Greek equivalents also appear as the renderings of "'-l-m", as will be seen in the next paragraph: I also know another fire (36,23 **Οἶδα** καὶ πῦρ οὐ καθαρτήριον, 36,17 **واعرف** ايضا نارا اخرى) which is not cleansing. As I know of two fires, so do I know two lights (37,1 Ὥσπερ δὲ πῦρ **οἶδα** διπλοῦν, οὕτω καὶ φῶς, 37,1 نورين **اعرف** وكذلك نارين **اعرف** انني وكما). When I assemble the Three by the knowledge, I see but one lamp (41,22 Ὅταν τὰ τρία συνέλω τῇ **θεωρίᾳ**,[946] 41,18 واذا جمعت الثلثة **بالمعرفة** رايت مصباحا واحدا). Why do you ask someone else about the time of your death (12,4-5 Τί παρ' ἄλλου δέῃ **μαθεῖν** τὴν ἔξοδον, 12,5-6 برحيلك غيرك من **المعرفة** تطلب لك لما) and not think of it every time as if it is present? It will be too late when they learn how much damage came to them because of their slothfulness (46,18-19 ὀψὲ **μαθοῦσαι** τὴν ζημίαν τῆς ῥαθυμίας, 46,15-16 مقدار **عرفن** ما اذا (الخسارة من تضجيعهن من عليهن اتى ما).

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[945] For its relation to teaching in the oration, see 44,1 (διδασκαλίας, تعليم), 5 (διδάσκων-μεμάθηκα, -اعلم) and 46,26 (διδάσκων-فيعلمها). تعلمت

[946] Throughout the oration, *theoria* is generally rendered as *'ilm*: 37,14 πρᾶξις γὰρ **θεωρίας** πρόξενος, 37,10 **العلم** يفيد العمل لان.

Since you cannot call someone murderer because of his will alone, how can you reckon someone as baptised while he has only the desire to have it? I cannot understand it (ليس يمكنني ان اعلم 23,23, συνιδεῖν οὐκ ἔχω 23,26-27). The children begin to be responsible for the results of their sins when their minds are mature and they know (understand) the mystery or the sacrament (28,15-16 Τοῦ μὲν βίου τὰς εὐθύνας τηνικαῦτα ὑπέχειν ἄρχονται ἡνίκα ἂν ὅ τε λόγος συμπληρωθῇ καὶ τὸ μυστήριον **μάθωσι**, 28,12-13 لان في ذلك الحين يبتدون في الحصول تحت تبعات الما اثم اذا تم لهم الكلام **ويعلموا** السر).[947] By kindling for ourselves the light of knowledge which happens when we sow goodness and reap the fruit of life since the knowledge is completed by the action, we can know other things and thus know (37,14-15 ἵνα τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τοῦτο **μάθωμεν**, 37,11 حتى نعرف الاشيا الاخرى **ونعلم** معها) which is the true light and which is the false one. When we enter (into the bride chamber), then the Bridegroom knows what He will teach and becomes acquainted with the souls that enter with Him (46,29-31 τότε **οἶδεν** ὁ νυμφίος ἃ διδάξει καὶ ἃ **συνέσται** ταῖς συνεισελθούσαις ψυχαῖς, 46,25-26 اذا صرنا داخلا كان الختن **عالما** بما يعلمه **ويعرفه** للنفوس التي تدخل معه). The last example shows how complicated[948] is the picture before us as the two Greek equivalents are used in the oration interchangeably for both Arabic verbs. Nevertheless, we will see below in our discussion of the mystical cognition as a way towards *theosis* a different side of the verb *'arafa*.

Apart from one exception, the concept of philosophising now appears in a new context that is different from the one we discussed above, i.e. sophistry. In the case I refer to, Gregory, by comparing him to the baptiser, blames the physician of philosophising about the disease after the death of his patient (11,27-28 καὶ **φιλοσοφῶν** περὶ τῆς νόσου μετὰ τὸν θάνατον, 11,21 **ويتفلسف** في مرضك بعد وفاتك). In the other occurrences of the verb, we find it as "contemplating" or "deep thinking" in the positive meaning of the term:[949]

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[947] Therefore, the circumcision on the eight day should be thought as a seal since the circumcised children do not have a mature mind (28,7 **ἀλογίστοις** ἔτι, 28,6-7 قوم افكارهم غير تامة).
[948] One should also see this rendering of γνῶ as اتعلم: Show me your cleansing so that I may recognise (34,3 ἵνα γνῶ, 34,3 حتى اتعلم) how greater this cleansing is from the purification of the Law.
[949] *Falsafa* is the Arabised form of the Greek *philosophia*. We learn from Muslim historians that, in ancient Greek society, scholars (*'ulamā*) were called *falāsifa*, which means "muḥibb al-ḥikma" (lover of ḥikma) in its singular form (*faylasūf*). Yaman, 207. For the designation of St Cyprian as *faylasūf*, see the

Philosophising about the two births, I mean, the first (the natural birth) and the last (the Resurrection), is not our concern at that moment (3,2 **φιλοσοφεῖν** οὐ τοῦ παρόντος καιροῦ, 3,1-2 **فالتفلسف** ... فليس هو من شان هذا الوقت). However, we must think (speak) about (11,4 **φιλοσοφήσωμεν**, 11,3 **فنتفلسف**) the second (middle) birth (baptism, illumination) as it gives its name to the Feast of Lights. As your priest, I am the builder of your ship and house but this does not mean that you have less share in safety because you did not think upon it (43,18 εἰ καὶ μηδὲν περὶ ταῦτα πεφιλοπόνηκας (**πεφιλοσόφηκας**)[950], 43,14 لم **تتفلسف** في هذه الاشيا).

As we have partly seen in his discussion of children's baptism, for Gregory, being fully conscious of the meaning and power of baptism is the most important thing in the process of deification. In other words, *theosis* is possible only with a fully functioning mind: Proceed to the gift while you are master of your thoughts and you are not sick in body or in mind such that people around you do not think differently though you are free from it (being of unsound mind) (11,13-15 Ἕως ἔτι τῶν **λογισμῶν** κύριος εἶ ... ἕως οὔπω νοσεῖς καὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν **διάνοιαν**,[951] ἢ δοκεῖς οὕτω τοῖς παροῦσι, κἂν **σωφρονῇς**,[952] 11,9-11 عند ما دمت رب **فكرك**[953] ... ما دمت لم تمرض بعد جسما ولا **فكرا** ولا يظن بك هكذا

Arabic translation of Oration 24. Grand'Henry, "La version arabe du discours 24 de Grégoire de Nazianze: Édition critique, commentaires et traduction," 236. Similarly, those like Athanasius who "before the time exercise their heavenly citizenship" are called *faylasūfan* and *muḥibban lillāh* (philosophers/contemplatives and lovers of God) in the Arabic version of Oration 21. See also the expressions "the most philosophic intellect" (العقل ... الفلسفة القوي) and "the true philosophy" (التفلسف الصادق) in the same oration. Grand'Henry, ed. *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua I: Oratio XXI (Arab. 20)*, 72, 5-6. For the distinction between "faylasūf 'alā l-taḥqīq" ("an investigating philosopher" or "true" or "real philosopher") and "mutafalsif" (literally means "who philosophises" but often used in a pejorative sense, "pseudo" or "would-be philosopher") in 'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl's *Kitāb al-manfa'a*, see Treiger, "'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī," 93-94.

[950] Mss *VpD*, group *m*. See, Nazianze, *Discours 38-41*, 300.

[951] As in the Arabic version of *Posterior Analytics* 1.33.89b,7, *dianoia* is generally rendered as *dhihn* in Arabic philosophy. Davidson, 100. We find *dhihn* in the Arabic translation of Oration 24 in which St Cyprian is said to have been "an intellectual teacher" (*PG* 35.1188A Ἀλείπτης ... γίνεται, 15,3 كان مرشحا **بذهن**) who fought for faith through his discourses. Grand'Henry, "La version arabe du discours 24 de Grégoire de Nazianze: Édition critique, commentaires et traduction", 272.

[952] See also these other references to "being of sound mind" and "being wise": 26,30-31 κἂν ᾖς **σοφώτατος**, 26,24-25 ان كنت **حكيما** (Distinguish the material in the wax if you are wise); 42,12-13 ἤκουσα τῶν **σοφῶν** τινος λέγοντος, 42,9 وقد سمعت ذلك من بعض **الحكما** (As I heard one of the wise say). See also the Arabic version of Oration 24 for the use of *ḥukamā* as the equivalent of *σοφούς*. Grand'Henry, "La version arabe du discours 24 de Grégoire de Nazianze: Édition critique, commentaires et traduction," 253.

[953] Black describes *fikr* or thinking in Avicenna as follows: "Thinking itself –in the normal everyday sense of discursive reasoning– is essentially a hybrid activity equally dependent on the capacities of the intellect and the sensitive soul". Black, D. L. Imagination, Particular Reason, and Memory: The Role of the Internal Senses in Human Cognition. Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 19 February 2010. [Online] Available at: http://individual.utoronto.ca/dlblack/articles/ImagPartRweb.pdf [Accessed: 3 March 2012]

(من يخضر وان كنت **معافا**). Why do you wait (to be baptised) for time and not for true reasoning (12,1-2 Τί καιρὸν ἀλλ᾽ οὐ **λογισμόν**; 12,2 **فكرا صالحا** ولا تنتظر زمانا تنتظر لك **لما**?) I think all intelligent and sensible people will agree with me (22,8-9 οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συνθήσεσθαι **τοὺς νοῦν ἔχοντας**, 22,6-7 **العقول وذوي اولي** عليه ساير يوافقني انه ظني وفي **الالباب**[954]) when I explain that having only the desire to be baptised is not enough for having the gift. In the judgement of those who reason maturely (27,17 παρὰ **τοῖς τελείως λογιζομένοις**, 27,15-16 **ذلك حسنا** يتبين[955] **من** عند), there is someone greater than Solomon. In the life to come, those who are prudent (46,12-13 ὅσαι **φρόνιμοι**, 46,11 **النفوس العاقلات** and 13 **العاقلات مبادرات**) will meet Him and go with Him immediately to the bride chamber.

In view of all of this, it is not surprising to find Gregory severely criticising those who do not use their minds wisely: Those who are not altogether of a huckstering mind can (21,12-13 τῷ μὴ πάντη **καπηλικῷ τὴν διάνοιαν**, 21,12 **المتاجرة في فكره** شديد يكن لم من) understand that being able to work is itself a blessing. Those who know and honour the gift but put it off either through laziness or through greed deprive themselves of the gift not because of their wrong belief but because of their lack of reasoning (23,18 ἢ **ἀνοίᾳ**, 23,16 **بنقص في عقولهم** بل).[956] Those who measure Godhead badly (42,6 παρὰ τοῖς κακῶς θεότητα ταλαντεύουσιν, 42,4-5 **الذين يزنون اللاهوت وزنا رديا**) are men of despicable and

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(page 4). For the rendering of *dianoian* as *al-fikr nataṣawwaru*, see Grand'Henry, "La version arabe du discours 24 de Grégoire de Nazianze: Édition critique, commentaires et traduction," 242.

[954] *Lubb* (pl. *albāb*) has meanings ranging from "seed" or "core" to "mind" or "intellect". It is not surprising to find *lubb*, which also means "heart", referring to an intuitive thinking instead of a discursive reasoning. Therefore, it is again not surprising that it appeared in the writings of Ikhwān al-Ṣafā and al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī but was not preferred by the Muslim theorists. Al-Ghazālī, *On Disciplining the Soul, Book 22*, xviii. For the same phrase (*dhū-lubb wa-ʿaql*), see Khoury, 29, 24, 13 (Ar.).

[955] *Bayyana* and its cognates appear particularly within the concept of the *iʿjāz* of the Qurʾān and the clearness of its message. *Bayyina* is a clear evidence but not a demonstration as we see in Avicenna's discussion of self-awareness (*shuʿūr*) in terms of *idrāk* (apprehension) and innate knowledge. Black, "Avicenna on Self-Awareness and Knowing That One Knows," 66-67. For the significance of *shuʿūr* in the cognitive operations of the soul as well as its role in the conjunction with the Active Intellect, see Black, "Avicenna on Self-Awareness and Knowing That One Knows," 64, 85.

[956] For the rendering of the expression in French as "à cause d'une déficienne dans leurs *esprits*", see Grand'Henry, ed. *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua III: Oratio XL (Arab. 4)*, 94. (emphasis mine) In *Timaeus* (86b-90d), Plato treats spiritual illnesses which are called ἄνοια (lack of reason) in general and divided into two groups, μανία (madness) and ἀμαθία (ignorance). In the philosophical consolation literature to which the contribution of some Arab Christian writers such as Elias al-Jawharī, Sāwīrus ibn al-Muqaffaʿ and Elias of Nisibis is significant, sadness is thought to be the result of "an epistemic defect [or] false opinion". Thérèse-Anne Druart, "Philosophical Consolation in Christianity and Islam: Boethius and Al-Kindi," *Topoi* 19 (2000): 25-26. For this literature, see Sidney H. Griffith, *The Beginnings of Christian Theology in Arabic: Muslim-Christian Encounters in the Early Islamic Period*, 111-127.

lower minds[957] (42,8-9 τοῖς ταπεινοῖς καὶ κάτω κειμένοις, 42,6 بهذه الاشيا الدنية المستسفلة).
They make the Son inferior to the Father and the Spirit to the Son and thus both God and creation are insulted by this false discourse on the divinity (42,11 τῇ καινῇ ταύτῃ θεολογιᾳ, 42,7-8 بهذا الكلام الباطل في اللاهوت).[958] If there is any unreasoning beast from the heretics (45,7 Εἰ δέ τι θηρίον αἱρετικὸν καὶ **ἀλόγιστον**,[959] 45,5-6 وحش من الهراطقة **لا تمييز عنده**) around you, let him remain below or ruined when stoned by the word of the truth. In the next life, those whose (earthly) minds are blind (45,43 τυφλώττουσι τὸ **ἡγεμονικόν**, 45,30 للذين قد عمهت **عقولهم**)[960] will have darkness and estrangement from God in proportion to the blindness in their minds (45,44 ἀμβλυωπίας, 45,31 عمى عشي **عقله**). Those who are late for the feast and shut out from the bride chamber are called by Ibrāhīm *al-jāhilāt* (46,12 and 14) or *the ignorant ones*.

Besides the references given above to mind *('aql)* and thinking *(fikr)*, there are some other words used to denote different types of thinking. It is possible to arrange them in two groups. First, we will present verbs such as ta'ammala (*ta'ammul*), tafakkara (*tafakkur*), adraka (*idrāk*), fahima (*fahm*), taṣawwara (*taṣawwur*), qaddara (*taqdīr*), ḥakama (*ḥukm*) and ẓanna (*ẓann*) that refer to different aspects of thinking. Then we

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[957] See also paragraph 25, for the expression "having a low spirit" or "thinking basely" "in [the discussion of] great matters" (25,32-33 (Μὴ μικρολογοῦ περὶ τὰ μεγάλα) μηδὲν ἀγεννὲς πάθης, 25,27 صغر نفس في الجلايل).

[958] In the Arabic translations of Gregory's orations, theology is generally rendered as *kalām*, which is in fact the technical name for the Islamic theology. It is known that in the early Arabic translations from Greek the transcribed form of *theologia* was preferred as in the *Theology of Aristotle* in which we find *uṭūlūjiyā* annotated as "qawl 'alā l-rubūbīya" (discourse on lordship/Godhead). For the rendering of *theologia* as "kalimat ilāhiyya" or "lafẓat ilāhiyya" in the Arabic translation of the *Mystical Theology*, see Treiger, "The Arabic Version of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite's Mystical Theology, Chapter 1: Introduction, Critical Edition, and Translation," 368, 373, 392. When used to denote rhetoric or dialectics, *kalām* is distinguished with the addition of *ṣinā'a* in the Arabic version of Oration 24: *PG* 35.1176A τῶν λόγων οἰκείωσιν, 5, صناعة الكلام. Grand'Henry, "La version arabe du discours 24 de Grégoire de Nazianze: Édition critique, commentaires et traduction," 246, 270. One should remember here the connection drawn by al-Fārābī between theology and dialectical reasoning which cannot reach the certainty attained by scholars and philosophers through demonstrative reasoning. Yaman, 238.

[959] Gregory adds the expression "oppressed with unreason" (27,37-38 καὶ **ἀλογίᾳ** πιεζομένην, 27,33 معاقبة **بعدم النطق**) to Isaiah 32:20 (Blessed is he that sows beside all waters, and upon every soul, tomorrow to be ploughed and watered, which today the ox and the ass tread, while it is dry and without water). In the Arabic version of the *Mystical Theology*, one finds ἄλογος used in its first sense (speechless) (عادمة للكلمة) while the meaning "without reason" or "unreasoning" is given as "'ādima li-l-'aql" (ἄνους). Treiger, "The Arabic Version of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite's Mystical Theology, Chapter 1: Introduction, Critical Edition, and Translation," 372.

[960] In the *Treatise on the Veneration of Images*, we find Theodore Abū Qurra describing his imaginary Jewish interlocutor as "coarse" and "stupid" due to the "[deep] blindness … seated in his *heart*". Griffith, "Theodore Abu Qurra's Arabic Tract on the Christian Practice of Venerating Images," 61.

will have a look at words like naẓara (*naẓar*), bayyana (*bayān*), ʿaqala (*ʿaql*) and qiyās, which refer to discursive reasoning. What is interesting about these words is the fact that they all have a place in the discussions of medieval Arabic philosophers about cognition and its role in human perfection. Here is the first group: It is necessary to reflect on what is said (1,10-11 **Προσέχειν** δὲ ἄξιον τοῖς λεγομένοις, 1,8-9 ان نتامل المقولات). Why do not you always think of death as if you see (experience) it (12,4 ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς **ἤδη** παραύσης **διανοήσῃ**, 12,6[962] ولا **تفكر**[961] فيه كل وقت كانه قد ادركك) ? God is the highest light who is not grasped by the mind (5,2 οὔτε **νῷ καταληπτὸν**, 5,1 لا يدركه عقل). I cannot grasp the greatness of the One (One of the Three but as the Whole) (41,21 οὐκ ἔχω τὸ μέγεθος τούτου **καταλαβεῖν**, 41,17-18 ليس يمكنني ان ادرك عظمة هذا). The first light is conceived in the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit (5,7-8 Φῶς δὲ λέγω τὸ ἐν Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ καὶ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι **θεωρούμενον**, 5,5-6 بالنور الضو **المفهوم** في الاب والابن والروح القدس). When each of them is contemplated, the Three is One God (41,15 Θεὸν τὰ τρία σὺν ἀλλήλοις **νοούμενα**, 41,11-12 فاذا **فهمت** الثلثة بعضها مع بعض). Even though they (children at the age of three years) do not perfectly understand it (baptism), they may yet know the outlines (28,12-13 εἰ καὶ μὴ **συνιέντα** τελέως, ἀλλ' οὖν τυπούμενα, 28,10-11 وان كان لا **يفهمونه** بالكلية فانه رسم لهم). How excellent is imagining (think) (34,15 καλὴν εὐπορίαν **εἰδέναι**, 34,11[963] وما اجود لك ان **تتصور**) the poverty for the sake of Christ who became very poor for our sakes. Some worshipped the image of the star and considered it god (42,19 τοῦ μικρὸν ὑπὲρ ταῦτα θεοῦ τοῖς εἰδωλολάτραις, 42,13 ومن عبدها **وتصورها** الاها). Let us kindle for ourselves the light of the knowledge so that the evil does not escape from us when we encounter it and think that it is good (37,16 καὶ μὴ λάθωμεν περιπεσόντες, ὡς καλῷ, τῷ χείρονι, 37,12 ولا يخفى عنا ان نلقي الشر **فنقدره** الخير). "If you judge" (23,23 εἰ **κρίνεις**, 23,21 ان كنت **تحكم**)[964], "I suppose" (22,8 **οἶμαι** δὲ, 22,6 وفي

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[961] You might be forgiven for taking refuge in such thoughts (arguments) (21,9-10 [...] πρὸς τοὺς τοιούτους [...] **λογισμοὺς**, 21,10 الى مثل هذه **الافكار**). For Avicenna, *al-mufakkira* is the cogitative faculty, which is the compositive imagination (*al-mutakhayyila*) that is under the control of the intellect. It is thinking that deals with syllogistic reasoning and propositions. Black, "Psychology: Soul and Intellect," 315.

[962] Avicenna describes *idrāk* or perception as "grasping (akhdh) of the form of the thing apprehended in some way". Ibid., 312.

[963] In Arabic philosophy, *taṣawwur* and *al-muṣawwira* mean "conceptualisation" and "the formative faculty", respectively. We also know that τὸ νοεῖν (De anima 3.5) was rendered by Arabic philosophers as "taṣawwur bi-al-ʿaql" or "intellectual conceptualisation" which reminds the traditional distinction between *taṣdīq* (assent) and *taṣawwur*. Black, "Knowledge (ʿIlm) and Certitude (Yaqīn) in al-Fārābī's Epistemology," 5, 22.

[964] The judgemental or critical faculty of the soul, which is identified with estimation, is called by Avicenna *al-ḥākim*. Black, "Estimation (Wahm) in Avicenna: The Logical and Psychological Dimensions," 228.

انه [965] ظنّي) and "I think [it refers to]" (39,25 οἶμαι, 39,17 اظنه or 46,31 ὥς οἶμαι, 46,26 اظن) are the other uses of these verbs.

And here is the second group: There is a risk of your losing the capital through your speculation (argument)[966] (21,15 ζημιοῖ, 21,14 [967] نظرك) for the worthless small things. I have another opinion (about the connection between having the desire to have baptism and really having it) (23,23 Σκοπῶ δὲ κἀκεῖνο, 23,21 وانا انظر ايضا نظرا اخر)[968]. Each (of the Three) is God when considered in Himself (41,13 Θεὸν ἕκαστον καθ᾽ ἑαυτο θεωρούμενον, 41,10 كل واحد منها الاه اذا ما نظر اليه بعينه). If you do like this (confess your sins), you make clear (27,10 δείξῃς, 27,10 بيّنت) that you really hate sin. When I comprehend (41,17 νοῆσαι, 41,14 [969] اعقل) the One (the Unity), than I am illumined by

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[965] Ẓann or assumption, together with jahl (ignorance) and shakk (doubt), is the opposite of knowledge.

[966] One should consider the following sentence: "Come to my words, abandon these **discussions**" (15-16, φέρε, τοῖς ἐμοῖς πείσθητι λόγοις, 15 فهات ارجع الى كلامي واترك هذه المحاورات.

[967] Naẓar means "thinking" and "view" or "opinion", while naẓarī refers to "theoretical" as in al-'ulūm al-naẓariyya or theoretical sciences. Theōreō is translated as naẓar in the Arabic version of the Mystical Theology. Treiger, "The Arabic Version of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite's Mystical Theology, Chapter 1: Introduction, Critical Edition, and Translation," 392. Given the fact that theōria and 'ilm refer to "contemplation" in the Gregorian corpus, it is not surprising to find theatrikos as the opposite of theōrētikos rendered by Ibrāhīm as naẓarī which also means "visual": Orat. 44 9,6-7 قد كنت بالامس نظريا فكن اليوم **علميا**. Tuerlinckx, ed. Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua II: Orationes I, XLV, XLIV (Arab. 9, 10, 11), 272-273. This is in line with the fact that, together with 'aql, naẓar symbolises the rational or discursive thinking.

[968] See also, paragraph twenty-eight: 10, Σκοπῶ, 9 وانا انظر ايضا في شي اخر.

[969] In Arabic philosophy, 'aql is the equivalent of Aristotle's nous which is the knowledge of the first principles of epistēmē or scientific knowledge ('ilm). Black, "Knowledge ('Ilm) and Certitude (Yaqīn) in Al-Fārābī's Epistemology," 11,15. It is therefore related to critical inquiry or "research" (baḥth) and "investigation" (faḥs) which is, for al-Fārābī, one of the ways that leads to the "causes of sensible things" (asbāb al-ashyā' al-maḥsūsa). Fārābī, Alfarabi: Philosophy of Plato and Aristotle, trans. M. Mahdī (Cornell University Press, 2001), 72. We find these two concepts in Oration 21 in which God, who is the highest of the objects of thought, is described as the (highest) object of the "most philosophic, penetrating intellect which is capable of research and investigation": ولا ذلك العقل الشديد الفلسفة القوي في النفاذ المقتدر على **البحث** **والفحص**. Grand'Henry, ed. Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua I: Oratio XXI (Arab. 20), 5. For the distinction in Sadrian philosophy between the discursive (baḥth-dianoia) and the intuitive philosophy (ta'alluh-noesis) in the context of theosis or ta'alluh, see the following pages. For the al-ḥikma al-dhawqiyya–al-ḥikma al-baḥthiyya distinction in Avicenna, see Treiger, Inspired Knowledge in Islamic Thought (Chapter 3, Tasting, 84). Al-Fārābī followed Aristotle who, in Met. XII, 1074b34, described the Unmoved Mover as "nous, noesis, noeseos" in calling the First "'aql, 'āqil, ma'qūl". Majid Fakhry, Al-Fārābī: Founder of Islamic Neoplatonism: His Life, Works and Influence (London: Oneworld, 2002), 28, 81. Similarly, Gregory's rational hierarchy begins with God who comprehends and contemplates Himself and continues with angels or the pure intellectual beings: Orat. 45 2,22-23 ان الملايكة هم المقربون **العقليون** الطاهرون. Tuerlinckx, ed. Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua II: Orationes I, XLV, XLIV (Arab. 9, 10, 11), 48. The third nature or light (man) is called 'āqil. Moreover, the intelligible world (المعقولات) is described in a language of 'aql which also appears in the depiction of the next life (العاقلات). For the "intelligible and sublime Jerusalem" (Orat. 24,15 PG 35.1188B τὴν νοουμένην Ἰερουσαλὴμ, اورشليم المعقولة العالية), see Grand'Henry, "La version arabe du discours 24 de Grégoire de Nazianze: Édition critique, commentaires et traduction," 274. For the translation of 'aql, 'aqlī, 'aqliyyāt

the Three. As I know two kinds of fire, I also know two lights, one of which is the ruling faculty (in us) (37,2 ἡγεμονικοῦ, 37,1-2 العقل المستولي).[970] If the fear of losing the gift keeps you from becoming a Christian,[971] this is a thought, which is based on a confused reasoning or analogy (16,6 παραφρονοῦντος ὁ λογισμός, 16,5 [972] فكرة من اختلط قياسه). What David meant by a clean heart and a right spirit is, I think, the thinking (reasoning)[973] (39,24 τὸ διανοητικόν, 39,18 الفكر) and its movements and reasoning (39,25 ἢ διανοήματα, 39,18 وحركاته وقياساته).[974]

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and *maʿqūl* as *nous* and its cognates in the Arabic version of the *Mystical Theology*, see Treiger, "The Arabic Version of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite's Mystical Theology, Chapter 1: Introduction, Critical Edition, and Translation," 392. For the Ghazalian understanding of *ʿaql* as "a quality of heart" or "a light cast into the heart" rather than an "entity", see Treiger, *Inspired Knowledge in Islamic Thought* (Chapter 1, *Intellect*, 12-12, 17).

[970] See also, paragraph 45:43 τυφλώττουσι τὸ ἡγεμονικόν, 30 عمهت عقولهم (whose minds are blind). *Hegemonikon* is a Stoic concept, which can be understood as *noesis*. J. Annas, *Hellenistic Philosophy of Mind* (University of California Press, 1992), 54, 64. It is rather the rational governing principle of both the intellectual and practical life. Keith Campbell, "Self-Mastery and Stoic Ethics," *Philosophy* 60, no. 233 (1985): 328. It is best understood in the progressive scheme of human development adopted by the Stoics (الرواقيين). According to this scheme, *hegemonikon* (جزء النفس الرئيس), which is in the heart (or in the head), is at the beginning a *tabula rasa* that is ready to take *ennoiōn* (notions) (الافكار) through *aisthēseōn* (senses) (الحواس). Then experience (حنكة) is formed through *fantasiōn* (images) and *mnēmēn* (memories) (تذاكر). Thus, *prolēpseis* or preconceptions (ادراكات وتفسيرات) arise naturally and form the reason (النطق) at the age of seven. Trieger, *Inspired Knowledge in Islamic Thought* (*Notes*, Note 45, 90-92). For Qusṭā's Arabic translation of this part, see H. Daiber, *Aetius Arabus* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1980), 198. For al-Fārābī's description in *Madīnah* of the heart as the ruling faculty of the body and his likening of the brain to a steward (both rules and is ruled), see Bonelli, 150-151. For the translation of τὸ ἡγεμονικόν (*PG* 36.628A) as رياسة العقل (3,10) in the Arabic version of Oration 45, see Tuerlinckx, ed. *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua II: Orationes I, XLV, XLIV (Arab. 9, 10, 11)*, 54-55.

[971] هل من هذه الجهة تهرب ان تكون نصرانيا 16,4 Ἆρ' οὖν διὰ τοῦ φεύξῃ καὶ τὸ γενέσθαι Χριστιανός;, 16,4-5. Sidney Griffith draws attention to the adoption of the Qurʾānic name for Christians by Arab Christian writers, al-Naṣārā, which he thinks might refer to the Nazarenes and reminds the use of another name, the non-Qurʾānic word, al-Masīḥiyyūn. Griffith, "Theology and the Arab Christian: The Case of the 'Melkite' Creed," 42. For the use of these two terms, see also the tenth-century Melkite creed in Sinai Arabic MS 453, ff. 1ʳ-13ʸ.

[972] Although it is also known as a method in *fiqh* and *ḥadīth*, the first thing that comes to mind when one thinks of *qiyās* is logic. In general terms, it refers to syllogistic procedure.

[973] In paragraph nineteen, διαλέχθητι and διαλεχθήσομαι are rendered as قل (tell) and اقول (I tell) while the context also allows the use of the word in its second meaning, i.e. to reason. Cf. the English translation.

[974] It is clear that there is a stress on *qiyās*, which is, in fact, together with *ḥarakātuhu*, an addition to *dionētikon* in the Arabic text. One should be reminded here of the importance given by the Baghdad Aristotelians to logic in their treatments of the human perfection. For al-Fārābī, "formal logical methods" or the "Aristotelian demonstrative science" is the only way to the certain "knowledge". Black, "Al-Fārābī on Meno's Paradox," 29. Either in *Tahdhīb* or in his treatise about logic (*Maqāla fī'l-buḥūth al-arbaʿa al-ʿilmiyya ʿan ṣināʿat al-manṭiq*), Ibn ʿAdī describes logic as an essential of salvation or "complete happiness" which is acquired by the knowledge attained through "inference, syllogism and proof" or logic. This is in line with his ethics that is linked to his epistemology. Therefore, it is not surprising to find him emphasising on the acquisition of the rational sciences and the exercise of reason as the essential means of the perfection of the rational soul. Netton, 55-58. It is worth noting that *Tahdhīb* ends with this prayer: "Praised be the One who endows the intellect always and forever, amen" (والمجد لواهب العقل دائما ابدا. آمين). Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī, *The Reformation of Morals: A Parallel Arabic-English Text*, trans., Sidney H. Griffith (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 2002), 119 (27 Ar.). Al-Takriti, one of the writers on *Tahdhīb*, underlines that in this work "fikr wa tamyīz" (cogitation and discernment) appears

One of the most interesting contributions of the Arabic version of Oration 40 to our understanding of *theosis* or *ta'alluh* is the references to an emanationist cosmology in which the human perfection is understood as the final stage of an intellectual ascent to the First Intellect or Light. As noted by Netton,[975] emanation is a way of understanding the connection between the corporeal and the incorporeal or the transcendent. Avicenna's theory of emanation is a good example of this, as it appears to be an explanation for the relationship between the First Cause and a plural universe, whose plurality comes from the plural thoughts of the incorporeal intelligences. Al-Fārābī and Avicenna found the immortality of human beings in the notion of a conjunction with the Active Intellect and in a eudaemonic state that comes with this conjunction. These philosophers assumed a hierarchy of (human) intellects that begins with the material or potential intellect and continues with the intellect inhabitu and the actual intellect. The last stage or the acquired intellect symbolises a state in which the human intellect becomes somehow united with the Active Intellect. The four stages or states of the human intellect are called by Avicenna as follows: isti'dād (disposition), bil-malaka (in habitu), kamāliyya ("complete potentiality") and mustafād ("unqualified actuality").[976]

Al-Fārābī's emanationist universe consists of the celestial spheres with a rational soul and a mover whose movements represent its desire to reflect the perfection of the First Cause. The First Intelligence emanates (*yafīḍ*) from the First Cause eternally. The Tenth Intellect, which is called the Active (or the Agent) Intellect (*al-'aql al-fa''āl*) represents the last stage in the chain of intelligences[977] and is responsible for the passage of the human intellect from potentiality to actuality.[978] For al-Fārābī, the most excellent object

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more frequently than *'aql* and it is not possible to find a strict definition of reason. Netton, 58. We think that it is because of the ethical character of the work as ethics is related to the sensible world and therefore needs the mediation of the internal senses like *fikr* and *tamyīz* more than pure reasoning. One should remember here that *Tahdhīb* is a short book or a kind of *adab* work but not a theoretical work on ethics. For *qiyās* in its first meaning (analogy), see paragraph twenty: 33-34 ἀντιμετρουμένης, 27, اقسيت. For the Ghazalian description of *'ilm* or knowledge in terms of its dependence on *qiyās* and *burhān* (demonstration), see Treiger, *Inspired Knowledge in Islamic Thought* (Chapter 3, *Tasting*, 18, 20).

[975] Netton, 33.
[976] Davidson, 75, 6, 84-85.
[977] The intellectual beings or the "angelic intellectual substances" (*al-jawāhir al-malakiyyat al-'aqliyya*) stands above the celestial spherical beings. Yaman, 256.
[978] Davidson, 44-46.

of human thought is God who comprehends (*ya'qil*) Himself or His essence.[979] In the Arabic version of Gregory's orations, we find these two notions, i.e. God as the excellent object of human thought and God contemplating Himself as well as the technical term for emanation (*yafīḍ, fayḍ*): Orat. 21 *PG* 35.1084B αὐτὸς τῶν νοουμένων ἐστὶ τὸ ἀκρότατον, 1,18 وهو مع ذاك اشرف المعقولات [980] God contemplates and comprehends Himself (5,6-7 αὐτὸ ἑαυτοῦ **θεωρητικόν** τε καὶ **καταληπτικόν**, 5,4-5 عارف بذاته مدرك لها) and thus pours (Himself) out upon what is external to Him (5,7 ὀλίγα τοῖς ἔξω **χεόμενον**, 5,5 ويفيض من ذلك اليسير الى خارج).

However, for al-Fārābī, the human comprehension of God is not as comprehensive as His knowledge but only limited as the intellect is "dazzled" by God's "beauty" and "splendour".[981] Yet drawing close to the Active Intellect is possible when one becomes purified from the matter and turns towards this Intellect.[982] In Gregory's words, God presents Himself to us in proportion to our purification (5,4 ὅσον ἂν **καθαιρώμεθα**, **φανταζόμενον**, 5,3 بحسب ما نتطهر يتصورلنا) and we love Him in proportion as He is presented to us (5,4-5 καὶ ὅσον ἂν **φαντασθῶμεν**, ἀγαπώμενον, 5,3-4 وبقدر ما يتصور لنا نشتاق). And as we love Him (5,5 καὶ ὅσον ἂν ἀγαπήσωμεν, 5,4 وبقدر ما يتاق اليه), we turn to Him and comprehend Him alone (5,6 αὖθις **νοούμενον**, 5,4-5 نعود فنعقل هو وحده).[983] Al-Fārābī describes the state (*ḥalla fī*) of the "philosopher and a man of practical wisdom (*muta'aqqil*)" as the human perfection in which the soul becomes "conjoined" (*ittaṣala*) and united (*muttaḥid*) as it were" and reaches "close to the degree of" (or "closest degree to") the Active Intellect.[984]

The Active Intellect is the "cause of the imprinting of something" in the "rational part of the soul" which is the "first notions (*'ulūm* or *ma'ārif*) and first intelligible thoughts".

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[979] Yaman, 239.
[980] Grand'Henry, ed. *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua I: Oratio XXI (Arab. 20)*, 4.
[981] Yaman, 244.
[982] Davidson, 49.
[983] Unlike the editor, we accept the reading of *Mi* (نعود فنعقل) here.
[984] Davidson, 51-53.

Al-Fārābī employs the analogy of light (ḍaw')[985] to explain the way the Active Intellect gives man "a power or principle whereby he strives or can strive by himself, toward whatever perfections remain for him". This understanding of human perfection (*eudaemonia*[986] or *sa'āda*) even before the death of the body seems to be purely intellectual. Therefore, the state of the acquired intellect refers to the stage wherein the intellect acquires "all" or "most" of the intelligible thoughts it can reach by way of abstraction.[987] In fact, it is possible to understand conjunction as the actualised state of man's cognitive abilities or powers.[988] Similarly, Avicenna thinks that learning is turning towards the Active Intellect to be united with it and to reflect the intelligibles that are stored in it in the human intellect.[989] The intellectual character of the conjunction[990] with the Active Intellect makes itself felt all the more strongly in Avicenna's treatment of the internal senses, particularly the cogitative faculty.[991]

Avicenna rejects the thought that the acquired intellect of man is in fact the Active Intellect which becomes united with him and takes the place of his actual intellect on two grounds: an incorporeal being cannot be limited and the human intellect cannot possess "all intelligible thoughts and be ignorant of nothing".[992] Similarly, al-Ghazālī[993]

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[985] From *Alfarabi's Abhandlung*, ed. Dieterici, pp. 44-45 quoted in Bruce Eastwood, "Al-Fārābī on Extramission, Intromission, and the Use of Platonic Visual Theory," *Isis* 70, no. 3 (1979): 424:

> […] The agent that translates the intelligible from potentiality to actuality is an essence, the substance of which is an intellect both actual and immaterial. This intellect confers on the material intellect, which is only potential intellect, some thing corresponding to the illumination which the sun gives to vision … Thus by the light dispensed from the sun the vision becomes actually seeing and actually fit to see […].

[986] *Eudaemonia* is a state in which the *daemon* or the mind (*nous*), in Plato's words, is "in good shape". Bonelli, 71.

[987] Davidson, 50-53, 57, 69.

[988] Fakhry, 29.

[989] Deborah L. Black, "Avicenna on the Ontological and Epistemic Status of Fictional Beings," *Documenti e studi sulla tradizione filosofica medievale* 8 (1997): 439.

[990] Although they thought that asceticism (*al-tanassuk*) is the essential element of perfection, like their contemporaries, who were under the strong influence of Aristotelianism, al-'Assāl (13th c.) brothers drew attention to mind and contemplation, which consequently originated the thought of a union with God in contemplation. Departing from the Aristotelian equation of the mind with the comprehended thing, they suggested that by comprehending (*mutaṣawwara*) God, humans reflect the image of God in their minds, which are created in this very image (*ṣūra*), and become united (*muttaḥidan*) with God in the level of attributes not in hypostasis as it happened in the Incarnation. S. J. Davis, *Coptic Christology in Practice: Incarnation and Divine Participation in Late Antique and Medieval Egypt*, 263.

[991] Davidson, 96. Yaman remarks as follows: "Fārābī [thus] reduces everything to Intellect. Fārābī's God is no longer a Creator of the universe from nothing, nor does He create by His will. Rather, it is a result of His self-contemplation; an emanation (*fayḍ*) from Him occurs by itself; He is the Intellect that intellects Itself." Yaman, 249.

[992] Davidson, 86.

rejects the indwelling (*ḥulūl*) in or the union of the object of knowledge with the heart and talks about its impression or "image" reflected in the heart.[994] Avicenna describes the acquired intellect as man's "perfection" (*kamāl*) and the "ultimate end" of all the faculties of the soul.[995] Black notes that *kamāl* –a technical term in the Arabic philosophy– is the equivalent of *entelekheia*, which appears in the Aristotelian description of the soul as the "first perfection of a natural body".[996] However, it is known that in the Arabic versions of the Aristotelian corpus *teleiotēs*, *telos* and *entelekheia* were most frequently translated as *tamām*.[997] We find an example of this in our text: Baptism or illumination is the perfection of the mind (3,10-11 τὸ φώτισμα ... νοῦ τελείωσις, 3,6-7 تمام العقل ... الاستنارة). By rendering *teleiōsis* as *tamām*, Ibrāhīm seems to be aware of the history behind the translation of the Greek term into Arabic. Despite the use of *tamām* both for *teleiotēs* and for *entelekheia*, it was most often used for the previous one as the progress from *tamām* to *istikmāl* in the translation of the latter[998] particularly demonstrates. *Tamām* and *kamāl* appear in Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī's description of the perfect man or *al-insān al-tāmm* who "more resembles the angels than he does mankind" and who "longs passionately for the form of perfection" (*li-ṣūrat al-kamāl*).[999]

Both al-Fārābī[1000] and Avicenna do not clearly express whether the conjunction with the Active Intellect[1001] or the human perfection is possible in this life.[1002] This is the

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[993] It is not possible to find an explicit expression of emanation in al-Ghazālī; however, his references to a hierarchy of lights and the relationship between the intellect and the "supernal region" as well as his use of a language of illumination suggest an emanationist view of human perfection, which finds the highest faculty of human beings in the intellect. Ibid., 135-137, 144.

[994] Treiger, *Inspired Knowledge in Islamic Thought* (Chapter 1, *Knowledge*, 85)

[995] Davidson, 86.

[996] Black, "Avicenna on Self-Awareness and Knowing That One Knows," 83.

[997] Robert Wisnovsky, "Avicenna and the Avicennian Tradition," 102. For the analysis of the Arabic terms used for *telos*, *teleiotēs* and *entelekheia* in the Arabic translations of the Graceo-Arabic translators and the role played by these terms in the discussions of the causation and cosmology, see Wisnovsky, *Avicenna's Metaphysics in Context*, 99-114.

[998] Wisnovsky, *Avicenna's Metaphysics in Context*, 105.

[999] Griffith, "The 'Philosophical Life' in Tenth Century Baghdad: The Contribution of Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī's Kitāb tahdhīb al-akhlāq," 122.

[1000] For the scholarly discussions about the Virtuous City of al-Fārābī with special reference to the realistic, idealistic and political interpretations, see Bonelli. Bonelli's study offers an overall look at the motives behind the different approaches to Arabic philosophy in general. Her research question borrowed from H. Landolt's ("Henry Corbin", 489) suggestion according to which it is possible to think al-Fārābī as both "a political philosopher and a Neoplatonist" is important for our understanding of Gregory and the message he brought to the Melkite community in Antioch. Following the majority of the scholars of al-

question to which we seek the answer; but it is not yet possible to reach a conclusion from an intellectual point of view, as we have seen in the first part of the chapter that deals with Gregory's view of *theosis* as an intellectual and mystical concept. However, it is clear that what Gregory has in mind for the deification process as a whole is an intellectual ascent to a knowledge of God, which is the highest level of human knowledge. The rational character of this process becomes clear in Gregory's interpretation of David's prayer for "a clean heart" and "a right spirit" as *mind* whose thoughts are identified as *qiyāsāt* in the Arabic version. It is also worth noting that Gregory links the eternal bliss to the purification of thoughts (45,40 τὴν διάνοιαν, 45,28 افكارهم) and being of sound mind (45,43 τὸ ἡγεμονικόν, 45,31 عقله) in this life. He also employs a terminology of "mind" and "knowledge" in his description of the next life as in the example that follows: Those who are prudent (46,12-12 ὅσαι φρόνιμοι, 46,11 العاقلات مبادرات 13, النفوس العاقلات) will meet Him and enter into the bride chamber with Him. When they go inside, the Bridegroom will teach (46,29-30 οἶδεν ... διδάξει, 46,25 عالما بما يعلمه) them perfect and brilliant things. However, we still do not know whether *theosis* is, either in this world or in the next one, reaching to the highest level of human knowledge of God or a state in which man experiences or sees Him. Therefore, it will not be possible to see the overall picture without examining the references of our text to mystical cognition and experience both as a way to *theosis* and as an end in itself.

Fārābī, Bonelli thinks that the supreme happiness as well as the virtuous city is in the intelligible world. Bonelli, 10-11, 209.

[1001] Deborah Black interprets the conjunction with the Active Intellect or a "direct cognitive union" as a "doctrine which for Islamic philosophers offered a rationalist version of intellectual blessedness". Deborah L. Black, "Reason Reflecting on Reason: Philosophy, Rationality, and the Intellect in the Medieval Islamic and Christian Traditions," *Proceedings of the American Catholic Philosophical Association* 83 (2009): 51.

[1002] Although they attributed immortality either to the intellect (or some part of it) or to the conjoined state with the Active Intellect, the Alexandrian interpreters of Aristotle did not explain the nature of this immortality, i.e. whether it is a permanent or temporal state or whether it is purely intellectual or a kind of mystical experience. Similarly, the subjects of this conjunction (human intellect and the Active Intellect/an incorporeal being/the Cosmic Intellect) and the nature of the union (identical or similar) as well as the question of which stage of the development of the intellect it occurs were left open to interpretation. Davidson, 38-41, 43.

4.2.2. Lifting the Veil

Up to this point, we have considered the deification process as the "perfection of the mind" (3,11 νοῦ τελείωσις, 3,7 تمام العقل). However, we will now argue that *theosis* is not only an intellectual improvement or progression, which ends in the highest level of human knowledge of God and gives man special powers such as knowing what is unknown. In his discussion of the reasons behind Christ's baptism, Gregory points out that "there may be a more mysterious reason" (29,29-30 τάχα δ' ἄν τις καὶ ἄλλος εὑρεθείη λόγος τούτων ἀπορρητότερος, 29,24-25 ولعله يوجد في ذلك كلام اخر ادق من هذا beyond "what is given us by knowledge" (29,29 ὅσον ἡμῖν ἐφικτόν, 29,23 بمقدار ما نصل اليه نحن من العلم). Moreover, the sacrament of baptism is greater than the visible world (25,33-34 Μεῖζον τῶν ὁρωμένων ἐστὶ τὸ μυστήριον, 25,27 فان هذا السر اجل من المبصرات). Therefore, we need a special way of knowing, *mystical cognition*, which is different from rational thinking. Thus, we may "lift the veil" (2,5 κάλυμμα περιτέμνουσα, 2,3 ويزيل السترة) and "leading on to the higher life" (2,6 ἄνω ζωὴν ἐπανάγουσα, 2,4 ويعيد الى الحياة العالية) may "speak with the wisdom of God, hidden in the mystery" (38,14-15 ἀλλὰ λαλῶμεν Θεοῦ σοφίαν ἐν μυστηρίῳ τὴν ἀποκεκρυμμένην,[1003] 38,10 نتكلم بحكمة الله المستورة في السر). This requires an alternate way of cognising: experience. Therefore, in this part of the chapter, we will examine the experiential side of *theosis*. In other words, we will treat it as "a way of life" experienced by an individual in his/her soul or heart or as "pure consciousness experience",[1004] different from the individual and social perfection we discussed in Chapter 3. That is to say, we are passing from the perception by the mind to the perception by the heart.[1005]

[1003] Cf. 1 Cor. 2:7.

[1004] For Rizvi's description of Islamic philosophy as "a transformative practice that combined both 'rational' and 'arational' (alogos) elements … [and] provided a metalanguage for explaining and analysing the 'pure consciousness experiences'", see Sajjad H. Rizvi, "Mysticism and Philosophy: Ibn ʿArabī and Mullā Ṣadrā" in *The Cambridge Companion to Arabic Philosophy*, ed. Richard C. Taylor and Peter Adamson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 226.

[1005] It is worth quoting here how Yaman explains the Ṣūfī terms such as ilhām, kashf, maʿrifa, sirr and ḥaqīqa which are used to denote different kinds of knowledge: "Sufis mention various divisions of the human organs of perception and their functions; these go far beyond the limitations assigned to them by theologians and philosophers". Yaman, 195-196.

Before dealing with the difference between the realm of the mind and the domain of the heart, it is necessary to say a few words about the Arabic word for theosis, *ta'alluh*. It is possible to see in the definitions of *falsafa* by Arabic philosophers that philosophy was identified with *theosis*. The first Arab philosopher, al-Kindī (c. 800-870), describes it as "becoming similar to God in His acts" (*tashabbuh bi-af'āl Allāh*) and "man's knowledge of himself" (*ma'rifat al-insān nafsahu*). This understanding of philosophy or wisdom can be traced back to the Pythagorean and Socratic tradition as well as the Platonic and Aristotelian teaching. For Socrates, wisdom was "the means (*sullam*, ladder) to reach God" and Plato called it "the light of the soul" (*ḍiyā' al-nafs*)[1006]. Arabic philosophers designated the highest level of the philosophical quest as *ta'alluh*, which is a synonym for *tashabbuh bi-llāh* ("becoming similar to God") and *takhalluq bi-akhlāq Allāh* ("becoming characterised by God's character traits").[1007] However, while the last two expressions have rather moral connotations *ta'alluh* seems to denote the final goal of the deification process as the term came to be well known particularly with Mullā Ṣadrā (Ṣadr al-Muta'allihīn, "the foremost of the deiform") (1571/2-1640) as a designation for those who became deified or reached the status of the perfect man. The Arabic philosophers and the Ṣūfīs did not forget to add the expressions "bi-ḥasab ṭāqat al-bashar" ("in keeping with the capacity of mortal man") and "bi-qadr ṭāqat al-insān" ("to the extent of human capacity") to *tashabbuh bi-llāh* and *takhalluq bi-akhlāq Allāh*.[1008] Therefore, it is interesting to note that they did not hesitate to use a word like *ta'alluh*, which appears excessive or bold.

Despite all the emphasis he placed on rational thinking, Avicenna differentiates intuitive knowledge or *mushāhada* from discursive thought, which is considered an obstacle for the soul's knowledge of God. This mystical knowledge of the soul[1009] is described as "true vision" (*al-mushāhada al-ḥaqq*) by Avicenna who claims that his "Oriental

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[1006] It appears as "the light of the heart" in the sayings of the Jesus of the *adab* literature. Ibid., 189, 212-213, 221.

[1007] W. C. Chittick, *The Heart of Islamic Philosophy: The Quest for Self-Knowledge in the Teachings of Afdal al-Din Kashani* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 73.

[1008] Ibid.

[1009] Adamson remarks on the intellectual character of human perfection in Avicenna's philosophy as follows: "This higher stage of knowledge would be realized not necessarily in soul's union with intellect, but in the nature of intellect knowing itself and especially in intellect's grasp of God, the First Principle". Adamson, 312. For Adamson's interpretation of the mystical terminology in Avicenna's treatment of soul's perfection in terms of "revelation" and "true vision" as the legitimisation of the Ṣūfī tradition by philosophy, see ibid., 318.

Wisdom" teaches "how one must speak of the perception of the intellect and what is above it".[1010] The passage from the rational to the experiential realm in the human knowledge of God is clearly described by al-Ghazālī[1011] in his examination of the four ways of attaining the Reality: *ta'līm* (following the authority), *taqlīd* (imitation of the prophetic tradition), *'aql/naẓar* (discursive reasoning) and *dhawq* (taste).[1012] This transition[1013] also appears in Ṣūfī literature in which a seeker of theosis is first supposed to have a *muslim* (submitting) heart and then develop it into a *mu'min* (believing), a *mūqin* (certain), an *'ālim* (knowing) and a *ḥakīm* (wise) heart. Here appears a concept of medieval Arabic philosophy and the Ṣūfī tradition, *ḥikma* (or *ma'rifa*), which is most often used to denote the sacred or prophetic wisdom besides the philosophical knowledge. The Ṣūfīs believed that "the speech of *'ulamā'* (scholars) makes the eyes cry while the speech of *ḥukamā'* (wise men) makes the heart cry". They also said that *'ulamā'* can only make the sick better whereas the wisdom of *ḥukamā'* revives the spiritually dead and gives the seeker a delight beyond description.[1014]

Another word similar to *mushāhada* came to be well known in the discussions of the difference between the rational and mystical cognition, especially in al-Ghazālī who

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[1010] Ibid., 312-314.

[1011] In the two passages he chose from al-Ghazālī's *Mishkāt* and *Persian Letter*, Treiger examines the two ways offered by al-Ghazālī to the seekers of "facing God". After showing that al-Ghazālī gave the credit to the experiential way instead of the conceptual one, Treiger notes, "neither is the conceptual way, the way of theoretical knowledge alone, sufficient in itself, for knowledge (*'ilm*) is inferior to the experiential realisation, or 'tasting' (*dhawq*)". Alexander Treiger, "Monism and Monotheism in al-Ghazālī's Mishkāt al-Anwār," *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* 9, no. 1 (2007): 15. Treiger says, "[for al-Ghazālī] the apodeictic method was a much less powerful tool than the philosophers gave it credit for being". For Treiger's interpretation of al-Ghazālī's criticism of philosophy as a "pseudo-refutation", see Treiger, *Inspired Knowledge in Islamic Thought* (Chapter 5, 83).

[1012] Rizvi, 224.

[1013] This passage is achieved through a process whose description in Arabic philosophy and Ṣūfī literature is very similar to that of Gregory. In the *Rasā'il* of Ikhwān al-Ṣafā, "gaining the virtues of wisdom, becoming illumined by the light of knowledge, coming to see the signs and proofs of the knowledge of the realities of things" is linked to "wisdom, ta'alluh, asceticism, Ṣūfī practices, clinging to the ways of those who have assumed lordly attributes (*rabbāniyyūn*)". Murata, 262. *Ta'alluh* was sometimes used to denote the deification process itself yet it most often referred to the final goal of the quest for divinisation, as it is possible to find in the later period of Islamic philosophy (Mullā Ṣadrā) the seeker called *ṭālib al-ta'alluh* in the first stages of the process. S. H. Nasr, *Traditional Islam in the Modern World* (London: KPI, 1987), 155. For the levels of the process described in Qushayrī's (986-1072) *Risāla* as "al-khurūj min al-dunyā, al-ma'rifa, al-maḥabba, al-shawq, ḥifẓ qulūb al-mashāyk, al-samā', al-karāmāt, al-ru'yā", see Michel Chodkiewicz, "Mi'raj al-Kalima de la Risala Qushayriyya aux Futuhat Makkiyya," in *Reason and Inspiration in Islam: Theology, Philosophy and Mysticism in Muslim Thought* ed. Todd Lawson (London: I. B. Tauris, 2005), 251.

[1014] Yaman, 186.

compared *'ilm al-mu'āmala* (the science of practice) to *'ilm al-mukhāshafa* or the science of unveiling. Al-Ghazālī says, "By the science of unveiling (which is *ghāyat al-'ulūm*)[1015] we mean the lifting of the veil to the point that the plain truth in these matters becomes apparent as [in the case of] eyewitnessing, which is never in doubt".[1016] There is an interesting word in our text, *dihlīz*, which also appears in al-Ghazālī's *Rescuer* where it refers to the passage from *ẓāhir* (exoteric) to *bāṭin* (esoteric).[1017] As we have already seen, *dihlīz* symbolises the initiation process that the catechumens are supposed to pass to enter into the courtyard of the Church. They are promised to be let in the Holy of Holies and made sure that after having the sacrament they will be given the hidden mysteries of the Trinity. Al-Ghazālī says, "And whatever precedes it is like a threshold/antechamber/vestibule (*dihlīz*) for the seeker of it" (Wa-mā qabla dhālika ka-l-dihlīz li-l-sālik *ilayhi*). We learn from Ebrahim Moosa[1018] that the pronoun at the end of the sentence (*hi*, it) has been rendered differently by different translators. Some found it related to *fanā'* (annihilation) or the mystical path and some rendered it as God or the divine. There is another interesting connection between the terminology of our text and the language of al-Ghazālī in their symbolism of "writing" as the means to denote a transformation in heart. Interwoven by concepts of tablets (or pages), engraving and inscription, Gregory's symbolism of writing is very similar to al-Ghazālī's imagery of "pen, the angel of writing and heart-writing".[1019]

It is possible to summarise the main point of this section as walking in a tunnel in which the inscriptions in our hearts are changed and the veils are gradually lifted to let us see the face of God. In the following lines, the concept of wisdom will be analysed as 'the light/life/food of the soul'. This analysis will be enriched by examining other concepts like remembering, love, taste, veils and prophetic niche. Then we will consider the

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[1015] "The apex of the [other] sciences". Treiger, *Inspired Knowledge in Islamic Thought* (Chapter 2, The *Revival*, 40)

[1016] Ibid., 12, 26.

[1017] Moosa, 47-48.

[1018] Moosa reminds us that, as in his metaphor of *dihlīz*, al-Ghazālī's thought symbolises the passage between the disciplines of kalām, philosophy and mysticism. Ibid. Although he believed that certainty is attained by mystical vision and kalām may be an obstacle in the way towards this vision, al-Ghazālī saw kalām as a different level of knowledge. Therefore, it is not surprising to find him describing his *al-Iqtiṣād* (Moderation in Belief) as "closer to knocking at the doors of *gnosis*". Michael Marmura, "Al-Ghazālī," in *The Cambridge Companion to Arabic Philosophy*, ed. Peter Adamson and Richard C. Taylor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 152-153.

[1019] Moosa, 106. For the metaphor of lamp in the two sources, see the following section.

deification process as the ascent of the soul, which is symbolised by Moses on Mount Sinai and the disciples on Mount Tabor. In the last part, we will analyse the term 'ta'alluh' and look at the features of the divine lives of the deified men. Before completing this work with the analysis of the next life, we will question the possibility of a vision of God in this life.

4.2.2.1. Wisdom as the light of the soul: from *gnosis* to *ma'rifa* (and *ḥikma*)

Having left behind the world of rationality, we now step into the realm of the soul or the heart. In the Arabic version of Oration 40, it is not easy to draw a strict differentiation between the spirit and the soul. However, it is possible to say that Ibrāhīm is consistent in rendering *psukhe* and *pneuma* as *nafs* and *rūḥ*, respectively. As the divine breath in man, *rūḥ* most frequently refers to the higher and immortal part of his being. Therefore, it is different from the spirit of medieval medical and philosophical theories in their view of *rūḥ* as an air-like corpus, which is the cause of life in the body. *Nafs*, on the other hand, denotes man's entire inner *self*,[1020] which is turned to the world of sense but can be directed towards God under the guidance of the spirit.[1021] The heart or *qalb* seems to be a synonym for *nafs*[1022] yet it also appears to be a tablet or a mirror, which reflects the character traits of one's soul.[1023]

[1020] For the body-soul distinction, the healing of the soul, its connection to illumination, grace and sanctification, "men of little soul" and "men of great soul", being of "liberal soul" and having "any writing good or bad" in the soul, see paragraphs 8, 9, 13, 15; 6, 32, 34; 3, 11, 28; 12; 31 and 45, respectively.

[1021] For the description of the general resurrection as man's giving an account of his life, i.e. "whether it has mounted up with the Spirit" or not, see paragraph two. It is possible to suggest that, for Gregory, the immortal part of human beings is the soul as in the last paragraph of the oration the saved ones are described as "shining", "virgin" (46,6-7 φαιδραὶ καὶ παρθένοι ψυχαί, 46,5 نفوس ابكار بهيات) and "reasonable" souls (46,11 النفوس العاقلات).

[1022] As we have seen before, David's prayer for having "a pure heart *built* and a right spirit *renewed* inside him" is interpreted in the Arabic version of the oration as the "thought and its movements and reasonings". A few lines above this prayer in Psalm 51:10, which is about his iniquity in the case of Uriah, David says, "Behold, You desire truth in the inward parts, and in the hidden [part] You will make me to know wisdom (*sofia*)". It is worth noting that, in such a context interwoven with *wisdom, heart* and *spirit*, it is interesting to find *qiyās*, a term of logic, as the translation of *dianoēma*. The heart, on the other hand, seems to refer to the part of the soul that is changeable whereas the spirit denotes the divine capacity in man. It is not always possible to distinguish *qalb* from *nafs* in medieval Arabic philosophy as can be seen in al-Ghazālī's description of *qalb*, which is the same as Avicenna's description of the rational soul. *Qalb* is, for al-Ghazālī, the "lordly and spiritual subtle entity" (*laṭīfa rabbāniyya rūḥāniyya*) which is immortal. Treiger, *Inspired Knowledge in Islamic Thought* (Chapter 1, *Heart*, 3, 8). Similarly,

One of the most important discussions of medieval Arabic philosophy and *kalām* was about what the soul is. For philosophers, it was a part of the Universal Soul, which moves the celestial spheres and which is, through the intermediacy of the Active Intellect,[1024] responsible for all activity in the sublunar world. Yet, in their discussion of the next life, they had to deal with the view of the mutakallimūn according to which the soul is created by God, and survives the death of the body until it joins it during the Resurrection.[1025] The Arabic versions of *De Anima* and *Parva Naturalia* as well as the Greek commentaries on Aristotle formed the basis for the discussions of the Arabic philosophers. However, some, like al-Rāzī, represented the Platonic tradition.[1026] For most of the Arabic philosophers, Black[1027] says, the "soul is simply the animating and organizing principle of a body and is therefore 'inseparable from the body'".

As we have seen earlier, the discussions of the internal senses occupied an important place in medieval Arabic philosophy. Although it was more influential in the Latin West as attested by copies no less than 150,[1028] Qusṭā ibn Lūqā's *On the Difference between the Spirit and the Soul* is an interesting contribution to the field. As a follower of Galen, Qusṭā used a different terminology than that of Al-Fārābī and Avicenna in the discussion of mental functions localised in different parts or ventricles of the brain. What is more important is his emphasis on the role of the spirit in the working of the

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with al-Ghazālī, *rūḥ* and *nafs* happened to be identical and *rūḥ* began to symbolise the human self. Rita Rached, "Les notions de rûḥ (esprit) et de nafs (âme) chez 'Abd Allâh ibn al-Faḍl al-Ḥakîm al-Anṭâkî, Théologien melchite du XIe siècle," in *L'Orient chrétien dans l'empire musulman: Hommage au professeur Gérard Troupeau: Suite au colloque organisé les 15 et 16 Octobre 2004 par le CRITIC (Centre de recherches sur les idées et les transferts inter culturels) à l'Université Jean Moulin Lyon 3 en collaboration avec l'Institut Catholique de Toulouse,* ed. Geneviève Gobillot and G. Troupeau, Marie-Thérèse Urvoy (Paris: Éditions de Paris, 2005), 173.

[1023] For having a heart, which is written upon and the "tablets of (your) heart", see paragraph forty-four and forty-five.

[1024] For Avicenna, human souls are created by the Active Intellect through emanation. Black, "Psychology: Soul and Intellect," 310.

[1025] Fakhry, 3.

[1026] Black, "Psychology: Soul and Intellect," 308-309.

[1027] Ibid., 308.

[1028] Although it accommodates Plato's and Aristotle's views about the soul, *De Differentia*'s fate was determined by the destiny of the Platonic and the Aristotelian philosophy in the Latin West. Wilcox, 55-56.

mental faculties[1029] and in carrying out the powers of the soul in the body and in the mind. As a subtle body, which is thought to be the cause of life, the spirit mediates between the body and the soul.[1030] Wilcox[1031] finds a connection between this mediating role attributed to the spirit and the Neoplatonic understanding of the universe as a chain of emanations. The soul and the spirit are different in terms of their connection with the body as "the soul is joined with the body and the spirit flows in the body".[1032] However, what distinguishes the soul from the spirit is that the soul does not perish while the spirit does. Qusṭā's *De Differentia* is a reconciliation of the philosophical and medical approach to the soul and the spirit. His belief in the immortality of the soul and his "spiritualised", as described by Walter Pagel, explanation for the mental functions of the brain as well as the notion of man as microcosm that appear in Nemesius of Emessa and John of Damascus point to the Christian influence on Qusṭā's theory of the soul.[1033]

As we have noted earlier, like Aristotle, Avicenna discussed the soul in terms of perfection. For him, the soul is "[…] a first perfection (*kamālun*) of a natural instrumental body [which the soul uses] to perform the activities of living". Either in the Neoplatonic hierarchy between the higher and lower faculties of the soul or in the Aristotelian emphasis on the relation between the soul and the body immanent in his thought, Avicenna set out and developed his theory of the soul in the context of emanation and causality. This theory or "metaphysics of the human rational soul" as Gutas put it, declares the separability of the soul, which has consequences for the

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[1029] In his Galenic model of the brain, Qusṭā locates the five senses and imagination in the anterior ventricle where the vital spirit turns into the animal spirit. The middle ventricle is the location where understanding, thinking, forethought and learning take place while the posterior ventricle is the place for memory. Ibid., 58-60.

[1030] Ibid., 55-56.

[1031] Ibid., 56.

[1032] In *Kitāb al-manfaʿa* (Chapter 67), ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl touches on this difference as follows:
> The difference between the spirit and the soul, according to this text, is found in the fact that the spirit is a body. […] Likewise, the soul gives bodies the sense and life through the spirit; the spirit acts directly without an intermediary. […] On the other hand, the soul is a cause that acts from afar. Qusṭā ibn Lūqā analysed this concept well.

Rached, 182. It is also known that in the lost chapters (28-31) of *Kitāb al-manfaʿa*, Ibn al-Faḍl discusses the immortality of the soul. Treiger, "ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī," 92-93. In *Kitāb bahjat*, he directs his reader to this work for the definition of the soul. Floris Sepmeijer, "The Book of Splendor of the Believer by Abdallah ibn al-Fadl," 117.

[1033] Wilcox, 67, 70, 77. See also Y. T. Langermann, "Abū al-Faraj ibn al-Ṭayyib on Spirit and Soul", *Le Muséon* 122 (2009), 149-158.

discussions of the afterlife.[1034] Wisnovsky[1035] says, "… the soul's separability [was] understood in a restricted sense as the transcendence of the intellectual part of the soul and its survival after the body's death". Although it is in its nature, the immortality of the soul is dependent on the intellectual perfection of man as the latter determines the kind of happiness the soul enjoys.[1036]

The realm of heart[1037] is the place where the veils are gradually lifted from the eyes of the soul.[1038] Besides its application in the discussions of the Incarnation, the veil imagery is one of the important elements of the Christian mystical texts in Arabic. In the Arabic version of Pseudo-Dionysius' *Mystical Theology*, one finds "veils" as an addition of the translation to the Greek text: "[…] [B]ecause it is above substance, and its divine hiddenness radiates all the lights together, whereby one removes *what prevents the eyes from contemplating it* (literally "veils") and is led from everything *to the knowledge of it*."[1039] Veil is most frequently found in Muslim mystical texts as al-Ghazālī's writings in which *'ilm al-mukāshafa* or the science of unveiling is said to be the only way to the attainment of *ma'rifat Allāh* or the (human) knowledge of God in this life which leads to happiness (*sa'āda*) in the next world.[1040] What is intended here by the human knowledge of God is not merely intellectual but appears to be experiential: it is *ḥikma* (wisdom),[1041] which is called the "food",[1042] the "life",[1043] or

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[1034] Wisnovsky, *Avicenna's Metaphysics in Context*, 114, 116, 140-141.

[1035] Wisnovsky, "Avicenna and the Avicennian Tradition," 102.

[1036] Davidson, 109. As in Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī's *Tahdhīb*, human perfection is dependent on the reformation of the appetitive and irascible powers of the soul and on the refinement of the rational soul in ethical theories of medieval Arabic-speaking philosophers. An example of this approach can be seen in 'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl's *Kitāb al-manfa'a*. For his tripartite division of the soul and his discussion of the virtues and vices of these parts, see Rached, 183, 189-190. Rached notes that the Christian understanding of a tripartite soul is in accordance with the belief in partaking in the divine nature through the Holy Spirit, which can take place only in the spirit. She reminds us that a similar approach is found in al-Fārābī who links human immortality to the liberation of the spirit from material powers. Ibid., 192-193.

[1037] Locating the seat of the soul or the ruling faculty of man in the heart or in the brain was a subject of inquiry among medieval Arabic-speaking philosophers.

[1038] In his demonstration of the veracity of Christ's message, 'Ammār al-Baṣrī calls his readers to compare the teachings of Christ to the teachings of prophets not "with the eye of the blind" as when "the veil of darkness is removed from [the] sight, the great difference and distance between the two will become plain". Swanson, "Resurrection Debates: Qur'anic Discourse and Arabic Christian Apology," 254-255.

[1039] Treiger, "The Arabic Version of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite's Mystical Theology, Chapter 1: Introduction, Critical Edition, and Translation," 386.

[1040] Treiger, *Inspired Knowledge in Islamic Thought* (Chapter 2, *The Revival*, 24).

[1041] *Ḥikma* is a comprehensive term which is sometimes replaced by *'ilm* (or *'aql*) or *ma'rifa*.

[1042] Rosenthal, *Knowledge Triumphant: The Concept of Knowledge in Medieval Islam*, 318-320.

the "light"[1044] of the soul in *adab* literature. This is the knowledge that leads to the love for God (*'ishq* or *maḥabba*),[1045] *'ālam al-malakūt* (the world of the unseen)[1046] and rejoicing in the Lord (25,10-11 «Δεῦτε, ἀγαλλιασώμεθα τῷ Κυρίῳ»,[1047] 25,8 هلموا نفرح با الله).

Gregory says that when someone loves something he or she takes pleasure in always remembering its name (4,4-5 φιλοῦσι γὰρ οἱ σφόδρα περί τι **ἐρωτικῶς** διακείμενοι **ἡδέως** συνεῖναι καὶ τοῖς **ὀνόμασιν**, 4,3 اذ كان من **يعشق** شيا[1048] **يلتذ باسمايه** دايما). Similarly, he indicates that he feels great pleasure in remembering the illuminations mentioned in the Holy Scripture (36,2-3 Αὐτός τε γὰρ **ἡδίων** ἔσομαι τῇ τούτων **μνήμῃ**, 36,2 فاني **سازيد طربا** عند[1049] **بذكري** اياها). For there is nothing sweeter than the light to those who have tasted it (36,3-4 τί γὰρ φωτὸς **ἡδύτερον** τοῖς φωτὸς **γευσαμένοις**, 36,3 اذ كان لا شي **احلا** من النور عند **من ذاق** النور). He calls his audience to taste and know that the Lord is the Right (38,25-26 **γευόμενοι** καὶ γινώσκοντες ὅτι χρηστὸς ὁ Κύριος, 38,19 **نذوق** ونعرف ان الرب هو الصالح) and this is the eternal and precious taste (38,26-27 τὴν κρείττω **γεῦσιν** καὶ μένουσαν, 38,19-20 وذلك هو **الذوق** الباقي النفيس). This could be done by delighting it with the words,

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[1043] Yaman, 219.

[1044] Ibid., 189. As implied by Plato in *Theaetetus*, for Mullā Ṣadrā, wisdom is the end of theosis. Rizvi, 231.

[1045] Orat. 21: *PG* 35.1088C **σοφίας** [...] **ἀγάπην** [...] Θεοῦ φίλους ἡμᾶς καὶ υἱοὺς, 6,11-13 كما قيل ان ابتدى **الحكمة** خوف الرب [...] ورفعت الى **مقة** الله جعلتنا الله اصفيا واصارتنا اولادا (As it is said that the fear of God is the beginning of the wisdom […] [when it] rose up to the love of God it made us friends of God and children […]). Grand'Henry, ed. *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua I: Oratio XXI (Arab. 20)*, 16-17.

[1046] In al-Ghazālī's words, it is the realm of the "knowledge from on high" (*'ilm ladūnī*). Treiger, *Inspired Knowledge in Islamic Thought* (Chapter 4, Inspiration, 44). Paul of Sidon says, "God leads us to ways through which we reach the Kingdom of Heaven" (*Exposition*, 2 ويهدينا الى ما به نصل الى **ملكوت السموات**). Khoury, 34 (Ar.).

[1047] Ps. 94:1 (LXX).

[1048] Orat. 45: *PG* 36.625B ὅσοι **τρυφᾶτε**, 2,30 يا معشر من **يستلذ** (those who tastes/delights [(in) such things (divine)). Tuerlinckx, ed. *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua II: Orationes I, XLV, XLIV (Arab. 9, 10, 11)*, 50. Orat. 24: *PG* 35.1176A ἔνθους ... **ἡδονῆς**, 5 اذا ما ذكرتك واصير **مدلها** من شدة **الالتذاذ** بك (When I remember you, I become enthralled with it because of the power of the pleasures that are with you). Orat. 24: *PG* 35.1176B **ἡδίους**, 6 من يعرفه **الالتذاذ** بذكره (Those who knows the pleasures in remembering him). Grand'Henry, "La version arabe du discours 24 de Grégoire de Nazianze: Édition critique, commentaires et traduction," 244, 246. For the discussions of the afterlife in medieval Arabic writings in terms of "intellectual pleasures" or *al-ladhdha al-'aqliyya*, see the last part of the chapter.

[1049] Orat. 24: *PG* 35.1172A μεμνῆσθαι, 1 النفع **ذكراهم** كان ذكر الافاضل الذين في (Mentioning about the virtues ones [is necessary] since there is benefit in remembering them). See also ذكرات (3) and بذكره (6) in the same oration. Grand'Henry, "La version arabe du discours 24 de Grégoire de Nazianze: Édition critique, commentaires et traduction", 234, 242, 246.

which are sweeter than honey (38,29-30 τοῖς **γλυκυτέροις** μέλιτος λόγοις τοῦτον εὐφραίνοντες, 38,22 ان نسره بالكلام الذي هو **احلى** من العسل).

Tasting (*dhawq*) is an important element of medieval philosophical and mystical texts written in Arabic. In his interpretation of al-Ghazālī, Ebrahim Moosa[1050] compares knowledge to experience as follows:

> Epistemology is the knowing face of ontology. The unknown face of ontology is that realm where a *taste* for things and *intuitions* flourishes and where subjects have experiences in a unique state where essences are annihilated and pure beings subsists.

While describing true vision in his *Theology of Aristotle* as something that is known only by experience but not by reason, Avicenna uses some elements of the Ṣūfī tradition such as *ṭa'm* (food) and *tasting the sweetness*.[1051] He also uses *dhawq* in terms of experience (*tajriba*) and direct conception (*mubāshara*), and in opposition with research (*baḥth*).[1052] *Mushāhada*, for Avicenna, is the "'familiarity' (*alf*) with and 'habitude' (*malaka*) to the intelligibles".[1053] Taste or *dhawq* (*mushāhada*) appears in al-Ghazālī as the perfection (*istikmāl*) of knowledge (*qiyās*) and belief (*taqlīd* and *taṣdīq*) as well as a state in which knowledge (*'ilm*) becomes a part of the one who tastes the object of the knowledge or the knowledge itself.[1054] *Mushāhada* is witnessing or experiencing the

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[1050] Moosa, 187.

[1051] Adamson, 314. For the famous connection made by al-Ghazālī between sexual intercourse and the taste of sweets to explain experience or *dhawq*, see Treiger, *Inspired Knowledge in Islamic Thought* (Chapter 3, *Tasting*, 9-10).

[1052] Given the baḥth-ta'alluh distinction of al-Suhrawardī, it is possible to say that *ta'alluh*, in his philosophy, took the place of Avicenna's *dhawq*. Treiger, *Inspired Knowledge in Islamic Thought* (*Notes*, 220).

[1053] Ibid. (Chapter 3, *Tasting*, 80-86).

[1054] Al-Ghazālī discusses knowledge in terms of "divine presence": "[S]o also the entire divine presence (*al-ḥaḍra al-ilāhiyya*) can be impressed upon the human soul." Ibid. (Chapter 1, *Knowledge*, 86). For the rendering of παρουσία (presence) as *mushāhada* in *Mystical Theology*, see Treiger, "The Arabic Version of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite's Mystical Theology, Chapter 1: Introduction, Critical Edition, and Translation," 390. Avicenna's *al-ḥikma al-muta'āliya* (transcendent philosophy) refers to the combination of discursive, intuitive and experiential knowledge. Rizvi, 231. In al-Dimashqī's response (written in 721/1321) to the *Letter from Cyprus*, we find *dhawq* as knowing the true meaning of the divine message with the help of Christ after being exposed to the "bafflement and confusion" created by the philosophical teachings (dualist) and thus being "intoxicated" and "foundering in the depths of the sea of oblivion":

> […] And he [Christ] fixed the eyes of those who believed in him and followed him on the vision of this dazzling perception, and they came to understand by trial (الحال) and taste (الذوق) the meaning of God the exalted's words […]. When they understood this and were

object of knowledge[1055] without any mediator and in a very clear way.[1056] It is therefore different from *istidlāl* or "inferential reasoning". *Mushāhada*, says al-Ghazālī, is the cognition of *al-'ārifūn* (those who cognise), *al-muqarrabūn* (those who are drawn closer) and *al-ṣiddīqūn* (the righteous). Since it refers to a direct contact with the object known or experienced, *mushāhada* is a concept that appears in the discussions of meeting (*liqā'*) and seeing God (*ru'ya*).[1057]

Dhikr or the continuous repetition (recollection) of the divine names is also an important element of mystical practices and experiences. In al-Ghazālī's description of the experiences or visions[1058] of prophets and saints, *dhikr* refers to a state in which one is freed from everything except the name of God and is ready for unveiling: "[I]ts [the name God] naked meaning remains present in the heart as if it were inseparable from it [...] then flashes of Truth will shine forth in his heart."[1059]

Dhawq and the closeness it brings lead one to the highest level of love for God.[1060] As we have mentioned earlier, there is a mutual dependence between cognition of God and our love or yearning for Him (5,4-5 καὶ ὅσον ἂν φαντασθῶμεν, **ἀγαπώμενον** καὶ ὅσον ἂν **ἀγαπήσωμεν**, αὖθις νοούμενον, 5,3-4 هو يعقل فيعود اليه **يتاق** ما وبقدر **نشتاق** لنا يتصور ما وبقدر

[1055] For the root of this theory in Avicenna's notion of the "intellectual vision of intelligibles" and al-Ghazālī's emphasis on the non-syllogistic and non-discursive character of *mushāhada*, see Treiger, *Inspired Knowledge in Islamic Thought* (Chapter 3, *Tasting*, 92, 94).

[1056] Orat. 45: *PG* 36.625A, **μάρτυρες**, 2,22-24 الملايكة [...] الذين هم الى المجد العلي ناظرون وبه **شاهدون** (The angels [...] who look at and witness the highest glory). Tuerlinckx, ed. *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua II: Orationes I, XLV, XLIV (Arab. 9, 10, 11)*, 48.

[1057] Treiger, *Inspired Knowledge in Islamic Thought* (Chapter 3, *Tasting*, 11, 13, 15, 18, 20, 43, 50-52, 59).

[1058] In *Iḥyā* (Book 21, Bayān 8, III:27:11), al-Ghazālī calls it "vision": "[...] Similar *visions* [of other types?] can subsequently occur, or else they can remain confined to one and the same type." Treiger, *Inspired Knowledge in Islamic Thought* (Chapter 4, *Inspiration*, 40). It appears to be the "state of direct experience" or *ḥāl dhawqī* as described in *Mishkāt al-anwār*. Davidson, 130-131. At the end of the veil section in *Mishkāt*, this experience and state of the followers of the experiential way (of reaching the face of God) is described as "dhawqan wa-ḥālan". Treiger, "Monism and Monotheism in al-Ghazālī's Mishkāt al-Anwār," 15-16.

[1059] Treiger, *Inspired Knowledge in Islamic Thought* (Chapter 4, *Inspiration*, 39).

[1060] Ibid. (Chapter 3, *Tasting*, 40).

وحده). In the Arabic version of Oration 40, this point is emphasised with the addition of *maḥabba*: our *al-ʿaql al-mustawlī* is the light that leads us through the way in (human) love of God (37,2-3 τὴν τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ λαμπάδα, κατευθῦνον ἡμῖν τὰ **κατὰ Θεὸν διαβήματα**, 37,1-2 هو العقل المستولي فينا وهو الذي يمهد لنا **السبيل في محبة الله**)[1061] Proceeding in the way to perfection also depends on love: 22,25-26 Τούτων δὲ αὐτῶν βελτίους οἱ καὶ γεωργοῦντες τὸ χάρισμα καὶ ὅτι μάλιστα εἰς κάλλος ἑαυτοὺς **ἀποξέοντες**, 22,20-21 وافضل من هولاهم الذين يفلحون النعمة **ومعشوق الجمال لنفوسهم**[1062]. This is how *JY* reads the last part of the sentence, which is literally rendered in the other manuscripts as '' وينقشون الجمال "في نفوسهم".[1063]

In his *Theology of Aristotle*, which is strongly Plotinian but not "a jewel in the crown of a gnostic, oriental philosophy" as Peter Adamson describes it, Avicenna calls God as "al-ʿashīq" (the beloved).[1064] According to al-Fārābī's *fayḍ* or *ṣudūr* theory, He is in fact both the subject and the object of love (*ʿāshiq wa-maʿshūq*) since the First takes pleasure in Himself who is the most beautiful and exalted object. While interpreting Plato's discussion of love in Phaedrus, al-Fārābī indicates that at the highest level of *ʿishq* man may lose himself or go mad. If his is a divine madness, it is due to the

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[1061] Orat. 44: *PG* 36.617D σὺν κελεύσμασι ... τὰ πολλὰ φιλοθέοις, 10,13-14 قد خرجت **بالتكبير والتهليل** الذي اكثر من **محبة الله** ([the ships] left with *takbīr* and *tahlīl* which is, for the most part, because of the love for God). Tuerlinckx, ed. *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua II: Orationes I, XLV, XLIV (Arab. 9, 10, 11)*, 280-281. This is where we find the most impressive example of the Islamic influence on the language of Ibrāhīm. *Takbīr* and *tahlīl* are the words used by Muslims as an acclamation and announcement of the greatness of God. *Takbīr* is in fact a signal of victory whereas *tahlīl* denotes praising God out of an ardent love.

[1062] Orat. 45: *PG* 36.649A ἐρωτικῶς, 18 **العشق** (... that which is inclined to something with desire and love is not disposed to other pleasures with the same power). Ibid., 148-149. For the translations of ὁ ἐραστὴς and τῶν πόθων (*PG* 35.1181B) as العاشق and العشق, see Grand'Henry, "La version arabe du discours 24 de Grégoire de Nazianze: Édition critique, commentaires et traduction," 260, 262.

[1063] *Naqsh* or engraving is another concept frequently seen in medieval mystical texts. It is possible to find it in al-Ghazālī's discussion of *ilhām* or inspirational knowledge and *al-lawḥ al-maḥfūz* or the Preserved Tablet. He believes that the theological knowledge (*al-ʿulūm al-ilāhiyya*) is "engraved" on the soul of the one who receives *ilhām*. *Al-lawḥ al-maḥfūz* is the tablet upon which the knowledge of everything in the world is engraved (*manqūsh*) with a writing that is not readable by the physical eyes. The same metaphor also appears in Avicenna. Treiger, *Inspired Knowledge in Islamic Thought* (Chapter 4, *Inspiration*, 27; Chapter 5, *Al-Ghazālī*, 6; *Notes*, 240). For the metaphor of *naqsh* in the description of the creation of Adam in the image of God, see Eutychius of Alexandria, *The Book of Demonstration (Kitāb al-burhān)*, ed. Pierre Cacha, vol. I, 36. For the concepts of "calligrapher", "being marked with the good inscription", "being rightly written upon the soul", "the tablets of the heart" and "a new Decalogue", see paragraphs forty-four and forty-five. For al-Ghazālī's use of "memory-writing", "doxological writing", "heart-writing" and "writing on the slate (tablet) of the heart" (*lawḥ al-qalb*), see Moosa, 104, 106.

[1064] Adamson, 306-307, 314.

yearning of his "divine soul" for godly things.[1065] According to Gregory, God is Who shines wondrously from the everlasting mountains (36,7 «Φωτίζεις δὲ σὺ θαυμαστῶς, ἀπὸ ὀρέων αἰωνίων»,[1066] 36,5 فانت تضي عجيبا من الجبال الدهرية) and His light is too strong for the eyes (40,6). However, as David calls Him, the Lord is (his) light and salvation (36,9-10 «Κύριος δὲ φωτισμός μου καὶ σωτήρ μου»,[1067] 36,7 ربي نوري ومخلصي) for His creatures.

'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl explains the connection between the name "God"[1068] and the perplexity it induces in the human mind as follows:

> The term "God" in the Greek language [i.e. theos] has three possible derivations. Either it is derived from the fact that He is in every place, or that He is the cause of the existence of every existent, or from the word "burning", in the opinion of those who have understanding. Thus says our father the great saint Gregory the Theologian (ابونا القديس المعظم اغريغوريوس المتكلم في اللاهوت).[1069] In Arabic, on the other hand, it is derived from one of two things: either from [the word] "madness" (walah), because He causes madness in the souls during tribulations which cause madness, that is, cause one to lose reason, or from the expression "the eye became confounded" (alihati l-'ayn, impf. ta'lahu[1070]), [which is said when] it is perplexed.[1071] This refers to the fact that [God's] command and His wonders cause

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[1065] Fakhry, 82, 20. For the connection between passionate love ('ishq) and intoxication (sukr), especially the ecstatic pronouncements of mystics, see 4.2.2.3. (The Deified Man or al-insān al-kāmil (al-insān al-tāmm)). It is known that concerning the Prophet Muḥammad's seclusions in Mount Ḥirā and the change in his mood on his return from the Mount the Arabs said, "Muḥammad fell in love ('ashiqa) with his Lord". *Munqidh*, 97-8, 103: 2-6 quoted in Treiger, *Inspired Knowledge in Islamic Thought* (Chapter 3, *Tasting*, 36).

[1066] Ps. 75:5.

[1067] Ps. 26:1.

[1068] 'Abdallāh ibn Faḍl analyses the word "God" and questions whether it is a name (اسم) or an attribute (صفة). After establishing that it is an attribute since it does not reveal His essence as expected from names, he lists some of the attributes used by the Fathers such as "the pre-eternal" (الازلي), "the good" (الصالح), "the powerful" (القادر), "the wise" (الجواد) and "the good" (الحكيم). Samuel Noble and Alexander Treiger, "Christian Arabic Theology in Byzantine Antioch: 'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī and his Discourse on the Holy Trinity," 396.

[1069] Orat. 30, *PG* 36.128A, *SC* 250, pp. 262-265.

[1070] God is "Exalted" (متألّها) or "above deification" (التألّه). Eutychius of Alexandria, *The Book of Demonstration (Kitāb al-burhān)*, ed. Pierre Cachia, vol. I, 13, 27. Eutychius of Alexandria, *The Book of Demonstration (Kitāb al-burhān)*, trans. W. M. Watt, vol. I, 10, 21.

[1071] Lane, Arabic-English Lexicon, vol. 1, 82. "Aliha": "He was, or became, confounded, or perplexed, and unable to see his right course". For the *sidrat* figure in *mi'rāj* accounts, which comes from *sadira* that means "to be dazzled" or "having his eyes dazzled by a thing, so that he turns away his face from it", see Hannah B. Merriman, "The Paradox of Proximity to the Infinite: An Exploration of sidrat al-muntaha, 'The Lote Tree Beyond Which None May Pass'," *Religion and the Arts* 12 (2008): 339.

perplexity, as we have examined extensively in our book entitled the Book of Benefit.[1072]

There is another category of experience mentioned or referred to in our text: dreams (visions) and miracles. According to Gregory, baptism or illumination is the key of the Kingdom of Heaven (3,11-12 κλεὶς οὐρανῶν βασιλείας, 3,7 مفتاح ملكوت الساما).[1073] For medieval Arabic-speaking philosophers, the passage from the sensible to the celestial world is possible through the conjunction of the "compositive imagination" with the heavenly world.[1074] In his *Madīna* and *Siyāsa*, al-Fārābī calls the rank of the Active Intellect in the rational hierarchy of the intelligible world "the Kingdom" as it includes the souls who, by conjoining it, attain the eternal happiness.[1075] This is the realm of prophecy which either through revelation or through insight connects these worlds and allows the transfer of information from on high to the physical world. Prophecy introduces a broader concept of knowledge in terms of attaining as well as expressing it either in a symbolic or in a real way.[1076] As explained by al-Ghazālī, the seeker of the mystical path is supposed to reach the highest[1077] level of perfection when the hidden language of the angelic[1078] world becomes apparent to him.[1079]

For al-Fārābī, prophecy and revelation occur when the emanation from the Active Intellect goes beyond imagination.[1080] Therefore, the imaginative faculty[1081] of prophets

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[1072] *Discourse on the Holy Trinity*, Chapter 1, "On the derivation of the term 'God' (allāh) and on whether it is a name or an attribute" cited and translated in Noble and Treiger: 396-7, 407-408. Another etymological explanation of the word "Allāh" is that it means someone to be worshipped (*ilāh*) and someone veiled and high (*lāh*). Buṭrus Bustānī, Quṭr al-muḥīṭ, 2 vols., Beyrouth, 1869 quoted in Khoury, 132.

[1073] See also 45,29: ملكوت السموات.

[1074] God reveals himself "by **revelation** and **inspiration** and **dreams**" (*bi-waḥyin wa-ilhāmin wa-fī ru'y al-manām*) as the author of *Kitāb al-majdal* put it. Holmberg, 168.

[1075] Bonelli, 158.

[1076] It is in fact the superior form of experience (*dhawq*) and therefore may be described as "direct experience" as al-Ghazālī calls it. Davidson, 117, 123, 140.

[1077] For the discussion of seeing God in the next world as the highest level of theosis, see the last part of the chapter.

[1078] It is worth reminding that, the Active Intellect is identified by al-Fārābī with Jibrīl (Gabriel) or al-Rūḥ al-Amīn (the Faithful Spirit) or al-Rūḥ al-Qudus (the Holy Spirit). Fakhry, 93.

[1079] Moosa, 106.

[1080] Davidson, 58.

[1081] In his discussion of the internal senses, which was developed especially by his contribution to the field with the theory of estimation (*wahm*), Avicenna emphasises the role of the imaginative faculty of human beings in prophecy. Estimation is one of the strongest powers of this faculty and acts as a bridge

is stronger in receiving intelligibles and deciphering the symbolic language of the intelligible world.[1082] This happens at the stage of the acquired intellect in which the philosophical thinking, which is based on demonstrative reasoning, turns into a rhetorical language suitable for simple believers.[1083] Avicenna emphasises that the "intellectual prophecy"[1084] is far beyond imagination and discursive syllogisms.[1085] He calls this prophetic intellect "holy" which can also appear in other human beings as intuition (ḥads).[1086] What makes the prophetic ḥads different is the fact that the prophet is given all the intelligibles by the Active Intellect in a single moment.[1087] Al-Fārābī divides what he calls "the most perfect degree that the imaginative faculty can reach" into two parts: *nubuwwa* (prophecy) and *waḥy* (revelation). Either in the practical (knowledge of future) or in the theoretical level (metaphysical knowledge), prophecy and revelation may occur in a waking state or in dreams.[1088] When it happens in a dream, an intelligible concept turns into an imaginative one,[1089] whereas in a waking state it moves in the opposite direction.[1090]

In the emanationist philosophy of al-Fārābī and Avicenna, revelation (*waḥy*) is thought to be receiving messages from the First Cause through the Active Intellect. Similarly, al-Ghazālī explains *waḥy* in two models according to which the soul or the "tablet"

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between the sensible and intelligible world. Black, "Estimation (Wahm) in Avicenna: The Logical and Psychological Dimensions," 219, 248-249.

[1082] Black, "Psychology: Soul and Intellect," 313.

[1083] David C. Reisman, "Al-Fārābī and the Philosophical Curriculum," in *The Cambridge Companion to Arabic Philosophy*, ed. Peter Adamson and Richard C. Taylor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 67. Al-Fārābī reminded his readers that even though it is a way of attaining knowledge, inspiration could not be included in logical thinking at all. Black, "Al-Fārābī on Meno's Paradox," 25. However, as indicated by Avicenna, *inspiration* or *insight* is possessed without effort and freed from the errors that the cogitative faculty suffers from. Davidson, 102. For the distinction between the "ilhām (intuition)-based mode of cognition" and the "study-based mode of cognition" or the different "educational approaches" of Ṣūfīs and philosophers as expressed by al-Ghazālī, see Treiger, *Inspired Knowledge in Islamic Thought* (Chapter 4, *Inspiration*, 25).

[1084] It is "the prophecy located in the intellect" or *the superior category of prophecy*, as Davidson describes it. Davidson, 119.

[1085] Black, "Avicenna on the Ontological and Epistemic Status of Fictional Beings," 439.

[1086] For Treiger's designation of *ilhām* (inspiration) and *mukāshafa* (unveiling) as "the post-prophetic mystical cognition" and his interpretation of al-Ghazālī's criticism of philosophy as an attempt to present a broader concept of knowledge that includes prophecy and mystical thinking, see Treiger, *Inspired Knowledge in Islamic Thought* (Chapter 5, *Al-Ghazālī*, 81).

[1087] Black, "Psychology: Soul and Intellect," 320.

[1088] Davidson, 141.

[1089] For Avicenna's explanation of that cognition requires self-awareness by demonstrating the activity of the imaginative faculty in sleep, see Black, "Avicenna on Self-Awareness and Knowing That One Knows," 67.

[1090] Davidson, 59, 120.

receives knowledge from God through the Universal Intellect or the Universal Soul (the Angel). In these models, the mediator between God and the sanctified human soul is symbolised by the "pen" while the way that the heart receives *ilhām* or *waḥy* is described as the "removal of curtains". In one of his symbolic explanations of *ilhām* and *waḥy*, al-Ghazālī likens the soul or heart to a mirror, which reflects the knowledge engraved in the Preserved Tablet (*al-lawḥ al-maḥfūz*) via the removal of curtains. This removal of curtains happens "as a flash of lightning" either by the "winds of grace" or by "[human] hand".[1091] This model is symbolised by the expression "from outside" whereas his other explanation is summarised by Treiger[1092] with the phrase "from inside" (*fī-sirr al-qalb*) and described as the "pond" model. Treiger[1093] thinks that the first model emphasises inspiration as opposed to cognition while the second one understates discursive thinking.

Al-Ghazālī's interpretation of prophecy in *Mishkāt al-anwār* in terms of the light verse in the Qurʾān (24:35) is worth mentioning as it reminds the light imagery in the last paragraph of Oration 40. His identification of the "supernal divine spirit" (*al-rūḥ al-ilāhīyya al-ʿulwiyya*) or the Active Intellect with the Qurʾānic "fire" (*nār*) finds its root in Avicenna's thought which is also the source of the connection drawn between "the cogitative spirit" and "the olive tree" and between "intuition" and "oil". According to this model, the "niche"[1094] corresponds to the "sensory spirit" while the "glass" of the lamp refers to the "spirit of the imagery". The "lamp" is the "spirit of intelligence" and "oil" is the "sacred prophetic spirit" that is kindled by the "olive tree" or the "cogitative spirit".[1095] In the last paragraph of Oration 40, a similar image of "lamp" appears. Gregory says that "lamps" which are kindled (46,4-5 Αἱ λαμπάδες, ἅσπερ ἀνάψεις, 46,4 والمصابيح التي توقدها) after the sacrament of baptism is the mystery (sacrament) (46,5 μυστήριον, 46,4 فهي سر) and the light (46,5 τῆς ἐκεῖθεν φωταγωγίας, 46,4 لذلك النور) with

[1091] Treiger, *Inspired Knowledge in Islamic Thought* (Chapter 4, *Inspiration*, 27, 28, 31-33).
[1092] Ibid., 28, 43, 46, 48.
[1093] Ibid., 52.
[1094] For the image of "niche" (*mishkāt*) as the origin of the prophetic revelation and wisdom, and Yaman's contribution to the field with a new concept, "the prophetic niche", see Yaman. Muslim philosophers believed that the Greek philosophers also "drew their inspiration from the 'cave of the lights of prophecy'" as Corbin explains it. H. Corbin, *History of Islamic Philosophy*, trans., Liadain Sherrard and Philip Sherrard (London: Kegan Paul International, 1993), 15.
[1095] Treiger, *Inspired Knowledge in Islamic Thought* (Chapter 1, *Notes* [50], 95-96). The niche-lamp-glass-tree-oil imagery corresponds to the sensory-imaginative-rational-discursive-prophetic spirit scheme. Moosa, 228.

which the "prudent souls" will meet the Bridegroom […] with the "lamps" of their faith shining (46,7 φαιδραῖς ταῖς λαμπάσι τῆς πίστεως, 46,5 بمصابيح من الامانة منيرات). Those prudent souls do not lack food (46,14 τροφῆς, 46,8 للغذا) as the others who ask for the "oil" (46,14 τὸ ἔλαιον, 46,12 الزيت). According to this imagery of "lamp", those who have been baptised on time supply their "lamps" with "oil", thus they experience the mystery and illumination until they will meet the Bridegroom in the next world. There is no reason not to interpret the "lamp" as "the imaginative faculty" or intelligence in general in which "the prophetic spirit" (*oil*) is kindled by "discursive thinking". This is to say that in the process of *theosis*, which may be symbolised by baptism, imagination is developed by discursive thinking into prophetic revelation. At this stage, the perfected human soul speaks the language of "mystery and illumination" until meeting Christ in the next life.

The strong compositive imagination[1096] generates dreams and visions, which, because of their symbolic nature, need to be interpreted (*ta'wīl* or *ta'bīr*).[1097] This is in fact the emanation from the "holy prophetic spirit" upon "other creatures". [1098] We find a reference to "dreams" in the Arabic version of Oration 24 in which Gregory mentions God's signs and miracles. One of those miracles is the wisdom given to Joseph to interpret dreams (*PG* 35.1184C Ἰωσὴφ [...] καὶ ἐν ἐνυπνίοις σοφίσας, 13 يوسف [...] حكيما في المنامات). A miracle performed by a human being is another kind of prophecy. Davidson[1099] introduces Avicenna's explanation of miracles as follows: "Inasmuch as the human soul is not 'imprinted in the matter' of the human body yet is able to 'alter

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[1096] Nemesius of Emessa and John of Damascus link prophetic dreams to the cognitive faculty. Qusṭā's *al-rawiyya* (forethought, judgement) seems to include prophetic wisdom. Wilcox, 66.

[1097] For the study of early Muslim dream manuals and two Christian texts written by a Byzantine and Nestorian writer from Baghdad (and Ḥunayn's translation of Artemidorus), and especially the influence of the methods of Muslim dream interpretation on Christian dream manuals, see J. C. Lamoreaux, *The Early Muslim Tradition of Dream Interpretation* (Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 2002). Lamoreaux's work is important particularly, for its discussion of the Christian view of dream interpretation and divinisation which was negative at the beginning.

[1098] Davidson, 121, 141. The Prophet Muḥammad is reported to say that after he was gone prophecy would continue only through "true dreams" which is "a part of the forty six parts of prophetism" and he called true dreams "al-mubashshirāt" (the glad tidings). Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Volume 9, Book 87 (Interpretations of dreams), 116-119. Therefore, it is not surprising to find a big literature generated by Muslims on dream interpretation. However, it is interesting to find the root "b-sh(sh)-r" in the beginning of the last paragraph of Oration 40 which, as we mentioned above, refers to the "prophetic spirit" in the perfect or deified human beings: "I bring you good tidings (or preach unto you) (46,1 εὐαγγελίζομαί, 46,1 ابشرك) of the station in which you stood today after the baptism". Grand'Henry, "La version arabe du discours 24 de Grégoire de Nazianze: Édition critique, commentaires et traduction," 266.

[1099] Davidson, 122.

[his own] bodily material', it should 'not be surprising that a noble, powerful soul' can, by sheer 'will', manipulate other bodies". Avicenna says, "[…] This is a characteristic linked to the motive faculties […] of the soul of a prophet who is great in prophecy".[1100] In Oration 40, Gregory mentions some biblical miracles, which are related to light: Moses and the burning bush, Israel and the pillar of fire, Elias and the car of fire, the shepherds and the light that shone around them, the Magi and the star, the light that blazed out upon Paul and healed the darkness of his soul. The agent in these miracles is not a human being but God. However, having been chosen as a mediator, Moses and Elias or the others proved that they had a high (may be the highest) place in perfection. Now is the time to turn our attention to the "right side [of] the Mount (من جانب الطور الايمن)[1101] [where] God spoke to [Moses] directly".[1102]

4.2.2.2. The Ascent of the Soul: from *anabasis* to *istiwā'*

It is known that, from the time of Plato, *theosis* has been considered an ascent or an upward movement[1103] towards the highest degree in perfection that the human soul can reach.[1104] This degree is frequently symbolised by heaven as Gregory expresses it as follows: "[As long as] we proceed towards the heaven" (16,18-19 πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἐπειγομένους ἡμᾶς, 16,15 [بيصرنا الى السما آخذين]). We have seen that (the Arabic) Gregory also described the deification process as a *dihlīz*, which underlines the fact that

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[1100] Ibid., 123.
[1101] It is the same with the expression in Q 19:52.
[1102] "Fa-kallamaha llāhu taklīman" (as in Q 4:164): *Fī Tathlīth* cited in Mark N. Swanson, "Beyond Prooftexting: Approaches to the Qur'ān in Some Early Arabic Christian Apologies," 310. Cf Q 28:29: Moses "perceive[d] a fire" (انار) which was "some information" (بخبر) for his people.
[1103] 34,30 περιχαρεῖς καὶ ὑψωθεὶ ἄμετρα, 34,21-22 واياك ان يزيد عليك الفرح بهذا الخير **وتترفع** شديدا (You are made happy and lifted up high by this blessing.). "Elevation of the soul" (*PG* 35.1192B ψυχῆς ἀνάβασιν, 24,18 رفع النفس) is one of features of a saintly life as it is attributed to Cyprian by Gregory. Grand'Henry, "La version arabe du discours 24 de Grégoire de Nazianze: Édition critique, commentaires et traduction", 284. Al-Fārābī describes the sublunar world as a kind of ascent but not as a part of the emanational chain since the earth imitates the heavens, which are perfect. Bonelli, 148.
[1104] It is in man's nature, which is created in the image and likeness of God to be "lifted to the highest of all the mansions (الى أعلا المنازل كلها), above all the hosts of angels (فوق أجناد الملائكة كلهم) and every noble eminence (وكل شرف شريف) and exalted sublimity (وعلو **رفيع**)", says Peter of Bayt Ra's. Eutychius of Alexandria, *The Book of Demonstration (Kitāb al-burhān)*, ed. Pierre Cachia, vol. I, 113-114. Eutychius of Alexandria, *The Book of Demonstration (Kitāb al-burhān)*, trans. W. M. Watt, vol. I, 91.

it is not a sudden change but a gradual improvement.[1105] However, it is more like climbing up a mountain[1106] or a ladder as it has been most often depicted in Christian, Jewish and Muslim accounts of otherworldly journeys. What we have discussed in the previous chapter is the visible part of the deification process, which can be summarised as struggling to acquire the character traits of God and become a son of God or a brother of Christ. In this chapter up to this point, we have dealt with the perfection of our intellects and souls. From now on, we will try to make a description of the last part of the deification process in terms of having special qualities such as getting into contact with the Kingdom of Heaven via visions in this world.

In Jewish, Christian and Muslim texts, Moses and his ascent into the Mount Sinai is the symbol of receiving revelation and seeing God. God is seen in the Mount by human beings (Orat.45 *PG* 36.637B Ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ὄρει Θεὸς ἀνθρώποις **φαντάζεται**, ‏(لان الله قد **يتخيل** في ذلك الجبل بعينه للبشر 11,14-15), on the one hand through His condescension and descent from His loftiness, on the other through His drawing us up from our humility on earth (Orat. 45 *PG* 36.637B τὸ δὲ ἡμᾶς **ἀνάγων** ἐκ τῆς κάτωθεν ταπεινώσεως, 11,16-17 ‏ومن حيث **يرفعنا** نحن على معنى اخر من ذل السفل).[1107] As we discussed in Chapter 3, ascending to the Mountain required Moses to undergo a period of preparation[1108] and those who were with him were not allowed to follow him up to the

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[1105] 27,22 Ὁδεύσωμεν πρὸς τὴν λάμψιν αὐτοῦ, 27,16 ‏نسير خلف ضوه (Let us *walk towards* (behind or following) His light).

[1106] "'Let us ascend into the mount of the Lord' says (another) prophet" (25,11-12 'Δεῦτε, ἀναβῶμεν εἰς τὸ ὄρος Κυρίου', 25,9 ‏'هلموا **نصعد** الى جبل الرب) (Mik. 4:2). "(Man (the creation) will give account to his Lord) whether he followed the flesh alone or he has ascended with the Spirit …" (2,9-10 εἴτε τῷ Πνεύματι συνανῆλθε, 2,6-7 ‏ام **صعدت** مع الروح). "Mountain" is at the same time a symbol of the obstacles on the path to God (19,8 τὰ κατὰ Θεὸν διαβήματα, 19,6 (*Mi* ‏(التي في الله): "Let us walk following His light, before our feet stumble upon dark and hostile mountains" (37,23 ὄρη σκοτεινὰ καὶ πολέμια, 37,17 ‏جبال مظلمة محاربة). However, it is rather the symbol of escaping from the world and its affairs as we discussed in Chapter 3 in detail: "Escape to the mountain lest you be considered (taken) with the others" (19,11 εἰς τὸ ὄρος σῴζου, μὴ συμπαραληφθῇς, 19,8-9 ‏واخلص الى الجبل ولا توخذ مع الباقين). In Christian Arabic, *ṣuʿūd al-Masīḥ* refers to "the Ascension of Christ": 45,32 καὶ ἀναστάντα τριήμερον ἀνεληλυθέναι εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, 45,22-23 ‏وانبعث في اليوم الثالث وصعد الى السموات. For "ṣuʿūd ilā l-samā'" as the Ascension, see *Kitāb al-burhān*, paragraph 631. See also Sāwīrus ibn al-Muqaffaʿs *The Precious Pearl 12* (On Account of the Lord's Ascension into Heaven) for the expression "ascension to the heaven" (al-ṣaʿūd ilā l-samā'). Davis, 225.

[1107] Tuerlinckx, ed. *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua II: Orationes I, XLV, XLIV (Arab. 9, 10, 11)*, 100.

[1108] "[…] [Moses] disengage[d] himself from [the] sights and seers and enter[ed] the darkness of ignorance of things truly mystical (τῶν ὄντως μυστικῶν, "‏حقيقة الاسرار" in the Arabic translation, 62-64), according to which [darkness] he become[d] *blind*", says Pseudo-Dionysius in his Mystical Theology

summit since they did not rank with Moses in perfection.[1109] We learn from Gregory that "the written law which was suitable to the people it was sent for as it sketched the Truth and made clear the mystery of the great light is a light" and "Moses' face was made glorious by this light" (6,9 φῶς μὲν ἦν ἐκ πυρὸς τῷ Μωϋσεῖ φανταζόμενον, 6,5 وان كان وجه موسى بهذا مجد). It is nevertheless God's speaking "from behind a veil" as indicated in *Jāmiʿ*.[1110] Seeing God as the Light, which is too strong for the eyes (6,19-20 μικροῦ στερροτέρα καὶ ὄψεως, 6,13 ولقد كانت اقوى واشد من ابصارهم)[1111] or seeing Him in a vision appears in Gregory's account of the Transfiguration on Mount Tabor. He says, "God who appeared to the disciples on the mount was (also) Light" (6,18-19 φῶς ἡ παραδειχθεῖσα θεότης ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους τοῖς μαθηταῖς, 6,12-13 ضو هو ايضا اللاهوت التي **ظهرت** على الجبل للتلاميذ).

We find an interesting word in Gregory's discussion of the enlightenment of the eyes: *istiwāʾ*. He calls his audience to enlighten the eyes in order to be able to look at *istiwāʾ* (38,3-4 Φωτισθῶμεν τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἵν' ὀρθὰ βλέπωμεν, 38,3 بل لننير الناظر حتى نبصر (الاستوا).[1112] *Istiwāʾ* is said to denote "being even and equal, sitting and dwelling, inclining, ascending, reigning or sitting on the throne". It appears in the Qurʾān nine

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(144: 9-12). Treiger, "The Arabic Version of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite's Mystical Theology, Chapter 1: Introduction, Critical Edition, and Translation," 377.

[1109] Having explained the New Decalogue he wrote, Gregory says his audience that this is the "unhidden part of baptism" (45,47 Ἔχεις τοῦ μυστηρίου τὰ ἔκφορα, 45,32-33 الان قد حصل لك ما يجوز اظهاره من السر), which is "not veiled to the ear of the many" (45,47-48 καὶ ταῖς τῶν πολλῶν ἀκραῖς οὐκ ἀπόρρητα, 45,33 وما ليس هو مستورا عن مسامع الكثيرين). Gregory likens himself to Moses and this makes us think that he considers himself someone who completed his deification process: "Let us go within the cloud (45,4 Εἴσω τῆς νεφέλης χωρήσωμεν, 45,2-3 فهلم ندخل الى داخل الغمام). Give me the tablets of your heart (45,4 δός μοι τὰς πλάκας τῆς σῆς καρδίας, 45,3 واعطني صحايف قلبك); I will be your Moses, though this be a bold thing to say; I will write on them with the finger of God (45,6 δακτύλῳ Θεοῦ, 45,4 بانملة الله) a new Decalogue. I will write on them a shorter method of salvation".

[1110] Swanson, "Beyond Prooftexting: Approaches to the Qurʾān in Some Early Arabic Christian Apologies," 318. According to the Arabic version of the *Mystical Theology*, Moses did not "come to be (συγγίνεται) with God Himself, nor [did] he contemplate (θεωρεῖ) Him". For the Arabic rendering of the sentence as "فلم يكن له ان ينظر الله بذاته" ("He did not come to see God in His very essence"), see Treiger, "The Arabic Version of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite's Mystical Theology, Chapter 1: Introduction, Critical Edition, and Translation.", 390.

[1111] *Fī* :لم يكن يستطيع الناس ان ينظروا الى الله ويهبوا) "Mankind was not able to look towards God and to live" *Tathlīth*, 308 cited in Samir K. Samir, "The Earliest Arab Apology for Christianity," 96-97. For the blindness Moses suffered on the Mountain, see the quotation from *Mystical Theology* in footnote 1054 above.

[1112] *NPNF*: "[…] may look straight on". *SC* 358 (p. 285): "[…] afin que notre regard soit droit". Grand'Henry, ed. *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua III: Oratio XL (Arab. 4)*, 159: "[…] afin que nous voyions la *rectitude*".

times, of which only the two refers to "the heaven"[1113] while the others denote "God's sitting on the Throne".[1114] Since the second century of the Islamic era (8th c.), it was discussed by *mutakallimūn* as an attribute of essence and action with regard to God's relation with the creation. These discussions were related to the different approaches taken by various *kalām* schools to *tanzīh* ("asserting that God is pure and free of all the defects and imperfections of the creatures")[1115] and *tashbih* (anthropomorphism) in the treatment of divine qualities. Without rejecting the literal meaning of the verses, which denote God's sitting on *'arsh*, the majority of the scholars agreed that *istiwā'* denotes God's power and will in the universe. However, it is known that some among *tābi'ūn* ("Followers", "Successors of ṣaḥāba") explained it as "ascension to *'arsh*".[1116] What is more interesting is the references to it as Moses' reaching to maturity and Gabriel's standing on the horizon.[1117]

Ibrāhīm's rendering of ὀρθὰ as *istiwā'* is interesting for two points: first, it is a good literary choice as it deepens the meaning which could easily be given by a word like "straight" or "up". However, what is more important is that it refers to both "maturity" and "ascension to the heaven" which is most often connected to union with God. Moreover, it is also related to the *mi'rāj* accounts which shaped the whole Muslim view of the ascent of the soul.[1118] In the days of our translator, *mi'rāj* must have been the

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[1113] Q 2:29, 41:11.
[1114] Q 7:54, 10:3, 13:2, 25:59, 32:4, 57:4, 20:5. We find a reference to the Throne in *Fī Tathlīth* in which it refers to God's greatness: "You sat upon the Throne (على العرش استويت), were exalted above all creatures, and filled all things". Swanson, "Beyond Prooftexting: Approaches to the Qur'ān in Some Early Arabic Christian Apologies," 306. It also refers to His power: "For verily, God and His Word and His Spirit are on the Throne and in every place" (فان الله وكلمته وروحه على العرش وفي كل مكان). However, it can also be read literally as in the following sentence: [W]hile He was on the Throne, [the Evil One] […] prostrated and seduced the Man" (وهو في العرش ... قد صرعت وافتنت). Samir, "The Earliest Arab Apology for Christianity," 84, 90-91. Sāwīrus ibn al-Muqaffa's use of "sitting on al-'arsh" in *Kitāb miṣbāḥ al-'aql* reminds the Qur'ānic expression in 7:137. Sidney Griffith, "The Kitab misbah al-'aql of Severus ibn al-Muqaffa': A Profile of the Christian Creed in Arabic in Tenth Century Egypt," *Medieval Encounters* 2, (1996): 31. For the expression "wa innahu istawā 'alā l-'arsh" in Paul of Antioch's *Letter to a Muslim Friend*, see Khoury, 80 (Ar.).
[1115] S. Murata and W.C. Chittick, *The Vision of Islam* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1994), 71.
[1116] Bukhārī, *Tawḥīd*, 22.
[1117] Yusuf Şevki Yavuz, "İstivā," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 2001).
[1118] Henry Corbin reminds us the connection between the "Theology of Aristotle", which is in fact a paraphrase of the last three Enneads of Plotinus and the Muslim understanding of the Prophet's *mi'rāj* and the mystical experiences of Ṣūfīs. He points to the background of this Arabic text, which is thought to be a sixth-century Syriac translation that comes from a milieu in which not only an interest in Neo-Platonism emerged in Nestorian circles but also the Dionysian writings appeared and spread. The well-

best-known account of a "heavenly journey" or a "meeting with God",[1119] which is more comprehensive than Moses' encounter with Him on Mount Sinai.[1120] Much has been said by writers on Muḥammad's night journey and ascension to heaven, therefore we will only touch on the main points with special reference to our discussion of "seeing God" or "being near to (in the presence of) Him".[1121] *Mi'rāj* is the story[1122] of the merging of two opposite worlds.[1123] It is meeting with the other prophets[1124] who were also raised to heaven, thus writing a sacred history. It is to be believed as a

known passage of Enneads (IV, 8, 1) which begins with the words "Often, awakening to myself" did not present an unfamiliar idea to Muslim philosophers who came from a tradition that knew "a heavenly journey" like *mi'rāj* and mystical visions of saints. Corbin, 18.

[1119] It should have been used by Arab Christians as well, since in an apocryphal text attributed to Gregory (*Discours on the vision of St Gregory of the things in heavens [Ciel] and hell* or *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Gregory*) a mystical vision of the heavens and Hell is described as *mi'rāj* (معراج غريغو القديس). The use of the word "iktishāf" is also significant since, in medieval Muslim texts, it was used for "mystical vision" or "unveiling". In another apocryphal text (*The vision of Gregory on the creation and the descend of Angels*), Gregory's vision is described as *ru'yā* which appears in medieval Arabic writings as an encounter with God (or with the sacred) or the vision of God in the hereafter. The writer of this text seems to have known well the terminology of his day as both the expression "'ajā'ib al-ḥayawān" and the content of the text have references to the 'ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt literature. Grand'Henry, "La version arabe de quelques textes apocryphes attribués à Grégoire de Nazianze," 242-246.

[1120] For the special place of Moses and Mount Sinai in *mi'rāj* narratives, see Brooke Olson Vuckovic, *Heavenly Journeys, Earthly Concerns: The Legacy of the Mi'rāj in the Formation of Islam* (New York and London: Routledge, 2005), 34, 61.

[1121] For the details of the connection between Gregory's discussion of theosis and *mi'rāj*, see Elif Tokay, "Continuity and Transformation in the Arabic Translation of Gregory Nazianzen's Oration on Baptism (Oration 40)" in *Origenes und sein Erbe in Orient und Okzident*, ed. Alfons Fürst, Adamantiana (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2011), 244-246.

[1122] Vuckovic says that medieval *mi'rāj* accounts can be seen as the interpretation by medieval scholars of the period they lived in. These scholars intended to "construct, reinforce, and reinterpret a moral code for the Muslim community". The figure of Abū Bakr played an important role in the construction of a Sunnī narrative, which has theological, social and political concerns. Vuckovic interprets the motive behind the mystical accounts as "bolstering heavenly authority for various leaders as they created communities around themselves". Vuckovic, 13, 95, 97, 135. For the place of *adab* literature in the discussion of heavenly journeys, see ibid. 165. Colby traces the history of the narratives and notes that the ninth century was important for the circulation of the reports. He also reminds us the esoteric character of the Shi'ī narratives which were used in "a partisan direction". He says, "When one considers that both Jewish and Christian otherworldly journeys were likely flourishing during the same period in which the Ibn 'Abbās discourse developed and spread, one realizes that Muslims may have felt compelled to formulate their own narratives [...]". Frederick S. Colby, *Narrating Muḥammad's Night Journey: Tracing the Development of the Ibn 'Abbās Ascension Discourse* (Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 2008), 49, 77, 172.

[1123] In Avicenna's allegorical text (*Mi'rājnāma*), Muḥammad appears as a fallible human being whose tendency to the natural soul is expressed as "temptation". Colby, 151.

[1124] The *ladder*, which appears only in a few accounts, seems to connect Muḥammad to a Biblical history whereas *Burāq* draws him to a Qur'ānic past. Vuckovic, 45. In a ḥadīth about *Isrā'* (the night journey), Muḥammad is reported to say that "O my God, you gave knowledge (*'ilm*) to David and Solomon; right guidance (*rushd*) to Abraham; proof (*furqān*) and light (*ḍiyā'*) to Moses and Aaron; and clear signs (*bayyināt*) to Jesus; the son of Mary; whom You confirmed with the Holy Spirit". When he asked about what was given to him and his people, God told him that he was given *ḥikma* besides the Qur'ān. Al-Makkī, 'Ilm, 49-50 cited in Yaman, 191-192.

heavenly journey made in body.[1125] In other words, it is testing the faith of the believers.[1126] It is the source from where the heavenly journeys or ecstatic visions of the Ṣūfī masters come forth.[1127] It is the removal of the curtains or veils[1128] to the extent that there remains no one between God and His Messenger. It is seeing "God sitting on His Throne"[1129] who was "a Light".[1130]

In our text, there is another word like *istiwā'*, which draws our attention to some mystical interpretations of *mi'rāj*: *idhāba*. Gregory mentions the "melting of the soul and body" (9,12 τῆξιν ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, 9,10 واذابة النفس والجسم) among some ascetical practices such as tears, vigils, invocations, *rukū'* and so on. In the primitive version of Ibn 'Abbās account, Muḥammad's fear is followed by his passing away which appears in Abū Yazīd's narrative of his own *mi'rāj* experience as follows: "[I]t was as if I were melting as melting lead". In most of the mystical writings as *Mi'rājnāma*, which is

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[1125] Vuckovic is right to think that if *mi'rāj* was considered to happen in a dream, there would not arose such a big controversy among the Meccans. It is known that al-Rāzī tried to prove that it really took place, basing his argument on the Qur'ān and the scientific knowledge taken from biology, astronomy and geometry. However, philosophers and Ṣūfīs went on to discuss whether it took place in the body or in the spirit. It is worth noting that, for Ibn 'Arabī, the big difference between the heavenly journey of the Prophet and the journeys of saints is the bodily character of Muḥammad's *mi'rāj*. It is in fact his only corporeal ascent and the saints in their visions (in their hearts) come very close to his other spiritual journeys. Vuckovic, 80-81, 127.

[1126] As we mentioned earlier, amidst the great upheaval arose in Mecca, Abū Bakr was the first one who accepted without any hesitation that Muḥammad made a night journey from Mecca to Jerusalem and ascended to the presence of God and this earned him the title "al-Ṣiddīq" (the Truthful One). In the Ṣūfī tradition, "the truthful ones" (*al-ṣiddīqūn*), who are followed by philosophers (*ḥukamā*) and scholars (*'ulamā*) in closeness to God, share the same rank with prophets. Yaman, 187.

[1127] "Many sufi masters, including Bisṭāmī (d. 874), Ḥallāj (d. 922), Qushayrī (d. 1074), and al-Ḥujwirī (d. 1077) use *mi'rāj* as a central allegory when teaching their students about access to God and the special knowledge they would receive by undertaking such a journey", writes Vuckovic when dealing with the mystical approach to *mi'rāj*. Vuckovic, 125. Ḥallāj's execution (crucifixion and beheading) has been linked to Jesus's crucifixion in the accounts given by some of his disciples who claimed that it was not him that was crucified and he was seen on a donkey afterwards. His death was understood as a mystical union and therefore called *mi'rāj* since it was believed that, despite his apparent suffering, he was taken near to God in his spirit. Robinson, 54-55.

[1128] "The veil ḥadīth" in the third part of *Mishkāt* or "the veil section" is as follows: "God has 70 (in some versions: 70.000) veils of light and darkness; were He to lift them, the glories of His Face would burn up everyone whose sight perceived Him." Treiger, "Monism and Monotheism in al-Ghazālī's Mishkāt al-anwār," 10.

[1129] It is attested by the primitive form of the Ibn 'Abbās narrative that Muḥammad saw God sitting on His Throne. It is also confirmed by God's touching him, which took all the fear out of him but carried him into a kind of ecstasy, and the intimate conversation of him with God. Colby, 34. For the "throne" imagery in al-Ghazālī, see Treiger, *Inspired Knowledge in Islamic Thought* (Appendix A).

[1130] When he was asked about whether he saw God beyond *sidrat al-muntahā*, Muḥammad is reported to say, "How can I see Him since there was a light?" or "I only saw a light". Muslim, 1, 161. For *sidrat*, see Merriman.

attributed to Avicenna, this state (of Muḥammad) is often interpreted as "being intoxicated": "When he [Gabriel] brought me to the Presence of Glory […] such unveiling, grandeur, and pleasure from proximity was produced that you would say that I was intoxicated."[1131]

In this part of the chapter, we have looked at the concept of the ascent of the soul which made us think whether a bodily ascent to heaven is also possible for those who have reached *theosis* as suggested in the *mi'rāj* accounts of Muslim writers and the ecstatic experiences of mystics, Muslim or Christian. In spirit or in body, visions of God seem to refer to the final phase of the deification process and therefore denote the beginning of a new life for those who are perfect in the strictest sense of the word. It is rather like a moment in which the seeker of the path of *theosis* is confirmed that he or she completed the journey, and is supported with gifts of prophecy and revelation. Despite all the references to seeing or experiencing Him, it is not possible to say that human beings, even the deified ones, while in this world, can see God in His real nature. We must therefore turn our attention to the next world but before that, we will examine the word "ta'alluh" and define what it says about the deified human beings.

4.2.2.3. The Deified Man or *al-insān al-kāmil* (*al-insān al-tāmm*)

Now is the time to look at the character traits of deified men (*muta'allihūn*). We find them described by Gregory (and Ibrāhīm) as the light, the righteous, the Godlike, the man (or *friend*) of God, and the immortal (and incorruptible). "Becoming light" refers to having the "signs of illumination" marked upon oneself who is responsible to spread his light to others who are not yet illumined. The righteous ones are those who are given the "hidden wisdom", and being Godlike refers to their angelic and heavenly character. As the face of God, they mediate between God and humanity. Baptism gives them "immortality and incorruptibility" which is called *sa'āda* or "happiness". They are the citizens of "the Kingdom of Heaven", and above all, they deserve to "be worshipped".

[1131] Colby, 38-39, 152.

According to Gregory, illumination is the "participation of light, the dissolution of darkness" (3,9-10 φωτὸς μετουσία σκότους κατάλυσις, 3,6 مساهمة النور انتقاض الظلمة). David asked God to send the Light (36,12 τὸ φῶς, 36,8 النور) and the Truth (36,12 τὴν ἀλήθειαν, 36,8 الحق) for him. Then he thanked that he had it and the light of God was marked upon him (36,13-14 σημειωθῆναι τὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ φῶς ἐπ' αὐτόν, 36,9-10 ارتسم فيه نور الله), that is, the signs of the illumination impressed upon him were known to others (36,14-15 καὶ γνωρισθῆναι τὰ σημεῖα τῆς δεδομένης ἐλλάμψεως, 36,10-11 وعرفت دلايل الانارة التي دفعت اليه). Gregory reminds the audience that the disciples were described as "the light of the world".[1132] Then he calls them to "be made *stars* in the world, holding the Word of Life,[1133] that is, to be a quickening power to others" (37,19-20 Γενώμεθα φωστῆρες, ἐν κόσμῳ, λόγον ζωῆς ἐπεχοντες, τουτέστι ζωτικὴ τοῖς ἄλλοις δύναμις, 37,14-15 ونكون كواكب في الدنيا نحفظ كلام الحياة اي نكون قوة حياة لغيرنا).[1134]

The righteous are enlightened by a light (36,5 "Φῶς" μὲν "ἀνέτειλε τῳ δικαίῳ",[1135] 36,4 نور قد اشرق للصديق), which is a sign of the happiness (36,5-6 καὶ ἡ τούτου σύζυγος εὐφροσύνη, 36,4 واشرق معه قرينة الذي هو السرور) and which is everlasting (36,6 "Φως δὲ δικαίοις διὰ παντός",[1136] 36,5 ونور للصديقين في كل وقت). Therefore, those whose ears and tongues are enlightened (38,9 Φωτισθῶμεν ἀκοήν, φωτισθῶμεν γλῶσσαν, 38,6 لننير السمع ولننير اللسان), can hear joy and gladness (38,11-12 καὶ ἀκουτισθῶμεν ἀγαλλίασιν καὶ εὐφροσύνην, 38,8 ونسمع فرحا وسرورا) and speak the wisdom of God, hidden in mystery (38,14-15 ἀλλὰ λαλῶμεν Θεοῦ σοφίαν ἐν μυστηρίῳ τὴν ἀποκεκρυμμένην,[1137] 38,10

[1132] Matt. 5:14.
[1133] Phil. 2:15-16.
[1134] Al-Fārābī, by following Plato and Aristotle, indicates that the ruler (philosopher-king) is the perfect man who imitates the divine and whose city is a reflection of the intelligible world. In Crone's words, the citizens of the virtuous city "cooperate as devotees of philosophy, forming a single soul and occupying the same rank (*martaba*) in the next world, to live for ever after in jubilant contemplation of the divine". Bonelli, 152, 160, 225. Although he uses it in terms of the relation between philosophy and mysticism, al-Ghazālī's "snake-charmer" motive with its function of "charming the snake" and "distilling the theriac", reminds the role of the perfect man in the perfection of humanity. Treiger explains the real role of the "snake-charmer" with whom al-Ghazālī identifies himself, as "despoiling the philosophers, redefining philosophical notions as inspirational ones, and subsequently administering these notions, in a mystical garb, as 'medicine' to the Muslim community". Treiger, *Inspired Knowledge in Islamic Thought* (Chapter 5, *Al-Ghazālī*, 122; *Conclusion*, 8, 13).
[1135] Ps. 96:11 (LXXX).
[1136] Cf. Is. 60:19.
[1137] 1 Cor. 2:7.

بحكمة الله المستور في السر). Beyond the visible part of baptism which is not forbidden to the ear of many, there lies the part that is taught by the Trinity (45,48-49 Τἆλλα δὲ εἴσω μαθήσῃ, τῆς Τριάδος χαριζομένης, 45,34-35 واما غير ذلك فانت تعرف سرا اذا ما وهب ذلك الثالوث)[1138] and should be kept hidden, sealed and secured (45,49-50 ἃ καὶ κρύψεις παρὰ σεαυτῷ σφραγῖδι κρατούμενα, 45,35 وتخفيه في نفسك وتكمن بالخاتم مضبوطا). This mysterious part is only known to those who realised their perfection.

It is known that in addition to his faculty of speech (and reason), man's godlike character (5,16-17 καὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν πάλιν οἱ θεοειδέστεροι, 5,13-14 ولموضع المتصورين منا بصورة اللاهوت فهم)[1139] and his closeness to God (5,17 καὶ μᾶλλον Θεῷ πλησιάχοντες, 5,14 الى الله اشد قربا)[1140] made the ancients called him "light". Gregory calls his audience which he describes as "man and **friend** of God" (16,19-20 "Σὺ δέ, ὦ ἄνθρωπε τοῦ Θεοῦ",[1141] فاما انت يا عبد الله **وصاحبه**[1142] فاعرف موضع γνῶθι τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν τοῦ ἀντικειμένου, 16,16

[1138] Those who "come inside, and cross the court, and observe the Holy Things, and look into the Holy of Holies" will be "in company with the Trinity" (16,26 μετὰ τῆς Τριάδος γενέσθαι, 16,21 وتصير مع الثالوث نفسه).

[1139] As we have mentioned before in our discussion of the divine image in man, since their creation, human beings have a tendency to become godlike. In Christian Arabic literature, this phenomenon is treated both in a positive and in a negative way. In the following are the examples of the negative side of this phenomenon. The writer of *Fī Tathlīth* remarks on Exodus 1-14 in a way, which reminds the Qur'ānic reference to Pharaoh (26:29, 28:38, 79:24): "There arose over Egypt another pharaoh, who had not known Joseph, He scattered them and put them to harsh toil. He wished to destroy the children of Israel, and *made himself a god*". Swanson, "Beyond Prooftexting: Approaches to the Qur'ān in Some Early Arabic Christian Apologies," 310. Sāwīrus says, "He [Adam] had believed, out of ignorance, that the weak, created, deficient servant could become a *god*, a *lord*, a *deity* and one who is glorified". Griffith, *The Beginnings of Christian Theology in Arabic: Muslim-Christian Encounters in the Early Islamic Period*, 120. The writer of the Arabic Apocalypse of Peter says, "Adam ate from the tree because he wished to be God […] in spite of his intelligence". Grypeou, 120.

[1140] Man's relationship with God is described in the oration as "being close to" (5,17 κατ μᾶλλον Θεῷ πλησιάζοντες, 5,14 فهم الى الله اشد قربها) or "being away from" (22,9-10 οἱ μὲν παντελῶσ ἦσαν ἀλλότριοι τοῦ Θεοῦ, 22,7-8 غريبا من الله) Him. For Gregory's description of Athanasius as "one of those who are near (approach) to God more than every one else" (7,4-5 واحد من **المتقدمين** الى الله **القريب** من كل احد), see Grand'Henry, ed. *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua I: Oratio XXI (Arab. 20)*, 19. For the same notion in a different guise (Orat. 45 2,29 عن التراقي الى الله), see Tuerlinckx, ed. *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua II: Orationes I, XLV, XLIV (Arab. 9, 10, 11)*, 50. In the discussion of the relationship between God and human beings, *Fī Tathlīth* has a language which is greatly influenced by the Qur'ān (2:186, 11:61): "You are near (*qarībun*) to the one who draws near to you". Swanson, "Beyond Prooftexting: Approaches to the Qur'ān in Some Early Arabic Christian Apologies," 306. For the expressions "nearness to God" (qurbahu ilā-llāh) and "being away from God" (al-baʿdu min Allāh), see Khoury, 32 (Ar.). In Oration 24, the Arabic Gregory describes "being away from God" as "being alienated from the heavenly beings" (وكنا من السماييات غربا 2). Grand'Henry, "La version arabe du discours 24 de Grégoire de Nazianze: Édition critique, commentaires et traduction," 238.

[1141] 1 Tim. 6:11.

[1142] We find the same word in Gregory's discussion of "fleeing from the forum" which, according to him, should be done "with the good company" (19,3-4 μετὰ τῆς καλῆς συνοδίας, 19,3 واستصحب الصاحب الفاضل).

خداعه) –that seems to be an honorary title– to recognise the plots of their adversary. Elsewhere, Ibrāhīm renders "man" as "ṣāḥib": Orat. 21 *PG* 35.1096B ὄντως ἄνθρωπος τοῦ Θεοῦ, 13,7 هو بالحقيقة **صاحب** لله (He [Athanasius] was in fact a friend of God). There is another reference in Oration 21 to "be a friend of God" which reads as follows: "When it was risen up to the love of God [from fearing of God], wisdom made us friends and sons of God" (*PG* 35.1088C Θεοῦ **φίλους** ἡμᾶς καὶ υἱοὺς, 6,12-13 جعلتنا **اصفيا** لله واصارتنا اولادا).[1143] In the Arabic version of Oration 24, we find another word which most frequently appears in Ṣūfī texts to denote "the friends of God", *awliyā'*: *PG* 35.1193B τὸ πάντων **οἰκειότατον** τοῖς λόγου θεραπευταῖς, 19 بخدام الكلمة **واوليايها** (with servers and friends of the Word).[1144] Al-Ghazālī remarks on the ranks of *awliyā'*:

> Strive to become one of those who have a tasting of some of this spirit [i.e. the sacred prophetic spirit], for the saints (*awliyā'*) have [this taste] in abundance. Failing that, strive to become one of those who have knowledge (*'ilm*) of it through the analogies. […] [F]ailing that […] you do not fall below those who have belief (*īmān*) in it.[1145]

In the Ṣūfī tradition, *awliyā'* are thought to be the mediators between divinity and humanity. They not only help the human soul to find the way to its origin[1146] and direct it towards God but also may ask God for its forgiveness. Because of their closeness to God, they are supposed to be God's dear friends whose prayers and requests are accepted. Saints are the columns that hold the universe and Jesus is "the Seal of Saints"

For the rendering of ἀλλήλοις as ṣāḥibahu (his friend) which is apparently an emphasis on the Arabic word, see Grand'Henry, "La version arabe du discours 24 de Grégoire de Nazianze: Édition critique, commentaires et traduction," 238.

[1143] Grand'Henry, ed. *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua I: Oratio XXI (Arab. 20)*, 38, 16-17.

[1144] The English translation of the Greek part is as follows: "[…] but words, the most fitting reward of all for the devotees of the Word". M. P. Vinson, *Select Orations* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2003), 155.

[1145] *Mishkāt*, Part 2, 37-38 cited in Treiger, *Inspired Knowledge in Islamic Thought* (Chapter 3, *Tasting*, 32-33). According to al-Ghazālī, "the masters [walī]" have "the holy prophetic spirit" which is acquired by man when his cognitive faculty attains "complete purity". Davidson, 139.

[1146] Ikhwān al-Ṣafā describes the perfected state of the human soul as a return to the Active Intellect. This is in line with Fārābian designation of the abode of happy souls within or just beneath the Active Intellect. Bonelli, 236.

who is the apex of this sainthood. Sajjad Rizvi[1147] notes that, in the Muslim mystical tradition, "the realised Ṣūfī" or "the perfect human (al-insān al-kāmil)" as someone who "participates in the divine names and deploys divine attributes" is thought to be "the face of God".

Gregory says, "Baptism is the robe of **immortality** and incorruptibility (4,8 ἀφθαρσίας ἔνδυμα, 4,5-6 لباس البقا وعدم الفساد; 31,28 ἔνδυμα τῆς ἀφθαρσίας, 31,22 لباس **البقا**) or being clothed with **immortality** and incorruptibility (29,9 τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν ἀμφιεσάμενος, 29,8-9 تلبس **البقا** وعدم الفساد)."[1148] This is the Kingdom of Heaven (22,5-6 τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν, 22,4 ملكوت السموات)[1149] or the **happiness** (4,18 μακαριότητος, 4,13-14 هذا صورة **السعادة** التي هناك قد نوثر ان نسبحه الا نقدر على ذلك بحسب اسحقاقه; 6,25 μακαριότητος, 6,17 **السعادة** التي هناك ضو[1150] مراتب عليهم ويفرق يقسم وهو).

As we have mentioned before, al-Fārābī found the end or the highest level of human perfection in the conjunction with the Active Intellect. He thought that this would bring man immortality but, thinking that the material and contingent nature of the human intellect cannot transform into an immaterial and eternal being, he later seemed to be questioning the possibility of attaining immortality in this world.[1151] Therefore, P. Crone[1152] is right to say, "True happiness, according to al-Fārābī, was intellectual and moral perfection in this world and immortality of the rational soul in the next". However, he believes that "the 'soul' [can] liberate[s] itself from matter even before the

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[1147] Sajjad H. Rizvi, "Philosophy as a Way of Life in the World of Islam: Applying Hadot to the Study of Mullā Ṣadrā Shīrāzī (d. 1635)," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (2012): 9. Cf. Henry Corbin, *Face de Dieu, face de l'homme: Herméneutique et soufisme* (Paris: Entrelacs, 2008).

[1148] In Timothy I's dialogue with the Caliph in 781, we find a description of the cross as "the source of life and immortality" (ينبوع الحياة وعدم الموت). Samir, *The Significance of Early Arab-Christian Thought for Muslim-Christian Understanding*, 26-27.

[1149] The Kingdom of Heaven is the reward of the righteous. For the idea of "buying it" while in this world, see Orat. 24, paragraph fifteen. Those who are together with Christ and martyrs will be in the "kingdom which is the abode of all the happy ones and of the groups who do not lack happiness": Orat. 24, 19 الملكوت حيث مسكن المسرورين اجمعين والصفوف الذين لا يتنقض لهم سرور. Grand'Henry, "La version arabe du discours 24 de Grégoire de Nazianze: Édition critique, commentaires et traduction", 274, 286.

[1150] Bonelli notes that al-Fārābī's "supreme ruler" who is "connected to the One via the Active Intellect" "assigns every individual the rank that they will have on earth and consequently in the afterlife". Bonelli, 230. This is in line with the traditional role assigned to the (perfect) man, which is "being the viceregent of God on earth".

[1151] Black, "Psychology: Soul and Intellect," 319.

[1152] P. Crone, *God's Rule: Government and Islam* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 177 cited in Bonelli, 4.

body dies and 'remains in that state perpetually', its 'eudaemonia [*sa'āda*] [being] complete'".[1153] Happiness is, according to al-Fārābī, "the greatest perfection which a human being derives from the First".[1154] It is called in *Taḥṣīl al-sa'āda*, "the supreme happiness" (*al-sa'āda al-quṣwā*) and "the final perfection" (*al-kamāl al-akhīr*). As the knowledge of "al-asbāb al-quṣwā" (the greatest reasons), *ḥikma* is the means of *sa'āda* which is "al-ghāya al-quṣwā"[1155] (the highest goal).[1156]

We find the concept of *sa'āda* in the last section of Avicenna's *al-Ishārāt* in which he treats the state of "bahjat wa-sa'āda" (joy and happiness) in terms of his views of Ṣūfism and in connection with "the stations of the knowers" (*maqāmāt al-'ārifīn*) and "the secrets of signs" (*asrār al-āyāt*).[1157] Similarly, *sa'āda* ("perfect happiness", *kamāl al-sa'āda*) is linked by al-Ghazālī to the "cognition of the mysteries [of the Islamic doctrine], the pith of its meanings, and the real meaning of its terms" (*ma'rifat asrārihā wa-lubāb ma'ānīhā wa-ḥaqīqat ẓawāhirihā*). Therefore, it is not surprising to find his "science of unveiling" defined as the happiness itself.[1158]

For Gregory, the perfect man is the one who, "relying on the seal" (10,31 τῇ σφραγῖδι θαρρήσας, 10,21 واثقا بالخاتم), can say that he is "the image of God" (10,31 [εἰκών εἰμι] καὶ αὐτὸς Θεοῦ, 10,22 [انني انا] صورة الله) and demand worship (10,34 σύμεπροσκύνησον,

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[1153] *Madīna* 204-207, 62-63; *Siyāsa* 32, 35, 42 cited in Davidson. For the notion of *sa'āda* –on earth and in the next life– in al-Fārābī's *Virtous City*, see Bonelli.

[1154] *Selected Aphorisms*, ed. and trans. D. M. Dunlop, Fuṣūl al-Madanī: Aphorisms of the Statesman (Cambridge, 1961), § 49, p. 48 cited in Black, "Practical Wisdom, Moral Virtue, and Theoretical Knowledge: The Problem of the Autonomy of the Practical Realm in Arabic Philosophy", 455.

[1155] The same expression appears in the Arabic version of Oration 24 as the designation of *al-na'īm*, which refers to the fifth *janna* in the Islamic tradition: "[…] and hunger lead to (are) al-na'īm which is the highest thing to be achieved" (*PG* 35.1188C λιμὸν δὲ ὑπολαμβάνειν τὴν ἀνωτάτω τρυφὴν, 15 الغرث والجوع انهما النعيم الذي في الغاية القصوى (للنعيم الذي في الغاية القصوى عريا وجوعا). For the use of *ghāya* in al-Ṣāfī ibn al-'Assāl's resumé of Ibn 'Adī's treatise *On the Trinity and the Incarnation* as "the highest degree" or "peak", see Samir, *The Significance of Early Arab-Christian Thought for Muslim-Christian Understanding*, 23.

[1156] Yaman, 235, 240.

[1157] Ibid., 265.

[1158] *Arba'īn*, Part 1, Khātima, 38 cited in Treiger, *Inspired Knowledge in Islamic Thought* (Chapter 2, *The Revival*, 68, 71). However, it is not attained only through intellectual perfection: "[A]bsolute felicity (*al-sa'āda al-muṭlaqa*) is attainable only through perfection [on the one hand] and purification and cleansing [on the other], perfection being achieved through knowledge, and purification, through action". *Tahāfut*, Disc. 20, § 3, p. 212 cited in Treiger, *Inspired Knowledge in Islamic Thought* (Chapter 5, *Al-Ghazālī*, 23).

10,24 [انت] لي فاسجد). *Al-insān al-kāmil*[1159] or the perfect man is an important figure in medieval Arabic texts. It is not found only in the writings of Ṣūfīs as it also appears in Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī's *Tahdhīb al-akhlāq* in which, however, *al-insān al-tāmm* is preferred. Gregory seems to prefer *tāmm* and *tamām* as well. The idea of "perfection" finds its best expression in paragraph forty-five:[1160] "Today (the day of your baptism), the *model* of perfection will be written in you" (2-3 σήμερον δέ σε γραφῆναι δεήσει καὶ παρ᾽ ἡμῶν τυπωθῆναι πρὸς τελειότητα, 2 للتمام المثال لك يكتب ان سبيله اليوم هذا وفي). Avicenna thinks the same as he says that those who have wisdom and prophetic spirit are like (almost) a human god (*kāda an-yuṣīra rabban insāniyyan*), who even deserve to be worshipped after God. They are God's viceregent on earth (*khalīfat Allāh fī-hi*) which is given to his rule (*sulṭān al-ʿālam al-ʿarḍī*).[1161]

Al-Ghazālī explains this kind of expressions, which are called interlocutions or ecstatic expressions of mystics, *shaṭḥ* (pl. *shaṭaḥāt*) in the Arabic tradition, as part of a big narrative. According to this theory, *shaṭaḥāt* spring from the heart of the mystic who expresses his ecstatic experience in a language interwoven with various elements, which may seem controversial when taken out of the context.[1162] "Intoxication" and "passionate love" are the main factors behind the controversial ecstatic expressions:

> The ecstatic pronouncements of al-Ḥallāj, al-Bisṭāmī and their likes are due to intoxication (*sukr*) and passionate love (*ʿishq*); these people do not reach real union (*ḥaqīqat al-ittiḥād*), which is impossible, but what resembles union (*shibh al-ittiḥād*).
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> [I]n this [stage] intellects are prone to err in two ways: First, they may think that there has occurred a conjunction (with God) and express it in terms of

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[1159] For the use of *kamāl* in the last sentence of Oration 24 which reads "participating in perfection (perfectly) with (our) Lord the Christ" (19 المسيح بربنا كاملين بالكمال منه وننال), see Grand'Henry, "La version arabe du discours 24 de Grégoire de Nazianze: Édition critique, commentaires et traduction," 290.

[1160] See 44,23: 28-29 σεαυτῷ τὴν τελείωσιν, التمام لنفسك (Your perfection).

[1161] Yaman, 257.

[1162] Al-Ghazālī comments on al-Bisṭāmī's interlocutions as follows:
> It is not proper to accept what he narrates [yaḥkī], even if one heard it directly from him. Perhaps he was narrating it from God, the Powerful and Sublime, in a speech that he repeats to himself. For instance, when one hears him [Bisṭāmī] say, 'Indeed, I am God, there is no deity but me, so adore me', surely it is not appropriate to understand his speech, except as a narration/as narrativity [illā ʿalā sabīl al-ḥikāya]!

Iḥyā, I:41 quoted in Moosa, 71-72.

(God's) indwelling (*ḥulūl*) (within them). Second, they may think that there has occurred a union (with God): they have become (God) Himself and the two have become one (*ittiḥād*). […] When this intellect gives way to sobriety they understand that they have been in error.

The correct term to describe this state is, in relation to the person who attains it, "obliteration" (*fanā'*) or rather "obliteration of obliteration" (*fanā' al-fanā'*); and in relation to That in which he is immersed (*al-mustaghrab bihi*), tawḥīd.[1163]

So far, we have analysed ideas and concepts that are related to *theosis* with special reference to the link between deification and baptism. Now is the time to discuss the Arabic equivalent of *theosis* that is used in the Arabic translations of Gregory's orations and in some other medieval Arabic texts. In Ibrāhīm's translation of Oration 40, *ta'alluh*, the Arabic equivalent of theosis, appears only once: "(If I worshipped creation and were baptised into a creature) I would not be deified (made divine) and my first birth would not be changed" (42,15-16 οὐκ ἂν ἐθεούμην, 42,11 اتاله[1164] فلست). In the following are the other occurrences of *ta'alluh* and its cognates in the Arabic versions of Gregory's orations: Orat. 21 *PG* 35.1084B ὁ δὲ τὰς νοερὰς φύσεις θεοειδεῖς ἀπεργάζεται, 1,14 والله فيجعل الطبائع العقلية متالهة (God makes the rational nature divine); *PG* 35.1184C καὶ τῆς ἐκεῖσε θεώσεως, 2,4 ومن تالهه هناك […] and for his deification there […]).[1165] Orat. 24 *PG* 35.1180C αἱ καθαραὶ ψυχαὶ καὶ θεοειδεῖς, 10 النفوس الطاهرة المتالهة

[1163] *Mishkāt*, Part 1, Para 46; *The Persian Letter*, Makātib, p. 19, lines 15-20; *Mishkāt*, Part 1, Para 48 quoted in Treiger, "Monism and Monotheism in al-Ghazālī's Mishkāt al-anwār," 21, 6. In the Arabic version of *Mystical Theology*, ἕνωσις is translated as *ulfa*; interestingly enough, it is also possible to find it rendered as *tawḥīd* (ἐνούμενος, ἐνοῦσθαι) and *al-waḥdāniyya* (الوحدانية والالفة). Treiger thinks that *al-waḥdāniyya wa-ulfa* is "a more opaque and neutral expression" than "mystical union". Treiger, "The Arabic Version of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite's Mystical Theology, Chapter 1: Introduction, Critical Edition, and Translation," 371, 377. For the use of tawḥīd as the "oneness of God" or the "unity in the Trinity" and *ulfa* as "union" or "association", see Kitāb al-burhān, paragraphs 22, 29, 37, 44; 4, 17, 56, 143, 403, 404, 406, 409. *Ulfa* appears as "accustoming" in *Tahdhīb al-akhlāq*. 'Adī, 13.

[1164] For the use of *ta'alluh* in *Kitāb al-burhān* as "deification" ("The woman was eager to become god-like" and "The humanity became divine"), see Eutychius of Alexandria, *The Book of Demonstration (Kitāb al-burhān)*, ed. Pierre Cachia, vol. I, 58, 107. Eutychius of Alexandria, *The Book of Demonstration (Kitāb al-burhān)*, trans. W. M. Watt, vol. I, 47, 86.

[1165] Grand'Henry, ed. *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua I: Oratio XXI (Arab. 20)*, 5-6.

(the pure and deified souls).[1166] Orat. 45 *PG* 36.632B τῇ πρὸς Θεὸν νεύσει θεούμενον, الاشخاص نحو الله متالها 7,19 (deified by his inclination towards God).[1167]

Muta'allihūn appears in the Arabic translations of Aristotle's Physics (IV, II, 218b24)[1168] and Nicomachean Ethics (I, 12, 1101b19; 1101b23): τοῖς ἥρωσιν, al-muta'allihīna (I, 414, 6); τοὺς θεοὺς, muta'allihīna (79, 12 and 16 Badawī).[1169] *Muta'allih* is also used by the tenth-century translator of Themistius' "On Governing the State":[1170]

> If man inclines to bodily passions and pleasures (الشهوات الجسمانية واللذات), and busies himself with them, his life becomes directed towards a bestial life. If he defeats his lesser part (اخس جزئيه) for the better and more honourable one, I mean, the body for the soul, and then rejects the bodily pleasures, he

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[1166] Grand'Henry, "La version arabe du discours 24 de Grégoire de Nazianze: Édition critique, commentaires et traduction", 258.

[1167] Tuerlinckx, ed. *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua II: Orationes I, XLV, XLIV (Arab. 9, 10, 11)*, 74-75. For the human nature of Christ which is made divine (*PG* 36.633D ἐθέωσε, 9,21 تاله), see ibid. 88. For the Syriac rendering of ἐθεούμην (Orat. 40.42) as *methalah* (to become god), see Jean-Claude Haelewyck, ed. *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio syriaca I, Oratio XL* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), 129. See also Ibid., 26, 36 and 140 for *domyay lAloho* (likeness of God), *lbish lamshiho* (put on Christ) and *lbusho dlo meth'hablonutho* (uncorrectable robe).

[1168] The Arabic translation of *Physics* was translated by Isḥāq ibn Ḥunayn in the late ninth or early tenth century. Treiger, *Inspired Knowledge in Islamic Thought* (Chapter 10, *Al-Ghazālī*, 118).

[1169] Gerhard Endress and Dimitri Gutas, ed. *A Greek and Arabic Lexicon. Fascicle 1* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992), 307.

[1170] I am indebted to Dr John Watt for both drawing my attention to this text and providing me Shahid's work. The Arabic version of *On Governing the State* is edited and translated into Latin by Irfan Shahid. One of the two translators that rendered the work into Arabic in the tenth century wrote that he based his work on a Syriac translation but not the Greek original, which does not survive. In a manuscript, this Arabic text is said to have been addressed to the emperor Julian. Themistius, *The Private Orations of Themistius*, ed. and trans. Robert J. Penella (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000), 5, 46. Both the Latin title of Shahid's work (Epistula Themistii de re publica gerenda) and the information found in Arabic sources according to which Themistius wrote a Kitāb and a Risālat to expound his views on the virtues of the ruler and how to rule suggest that *On Governing the State* should be a letter. Themistius thought that through virtue, and above all, through philanthropy a ruler can become similar to God (or the image of God) and mediate between divinity and humanity. John Vanderspoel, *Themistius and the Imperial Court: Oratory, Civic Duty, and Paideia from Constantius to Theodosius* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1995), 79, 242-243, 247-248. Themistius was a contemporary of Gregory who was also an orator that had concerns about the rule of the emperor Julian and emphasised philanthropy as an ideal model for sovereigns. However, he did not reveal his concerns as clear and strong as Gregory did. For the relationship between Themistius and Julian, see Glen Warren Bowersock, *Julian the Apostate* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 31.

becomes deified (متألها) (*dei similis*), leading the way that pleases God, the Majestic and Mighty (الله جل وعز), and is worthy of the man.[1171]

Ta'alluh as divinisation is found in the Arabic version of the commentary of Proclus on the *Golden Verses* of Pythagoras. We learn from the manuscript title that Ibn al-Ṭayyib (d. 1043) made a summary of the work or collected extracts from it (*istithmār*). In the Ibn al-Ṭayyib version, the first sentence of a paragraph from the commentary that deals with paying reference to gods and heroes turns to be praise for God: "God (Allāh) is the first of the immortals to be honoured". However, the Nestorian editor did not hesitate to use *al-ilāh* for Zeus or *sakīnat* for daimons or *ta'alluh* for divinisation. Yet, the Arabic version of Iamblichus' commentary on the same Pythagorean work has a strong monotheistic and Islamic tone in its language. Therefore, it is not surprising to find "the immortal gods" of the Greek text described as "the angels of God" by the Arabic translator.[1172]

In the Islamic tradition, we find the earliest references to *ta'alluh* in Ikhwān al-Ṣafā (10th c.) and Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (d. 996)[1173]. As we noted before, in the *Rasā'il*, *ta'alluh* is mentioned among the practices to attain wisdom, while in al-Makkī it is used as a noun (*al-muta'allihūn*) to describe those who have completed their deification process.[1174] It appears in Avicenna's *Najāt* (The Deliverance) as follows: "He (the prophet) is a human being who is distinct from other people through his deiformity (*bi-ta'alluhihi*)".[1175] Following the translator of Aristotle's Physics, Avicenna refers to an ancient group of people who were supposed to have wisdom as *muta'allihūn*: "[…] The

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[1171] Irfan Shahid, "Themistius, Epistula de re publica gerenda Arabice servata," in *Themistius. Orationes Quae Supersunt. Rec. H. Schenkl. Opus Consummaverunt*, ed. G. Downey and A. F. Norman (Leipzig: 1974), 84-85. (My translation).

[1172] John Walbridge, "Explaining Away the Greek Gods in Islam," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 59, no. 3 (1998): 391-392. For Ibn al-Ṭayyib's work, see Ibn al-Ṭayyib, Proclus' Commentary on the Pythagorean Golden Verses: Arabic Text and Trans., ed. and trans. Neil Linley (Arethusa Monographs 10; Buffalo, 1984). For Iamblichus' commentary in Arabic, see Hans Daiber, Neuplatonische Pythagorica in arabischem Gewande: Der Kommentar des Iamblichus zu den Carmina aurea: Ein verlorener griechischer Text in arabischer Überlieferung (Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademies van Wetenschappen Verhandelingen, Afdelig Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, Deel 161; Amsterdam, 1995).

[1173] For the views of the great mystic Ibn 'Arabī on theosis (ta'alluh), see Rizvi, "Mysticism and Philosophy: Ibn 'Arabī and Mullā Ṣadrā ", 229-230.

[1174] Murata, *The Tao of Islam: A Sourcebook on Gender Relationships in Islamic Thought*, 255, 262.

[1175] Ibn Sīnā, *Kitāb al-najāt*, ed. Mājid Fakhrī (Beirut: Manshūrāt Dār Al-Āfāq Al-Jadīdah, 1982), 343. [Online] Available at: http://www.muslimphilosophy.com/books/najat.pdf [Accessed: 14 March 2012]

First Teacher (Aristotle) also reported that a similar phenomenon occurred to a group of 'divine men' (muta'allihūn) who History teaches had lived before the People of the Cave".[1176] This phenomenon appears in the unbroken chain of sages (or Ṣūfīs) proposed by al-Ghazālī in *Munqidh*: "[…] and indeed in every age, there existed a group of divine men (jamā'a min al-muta'allihīn). God never leaves the world without them, for they are the supports of the earth (awtād al-arḍ)".[1177]

As we mentioned in Chapter 2, in *al-Maqṣad al-asnā*, al-Ghazālī explains ta'alluh in terms of man's participation in the name "Allāh",[1178] which, according to *Mishkāt*,[1179] denotes "that toward which face(s) turn with worship and godliness (ta'alluh)":

> Man's share in this name [Allāh] should be for him to become god-like (*ta'alluh*),[1180] by which I mean that his heart and his aspiration be taken up with God –great and glorious, that he not look towards anything other than Him nor pay attention to what is not He, that he neither implore nor fear anyone but Him. How could it be otherwise? For it had already been understood from this name that He is the truly actual Existent, and that everything other than He is ephemeral, perishing and worthless except in relation to Him. (The servant) sees himself first of all as the first of the perishing and worthless, as did the messenger of God –may God's grace and

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[1176] *Shifā'*, al-Samā' al-ṭabī'ī, Book 2, Ch. 10, § 8, I:225 cited in Treiger, *Inspired Knowledge in Islamic Thought* (Chapter 10, *Al-Ghazālī*, 117).

[1177] *Munqidh*, § 50, p. 81: 3-11 cited in Treiger, *Inspired Knowledge in Islamic Thought* (Chapter 10, 113-115).

[1178] When dealing with the discussions of the attribution of love to God, Ibn Taymiyya (d. 1328) describes ta'alluh as "submission to God" which came to be known as the meaning of it in modern Arabic. Ibn Taymiyya says, "God (ilāh) is adorable. He (al-ilāh) is in fact the divinised one (al-ma'lūh), which means that He is divinised (uliha) and adored. Submission to God (ta'alluh) and adoration of Him (ta'abbud) all refer to love". Yahya Michot, *La réalité de l'amour (mahabba) de Dieu et de l'homme*, textes spirituels i-vi (Oxford and Le Chebec, 2002). [Online] Available at: www.muslimphilosophy.com/it/works/ITA%20Texspi.pdf [Accessed: 16 February 2011]. According to Lane's dictionary, ta'allaha (تألّه) means "He devoted himself to religious services or exercises; applied himself to acts of devotion". Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, vol. I, 82. For the use of al-ta'līh for the "deification of humankind" and al-ta'alluh for the "deification of Christ's human nature" by Mattā al-Miskīn, and Pope Shenouda III's reference to the deification of man as "ta'līh al-insān", see Davis, 273-274, 277.

[1179] *Mishkāt*, Part 1, § 53 cited in Treiger, "Monism and Monotheism in al-Ghazālī's Mishkāt al-Anwār," 1-2.

[1180] In his discussion of the philosophical theory of mixed mīzājs (character), Ibn Khaldun (d. 1406) mentions "the natural tendency of human beings towards deification (ta'alluh)". Abdesselam Cheddadi, "Le système du pouvoir en Islam d'après Ibn Khaldun," *Annales, Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 35, no. 3-4 (1980): 539.

peace be upon him –when he said: "the truest verse uttered by the Arabs was Labīd's saying: 'Surely everything except God is vain, and every happiness is doubtless ephemeral'".[1181]

In the later period of Islamic philosophy, ta'alluh came to be known, particularly in Mullā Ṣadrā's thought, as a reference to the illuminationist philosophy. For Mullā Ṣadrā or Ṣadr al-muta'allihīn ("the forefront of the divinised ones" or "the leader of the deiform"),[1182] al-ḥakīm al-muta'allih, is the philosopher-sage or godly-philosopher or theosophos (the sage of God) who combines discursive philosophy and gnosis.[1183] For the founder of Ishrāqī philosophy, Suhrawardī (d. 1191), Peripatetic philosophers and al-Fārābī had "al-ḥikma al-baḥthiyya" (discursive philosophy),[1184] whereas mystics like al-Ḥallāj and al-Bisṭāmī were people of gnosis. However, Pythagoras and Plato symbolised the "intellectual intuition or illumination", which combines discursive philosophy and gnosis.[1185] In Mullā Ṣadrā's philosophy, the muta'allih is the viceregent of God on earth and therefore has sovereignty as the philosopher-king of the Platonic tradition who combines divine illumination and power.[1186]

Ta'alluh may seem to be a daring word for modern readers.[1187] In fact, it only denotes what is already declared by God: the divine seed in human beings, which can bring

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[1181] Al-Ghazzali, *The Ninety-Nine Beautiful Names of God*, trans., David B. Burrell and Nazih Daher (Cambridge: Islamic Texts Society, 2007), 52. Anna Akasoy notes that "the term ta'alluh […] which Buchman, in line with many other translators of medieval Arabic texts, translates as 'striving to become godlike', is rendered by [Landolt] as 'religiosity'". Anna Akasoy, "Al-Ghazālī, Ramon Llull and Religionswissenschaft " *The Muslim World* 102, (2012): 54. For Landolt's translation, see Landolt, "Ghazālī and 'Religionswissenschaft': Some Notes on the Mishkāt al-Anwār for Prof Charles J. Adams", *Asiatische Studien* 45 (1991), 1-72.

[1182] Chittick, 44.

[1183] Ibrahim Kalın, "Annotated Bibliography of the Works of Mullā Ṣadrā with a Brief Account of His Life," *Islamic Studies* 42, no. 1 (2003): 21-22.

[1184] Treiger thinks that in Suhrawardī's baḥth-ta'alluh distinction ta'alluh refers to Avicenna's dhawq. Treiger, *Inspired Knowledge in Islamic Thought* (*Notes*, 220).

[1185] Zailan Moris, *Revelation, Intellectual Intuition and Reason in the Philosophy of Mullā Ṣadrā: An Analysis of the Al-Hikmah Al-'Arshiyyah* (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003), 44.

[1186] Kalın: 22.

[1187] It must have been a controversial term in the classical period of Islamic philosophy as Rizvi notes, "[I]nstead of explicitly referring to ta'alluh, Ibn 'Arabī prefers talking about acquiring divine virtue because becoming godlike may easily be misunderstood in a strictly monotheistic society". He also reminds us the role of the universe or existence (*mawjūd*) as a whole in man's union with God, which is reflecting divine names and acting as a mirror. Rizvi says, "[For Ibn 'Arabī] […] [T]hat restricts the possible vice of pride that may result from ta'alluh". Rizvi, "Mysticism and Philosophy: Ibn 'Arabī and Mullā Ṣadrā ", 244, 235.

them close to God if cultivated. Our analysis of the word in various medieval Arabic sources has shown that it refers to being in connection with the heavenly world, both epistemologically and ontologically. It has become clear that theosis is the highest possible knowledge of man about God which is gained after a process of perfection. However, this is a knowledge that is lived or experienced. As tasting or delighting in God, it brings a kind of ontological change by which we mean the new state that makes man able to see or experience the light of God. These have been known from the time of Plato. However, there is a recent interest in the word "ta'alluh" and its history:[1188] Rizvi[1189] says, "The concept of theosis in Islamic thought still awaits a serious study". Treiger[1190] thinks, "[T]he term [...] and its history in Arabic philosophy requires a separate study". Versteegh[1191] finds works like *A Greek and Arabic Lexicon* (GALex) important since they include some terms such as "muta'allih" ("deified") which are not found in classical dictionaries. We conclude this part of the chapter by expressing our hope that a comprehensive study, which examines the term "ta'alluh" as it is used in Christian Arabic texts, will appear soon.

4.2.3. Beyond the Veil

Having looked through the veil after examining the world before it, we have come to the point where the veil is completely lifted. Gregory and medieval Arabic-speaking philosophers who were influential in the period beginning with the 10th century seem to agree on that veils could be lifted while in this world for those who have completed their perfection. However, they all think that even for those who have reached *theosis* the real encounter with God will take place in the next world. This is a world, which is described by Ibrāhīm with some words like *saʿāda*, *qiyāma*, *wajh al-Rabb* and *al-Naʿīm* that appear most often in Muslim writings.

[1188] For one of the recent works on ta'alluh, one should see the Arabic translation of Archimandrite George's *Theosis: the True Purpose of Human Life* (2006) by Fr. Dr. Ibrāhīm Khalīl Dabūr (Dabbūr?) (Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese, Amman, Jordan, 2007).

[1189] Rizvi, "Philosophy as a Way of Life in the World of Islam: Applying Hadot to the Study of Mullā Ṣadrā Shīrāzī (d. 1635)," 43.

[1190] Treiger, *Inspired Knowledge in Islamic Thought* (*Notes*, 220).

[1191] Kees Versteegh, "Rewiew of 'A Greek and Arabic Lexicon (GALex): Materials for a Dictionary of the Medieval Translations from Greek into Arabic'," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 118, no. 1 (1998): 108.

4.2.3.1. Seeing God or Rejoicing in the Lord: From *Paradeisos* to *al-Naʿīm*

Among the Arabic writings attributed to Gregory, there is a text on death and the fate of the soul in the next life. *On the hour of death and the departure of the spirit from the body*[1192] is an interesting text, which describes the next world with the help of a language influenced by the Islamic jargon.[1193] This apocryphal text employs "dream" as a means to elucidate its main point, namely the destiny of the soul in the life to come which is determined according to the life it leads in this world. With the impressive eschatological images it contains, this Christian text reflects the characteristics of the period in which it emerged and spread: a narrative of death decorated with imagery of dreams and the descriptions of the next life and written for the moral education of society.[1194]

Al-Muʿtaman ibn al-ʿAssāl noted that the same theme of a next life that is determined according to one's free will and actions was found in a writing of Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq on the end of human life.[1195] One would expect to find the same motif in Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī's *Tahdhīb*, which in fact has no implication for the next world though it is supposed to "give an interest in the life to come and in survival after death" as the writer claims.[1196] Griffith[1197] is right to describe this as the only "overtly religious theme" in the treatise. However, Christian writers of the following century like Ibn al-Ṭayyib, Elias of Nisibis and ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl wrote on the hereafter. According to al-Muʿtaman ibn al-

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[1192] Just to give one example, which reminds Gregory's style: "O the rich one, show mercy as long as you are the master of your soul". Tuerlinckx, "Sur l'heure de la mort et la sortie de l'âme du corps", apocryphe arabe attribué à Grégoire de Nazianze,' in *CCSG 41, CN 8*, ed. B. Coulie (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 236.

[1193] For "Yakhriju min al-ẓulumāt ilā l-nūr" cf. Q 2:257: "Yukhrijuhum min al-ẓulumāt ilā l-nūr" ([…] [F]rom the depths of darkness He will lead them forth into light.) Ibid.

[1194] The critical edition of the text is based on Sinai Ar. 475, which is dated to ca. 13th century. Ibid., 228, 230.

[1195] For Ḥunayn's work, see Samir K. Samir, "Maqālah 'fī l-ājāl' li Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq", *al-Machriq* 65 (1991), 403-25. Griffith, *The Church in the Shadow of the Mosque: Christians and Muslims in the World of Islam*, 120.

[1196] Griffith, *The Beginnings of Christian Theology in Arabic: Muslim-Christian Encounters in the Early Islamic Period*, 126.

[1197] Griffith, "The 'Philosophical Life' in Tenth Century Baghdad: The Contribution of Yaḥyā Ibn ʿAdī's Kitāb tahdhīb al-akhlāq," 144-145.

'Assāl's *Majmūʿ uṣūl al-dīn*, which includes an extract of Ibn al-Ṭayyib's *Maqāla fī l-qiyāma*, this treatise that should have been written before 1043, deals with the description and necessity of resurrection.[1198] It is known that with his *Maqāla fī naʿīm al-ākhira* ("Treatise on the bliss of the afterlife") Elias of Nisibis contributed to the discussions on the nature of the afterlife.[1199] We know that in his *Kitāb bahjat al-muʾmin* (Question III.93-6), Ibn al-Faḍl deals with the life in the hereafter.[1200]

As we have noted before, Gregory says that there are three births, namely the natural birth, the beginning of a divine life that is introduced by baptism, and being born into the real life in the hereafter. The third one or the resurrection begins[1201] with the gathering of all creation in a moment standing before its Creator to give account of their lives (2,2-9 ἀναστάσεως [...[πᾶν τὸ πλάσμα συνάγουσα ἐν βραχεῖ τῷ πλάστῃ παραστησόμενον, 2,2-6 فمفزع موجز يجمع الخليقة كلها في لحظة يسيرة ويقفها قدام باريها لتقوم بالحجة عما خدمته).[1202] Those who have been baptised will rise with Christ on the day of resurrection (24,14-16 Χριστῷ συμφωτισθῆναι βέλτιον, Χριστῷ συναναστῆναι κατὰ τὴν ἀναστάσιμον ἡμέραν, 24,11-12 وان انا تعمدت مع المسيح كان افضل حتى اقوم معه يوم القيامة).

It is possible to say that the next life in the "dwelling place of souls" as ʿAbdāllah ibn al-Faḍl[1203] calls it begins with the resurrection. *Qiyāma* refers to the rising from the dead or resurrection, which is followed by standing before God[1204] to give account of

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[1198] Julian Faultless, "Ibn al-Ṭayyib," 696.

[1199] Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala, "Elias of Nisibis," 738-739. For the text, see Cheikho, ed. *Vingt traités théologiques d'auteurs arabes chrétiens (ixe-xiiie siècles)*, 129-132.

[1200] Treiger, "'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī," 94.

[1201] In fact, it begins with death or *al-ākhira* (9,4; 24,13; 27,8) as Ibrāhīm calls it; however we are not informed about the life until the resurrection.

[1202] See also 33,21-24: 29, τῆς τελευταίας καὶ κοινῆς ἀναστάσεως, ان كنت تقوم شيا اخر من القبر الى حين القيامة المشتركة والبعث الاخير الذي تساق فيه كل الخليقة الى الدينونة ليس لتشفا بل ليحكم عليها وتقوم بالحجة عما خزنته حسنا ام قبيحا (If you raise from the tomb until the universal and the last resurrection which will bring all the creation to the judgement, not to be healed, but to be judged and to give account of what is treasured, good or bad).

[1203] For his *Exposition of the Orthodox Faith*, Ibn al-Faḍl says, "I resolved to write what I believe before I leave the world of the senses (العالم المحسوس) for the dwelling place of souls (منزل النفوس)". Ramy Wannous, "Abdallah ibn al-Fadl, Exposition of the Orthodox Faith," *Parole de l'Orient* 32, (2007): 263.

[1204] Although it is often rendered as *qiyām*, it is possible to find other expressions like *wāqif amāmahu*. For *qiyām*, see Tuerlinckx, "'Sur l'heure de la mort et la sortie de l'âme du corps', apocryphe arabe attribué à Grégoire de Nazianze," 232. For *wāqif amāmahu*, see Grand'Henry, "La version arabe du discours 24 de Grégoire de Nazianze: Édition critique, commentaires et traduction," 290.

one's life on the Day of Reckoning (*yawm al-ḥisāb*).[1205] In the tenth and eleventh centuries, the discussions of Arabic-speaking philosophers on the resurrection and the pleasures and pains experienced in the next world were focused on their natures, i.e. whether they are bodily or intellectual.[1206] It is known that al-Fārābī imagined a non-bodily hereafter, which made some modern writers like Christopher Colmo[1207] suggest that his unorthodox views of the next life were the main reasons for the destruction of his commentary on the Nicomachean Ethics. However, it is in Avicenna's discussion of an intellectual hereafter that the issue is examined in more detail. First, he claims that as "an incorporeal substance emanated by the Active Intellect"[1208], the rational soul of human beings is the immortal part, which survives after death.[1209] This means that the personal identity is equated with the rational soul but not with the composition of soul and body. Therefore, he does not accept a bodily resurrection yet he tries to find a place for corporeality in the hereafter.[1210]

Davidson notes that for Avicenna a disembodied soul cannot experience the next life with his faculty of imagination. Therefore, it is not possible to accept that the corporeal pleasures suggested by religion are experienced through this faculty.[1211] However, we find him attributing bodily pleasures described in the Qur'ān to the imagination of those who have not completed their perfection, while the perfect human beings or the philosophers are supposed to experience the eternal happiness to the fullest. It is possible to say that Avicenna suggests an imaginal afterlife in which pleasures (*al-ladhdha al-'aqliyya*) and pains are supposed to be intellectual. This view could not be

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[1205] For *qiyāma* and *yawm al-ḥisāb*, see *Kitāb al-burhān, passim*. According to the writer of *On the Hour of death*, the dying man says, "While still in the body, I am thinking of how I will give account of my life to (*literally* I will tell) the Righteous Judge". He calls those who prepare themselves to meet with the Righteous Judge (*al-Dayyān*) blessed. Tuerlinckx, "'Sur l'heure de la mort et la sortie de l'âme du corps', apocryphe arabe attribué à Grégoire de Nazianze," 238.

[1206] For their descriptions of the next life, see Mahmut Kaya, ed. *Felsefe ve Ölüm Ötesi: İbn Sînâ, Gazzâlî, İbn Rüşd, Fahreddin Râzî* (Istanbul: Klasik 2011).

[1207] Christopher Colmo, *Breaking with Athens: Alfarabi as Founder* (New York: Lexington Books, 2005), 9 cited in Bonelli, 20-21.

[1208] Davidson, 114.

[1209] Wisnovsky, "Avicenna and the Avicennian Tradition," 104.

[1210] Black, "Reason Reflecting on Reason: Philosophy, Rationality, and the Intellect in the Medieval Islamic and Christian Traditions," 58-59.

[1211] Davidson reminds us that in Michot's interpretation the disembodied soul is supposed to have experiences through the faculty of imagination. Davidson, 114.

accepted by those like al-Ghazālī who believes in bodily pleasures and pains, while not rejecting the intellectual ones.[1212]

We find the same discussion among the Arabic-speaking Christians of Ibrāhīm's day. According to al-Mu'taman ibn al-ʿAssāl, Ibn al-Ṭayyib proposed an imaginal afterlife that differs from the orthodox view of the hereafter. Although we have only an epitome of his *Maqāla fī l-qiyāma*, he should have dealt with the matter in detail, as it is known that the pleasures of the afterlife were a popular subject in Christian-Muslim controversy.[1213] Elias of Nisibis, by emphasising in his *Maqāla fī naʿīm al-ākhira* that Christianity does not promise and even despises corporeal pleasures, seems to criticise the Islamic view of a sensual afterlife.[1214] Similarly, in the Arabic Apocalypse of Peter, a nonmaterialistic view of Paradise is proposed against the physical descriptions in the Islamic tradition. For Emmanouela Grypeou, such an approach should have been adopted for the "re-enforcement of Christian identity and separateness".[1215]

According to Gregory, baptism offers a model of the bliss (4,17 τοῦτο εἰκὼν τῆς ἐκεῖθεν μακαριότητος, 4,13 هذا صورة السعادة) that will be experienced in the life to come.[1216] This is the Kingdom of Heaven (45,41-42 ὃ δὴ καὶ βασιλείαν οὐρανῶν, 45,29 ملكوت السماوات) in which there will be light for those who have been purified here (6,22 φῶς καὶ ἡ

[1212] Treiger, *Inspired Knowledge in Islamic Thought* (Chapter 5, *Al-Ghazālī*, 29, 63, 70-71).

[1213] Faultless, 696-697.

[1214] Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala, "Elias of Nisibis," 738-739. Ibn al-Faḍl also criticises the Islamic descriptions of Paradise in *Kitāb al-manfaʿa* because of their emphasis on bodily pleasures. Treiger, "'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī," 104. For Theodore Abū Qurra's criticism of the *ḥūris* in Paradise in the report of his debate in the Court of al-Ma'mūn (Paris Arabic MS 70, ff. 159ʳ), see Sidney H. Griffith, "The Qur'an in Arab Christian Texts: The Development of an Apologetical Argument: Abu Qurrah in the Maglis of Al-Ma'mun," *Parole de l'Orient* 24 (1999): 231.

[1215] She also comments on the pleasures of Paradise described in the same text as follows: "a basic theological and pastoral intention of reinforcing". Grypeou, 121, 123. Deborah L. Black notes that for Averroes a bodily resurrection can only be thought as a "political tool to ensure fear of eternal punishment among the masses for any severe ethical misconduct". Black, "Reason Reflecting on Reason: Philosophy, Rationality, and the Intellect in the Medieval Islamic and Christian Traditions," 59. For an excellent example of this connection between ethics and the reward and punishment in the next life, see Tuerlinckx, "'Sur l'heure de la mort et la sortie de l'âme du corps', apocryphe arabe attribué à Grégoire de Nazianze."

[1216] See also 45,1-3: "This place in which the newly baptised one stands today after the baptism is the prelude to and the image of the great place and glory there" (45,1-3 Ἡ στάσις, ἣν αὐτίκα στήσῃ μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα πρὸ τοῦ μεγάλου βήματος τῆς ἐκεῖθεν δόξῃς ἐστὶ προχάραγμα, هذا الموقف الذي قد وقفته اليوم بعد المعمودية انما هو مقدمة ومثال للموقف العظيم والمجد الذي هناك).

ἐκεῖθεν λαμπρότης τοῖς ἐνταῦθα κεκαθαρμένοις, 6,15 ضو هو ايضا البها هناك للذين يطهرون هاهنا). The righteous will be in the paradise (24,32-33 τήν τῶν κεκαθαρμένων λαμπρότητα, 24,24-25 والصديقون في النعيم).[1217] They will shine like the sun and God will stand in the midst of gods and kings (6,23-24 ἡνίκα ἐκλάμψουσιν οἱ δίκαιοι ὡς ὁ ἥλιος, ὧν ἵσταται ὁ Θεὸς ἐν μέσῳ, θεῶν ὄντων καὶ βασιλέων, 6,16-17 اذا اشرق الصديقون كالشمس ويقف الله فيما بينهم وهم الهة وملوك).

God will determine and distinguish the ranks of the bliss of which we only have a light here (6,24-25 διαστέλλων καὶ διαιρῶν τὰς ἀξίας τῆς ἐκεῖθεν μακαριότητος, 6,17 وهو يقسم ويفرق عليهم مراتب السعادة التي هناك ضو هو من دون هذه كلها).[1218] As to the reward in the next life, Gregory says that men of great soul are only interested in attaining the good prize (12,20 τοῖς δὲ μεγαλοψύχοις τὸ καὶ τυχεῖν ἀντιδόσεως, 12,17-18 فاما الكبار النفوس فالكبير عندهم الوصول الى حسن المجازاة). However, men of little soul[1219] struggle to be saved from torment (12,19-20 Ἔστι γὰρ τοῖς μὲν μικροψύχοις μέγα τὸ φυγεῖν βάσανον, 12,17 فما اعظم عند ضيقي النفوس الخلاص من العقاب).

In medieval Arabic literature, the destiny of the human soul in the next life is determined according to its intellectual perfection in this world. Avicenna mentions four kinds of state: "supreme eudaemonia", "a degree of eudaemonia", "the eternal pain of unfulfilled intellectual desire", and "an eternal state of rest, void of all intellectual contain". Avicenna thinks that those who follow bodily pleasures in the present life will experience pain in the next world because of their unfulfilled intellectual desires.[1220] Similarly, al-Ghazālī imagines two types or degrees of happiness: *najāt* and *saʿāda*.

[1217] In the Arabic Apocalypse of Peter, the Kingdom of Heaven is presented as the highest grade of the heavenly bliss. Therefore, it is greater than Paradise and those who attain it first experience the delights of the gardens of Paradise. In this pseudepigraphical text, Paradise is depicted in great detail and "God's throne" and "the first door of Paradise" are among the important figures of this description. As we will see below, God's throne appears in the discussion of seeing God and as the means through which God has contact with the faithful ones, the first door seems to be related to this discussion. Grypeou, 120-121.

[1218] In his discussion of the pleasures (*ladhdha*) of the afterlife, al-Ghazālī says "The only reason one does not strongly desire and long for this [pleasure] in this life is that one has not tasted it yet" *Maqāṣid*, Physics, pp. 63:15-64:3 cited in Treiger, *Inspired Knowledge in Islamic Thought* (Chapter 3, *Tasting*, 4).

[1219] For a similar expression ("men of small soul" or "small-souled"), see paragraph seventeen (17-18 ὡς μικρόψυχος, 15 فما اصغر نفسك) and twenty-five (32 μικρολογοῦ, 27 صغر نفس).

[1220] Davidson, 115-116.

Najāt or salvation is for those who are saved from the punishment[1221] in hell (*al-nājūn*). They are the "people of the right side" (*aṣḥāb al-yamīn*)[1222] who will be placed in the gardens of Eden (*jannāt 'adn*).[1223] Al-Ghazālī mentions an intermediate state, reward or *fawz*, which seems to be the lowest degree of supreme happiness (*aṣl al-na 'īm*).[1224] The highest grade of bliss (*sa 'āda*) is for "those who are brought close" (*al-muqarrabūn*) to the "Highest Paradise" (*al-firdaws*[1225] *al-a 'lā*). There, those who will be blessed because of their proximity to God (*fī jiwār Allāh*) will know (*al-'ārifūna bi-llāh*) or see Him (*ru'yat Allāh*).[1226] Along with the ways that lead to *sa 'āda*, this happiness is only sought for its own sake: "They do not seek except the pleasure of beholding God's noble Face, for this is utmost felicity and supreme pleasure".[1227]

In medieval Arabic writings, the supreme happiness in the next life is identified by meeting and seeing God, and the "face of God" is the symbol of this encounter. In our text, there is only one occurrence of this symbol, which does not refer to seeing God yet describes Him with His face. When mentioning different kinds of light, Gregory notes that there is a light, which proceeds from the face of the Lord and burns everything around it (36,26-28 εἴτε ὃ πρὸ προσώπου Κυρίου πορεύεται[1228] καὶ φλογιεῖ κύκλῳ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς αὐτοῦ, 36,19-20 او النار التي تنبعث امام وجه الرب فتحرق حوله عداته). In the Islamic tradition, the faithful ones are promised to see their God in the highest level of

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[1221] We know that the punishment in hell will be fire: 9,7 τῆς ἐκεῖσε δεόμενους πυρώσεως, 9,6 للنار التي هناك. According to *On the hour of death*, those who are the lowest of the low ones (*asfal al-sāfilīn*, Q 95:5) will experience great pain in hell *('adhāb kathīr wa-jahannam*) and they will not see the glory of God (*lā yarā' majd Allāh*). Tuerlinckx, "'Sur l'heure de la mort et la sortie de l'âme du corps', apocryphe arabe attribué à Grégoire de Nazianze," 232-233. For *jaḥīm*, see *Kitāb al-burhān*, passim.

[1222] For the angels of the right side (*malāyikat al-yamīn*) that will surround those who have done good deeds (*a 'mālahu ṣāliḥa*), see Ibid., 231.

[1223] For *al-janna* (*paradeison*, the Garden of Eden) in the Arabic version of Oration 24, see Grand'Henry, "La version arabe du discours 24 de Grégoire de Nazianze: Édition critique, commentaires et traduction," 256. For the image of "mansions" prepared for the faithful ones, see *Kitāb al-burhān*, paragraph 195 and Arabic Apocalypse of Peter in Grypeou, 123.

[1224] For *al-na 'īm* (τὴν ἀνωτάτω τρυφὴν), see Grand'Henry, "La version arabe du discours 24 de Grégoire de Nazianze: Édition critique, commentaires et traduction," 276.

[1225] On *firdaws* (*paradeison*), see Tuerlinckx, ed. *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: versio arabica antiqua II: Orationes I, XLV, XLIV (Arab. 9, 10, 11)*, 182, 260. Khoury, 30, 67, 95 (Ar.). For the highest heaven or *al-'ulwā'* and *firdaws*, see *Kitāb al-burhān*, paragraph 73 and *passim*. For the relation between *paradeisos* (Greek), *pardēs* (Hebrew), *paradīsā* (Aramaic), *pairidaeza* (ancient Iranian) and *firdaws* (Arabic), see "Paradise." *Brill's New Pauly*. Antiquity volumes edited by: Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider. Brill Online 2012 [Online] Available at: http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/brill-s-new-pauly/paradise-e907580 [Accessed: 09 May 2012]

[1226] Treiger, *Inspired Knowledge in Islamic Thought* (Chapter 2, *The Revival*, 58-63).

[1227] *Iḥyā*, Book 31, Rukn 2, Bayān 2, IV:43:2-10 cited in Ibid., 71.

[1228] Ps. 96:3.

Paradise.[1229] However, the nature of this beatific vision was a matter of controversy among the Ash'arites and the Mu'tazilites in general. Nevertheless, the majority of Muslims understand *ru'ya* as a real vision whose nature is not known to us (*bi-lā kayf*).[1230]

The vision of God is an important part of al-Ghazālī's theory of mystical cognition in which witnessing or encounter (*mushāhada*, *liqā*[1231] or *ru'ya*) is identified with cognition.[1232] Treiger[1233] remarks that al-Ghazālī does not suppose a difference between these two types of cognition but sees it as a matter of degrees or grades. Accordingly, "clarity and unveiling" are stronger in vision. However, like Avicenna who supposes a non-bodily vision of God in Paradise, al-Ghazālī does not seem to be content with the Ash'arite view of *ru'yat Allāh* which places it in the worldly eyes. Treiger[1234] prefers reading his view in purely intellectual terms: "[T]his vision is nothing but the perfection of the intellection of God acquired in this life, and this intellection is fixed in the heart".

We find an impressive expression of the belief in the vision of God in al-Majdalus' *Tafsīr al-amāna al-urtudūksiyya*. Al-Majdalus first employs a Qur'ānic verse (Q 5:38, 75:22-23): "Wujūhun yawma idhin nāẓira" (Q 75:22).[1235] Then he says, "He [God] will appear (*yaẓharu*) to one who believes in [H]im in this world in the court of the

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[1229] "You will see the Lord as one sees the moon in full moonlight." Bukhārī, Mawākitu's-Ṣalāt 6,26, Tawḥid 24; Muslim, Masājid 211 (633); Abū Dāwūd, Sunnah 20. "The veil shall be lifted and there is nothing better than gazing upon the face of God." Muslim, Imān 297 (181); Tirmidhī, Jannah 16 (2555).

[1230] Marcia Hermansen, "Eschatology," in *The Cambridge Companion to Classical Islamic Theology*, ed. Tim Winter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 320.

[1231] For "meeting with the Righteous Judge" (*liqā al-Dayyān*), see Tuerlinckx, "'Sur l'heure de la mort et la sortie de l'âme du corps', apocryphe arabe attribué à Grégoire de Nazianze," 239.

[1232] The "face of God" is at the centre of al-Ghazālī's description of the relationship between God and human beings:

> [T]here is no light but His light, whereas other lights are lights not in themselves but only with respect to [the face] adjacent to Him. Indeed, the face of everything that has a face is [directed] at Him and turns in His direction: Wherever you turn, there is the Face of God (fa-aynamā tuwallū fa-thamma wajhu'llāh) [Q 2:115] Hence, there is no god but He, for the term 'god' denotes that toward which face[s] turn with worship and godliness (ta'alluh).

Mishkāt, Part 1, § 53 cited in Treiger, "Monism and Monotheism in al-Ghazālī's Mishkāt al-Anwār," 1-2.

[1233] Treiger, *Inspired Knowledge in Islamic Thought* (Chapter 3, *Tasting*, 52, 59, 62; Chapter 5, *Al-Ghazālī*, 63).

[1234] Ibid., 74-75.

[1235] Q 75:22: "Wujūhun yawma idhin nāḍira ilā rabbihā nāẓira" (Some faces, that Day, will beam [in brightness and beauty]; looking towards their Lord)

resurrection (*yawm al-qiyāma*) in the image (*bi-ru'yat al-ṣūra*) in which [H]e was seen (*ẓuhūrihi*) in this world". He continues as follows: "When they see [H]im on the day of resurrection (*fa-idhā ra'awhu yawm al-qiyāma*) in that form of Christ, He will appear in it as Lord and Christ and Judge (*wa-qad ẓahara bi-hā rabban wa-masīḥan wa-dayyānan*)". Then, they will "realize (*wa-yuḥaqqiqū*) that that form is the vision of God (*ru'yat Allāh*) and the image of [H]is eternity and the mirror of [H]is eternal essence".[1236]

Our investigation so far has shown that Gregory of Nazianzus did not explain the nature of *theosis* but rather concentrated on the nature of the relationship of God and man, which will end in *theosis*. What we meant by the real nature of *theosis* is in fact the last stage of the deification process of which we have given a great deal of detail throughout this study. Our discussion in the first part of the chapter has shown that Gregory offers a mystical union with God in the human spirit, more specifically the intellect, which can be described as the highest possible knowledge of God. This mystical cognition may arise in dreams and visions in which the presence of God is felt or experienced but not in His real nature as in the hereafter. Gregory does not describe the afterlife in detail, while his Arabic translator invites us into a broader world that is shaped by the medieval conception of happiness. In this picture of happiness (*sa'āda*), meeting with God (*wuṣūl*) or rejoicing in Him (*nafraḥu bi-llāh*) in the highest Paradise (*al-Na'īm*) is the reward for those who have completed their perfection (*tamām*) or those men of great soul (*al-kibār al-nufūs*) or the righteous ones (*al-ṣādiqūn*) who will be light and shine like the sun. This was a world of *jannāt* (gardens of Paradise) and *ladhdhāt* (pleasures) for pious Christians and Muslims of medieval times, while, for Arabic-speaking philosophers of those days, it was the highest possible intellectual bliss that the human soul can achieve. To conclude our discussion, we should note that when the veil is lifted, there is no limit to the human knowledge of God and there is nothing other than God and man. Beyond all speculations who can know the reality of theosis except God beyond the veil?

[1236] Al-Majdalus, *Commentary on the Nicene Creed*, trans. Samuel Noble [Online] Available at: www.tertullian.org/fathers/al-majdalus_01_translation.htm [Accessed: 21 January 2012] (124-125, 51-52, 144-145)

4.3. Conclusion

In this last chapter, we analysed the intellectual and the mystical side of the theosis process which make themselves felt all the more strongly in the Arabic version of Oration 40. Ibrāhīm's text draws a connection between theosis and the intellectual faculties of human beings. This connection is complemented by an emphasis on the divine image in man and the perception of the process as an intellectual ascension towards perfection. Ibrāhīm's references to a mystical understanding of theosis, however, introduce an alternative world of cognition and experience.

By using a sophisticated language in the description of intellectual issues related to human perfection, Ibrāhīm not only reveals his intellectual background and the philosophical terminology of the period but also shows his concern for putting an emphasis on the role of the mind in the deification process. Besides the wide range of words (iḥtijāj, khibra, lubb, dhikr, tamyīz, nuṭq, ma'qūlāt, maḥsūsāt etc.) dedicated to the description of rational processes in the text, the verbs he used to denote different aspects of thinking (ta'ammala, tafakkara, takhayyala, adraka, fahima, taṣawwara, qaddara, ḥakama, ẓanna) and discursive reasoning (naẓara, bayyana, 'aqala, qayasa) suffice to prove the quality of his language. Ibrāhīm's preference of this terminology demonstrates that he wants to direct the attention of the reader to the discussions of medieval Arabic philosophy which were mainly shaped around these words. Most particularly, he refers to the epistemological discussions of this philosophy such as the relationship between knowledge and belief, and the role of the internal senses in human cognition. In doing this, Ibrāhīm chooses words that are comprehensive as in ḥujja which includes a wide range of argumentative evidence (demonstrative or sophistical) or in khibra which denote knowledge and experience at the same time.

Either with its additions to the Greek text as in "(no) further inquiry" (1,8-10) and "do not (philosophise and) think" (18,23-24) or with its different renderings of Greek expressions as in "(without) excess in syllogism and thinking" (21,16) and "(to leave) debates and defences" (21,15-16), the Arabic text seems to be in opposition with rational thinking. However, its main concern turns out to be the criticism of excessive or unnecessary thinking in fear of wasting time and falling into misinterpretations. Following Gregory, Ibrāhīm refers to those "whose minds suffer from blindness"

(45,29-31) or those "who do not use their minds wisely" (21,12,23,16 passim) and indicates that theosis is attainable only with a fully functioning mind (11,9-11). Moreover, his description of the next life is interwoven with words like knowledge and mind (46,11,13,25). In doing these, he uses 'aql,[1237] which represents the rationality as opposed to irrationality. His rendering of "thoughts" as "qiyāsāt" in 39.18 is one of the most striking examples of his language in which an emphasis on mind and logic is always felt.

The way towards theosis, as it is envisaged in the Arabic text, is not only based on rational cognition but consists of belief and mystical thinking. In addition to his use of i'tiqād and īmān, Ibrāhīm's vocabulary is enriched with words like ṣadaqa (8,17-18) and shahāda (44,2-3) by which faith turns into a public expression of what is believed. Idmān (or azmān in 36,13-14) and tafsīr (20,7-8) came to the help of our translator to bring 'tradition' into the discussion and thus enlarge the content of the knowledge which takes us to perfection. The seeds of this knowledge are believed to be placed by God in the divine image (ṣūra) in human beings –whose real nature is a matter of discussion, whether it is the rational soul or not. According to the Arabic translation, the human soul has an image (32,2 and 38,4-5), which is *one of the images of the Creator*. Either interpreted in connection with the divine names[1238] or read as an emphasis on man's being created in the image of God, this addition of the Arabic text draws our attention to the soul (and its image, *spirit* (?)) and thus refers to a different way of thinking than rational cognition, perception by the soul or the heart, *ma'rifa* or *ḥikma*, since the human knowledge of God is believed not to be merely intellectual but also experiential.[1239]

With a language of remembering (*dhikr* 4,3; 36,2), tasting (*ladhdha* 38,19-20) and love (*maḥabbat Allāh* for *diabēmata* in 37,1-2 and *'ishq* for *engraving* in 22,20-21) and an imagery of light, the Arabic translation of Oration 40 sounds like a medieval mystical writing.[1240] Therefore, the Kingdom of Heaven (3,7) it refers to seems to be the world of prophetic wisdom, which includes intuition, inspiration, visions and miracles. This world is for those who passed from purification to illumination and thus become perfect

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[1237] "Baptism is the perfection of the mind ('aql)" (3,6-7).
[1238] See footnote 918 on page 244.
[1239] See 49,23-25; 25,27; 38,10 for the references to mystical cognition.
[1240] The veil imagery in our text frequently appears in Christian mystical texts in Arabic.

(*muta'allihīn*). It is not, therefore, interesting to find them described as friends of God (add. 16,16) and demanding worship (10,24) depending on the divine image in them (10,22). In this perfected state of humanity, human beings gain immortality, incorruptibility and happiness. They make the miracles of Christ their own (34,17-18) and give life to others (34,19). With this prophetic spirit, they can bring others good tidings (*abshiruk* 46,1) and change the tablets of their hearts (45,4). Above all, as the purified intellects (*'uqūl*), they can see (*baṣara*) and know (*'arafa*) God in the next life (45,27-29).

Similar to the emanationist cosmologies of medieval Arabic philosophy, the Arabic version of Oration 40 reads the human perfection as the final stage of an intellectual ascent[1241] to the First Light. The way towards the perfection of the mind (*tamām al-'aql* 3,6-7) is based on a progressive process[1242] of the love for and the comprehension of God (5,4-5). It is also likened to Moses' climbing up to Mount Sinai to meet God or to be made glorious by the divine light (6,5) and to the Transfiguration (6,12-13). The audience is called in the text to "enlighten (their) eyes in order to be able to look at *istiwā'*" (38,3). By rendering *ortha* as istiwā', Ibrāhīm not only makes a conscious literary choice but also refers to 'maturity' and 'ascension to the heaven' as the word suggests. This reference to ascension or *ṣu'ūd* (2,6-7; 25,9) together with the description of the theosis process "as the melting of the soul and body" (9,10) reminds the mi'rāj accounts in medieval mystical texts written in Arabic, be it Christian or Muslim.

With the description of the next world (*na'īm* 24,24-25; *al-malakūt al-samā* 45,29; *sa'āda* 6,17) in a terminology of 'aql, the Arabic text seems to be in line with the discussions of an imaginal and intellectual afterlife in medieval Arabic philosophy as in the writings of Christian authors like Theodore Abū Qurra, Ibn al-Ṭayyib, Elias of Nisibis and 'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl. Among the words used in our text to describe the next life, *sa'āda* comes to the fore as it has connotations in medieval Arabic writings on the perfect or virtuous city. Sa'āda connects the perfect life managed while on earth to the eternal bliss in which the perfect human beings are rewarded with the vision of God.

[1241] "(As long as) we proceed towards the heaven" (16,15).
[1242] See 16.19 for the *dihlīz* image, which represents the passage from the porch of the Church to the Holy of Holies or from ẓāhir to bāṭin.

The Arabic translation of Oration 40 is not only a medieval text that is fully embedded in the discussions and language of Arabic thought in the middle ages but also the continuity of the tradition of an eminent Greek father in a transformed shape. Thinking of this role ascribed to our text and the main theme of the oration which is human perfection, one can figure out what possible effects it could have had in the minds of tenth-eleventh century Antiochene Melkites. Surrounded by Muslims and Christians of other denominations, these Christians as represented by our translator might have found a strong basis in Gregory's text upon which they could form a Melkite manifesto for a virtuous living that would take them to the eternal bliss. In this last chapter, we analysed the tenets of this manifesto in terms of its epistemology and soteriology. What we found is an epistemology which combines rational thinking with belief and mystical cognition and experience. The soteriology of the text is not as comprehensive as its epistemology but is in line with what was said by medieval Arab writers about the next life. Thinking of the circumstances in the tenth century in terms of the discussions of Arab thinkers about the relationship between reason and religion, and the high place given in the writings of al-Fārābī, Ibn ʿAdī and Ibn al-Ṭayyib to rational sciences and logic in the intellectual development of human beings, and the weakening of this belief in rational thinking in the following century by authors like al-Ghazālī, the Arabic version of *Oration on baptism* seems to have provided a good synthesis of the intellectual discussions of medieval Arabic philosophy.

Most probably, this is not what the Melkite Christians of the period thought when they were listening to the priest or the preacher who was reading the Arabic version of Oration 40 in a church meeting. They should rather have been interested in the cleansing of their sins by baptism and the covenant with God for leading a divine life. Upon hearing what is said in the oration, they should also have strengthened their faith in the eternal bliss that would be bestowed to those who purify their thinking and senses and act upon the dogma that is proposed in the text. They might have had concerns for the future of their Church as it is known that they had bishops who were sent from Byzantium and for this reason not well acquainted with their needs and problems. It is also known that the Jacobite Patriarchate gained more power in the city with the help of the Byzantine Emperor Nicephorus Phocas (963-969). The political circumstances in the neighbouring areas were not promising and they were not freed from political disturbances as the killing of the Patriarch Christophorus by the enemies of the

Hamdanid ruler Sayf al-Dawla in 967 proves. In Christophorus' lifetime, there was a conflict about the opening of a new catholicosate in Baghdad instead of Shash. With the adoption of Arabic as their liturgical language in the previous centuries, they were faced with the problem of forgetting their Greek heritage and the so-called Antiochene Graeco-Arabic translation movement seems to have been triggered by this fact. One should also be reminded of an interest in the history of the Melkite Church in Antioch as represented by Ibrāhīm's history of the saints of the Church and Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd al-Anṭākī's *Annals*. Even if it was not embraced or understood in its real sense by the majority of the members of the Church, theosis as the main argument of the text should have been a familiar subject among the monks and the learned Melkites who were similarly familiar with the Arabic literature on the subject. In this sense, the Arabic text might have been an invaluable contribution to the Melkite literature. Above all, it greatly contributes to our search for the reception history of Gregory's theosis theology in tenth-eleventh century Melkite Church of Antioch.

CONCLUSION

Christian Arabic theology is an interesting field of study, which enables us to discover the rich world of a unique literature. It is unique in that it shows us the phases this theology has passed through. What we find in this literature is a theology that consists in Aramaic, Syriac and Greek patterns which creates a great composition of different worldviews in Arabic. Arabic not only provided the language in which this theology was expressed but it also formed the context for the development of it. Scholars who wrote on Christian Arabic theology and Christian-Muslim relations have shown that Arab Christian theologians used the discussions of Islamic theology or *kalām* in a very creative way. For us, among these theologians, the Melkite writers deserve a special place as they provide us with the best example of an intellectual life that came out of two different cultures (Byzantine and Arab).

Doctrinally speaking, the Melkites were Chalcedonians and a part of the Byzantine Church, which, with the Byzantine reconquest of Antioch in 969, asserted its authority in the East at least to some extent. Nevertheless, these Christians constructed an identity in which Arab culture played the most important role. Possibly, because of the role played by Syriac, their Jacobite and Nestorian contemporaries did not adopt Arab culture to the extent that the Melkites did. However, they were in closer contact with the Muslims as the literature on Christian-Muslim apologetics has shown. The Melkites seem to have shown themselves rather in the Abbasid and Antiochene Graeco-Arabic translation movement.

With the intention of contributing to the field, this thesis has introduced the world of a tenth-eleventh century Melkite author and translator on the basis of his Arabic translation of Gregory Nazianzen's *Oration on baptism*. What we have found in this text is a rather literal translation of the Greek text into a kind of Arabic that is known as Christian Middle Arabic or Middle Arabic in general. Although we did not expect much from our translator in the first stages of this study since he did not present the profile of a philosopher writer like his Antiochian contemporary, ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl, Ibrāhīm

ibn Yūḥannā al-Anṭākī has kept on surprising us with his creative use of the terminology and concepts of the discussions of his day. What is most interesting is his terminology, which made us think that he had a broad intellectual background that included not only the theological literature but also the philosophical and mystical writings of his day.

After introducing our text and translator in Chapter 1, we have devoted Chapter 2 on the Arabic Gregory's doctrine of God in which, in addition to medieval discussions of the divine names and attributes, an emanationist cosmology comes to the fore in the description of theosis. In the following chapter, we have introduced Gregory's Christology as expressed by Ibrāhīm in the context of the discussions of the two natures of Christ and the hypostatic union that appear in the writings of Arab Christian theologians. What we have found there is a figure of Christ as the Teacher and the Reformer or the Transformer, which is strengthened by an emphasis on the apostolic tradition and the Church but most prominently by the concept of *adab* or the ethical and social aspect of theosis. Adab occupied an important place in medieval ethical texts written in Arabic and it symbolised the intellectual atmosphere created by the Abbasid golden age.

Chapter 3 has shown us that adab symbolises the teaching of Christ which is seen by Ibrāhīm as essential for a strong Melkite identity. It not only refers to the intellectual development but also represents the public face of Christian faith. This goes with a strong attachment to the Church and tradition. However, the social or visible aspect of deification is not the only part of the theosis process. The Melkite identity Ibrāhīm envisaged for his community has a spiritual dimension which should have a function of reminding the Christians of the day that the eternal happiness lies in the spiritual realm. Therefore, it is not difficult to understand what kind of a role Oration 40 was thought to play in the spiritual development of the Melkite community as it calls Christians to run to purification and illumination and a totally new life. In fact, the perfect harmony between the two worlds that is well established in the oration is emphasised in the modern discussions of theosis about which we could only say a few words in the last chapter.

In Chapter 3, we have also analysed the Arabic Gregory's Pneumatology, which bases itself on his theosis theology. In other words, theosis is used as an evidence for the divinity of the Holy Spirit that was established for the most part in the theological atmosphere of the fourth century, which was greatly contributed by Gregory. The Arabic Gregory shaped his Pneumatology as a complementary part to the theosis theory formed in his Christology. Accordingly, the role of the Holy Spirit in human deification is described as making perfect and personal the salvation that was provided by the Incarnation in potentiality. This includes making the baptised a real member of the Church who is allowed to look into the Holy of Holies or to enter into the spiritual part of the theosis process.

In Chapter 4, we have analysed theosis as an intellectual and mystical concept and an eschatological reality. What we have found is an emphasis on the spiritual progress that human beings go through on the path towards God and gain special powers like insight and prophetical wisdom. This is the world beyond the physical realities. In other words, it is the place where veils are lifted and the deified souls have a vision of God. Understood either as the highest level of the human knowledge of God or as a mystical vision of God while still on earth, the moment when the human soul is thought to be united with God represents the most perfect stage of theosis before its full realisation in the next world. Ibrāhīm provides us with an excellent example of the use of medieval Arabic discussions of perfection in the context of the Christian understanding of theosis. In addition to his description of the activities of the human intellect and spirit, Ibrāhīm's rendering of the words that depict theosis as the ascent of the soul and the union with God allows us to have a look at the whole medieval literature on human perfection. Therefore, it is not surprising to have a feeling that the great names of Arabic philosophy such as al-Fārābī, Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī, Avicenna and al-Ghazālī are speaking to us throughout the oration. It is not the world of *paideia* and *paradeisos* anymore but the realm of *adab* and *al-Naʿīm* that we find in the Arabic version of *Eis to baptisma*. In short, it is the story of the continuity and transformation of *theosis* in the disguise of *ta'alluh* that was written in the medieval Middle East.

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