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# The Divine is Hidden in a Body, the Invisible becomes Visible: Ontological and Moral Dimensions of Christ's Incarnation according to Sāwīrūs Ibn al-Muqaffa's *Kitāb al-Bayān al-Muḥtaṣar fī al-Īmān*

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**RESUMEN** Este artículo examina dos aspectos de la cristología de Sāwīrūs Ibn al-Muqaffa' tal y como se presenta en el capítulo *Sobre la encarnación* de su obra inédita *Breve exposición de la fe*. El primer aspecto explora cómo la divinidad del Verbo se ocultó a Satanás, mientras que el segundo argumenta cómo los seres humanos podrían ver por fin al Dios invisible. Estos aspectos ilustran la dimensión ontológica y moral de la acción salvífica de Cristo, en correspondencia con las consecuencias ontológicas y morales de la caída de Adán. El presente artículo incluye también una edición crítica y una traducción comentada al inglés del capítulo *Sobre la encarnación*.

**PALABRAS CLAVE** Ibn al-Muqaffa', cristología miafisita, ver a Dios, *Kitāb al-Bayān*, salvación, engañando al engañador.

**SUMMARY** *This article examines two aspects of the Christology of Sāwīrūs Ibn al-Muqaffa' as presented in the chapter On Incarnation from his unedited work Brief Exposition of the Faith. The first aspect explores how the divinity of the Word was hidden from Satan, and the second argues how human beings could finally see the invisible God. These aspects illustrate the ontological and moral dimensions of Christ's salvific action, corresponding to the ontological and moral consequences of Adam's fall. The article also includes a critical edition and annotated English translation of the chapter On Incarnation.*

**KEYWORDS** *Ibn al-Muqaffa', Miaphysite Christology, seeing God, Kitāb al-Bayān, salvation, deceiving the deceiver*

## INTRODUCTION

In his unedited *Kitāb al-bayān al-muḥtaṣar fī al-īmān* (hereafter *Kitāb al-bayān*), that is, *A Brief Exposition of the Faith*, the Copt Bishop of al-Ašmūnayn Sāwīrūs Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ dedicates a chapter on Christology to an attempt to give answers to some questions and issues related to how the Word of God was incarnated. His purpose is to stress that the incarnation ensued on the one hand that the divinity of the Word was hidden from Satan, and on the other, that human beings could finally see the invisible God. The Bishop uses these two contradictory aspects, i.e. the hidden and the visible God, to expound two dimensions of the salvific action of Christ, ontological and moral, as a consequence of, or in relation to the ontological and moral dimensions of Adam's fall.

In this contribution I present these two elements of the doctrine of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ as set out in the chapter *On Incarnation* in his *Kitāb al-bayān*, and how he develops them through his Miaphysite Christology and its relation to the creation of Adam in God's image, his fall, and his need for redemption. Before this analysis, I provide some details of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ' s life and his literary production; this is followed by a presentation of the *Kitāb al-bayān*, its content, and the manuscripts that copy it. Finally, the contribution offers a critical edition and English translation of the chapter concerning Christology, as well as some comments and annotations concerning the text and its contents.

### 1. SĀWĪRŪS IBN AL-MUQAFFAʿ: FATHER OF ARABO-COPTIC LITERATURE

We do not have much information on the life of Sāwīrus Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ. What we do know derives mainly from his writings, which inform us about his time and background, and give us some details about his personal life. In addition, more direct and indirect information can be gleaned from con-



temporary Coptic historical sources such as the *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria*<sup>1</sup> and other works by contemporary Muslim historians.<sup>2</sup>

Although the exact date of Ibn al-Muqaffa's birth is unknown, scholars believe that he was born between the years 910 and 915,<sup>3</sup> probably in al-Fuṣṭāṭ Miṣr (today's Old Cairo), before the Fatimids founded their city of al-Qāhirah (Cairo)<sup>4</sup>. We know that before becoming a monk, entering a monastery and taking the name Sāwīrus, in memory of the great Severus of Antioch, his civil name was Abū al-Biṣr and that he worked as a scribe in the administrative offices of the Ikhshidids, the independent governors of Egypt.<sup>5</sup> The fact that he practised this profession indicates that he had a very good knowledge of Arabic, an element which is also evident in his literary production.<sup>6</sup>

The general context of Egypt, the Arabization of its administration and the increase in the conversions to Islam would explain Ibn al-Muqaffa's decision to write in Arabic.<sup>7</sup> He lived, as mentioned, in the period when Egypt was ruled by the Ikhshidids, and, already as a Bishop, during the first years of the Fatimid Caliphate in Egypt.<sup>8</sup> As S. Kh. Samir notes, during his stay in the monastery, Ibn al-Muqaffa read and studied the Bible and the Church Fa-

1 The *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria* is a historical work, compiled in Arabic by more than one author and based on previous Greek and Coptic sources and collections of biographical works. It must be mentioned that in some manuscripts it is attributed to Ibn al-Muqaffa, but this attribution is rejected by modern scholarship. For more details see J. DEN HEIJER, "Coptic Historiography in the Fātimid, Ayyubid and Early Mamluk Periods": *Medieval Encounters* 2 (1996) 67-98.

2 For more details see G. GRAF, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, vol. 2 (Vatican City 1947) 300; M. N. SWANSON, "Sāwīrus ibn al-Muqaffa", in: D. THOMAS – A. MALLETT (eds.), *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*, vol. 2 (Leiden-Boston 2010) 491-509.

3 Cf. S. H. GRIFFITH, "The Kitāb Miṣbāḥ al-ʿAql of Severus Ibn Al-Muqaffa: A Profile of the Christian Creed in Arabic in Tenth Century Egypt": *Medieval encounters* 2 (1906) 15-42, here 16.

4 Cf. Ibn al-Muqaffa, *Kitāb miṣbāḥ al-ʿaql (The Lamp of Understanding)*, introduction and edition by S. Kh. Samir (Cairo 1978) 7-8.

5 In 935 the Abbasid Caliph al-Rāḡī appointed Muḥammad ibn Tuḡġ al-Iḥṣīd, a Mamluk soldier of Turkic origin, to be a *wāli*, i.e. governor, of Egypt and the Levant. He and his family ruled Egypt and the Levant as independent governors on behalf of the Abbasid Caliphs, from 935 to 969, when Egypt was conquered by the Fatimids. On the dynasty of the Ikhshidids see A. ELLI, *Storia della Chiesa Copta*, vo. 2 (Cairo-Jerusalem 2003) 66-67.

6 Cf. GRIFFITH, 16.

7 In fact, in one work attributed to him, it is said that because of their ignorance of the Coptic language, the Copts no longer knew their faith, in particular the doctrine on the Trinity. Since they were living with Muslims, hearing just the doctrine on the one God and not being taught about the Christian dogmas, namely, on the Trinity and Christology, they were converting to Islam considering it a faith equal to Christianity, see Ibn al-Muqaffa, *al-Durr al-ṭamīn fī ṭdōḥ al-dīn*, Cairo, s.i.d.<sup>2</sup>, 10.

8 Cf. S. Kh. SAMIR, "Sāwīrus Ibn al-Muqaffa: Ḥayātuhu": *Risālat al-Kanīṣah* 2 (1970) 109-115 and 300-318, here 109.

thers so he could deepen his theological knowledge.<sup>9</sup> He was elected Bishop of the city of al-Ašmūnayn —called Hermopolis in Greek, today a village in the Egyptian province of Asyūṭ—, then an important city in Upper Egypt,<sup>10</sup> whose bishops played a notable role in theological life in Egypt and mainly in the Coptic Church.<sup>11</sup> As a Bishop he was known by his ecclesiastical name Sāwīrus but always with the surname “Ibn al-Muqaffa’”.<sup>12</sup>

The historical sources, especially the *History of the Patriarchs*, mention him when he was already a Bishop, and inform us about his role in the ecclesiastical life of his Church, mainly as an apologist and great theologian. In the period when he lived, theological discussions in Egypt were very popular. Indeed, the governors of the Ikhshidids and the Caliphs of the Fatimids were particularly interested in such discussions, which were mainly controversial in character. Representatives of various religions and confessions participated in such debates, and each tried, with logical and philosophical arguments, to convince the others of the correctness of his position, i.e. that of his religion and/or confession.<sup>13</sup>

It is not only the *History of the Patriarchs* which refers to these sessions and encounters. Ibn al-Muqaffa’ himself speaks of them in one of his works, unfortunately lost today, entitled *Kitāb al-maǧālis* (The Book of Sessions), in which he described his discussions on the Trinitarian doctrine with one of the most intelligent Muslim mutakallimūn (theologians) of his time.<sup>14</sup> During the Ikhshidid dynasty, our author and his Church had no support from the governors, but with the arrival of the Fatimids, and especially with the Caliph al-Mu’izz (931-975), the situation changed, as the Caliph had good relations

9 Cf. Ibn al-Muqaffa’, *Miṣbāḥ*, 11-12. In fact, our author’s use of the Church Fathers and the way he transmitted their sayings on different topics was considered by some scholars as a patristic anthology in the Arabic language, see S. J. DAVIS, *Coptic Christology in Practice. Incarnation and Divine Participation in Late Antique and Medieval Egypt* (New York 2008) 206.

10 See also verse 177 in the edition below.

11 Cf. Ibn al-Muqaffa’, *Miṣbāḥ*, 12.

12 The word Muqaffa’ means “shrivelled hand”, probably our author’s father had had his hand crushed.

13 Cf. Ibn al-Muqaffa’, *Miṣbāḥ*, 13; DAVIS, 204. In the *History of the Patriarchs* there is a story on the discussions between Sāwīrus and a Jewish theologian, while the Arabic Synaxarion of the Coptic Church speaks of Sāwīrus and his dispute with the vizier Ibn Kils, as we shall see below.

14 Although this work is lost today, our author refers to it in his *Tafsīr al-Amānah* (the *Commentary on the Creed*) where he mentions this discussion, see Ibn al-Muqaffa’, ‘Histoire des Conciles’: *Patrologia Orientalis* 29 [6,4], édition et traduction du texte arabe par L. LEROY, (Paris 1911) 465-600, here 504. See also the information reported by S. Kh. Samir in his article on the life of our author in SAMIR, 1970, 114; see also SWANSON, 498-499.

with the Coptic Church and especially with our Bishop Ibn al-Muqaffa',<sup>15</sup> stemming from the participation of the latter in the theological discussions organized by the Caliph himself.<sup>16</sup> One of the most important discussions in which Ibn al-Muqaffa' took part was between him and a Jewish theologian named Mūsā Ibn Ilfāzar. It took place in the year 975 at the request of the vizier Ibn Kils, and concluded, according to the *History of the Patriarchs*, with the victory of our author.<sup>17</sup>

We do not know the date of Ibn al-Muqaffa's death. The prevailing opinion of scholars is that it occurred after the year 987, that is, when he was over 80 years old, since in this year a synodical letter was composed by the Copt Patriarch Philotheus (979-1078) to the West Syrian Patriarch Athanasius V (987-1003). In this letter, the name of Ibn al-Muqaffa' is mentioned as its co-author and the person mainly responsible for its theology.<sup>18</sup>

In addition to Arabic, it seems that our author knew Coptic, Greek and perhaps Syriac. Furthermore, he was familiar with Greek philosophy and the sciences of his time, to the point of being able to use them in his works.<sup>19</sup> In fact, he was well acquainted with the Islamic philosophical and kalāmīc schools and currents like the Mu'tazilah, and discussed various topics with them, sometimes using their language, arguments and even notions. One example is his refutation of the doctrine of the Mu'tazilite Ibrāhīm al-Nazzām (d. 845),<sup>20</sup> which is discussed in his *Commentary on the Nicene Creed*.<sup>21</sup>

Ibn al-Muqaffa' is considered the father of the theology of the Coptic Church in Arabic. Although there had already been some Copt authors who wrote in Arabic before him, they did not achieve his stature and importance.<sup>22</sup> In his time the Coptic Church still spoke in Coptic and did not use Arabic as an ecclesiastical and liturgical language. In fact, as S. J. Davis notes, despite

15 Cf. Ibn al-Muqaffa', *Miṣbāḥ*, 15-17.

16 Cf. Ibn al-Muqaffa', *Miṣbāḥ*, 16, 17.

17 Cf. Ibn al-Muqaffa', *Miṣbāḥ*, 18-20; DAVIS, 204; SAMIR, 1970, 157-159.

18 Cf. GRIFFITH, 16.

19 Cf. Ibn al-Muqaffa', *Miṣbāḥ*, 8.

20 Cf. D. THOMAS, "Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Sayyār ibn Hānī l-Nazzām", in: D. THOMAS – B. ROGGEMA (eds.), *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*, vol. 1 (Leiden-Boston 2009) 618-621.

21 Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Histoire des Conciles", 534-542 ; see also B. EBEID, *La Tunica di al-Masīḥ. La Cristologia delle grandi confessioni cristiane dell'Oriente nel X e XI secolo* (Rome 2019) 311-318.

22 Cf. SWANSON, 491.

the Coptic language did not generate a literature of systematic theology,<sup>23</sup> the need to answer Muslims and their accusations against Christians, as well as other non-Copts, mainly Chalcedonians-Melkites, was one of the main reasons that led Copt scholars to develop their own theology in Arabic.

The contribution of Ibn al-Muqaffa' is highly significant and wide-ranging, since he wrote many works in various theological fields: dogmatics, hermeneutics and Church history as well as treatises with pastoral content. The importance of our author and his literary production and teaching resulted in many works being attributed to him, some of which he was not the author.<sup>24</sup> Even so, it is worth noting that in the Copto-Arabic tradition there are two early sources that transmit lists of the works attributed to Ibn al-Muqaffa'. The first is that of Anbā Mīhā'il, Bishop of Tinīs and a collaborator of Ibn al-Muqaffa', who already in 1051 credits him with twenty titles, besides different treatises, explanations and answers. This list is included in the *History of the Patriarchs*. The second source is that of Abū al-Barakāt Ibn Kabar (d. 1324), who attributes twenty-six writings to our author<sup>25</sup> in his encyclopaedia *Miṣbāḥ al-ẓulmah fi idāḥ al-ḥidmah* (the *Light of the Darkness and the Illumination of the Service*). It should be also noted that the titles of our Bishop's works in the manuscript tradition are not always the same, as is the case of the work examined in the present study. S. Kh. Samir has reproduced the catalogue transmitted by Abū al-Barakāt with some comments,<sup>26</sup> while for a list of Ibn al-Muqaffa's works concerning the relationship with Islam, one can consult the study by M. Swanson, who also provides a selected bibliography.<sup>27</sup> The main reference work on our author, his literary production and the manuscripts that contain writings attributed to him remains the one of G. Graf<sup>28</sup>. This, however, needs to be updated as regards the issues concerning the authorship of the works attributed to him and the already existing editions and translations of some of his writings.<sup>29</sup>

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23 Cf. DAVIS, 202.

24 Cf. DAVIS, 203.

25 Cf. Ibn al-Muqaffa', *Miṣbāḥ*, 25; SWANSON, 492.

26 Cf. Ibn al-Muqaffa', *Miṣbāḥ*, 26-27.

27 Cf. SWANSON, 494-509.

28 Cf. GRAF, 306-318.

29 Cf. Ibn al-Muqaffa', *Miṣbāḥ*, 66-69.

## 2. KITĀB AL-BAYĀN AL-MUḤTAṢAR FĪ AL-ĪMĀN

*Kitāb al-bayān* is attributed to Ibn al-Muqaffa', but the work is still unedited. Some parts of it were published by S. Kh. Samir<sup>30</sup> and myself<sup>31</sup>, following just one of the manuscripts that copy this work, namely, Vat. ar. 138. Although this work is not mentioned among the titles included in the *History of the Patriarchs*, i.e. the list by Anbā Mīhā'īl, but only in the one by Abū al-Barakāt, scholars have no doubts concerning its authorship.<sup>32</sup> The attribution to our author is reported by some of the manuscripts that copy the work, as we shall see below. Finally, in a previous study that I dedicated to Ibn al-Muqaffa' and his thought, I demonstrated the similarities between the thought expressed in *Kitāb al-bayān* and some other writings by our Bishop, a fact which shows the authenticity of this work and its attribution to Ibn al-Muqaffa'.<sup>33</sup> Nevertheless, I think that there is a need to edit the whole work in order to have a complete idea concerning it and its contents and to confirm or not its attribution to our Bishop.

Since the aim of this study is to examine the Christology of our author as expounded in this specific work,<sup>34</sup> I considered three manuscripts that I was able to access and that copy it. The study is also accompanied by a critical edition of the chapter about Christology, with an annotated English translation. However, since there are some differences between the manuscripts, concerning the title of the work, the titles of its chapters, and the number and order of the chapters, it is worth presenting, in detail, all the information we possess about this work as it appears in each of the three manuscripts examined in the present study.

The earliest manuscript that copies our work is Ms Vat. ar. 138, dated to the 13<sup>th</sup> or 14<sup>th</sup> century. This manuscript copies only this work, without giving it any attribution. We do not have a colophon so we know neither the

30 Cf. Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Kitāb al-bayān li-muḥtaṣar al-īmān: Chapters III, IV and V": *Risālat al-Kanīyah* 8 (1976) 160-165, 200-206, 255-260, 309-316, 371-378, 411-417. Edition by S. Kh. Samir according to Ms Vat. ar. 138.

31 Edition of chapters I and XI according to Ms Vat. ar. 138 in: B. EBEID, *La Cristologia delle grandi confessioni cristiane dell'Oriente nel X e XI secolo: Studio comparativo delle polemiche del melchita Sa'īd 'Ibn Baṭrīq e le risposte del copto Sawirus 'Ibn al-Muqaffa' e del nestoriano Elia di Nisibi*, Dissertatio Ad Doctoratum, Pontificio Istituto Orientale (Rome 2014) 575-613.

32 Cf. SWANSON, 504-507. See also Ibn al-Muqaffa', *Miṣbāḥ*, 25.

33 Cf. EBEID, *La Tunica*, 217-404.

34 For a complete study of his Christology in all the authentic works attributed to him, see EBEID, *La Tunica*, 321-404.

exact date nor the name of the copyist of the manuscript. In the introduction to the work, specifically on folio 3r, the author entitles it *Kitāb al-bayān al-muḥtaṣar fī al-īmān*. In addition, the work's index on folios 3v-4r informs us that it is composed of thirteen chapters, in the following order and with the following titles:

1	Fi kayfiyyat al-taḡassud ( <i>On the manner of the Incarnation</i> )
2	Fi al-farā'id wa-l-sunan ( <i>On duties and laws</i> )
3	Fi al-burhān 'alā ṣiḥḥat haḡā al-maḡhab ( <i>On the proof of the correctness of this religion</i> )
4	Fi ta'wīl mā warada min al-umūr al-baṣariyyah fī al-iḡīl al-muqaddas ( <i>On interpreting the human things [attributed to Christ] in the Holy Gospel</i> )
5	Fi ta'wīl mā yuzann annahu mutanāqid fī-hi wa-fi ḡayrihi ( <i>On interpreting what is considered contradictory</i> )
6	Fi amr al-ṣuwar wa-l-ṣalīb ( <i>On the matter of Images and the Cross</i> )
7	Fi amr al-ṣalāh ( <i>On the matter of prayer</i> )
8	Fi al-tartil wa-l-alḡān <sup>35</sup> ( <i>On hymns and melodies</i> )
9	Fi mā tafarradat fī-hi ṭā'ifat al-qibṭ min al-sunan wa-iḡtilāf al-naṣārā fī ba'ḡ al-sunan ( <i>On the laws that distinguish the Copts and on the difference between Christians in some laws</i> )
10	Fi mā ḡurrima akluh 'alā banī Isrā'īl ( <i>On what the Children of Israel were forbidden to eat</i> )
11	Fi iḡtilāf ṭalāt ṭawā'if al-naṣārā al-ya'āqibah wa-l-malakiyyah wa-l-nasṭūriyah ( <i>On the disagreement(s) between the Christian confessions, the Jacobites, the Melkites and the Nestorians</i> )
12	Wa'ḡ wa-taḡkirah ( <i>Prediction and reminders</i> )
13	Fi dalā'il al-falāsifah wa-aqwālihim fī ḡudūt <sup>36</sup> al-'ālam wa-l-radd 'alayhim fihā wa-fi iṭbāt al-ba'ṭ wa-l-muḡāzāh ( <i>On the philosophers' proofs and arguments concerning the creation of the world and the answer to them, and on the demonstration of [the reality] of the resurrection and the [last] judgment</i> )

It must be mentioned that the first folio of the first chapter is missing in the current state of the manuscript, and for this part of the critical edition

35 MS Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, Or. 2, f. 3r, states "bi-l-alḡān", that is, through the melodies.

36 MS Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, Or. 2, f. 3v, states "ḡudūt", which is an orthographic error.

(i.e. verses 1-52) I used, as will be explained, the third manuscript. The second manuscript is Ms Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, Or. 2, which is a copy of Ms Vat. ar. 138 and dates to the 17<sup>th</sup> or 18<sup>th</sup> century. This manuscript, however, contains just six folios, and of the whole work of *Kitāb al-bayān* we have just the first part of the first chapter (i.e. verses 1-87 according to the edition below).<sup>37</sup> The manuscript on folio 1r mentions the work's title as *Kitāb al-bayān al-muḥtaṣar fī al-īman*. The same title is mentioned in the work's introduction on folio 2v, exactly as in Ms Vat. ar. 138. For the chapter titles, given in the index on folios 2v-3v, this manuscript agrees with those given in Ms Vat. ar. 138. What is interesting in this manuscript is that the copyist on folio 5v and 6r incorporates two sentences written in the margins of Ms Vat. ar. 138, on folios 6r and 7r respectively, but missing from the third manuscript examined in this study.<sup>38</sup>

The third manuscript is Ms Aleppo, Fondation Georges et Mathilde Salem, Ar. 238, known also as Ms Sbath 1040. This manuscript is dated to 1787 and contains more than one work, the second of which is the one that interests us. However, on folio 46v, according to the current numeration of the manuscript, some folios are missing, which means that the last part of the first work and the first part of the second are lost, including the first three chapters of our author's work. In fact, folio 47r starts with the fourth chapter entitled *Fī ittihād uqūm al-kalimah bi-l-ğasad* (On the union of the hypostasis of the Word with the body), which corresponds to the first chapter of the same work as copied in both Ms Vat. ar. 138 and Ms Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, Or. 2. This means that the order and titles of the chapters are different in this third manuscript, which is confirmed by the index the copyist offers at the beginning of the manuscript, where he mentions the titles of the works he copied as well as the titles of their chapters. Concerning the work that interests us, we read that it is entitled *Kitāb al-muḥtaṣar fī al-a'yān, qawl abīnā Sawirus Ibn al-Muqaffā' tataḍamman ḥamsata 'ašara bāb fī al-a'yān* (*A Brief Exposition of the prime subjects, written by our father Sawirus Ibn al-Muqaffā', containing fifteen chapters*). Thus, this manuscript explicitly attributes the work to Ibn al-Muqaffā', even if the given general title is different, as are the titles of some

37 Cf. I. GUIDI, *Catalogo dei codici siriaci, arabi, etiopici, turchi e copti della Biblioteca Angelica, in Cataloghi dei codici orientali di alcune biblioteche d'Italia*, vol. 1 (Firenze 1878) 67-68.

38 See verses 69 and 80 in the edition below. References to the edition mentioned here and in the following footnotes are based on the numeration with which I divide the critical edition and the English translation into verses.

chapters and their order. These points are demonstrated in the following table, where I use brackets [ ] to note the chapter number according to both Ms Vat. ar. 138 and Ms Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, Or. 2:

1	Fī itqān al-ṣānī' ( <i>On the precision of the Creator</i> )
2	Fī al-ba'ṭ wa-l-muġāzāh ( <i>On the resurrection and the judgment</i> ) [13]
3	Fī al-taṭlīṭ ( <i>On the Trinity</i> )
4	Fī ittihād uqnūm al-kalimah ( <i>On the union of the hypostasis of the Word</i> ) [1]
5	Fī al-farā'id ( <i>On the duties</i> ) [2]
6	Fī ṣiḥḥat dālik ( <i>On the correctness of that</i> ) [3]
7	Fī ta'wīl kalām al-inġīl ( <i>On the interpretation of the Gospel(s)</i> ) [4]
8	Fī ta'wīl mā fi-hi min al-tanqīd ( <i>On interpreting what is contradictory</i> ) [5]
9	Fī al-ṣuwar ( <i>On images</i> ) [6]
10	Fī amr al-ṣalāh ( <i>On the matter of prayer</i> ) [7]
11	Fī al-tartīl wa-l-alḥān ( <i>On hymns and melodies</i> ) [8]
12	Fī al-ṣay' al-muḥarram akluh 'an al-yahūd ( <i>On the thing(s) the Jews are forbidden to eat</i> ) [10]
13	Fī iḥtilāf al-naṣārah fī ba'd al-sunan ( <i>On the disagreement among the Christians concerning some laus</i> ) [9]
14	Fī iḥtilāf firaq al-naṣārah ( <i>On the disagreement(s) between the groups of Christians</i> ) [11]
15	Wa'z wa-ta'lim ( <i>Preaching and teaching</i> ) [12]

Note that at folio 71v we again have some missing folios, which means that the last part of chapter 9, that starts on folio 70v, and the rest of the work under examination is missing from this manuscript. Thus, comparing the titles of the chapters mentioned in the index and those given in the part of the work preserved in this manuscript, namely chapters four to nine, it is clear that the titles are different. In fact, although according to the index of Ms Aleppo, Fondation Georges et Mathilde Salem, Ar. 238 the titles are different from those given in Ms Vat. ar. 138, inside the work they are actually the same. For example, in the index, the title of chapter four is *Fī ittihād uqnūm al-kalimah* (On the union of the hypostasis of the Word) while on folio 47r, it contains the addition *bi-l-ġasad* (with the body); in the index, the title of chapter five is *Fī*



*al-farō'id* (On duties) while on folio 59v it is the same as that in Ms Vat. ar. 138, that is, *Fī al-farō'id wa-l-sunan* (On duties and laws); the index gives the title of chapter six as *Fī ṣiḥḥat dālik* (On the correction of that) while on folio 62r it is similar to the title in Ms Vat. ar. 138, that is, *Fī al-burbōn 'alā ṣiḥḥat bōdā al-maḥḥab* (On the proof of the correctness of this religion); and finally, the title of chapter nine is given in the index as *Fī al-ṣuwar* (On images) while at folio 70v it is the same as that given in Ms Vat. ar. 138, that is, *Fī amr al-ṣuwar wa-l-ṣalīb al-maḡīd* (On the matter of the Images and the glorified Cross). All this indicates that the index, created by the copyist of Ms Aleppo, Fondation Georges et Mathilde Salem, Ar. 238 is not a faithful reproduction of the titles attested in the work itself, which remain, in general, similar to those we find in Ms Vat. ar. 138, with some small exceptions, like the title of the chapter on Christology, to which I will return later.

G. Graf mentions that probably Ms Sharfeh, Lebanon, Syrian Catholic Patriarchate, Syr. 9/14, a manuscript dated to 1590 and written in Karšūnī, copies part of our author's work and gives it the title *Kitāb al-bayān fī taḥqīq al-īmān* (Exposition of the affirmation of Faith),<sup>39</sup> M. Swanson mentions this manuscript as among those that copy the work, but gives no further details.<sup>40</sup> I have examined the manuscript, and I can confirm that it does indeed include a work entitled *Kitāb al-bayān fī taḥqīq al-īmān*, but it has nothing to do with Ibn al-Muqaffa's *Kitāb al-bayān*. In addition, M. Swanson's study cites other manuscripts that he says copy a work entitled *Muḥtaṣar al-bayān fī taḥqīq al-īmān* (A Brief Exposition of the affirmation of Faith) but he is not sure whether this work corresponds to the one by our author or not.<sup>41</sup> Of the manuscripts mentioned, the only one to which I have had access is Ms Fondation Georges et Mathilde Salem, Ar. 222, ff. 1r-70r, known also as Ms Sbath 1024. Having examined it, I can state that it is not Ibn al-Muqaffa's *Kitāb al-bayān*, but the introduction that al-Makīn ḡirḡis Ibn al-'Amīd the younger,<sup>42</sup> a Copt scholar

39 Cf. GRAF, 312.

40 Cf. SWANSON, 506.

41 Cf. SWANSON, 506.

42 He should not be confused with al-Makīn ḡirḡis Ibn al-'Amīd the elder, the author of a very important Universal History, who was active during the 13<sup>th</sup> century. On him see S. MOAWAD, "al-Makīn Jirjis ibn al-'Amīd (the elder)", in: D. THOMAS – A. MALLETT (eds.), *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*, vol. 4 (Leiden 2012) 566-571; see also M. DIEZ, *al-Makīn ḡirḡis Ibn al-'Amīd: Universal History: The Vulgate Recension. From Adam to the End of the Achaemenids* (Leiden 2024).

who was active in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, wrote to his work *al-Ḥāwī*.<sup>43</sup> A comparison, finally, between the work copied in Ms Sharfeh, Lebanon, Syrian Catholic Patriarchate, Syr. 9/14, and the one in Ms Fondation Georges et Mathilde Salem, Ar. 222, ff. 1r-70r, leads to the conclusion that the former manuscript copies some parts of the introduction to *al-Ḥāwī*, a work which is copied in the latter manuscript and entitled *Muḥtaṣar al-bayān fī taḥqīq al-īmān*.<sup>44</sup>

The two aforementioned scholars, Graf and Swanson, list three other manuscripts that they believe copy *Kitāb al-bayān*: Ms Wādī al-Naṭrūn Dayr al-Suryān – Theol. 124/2; Ms Cairo, Armāniyūs Ḥabašī Private Collection; and Ms Aleppo, Yūḥannā Balīṭ Private Collection. As regards the first manuscript, scholars do not express any doubts, but since it was impossible for me to have access to it, I could not include it in my analysis. And since the last two manuscripts belong to private collections, it is impossible for scholars to have access to them and to check or to examine them.

The better to understand how our author explains the incarnation of the Word through the vision of the invisible God it is important first to present some aspects of his Christology and its relation to the anthropological vision he adopts.

### 3. CHRISTOLOGY AND ITS SOTERIOLOGICAL DIMENSION

The meaning of incarnation in Christian literature cannot be explained without a soteriological dimension: God became man to save Adam, the father of humankind. This is also the focus of the chapter *On incarnation* in Ibn al-Muqaffa's *Kitāb al-bayān*, which is based, as already noted by S. J. Davis, on the Alexandrian tradition.<sup>45</sup> Salvation, however, is related to the fall of Adam,

43 Cf. A. SIDARUS – M. N. SWANSON, "Al-Makīn Jirjis ibn al-ʿAmīd", in: D. THOMAS – A. MALLETT (eds.), *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*, vol. 5 (Leiden 2013) 254-261, while on this work and the manuscripts that copy it, including the one mentioned above, see p. 259.

44 There is an uncritical edition of *al-Ḥāwī* and some other partial editions, but there is still need for a critical edition, studies, and a translation into western language(s); for references see SIDARUS- SWANSON, 260.

45 Cf. DAVIS, 221.

which cannot be comprehended without considering the narrative dealing with his creation and our author's interpretation of it in the same chapter.<sup>46</sup>

For our Bishop, then, human beings, represented by Adam, are composed of body and soul.<sup>47</sup> For him, the creation of Adam in the image of God, as recounted in Gen 1:27, means that the immaterial and simple God created the immaterial soul of Adam in His image,<sup>48</sup> though compared with the immateriality and simplicity of God his soul is considered material, or less immaterial.<sup>49</sup> For our author the creation of Man in the image of God has three main functions<sup>50</sup>: first, as we shall see in detail, God always knew that He would be united to mankind, thus He created the human soul in His image, so He could be united to it<sup>51</sup>; second, He knew that human beings could not comprehend His essence, therefore, by creating Adam in His image, He made it possible for Him to be described in the Scripture in anthropomorphic fashion;<sup>52</sup> third, which is a consequence of the first two functions, God knew that human beings would desire to see Him, but since He is invisible, and the invisible and simple reality can only be seen through visible and material beings, He knew that He would be incarnated, that is, united to His image, in order that created mankind might see Him.<sup>53</sup>

Although the human soul was created in the image of God, this does not mean that mankind did not belong to the genre of animals. Adam, in fact, was subject to pleasures and desires. For this reason, God gave him intellect (*'aql*), ability (*istiṭā'ah*) and will (*irādah*), which means that Adam was responsible for his actions and choices; therefore he could be punished for his disobedience to God and rewarded for his obedience.<sup>54</sup> According to the narrative of our author,<sup>55</sup> although Adam had freedom of choice and free will, the main responsibility for his fall lay with Satan, who hid himself in the body

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46 This soteriological Christology is also centric in other writings by our author, see EBEID, *La Tunica*, 323-328.

47 For our author's doctrine on the creation of the human being see EBEID, *La Tunica*, 287-293.

48 Cf. verse 63 in the edition below.

49 Cf. verses 68-70; 74-75.

50 See also this same doctrine developed in others of his writings in EBEID, *La Tunica*, 336-344.

51 Cf. verses 63, 73-74.

52 Cf. verses 63-66.

53 Cf. verses 22-23, 61-62, 122-125.

54 Cf. verses 1-2.

55 Cf. verses 9-10.

of a snake, and persuaded Eve to eat from the forbidden tree saying that by so doing she and Adam would become gods and come to know unknown things.<sup>56</sup> The result of the fall, which is described in terms of disobedience to God and obedience to Satan, was that humankind came to be governed and ruled by Satan, since whoever obeys someone becomes subservient to that person and cannot obtain his freedom except through someone more powerful than the one who had prevailed over him.<sup>57</sup> For this reason, all the ways through which God tried to help human beings, such as by sending them His prophets and teaching them through the Scripture, were unable to liberate them, because only God himself is “more powerful” than Satan.<sup>58</sup>

Thus, to be liberated from Satan, human beings needed God Himself to save them. In addition, Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ highlights one other aspect: since the fall of Adam affected him and all humankind at the same time, there was a need for a salvific action that could affect all humankind at the same time, and just God Himself can have such salvific action.<sup>59</sup> Our Bishop explains why God became incarnate from this perspective: He wanted to liberate human beings through His crucifixion and resurrection, the only salvific action that could, at the same time, have a real effect on Adam as well as on his offspring.<sup>60</sup> This, in my opinion, is to be seen as the ontological consequence of Adam’s fall and the ontological dimension of the redemption in Christ.

To answer now the question “how did God become incarnate?” Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ develops his Miaphysite Christology as follows: the hypostasis of the Son, the one of the Trinity, was made flesh, that is, the Word of God was united to a perfect human being, composed of body and soul, and when united to this human being, He remained one hypostasis and one nature, composed of two natures, human and divine.<sup>61</sup> This is not the place to go further into our author’s Christology;<sup>62</sup> what is important for our study here is to understand how he links his Miaphysite Christology to his anthropological doctrine and to the rational principles he adopts. In fact, one of the rational

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56 Cf. Genesis 3:1-6.

57 Cf. verses 11-13.

58 Cf. verses 14, 17-19.

59 Cf. verses 17-19.

60 Cf. verses 19, 182, 194-196.

61 Cf. verses 76-78, 82-83, 91-94.

62 For more details on our author’s Christology see EBEID, *La Tunica*, 321-404.

challenges was to explain how the immaterial God could be united to the material human being without changing, composing one nature and one hypostasis of two unconfused realities. Ibn al-Muqaffa' succeeds in answering this question through his doctrine of the type of union that occurred between the two natures in Christ and, within the limits of his point of view, he believes to avoid any conflict with rationality.

Indeed, in his chapter *On incarnation* Ibn al-Muqaffa' defines the union as the "composition of the union" (*ta'rif al-ittihād*).<sup>63</sup> In the Miaphysite tradition the term "composition" was usually used to describe the one nature and hypostasis in Christ, composed of two different realities. For our author however, the term composition refers to the type of the union, which is a considerable development in Miaphysite Christology.<sup>64</sup> He goes on to explain the meaning of the composition of the union, using the logic of Apollinaris of Laodicea, having first purified it of its "heretical" aspects, which involved considering the human component of Christ as imperfect, just a mere flesh without soul whose place was taken by the divine Word.<sup>65</sup> According to our author, then, since simple natures can be united with one another without change, the union in Christ occurred between the human soul and the divine nature of the Word, which are simple natures, and this human soul was united with the body, therefore the perfect divine nature of the Word was united to a complete and perfect human nature.<sup>66</sup> In this description, in fact, one should understand two important elements: (1) what our author means by the composition of the union;<sup>67</sup> and (2) why he considers the human soul alone to be created in the image of God.

From the conclusion of the chapter *On incarnation* we can also understand that one major question Christians have to deal with, when they develop the doctrine on incarnation from a soteriological point of view, is the following: why did God save human beings only by becoming a man and did not save them, He being omnipotent, in some other way, that is, without being forced to become incarnate?<sup>68</sup> It is evident that such a question could be

63 Cf. verses 193, 203.

64 Cf. A. GRILLMEIER – Th. HAINTHALER, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, vol. 2/2 (London 1995) 159-162.

65 Cf. A. GRILLMEIER: *Gesù il Cristo nella Fede della Chiesa*, vol. 1/ 2 (Brescia 1982) 610-614.

66 Cf. verses 71-72, 79-81, 82-83, 194-196, 200-202.

67 For more details concerning his doctrine on the "composition of the union" see EBEID, *La Tunica*, 336-344, 366, 377.

68 Cf. verses 255-258.

posed by non-Christians, mainly Muslims, who do not accept the incarnation and its soteriological dimension since their understanding of salvation is very different from that of Christians.<sup>69</sup> The answer our author gives at the end of this chapter affirming that God is free to do whatever He wants, should be considered a way of justifying the incarnation to his non-Christian readers. For his Christian audience, however, he develops two reasons for which God chose to become incarnate, the first deals with the ontological salvific effect of the incarnation while the second focuses on its moral salvific dimension.

### 3.1. THE INCARNATION AS HIDING THE DIVINE IN A BODY

The first reason can be summed up by the expression “deceiving the deceiver”. It is a doctrine already developed by Gregory of Nyssa,<sup>70</sup> and finds its place again in our author’s teaching.<sup>71</sup> As Satan hid himself in a body of a snake and deceived Eve and Adam, so they and all humankind became subjected to him, God hid himself in a body and deceived Satan in order to liberate Adam and his offspring from their slavery to Satan. In fact, since God was hidden in a body, Satan could not recognize that He was indeed God, the truly “more powerful” than him. And when Christ died on the cross and Satan, thinking that He was a simple and mere man, came to take His soul to Hell, Christ’s divinity united to the human soul triumphed over Satan and saved humankind and at the same time gained freedom for all human beings<sup>72</sup>:

194 And when He had fulfilled all His economy, as we explained, He hid His divinity from Satan, who thought that He was one of Adam’s offspring, over whom he ruled; therefore, Satan approached Him to capture His soul and to take it down to hell, as was his practice with Adam’s offspring. 195 When Satan dared to [capture the soul] of His Maker and Creator, the latter rewarded his daring and transgression against Him by saving Adam and all his offspring from slavery to him,

69 For more details see for example M. Siddiqi, “Salvation in Islamic Perspective”: *Islamic Studies* 32 (1993) 41-48.

70 Cf. L. F. MATEO-SECO, “Diavolo”, in: L. F. MATEO SECO – G. MASPERO (eds.), *Gregorio di Nissa. Dizionario* (Rome 2007) 225-228, here 226-227.

71 See also EBEID, *La Tunica*, 327-328.

72 See in this regard EBEID, *La Tunica*, 339-340, 402.

and then He dishonoured, defeated and expelled him. 196 And human nature, which was won by Satan through Adam, became a winner through Christ.

The doctrine of the Word who, through His incarnation, hid His divinity in a body has its origins in Judeo-Christian teachings,<sup>73</sup> where however, we find the idea that God hid Himself not only from Satan but also from angels and men. Our author's elaboration of the concept through the doctrine of "deceiving the deceiver", however, constitutes a very interesting development: God did not hide His incarnation from angels and men, but just from Satan, and this was to offer mankind redemption on an ontological level.<sup>74</sup> The resurrection of Christ is the most evident proof of this ontological dimension of the salvation obtained in Christ:

213 Then He was raised from the tomb on the third day and after His resurrection He manifested Himself several times to His disciples and apostles, whom He had selected, and He made them touch His hands and legs, and made them see the marks of the nails, 214 in order to confirm to them His resurrection with His body which was buried, 215 thus affirming to them the resurrection of all bodies by virtue of His resurrection, repudiating the opinion of the philosophers who believed that bodies gradually vanish arguing that they are composite and that it is necessary for each composite [reality] to decompose, and they did not believe that the Creator of natures is able, after their decomposition, to give them the state of being unchangeable, 216 which is a new creation in Christ; as the apostle Paul has said: "they will not demolish again". 217 Consequently, the eternal was united with the temporal in order to give duration to the temporal, and the living with the dead in order to give life to the dead and to raise him, and the free with the slave in order to give freedom to the slave.

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73 Cf. J. DANIELOU: *La teologia del Giudeo-Cristianesimo* (Bologna 1974) 289-291. This idea is repeated in his *Commentary on the Creed*, where in addition to the term "hiding", he uses the term "dressing" to talk about the incarnation: «وانما نزل بان ليس»  
 و«جسد ادم الذي نزل به واخطى... وخلق منها جسماً اتحد به واحتجب فيه»  
 Ibn al-Muqaffa', "Histoire des Conciles", 547-548.

74 Cf. verses 121-125.

The humanity of Christ liberated humankind from the subservience to Satan, and then ascended to heaven in glory and sat on the right side of the Father,<sup>75</sup> which, as S. J. Davis notes, is the fulfilment of the hypostatic union that took place with the incarnation of the divine Word.<sup>76</sup> In other words, through Christ's resurrection and ascension human nature fulfilled its purpose which is its divinization. Though our author does not use this term explicitly, he refers to it indirectly, especially through his idea on what I call the ontological effect of Christ's salvific action, the new creation and new humanity in Christ:

247 Despite this, His actions, on my life, were not like those of the human beings; He was indeed incarnate but was like the spiritual beings, that is, as if He did not have a body. In fact, He entered the place where His disciples were while the doors were closed, and at the same time He allowed them to touch his body. 248 And this is not strange to Him, since a little of the Holy Spirit's grace empowered the saints to cope with trials and [enabled them] to perform miracles. 249 What then would be [the consequence] of the union of the divinity with humanity? Would it not make [the humanity] equal [to the divinity] in power, action, wisdom, knowledge etc.? 250 Even if these attributes exist in human beings as well as in God, their existence in God is absolute through a subsistent perfectness, while in us their existence is partial and depends on other things. 251 And as the power of the Holy Spirit acts in the body after the resurrection and triumphs over it so the body becomes [spiritual] like the state of the Spirit, likewise the divinity acted in the humanity [of Christ].

### 3.2. THE INCARNATION AS MAKING THE INVISIBLE GOD VISIBLE

Although the redemption and liberation from Satan have been accomplished ontologically by Christ, each human being must still make a moral effort to show that he/she deserves this salvation. Our author therefore develops parallelly another dimension for his soteriological doctrine of the incarnation,

75 Cf. verses 228-231, 236-237, see also EBEID, *La Tunica*, 343-344.

76 Cf. DAVIS, 224-226.



i.e. a moral dimension. In fact, just as the ontological dimension of Adam's fall had its consequence and effects on all other human beings, and was manifested on a moral level, such as their committing sins, disobeying God, dying etc.<sup>77</sup> so the ontological redemption in Christ also has its consequence and effects on all other human beings on a moral level. Our author develops this aspect through his doctrine on "seeing the invisible God", that is, the divine Word being united to the human soul, created in His image, finally became visible, because immaterial things can only become visible through material ones.<sup>78</sup> To explain this last metaphysical affirmation our author uses the analogy of the word generated by the intellect, which can be comprehended by the senses only through things that can be touched and sensed, like sound for hearing and paper for seeing.<sup>79</sup>

Our author's thought, in fact, should be considered an exegesis of Exodus 33:20, where it is said that no one can see the face of God and live, interpreted in the light of John 1:18, where it says that "No one has ever seen God, but the one and only Son, who is Himself God and is at the Father's side, has made Him known" and Colossians 1:15, where it states that "The Son is the image of the invisible God, the firstborn over all creation".<sup>80</sup>

According to Ibn al-Muqaffa', then, the desire for seeing God from the side of His creatures was expressed by the prophets, who asked for it as proof of the authenticity of the revelation they had received from God, as attested by Moses who said "Lord, show me your glory [so I can know you]" (Exodus 33:18).<sup>81</sup> God had prepared human beings to receive His manifestation in flesh through different signs. Our author mentions first the creation of the human soul in the image of God, which may be likened to the relation of the king's ring and the thing imprinted with it, that is, not in the meaning that the divine essence exists within human beings.<sup>82</sup> This image explains that human beings, through their soul, could know God more, or in other words, could be closer to knowing God. The second thing our author lists, which is a consequence of the first, is the anthropomorphisms with which God is described in the

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77 Cf. verses 13-16.

78 See also EBEID, *La Tunica*, 337-338, 389.

79 Cf. verses 61-62.

80 See also verses 53-55.

81 Cf. verses 22-35.

82 Cf. verses 63-65.

Scriptures, which must not be taken literally.<sup>83</sup> And the third and final way is that in the created world there are examples which show how simple and immaterial realities can only be manifested through material things, like the case of the soul and the body.<sup>84</sup> God, then, could not find anything simpler than the human soul, created in His image, with which He could fulfil His will to manifest Himself in flesh to His creatures.<sup>85</sup> These three ways are in fact the three functions of the creation of the human soul in the image of God, which, as we said above, links the creation of Adam and his fall with his redemption.

For our author, the incarnation did not make God visible only to human beings, but also to the angels, and here we can find how he develops the two doctrines, on God who hides Himself from Satan, and at the same time, makes Himself visible to angels and human beings:

122 then all His creation saw Him, the superior and the inferior ones.  
123 Each of them desired and yearned for that; the superior ones saw Him in the image of the soul and the body, 125 while the inferior saw Him especially in the image of the body, which made it possible to see Him. In addition, He enabled them to hear a voice like their voice so they could hear Him.

Being seen in a body does not mean that God can just be seen but also that He can be listened to, and it is in this precise detail that the moral dimension of the incarnation can be realized. Through the doctrine of “Seeing the invisible God”, Ibn al-Muqaffa’ develops a kind of Christian morality, based on imitating Christ Himself as way of life and example of behaviour, as well as obeying His commandments:

176 And when He (may He be glorified!) manifested himself to His creation, the people were inclined towards faith and their hearts turned back from disobedience, and with His arrival idolatry was eliminated.  
177 In fact, none of the prophets and messengers were able to put an end to idolatry, while when He came to Egypt and its Upper part the

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83 Cf. verse 66.

84 Cf. verses 69-72. For the analogy of the body and the soul in our author’s thought see EBEID, *La Tunica*, 367-370, 381-382.

85 Cf. verses 63- 64, 202.

idols fell and were broken. 178 Then He performed divine actions, miracles and signs indicating His divinity, by [His] order and not by imploring or praying [to God] like the rest of the prophets. 179 He also performed human actions in order to guide us to rightness and to the purification of our souls, since the prophets were unable to do that. 180 And to teach us that we have the capacity to make the good actions He did, if we are willing, 181 as the smart physician does with a sick person concerning the administration of a hated drug, giving him a little of it in order to encourage him to take it, and to teach him that he is able to drink it.

#### 4. CONCLUSION

In the chapter *On incarnation* in his *Kitāb al-bayān al-muḥtaṣar fi al-īmān*, Ibn al-Muqaffa<sup>6</sup> develops two ancient Christian doctrines in order to explain the reasons for which God became incarnate from a soteriological perspective. He explains the ontological dimension of salvation with the doctrine of “deceiving the deceiver”, where the redemption of Adam was realized through the salvific action of Christ in its totality, that is, His incarnation, crucifixion, death, resurrection, and ascension. As the fall of Adam occurred once and had an ontological dimension, that is, consequences for human nature in general, also salvation in Christ, the incarnate divine Word, had to have an ontological dimension, thus in Christ a new creation was made.

The ontological dimension, however, cannot be real without a moral dimension, based on the free will and choice God offered to human beings. Each person deciding to become member in the new creation in Christ should follow a moral code, demonstrated to us through the incarnate God, as a visible example. For our author this dimension could not be achieved if God was not seen and was not heard, so that He can be imitated, and His commandments and teaching can be followed. The teaching then on “making the invisible visible”, based on the doctrine of the union of the divine Word with the human soul, the image of God in human nature, functions as the perfect way through which the moral consequence of Christ’s salvific action can be

explained. God was hidden from Satan, but seen by men, therefore Satan was defeated and man was saved.

## 5. EDITION AND TRANSLATION OF THE CHAPTER *ON INCARNATION*

Before presenting the critical edition of the chapter *On Incarnation* and its English translation some methodological remarks should be mentioned. First, it is impossible to reproduce a text which is completely like the original one written by our author since the author's autograph is not preserved and I had access to just three manuscripts that contain this work, of which, one copies it almost completely and two partially. Consequently, the basic manuscript used for my edition is Vat. ar. 138, it being the oldest manuscript and the one that copies almost the whole work. I refer to these three manuscripts in the edition and its apparatus according to the following sigla:

V: Ms Vat. Ar. 138, ff. 4r -26r.

S: Ms Fondation Georges et Mathilde Salem, Ar. 238 (=Sbath 1040), ff. 47r-59v.

A: Ms Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, Or. 2 [=R.4.13], ff. 4v-6v.

The purpose of the edition is to offer, as far as possible, a correct Arabic text following some specific criteria and rules, that were first established by S. Kh. Samir,<sup>86</sup> revisited by other scholars like Wafik Nasry<sup>87</sup> and myself.<sup>88</sup> The English translation aims to be faithful to the Arabic text, therefore it is usually a literal translation that also follows the syntax construction of the original text. Where a literal translation could not give the sense of the orig-

86 Cf. S. Kh. SAMIR, "La tradition arabe chrétienne. État de la question, problème et besoins", in: S. Kh. SAMIR (ed.), *Actes du premier congrès international d'études arabes chrétiennes (Goslar, septembre 1980)*, (Rome 1982) 74-85.

87 Cf. W. NASRY, *The Caliph and the Bishop. A 9<sup>th</sup> Century Muslim-Christian Debate: Al-Ma'mūn and Abū Qurrah* (Beirut 2008) 33-47.

88 Cf. B. EBEID, *Elias of Nisibis. Commentary on the Creed (Tafsīr al-amānah al-kabīrah)*, Critical edition, English translation, introduction and comments, Beirut-Cordoba, 2018, 19-21; B. EBEID, *Elias of Nisibis. The Book of the Demonstration of the Correctness of the Faith (Kitāb Al-burhān 'alā ṣaḥīḥ al-īmān)*, Critical edition, English translation, introduction and comments, (Beirut-Cordoba 2023) 95-97.

inal Arabic, an appropriate English version is included in the main text, and a relevant explanation is given in a footnote. In addition, further annotations and observations such as references to direct biblical quotations are provided in the footnotes of the translation. The Arabic text is divided into verses to simplify the way scholars can refer to it, as well as to help readers to follow the text and its translation, since the translation follows the division of the Arabic original faithfully.

One last question to be dealt with concerns the title of the chapter. As we saw above it was entitled *Fī kayfiyyat al-tağassud* (On the manner of the Incarnation) according to two manuscripts, namely, Ms Vat. Ar. 138 and Ms Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, Or. 2, while in Ms Fondation Georges et Mathilde Salem, Ar. 238 it was given the title *Fī ittiḥād uqnūm al-kalimah bi-l-ğasad* (On the union of the hypostasis of the Word with the body). According to the same text, at verse 52, attested only by the latter manuscript, the author says “Let us leave their mention and come back to our objective of the *Discourse on Incarnation (al-Kalām fī al-tağassud)*”. This affirmation leads me to maintain that the title the author gave to this chapter was probably *On Incarnation (Fī al-tağassud)*. I have therefore given this title to the chapter in both the edition and its translation, without implying that this means there is a difference in content between the various titles given. They all affirm that the chapter deals with Christology, i.e. the Incarnation of the divine Word and its manner.

الْبَابُ الْأَوَّلُ [V 4r, S 47r, A 4v]

في التَّجَسُّدِ<sup>89</sup>

1129 ثم إن الباري (سبحانه!) لما خلق آدم يهذه الهيئة<sup>90</sup> الشريفة وهب له العقل، إذ علم أنه من جنس الحيوان وأن الشهوات البهيمية منطبعة فيه، فخلق له العقل لمخاربتها وعلويتها، الذي إذا اتقاد ليحكمه ولم يبل<sup>91</sup> عنه لما أحتاج إلى نبي ولا مرشد. 2 فلما وهب له العقل وحكمه بالاستطاعة والإرادة وجب له عليه نعيم الثواب على الطاعة<sup>92</sup> وأليم العقاب على المصيبة. 3 فلما أسكنه الفردوس وأمره بما أمره ونهاه عما نهاه، فصعب وخالف إذ تعدى إلى شجرة نهاه عنها تسمى معرفة الخير والشر. 4 وقد اختلف الناس في تأويلها 5 فمنهم من قال أنها التسلق والتعدى إلى معرفة حقيقة الباري (سبحانه!)، 6 ومنهم من قال أن ذلك يعلمه [أ] أن الله من وراءه كلما نظر إليها، 7 ومنهم من قال غير ذلك. 8 فنهاه عن جميع ذلك لئلا نداجله<sup>93</sup> الكبرياء والعظمة، وليمتحن طاعته. 9 لذلك مع كل شيء في سابق علمه، بل يعلم آدم نفسه شريطة ومفصيته 10 فخالف وعصى وكانت مفصيته بغواية الشيطان وحيلته عليه إذ لم يكن له عليه سلطان، ثم باستناره بحسد الحية إذا طمع حواء [S 47v] بأنهما يصبران بذلك كالأية، يعلمان الغائب ونحوه. 11 فتتم حيلته عليهما ليطهر قلبها وسدا جنتها ثم أطعت آدم بذلك حتى عصي<sup>94</sup> مثلها فلما خالفت أمر باري وأطاع الشيطان عدوه ملك عليه وصار تحت رقبته. 12 لأن من أطلع شيئا<sup>95</sup> تعدد له وكان كمن أتاع نفسه لعدوه فأطبق عليه خيانه ولم يستطع الخروج منه إلا بما هو أقوى من عدوه كالتشجاع العظيم الذي لا يلقاه إلا شجاع هو أعظم منه بخسن تدبير وتلطف حيله، 13 وكذلك ذرئته من بعده ولم يزلوا تابعين لرأي الشيطان عدوهم كغفل أبيهم<sup>96</sup>، فصاروا جميعا في ربه وتحت طاعته.

14 وكان خالفهم وباريهم يرافيته قد تعطف عليهم وأندرهم بالأبناء والأبرار والصالحين من جنسهم فلم يرتدعوا ولم يرتدوا إلى طاعته ولا قدر أحد من المرسلين على فیه. 15 ثم أذهب دفعه بالطوفان وأفترق الألسن وحسب المدائن والوثاء العظيم الذي أهلك منهم ألوفا في نهار واحد، ونحو ذلك فلم يرتدعوا. 16 وكان جميع جنس آدم قد استوجب العقوبة عن تلك المخالفة وكانت عقوبة جميعهم غير ممكنة في وقت واحد. 17 ثم لما علم الباري (سبحانه!) أنهم مخدوعون<sup>97</sup> في خطيبتهم مضرورون من عدوهم، [S 48r] ثم رأى من أتى من ذرية آدم من الصالحين والأشرار والمضيقين 18 فشاء بعظيم رأفته وسعة رحمته لأجل ذلك أن يستغلن لخليقته بتدبير إلهي تجسده<sup>98</sup> من جنسهم لينقدهم بنفسه في ساعة واحدة وينقدهم من أسر عدوهم المتملك عليهم بطاعتهم له 19 لأن عقوبة جميعهم كل أيام حياتهم وينقدهم لا تسوى قبوله الأثم دفعة واحدة. 20 وذلك إذ رأى أن ليس من العدل استخلاصهم من يد عدوهم فهرا بل بالتدبير الإلهي، كما أن العدو لم يملكهم فهرا بل بالحيلة والخديعة والتدبير الجسداني<sup>99</sup>. 21 ولتعلم الملائكة والشيطان وكل من ينظن بآدم نقصا في مخالفته إذ كان طريفة من الشهوة والمجادبة له ما ليس في الملائكة، أن بطبيعته كان خلاصه وقهر عدوه.

22 وهذا سبب ظهوره بالجسد، 23 وأيضا لعظم نوق خليفته لمشاهدته كما كانت الأبناء، وهم<sup>100</sup> أجل جنس خليفته، تسئل ذلك ولم يتفقوا بالوحي دونه، 24 كما قال موسى النبي: "رب أرنى مجدك لأعرفك". 25 وكان جميع الأبناء قد نادوا بذلك وأخبروا بظهوره على الأرض وجميع ما فعله بالجسد عن آخره، 26 وبالإحصاء داود النبي فإنه ذكر كثيرا من ذلك مما لو ذكرناه جميعه لطل شره، 27 بل قد أوردنا [S 48r] منه يسيرا ليستندل منه على ذلك. 28 فمئة قوله "إلينا يظهر جهارا ولا ينفعل"، 29 وقوله أيضا "طاطا"<sup>101</sup> استحوات ونزل، 30 وقوله أيضا "صعد على الكارويم"، 31 وأيضا "صعد الرب بالمجد"، 32 وقوله أيضا: "نظروا إلى وشتموني وتقبوا بدني ورجلي وأفسسوا نياي وأفترعوا على لياي". 33 وقال حزقيال النبي: "الرب ظهر لي في صهيون محتجبا بحجاب لحم إنسان مثلي". 34 فأما الثوراة فقال فيها: "ستنظرون حياتكم بين أغنيكم معلقا على خشبة ولا تؤمنون". 35 وكان الناس منتظرين لخلاصهم تصديقا لنبؤاتهم كما آمنوا به وصدقوهم في غير ذلك. 36 فحين تم ذلك وجب قبوله بالإيمان الصحيح. 37 ولو لم يتم بالفعل، ولعلمنا بالإنجيل أن هذا الأمر كائن، لقلنا لا بد أن يكون وكنا منتظرين وفوعه إلى يومنا

<sup>89</sup> A.V: "في التجسد" في الباب الرابع في اتحاد فوم الكلمة بالجسد: S: في كيفية التجسد: A.V: that is, in *Incarnation*, being based on what the same author affirms in verse 52.

<sup>90</sup> الهيئة:

<sup>91</sup> يميل:

<sup>92</sup> S: cancelled and corrected by other hand on the margin.

<sup>93</sup> بداخله:

<sup>94</sup> عصي:

<sup>95</sup> شيء:

<sup>96</sup> أباهم:

<sup>97</sup> مخدوعين:

<sup>98</sup> تجسد:

<sup>99</sup> S: written in the margin by the same hand.

<sup>100</sup> وهي:

<sup>101</sup> طاطا:

هَذَا وَإِلَى انْقِصَاءِ الدُّنْيَا. 38 إِذْ هُوَ مَبْنِيٌّ عَلَى أُصْلَيْنِ قَوِيَّيْنِ أَحَدُهُمَا شَاهِدٌ لِلْآخَرِ، وَهُمَا انْتَوَاةٌ وَالْإِنْجِيلُ وَنُبُوءَاتُ الْأَنْبِيَاءِ مِنْ غَيْرِ انْكَارٍ وَلَا اسْتِشْنَاعٍ.

39 لِذَلِكَ إِذْ لَمْ يُوْرِدُوا عَنْ اللَّهِ لَا مُسْتَنَكِرًا<sup>102</sup> وَلَا بَاطِلًا وَلَمْ يَبْعَثْهُمْ بِذَلِكَ عَنَّا، لَيْسَ كَالْيَهُودِ عَمِي<sup>103</sup> أَلْقُلُوبَ الَّذِينَ آبَاءَهُمْ تَتَّبَعُوا<sup>104</sup> بِذَلِكَ<sup>105</sup> وَهُمْ يَنْتَلُونَ نُبُوءَاتِهِمْ لَيْلًا وَنَهَارًا، وَهُمْ لِعِنَادِهِمْ يَصْرَفُونَ ذَلِكَ إِلَى غَيْرِ جِهَتِهِ. 40 وَلَكِنْ كَيْفَ يَفْهَمُونَ ذَلِكَ مَعَ قَسَاوَةِ قُلُوبِهِمْ وَغَلِظِ طَبَاعِهِمْ وَسِتْرِ أَبْصَارِهِمْ وَسَمَاعِهِمْ عَنِ سَبِيلِ الْحَقِّ، 41 كَمَا تَبَيَّنَّا عَلَيْهِمْ بِجَمِيعِ ذَلِكَ أَسْفِيَاءَ النَّبِيِّ إِذْ قَالَ: "طَمَسُوا عَيْونَهُمْ وَقَسَوْا قُلُوبَهُمْ لِيَلْتَأَنَّ بِظُنُورِهِمْ<sup>105</sup> يَغْيُوبِهِمْ وَيَفْهَمُوا<sup>106</sup> بِقُلُوبِهِمْ وَيَرْجِعُوا<sup>107</sup> إِلَيَّ فَأَشْفِيهِمْ"، 42 وَلِذَلِكَ شَهِدَ بِهِ بِذَلِكَ عَلَيْهِمْ يُوْلَسُ الرَّسُولُ: "إِنَّ الْأُمَّمَ غُلْفُ اللَّحْمِ وَبَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ غُلْفُ أَلْقُلُوبِ". 43 وَدَلِيلُ ذَلِكَ أَنَّ بَعْدَ نَظَرِهِمْ مَا نَظَرُوا مِنْ الْمَسِيحِ مِنْ عَظَمِ الْآيَاتِ قَالُوا: "أَرْنَا آيَةً"، كَأَنَّهُمْ لَمْ يَتَّعِنُوا قَطُّ شَيْئًا<sup>108</sup> مِنْ ذَلِكَ. 44 وَإِنْ كَانُوا لَمْ يَرَوْا مِنْذُ قَطُّ مُعَايِدِينَ الْحَقِّ غَيْرَ مُفْتَجِرِينَ يَفْعَلُ مِنْهُمْ بِرِضَى اللَّهِ بَلْ تَقْضَلُ اللَّهُ عَلَى آبَائِهِمْ وَهُمْ كَافِرُونَ بِنِعْمَتِهِ جَاجِدُونَ عِبَادَتَهُ 45 إِذْ كَانُوا يُشَاهِدُونَ الْآيَاتِ الْعَظِيمَةَ الْبَاهِرَةَ عَيْنًا لَا خَبْرًا وَتَقْضُونَ صَانِقَهَا وَيَجْحَدُونَ أَنْبِيَاءَهُ، لَيْسَ فِي وَقْتٍ وَاحِدٍ. 46 فَلِذَلِكَ وَجَبَتْ عَلَيْهِمْ أَلْفَعَنَاتٌ حَتَّى جَهِلُوا نِعْمَتَهُ وَعَظِيمِ الْآيَاتِ. 47 وَلِأَجْلِ ذَلِكَ كَانُوا أَنْجَاسًا أَرْجَاسًا حَتَّى أَنَّ اللَّهَ حَكَمَ عَلَيْهِمْ إِذَا جَامَعُوا نِسَاءَهُمُ الْخَلَّالَ أَوْ قَرَّبُوا مَيْتَةً أَنْ يَكُونُوا أَنْجَاسًا سَبْعَةَ أَيَّامٍ [S 49v] إِنْ لَمْ يَغْتَسِلُوا بِالْمَاءِ، 48 وَإِنْ أَغْتَسَلُوا بِالْمَاءِ كَانُوا أَنْجَاسًا نَوْمَهُمْ ذَلِكَ، وَلَا يَكُونُ لَهُمْ قُرْبَانٌ وَلَا تَجَوُّزٌ وَلَا تَطْهِيرٌ وَلَا بِالْبَيْتِ الْبَقْدَسِ، 49 فَمِنْذُ نَفَوْا مِنْهُ فَبِهِمْ أَنْجَاسٌ<sup>109</sup> مُنْقَسِمُونَ فِي خَطَايَاهُمْ لَا مَغْفِرَةَ لَهُمْ 50 وَقَدْ أَخْطَأُوا<sup>110</sup> مَرَّاتٍ كَثِيرَةً وَأَرْتَكَبُوا مَعَاصِي<sup>111</sup> عَظِيمَةً وَكَانَ اللَّهُ يُوَدُّ بِهِمْ، وَلَكِنْ لَمْ يَنْزِعْ مِنْهُمْ الْوُدَّ وَالنَّبِيَّةَ وَلَا نَفَاهَهُمْ مِنْ بَيْتِ الْبَقْدَسِ مِثْلَ هَذِهِ الْمَرَّةِ، 51 فَلَوْلَا انْكَارُهُمُ الْمَسِيحَ لَمَا حَلَّ بِهِمْ ذَلِكَ بِالْجُمْلَةِ.

52 فَلَمَّا دَعَا الْآنَ دَكَرَهُمْ وَرَجَعَهُمْ إِلَى مَا قَصَدْنَاهُ مِنَ الْكَلَامِ فِي التَّجَسُّدِ [V 4v, A 4v]. 53 فَلَمَّا أَرَادَ<sup>112</sup> ذَلِكَ، وَكَانَ لَا يُمَكِّنُ لِأَحَدٍ<sup>114</sup> مِنْ خَلِيقَتِهِ أَنْ يُشَاهِدَ جَوْهَرَ لَاهُوتِهِ، 54 كَمَا وَرَدَ فِي كُتُبِ اللَّهِ الْمُنَزَّلَةِ فِي انْتَوَاةِ أَوْلَا، عَلَى لِسَانِ مُوسَى النَّبِيِّ، إِذْ قَالَ: "لَيْسَ يَرَانِي بَشَرًا<sup>115</sup> فَبِحَقِّهَا"، 55 وَفِي الْإِنْجِيلِ الْبَقْدَسِ ثَانِيًا، فِي شَهَادَةِ يُوْحَنَّا أَحَدِ الْخَوَارِيزِيِّينَ<sup>116</sup>، إِذْ قَالَ: "اللَّهُ لَمْ يَرَهُ أَحَدٌ قَطُّ". 56 وَهَكَذَا أَيْضًا لَمَّا أَرَادَ أَنْ يَطْهَرَ لِإِبْرَاهِيمَ، فَإِنَّهُ طَهَّرَ لَهُ فِي صُورَةَ<sup>118</sup> إِنْسَانٍ مِنْ جُمْلَةِ ثَلَاثَةِ<sup>119</sup> أَنْفَارٍ<sup>120</sup>، دَلِيلًا أَيْضًا عَلَى ظُهُورِهِ<sup>121</sup> مَتَجَسِّدًا فِيهَا بَعْدَ 57 وَلَوْلَا أَنَّهُ أَلِلهُ، لَمْ يَكُنْ إِبْرَاهِيمَ، مَعَ حَسَنِ بَصِيرَتِهِ، وَكَوْنِهِ<sup>122</sup> أَوَّلَ مَنْ أَطْهَرَ [V 5r] الْإِبْرَاهِيمَ بِاللَّهِ (فِي عَصْرِهِ<sup>123</sup> يَقُولُ<sup>124</sup>: "يَا دَبَّانَ الْأَرْضِ"، 58 وَأَيْضًا: "إِنْ وَجَدْتَ أَمَامَكَ دِغْمَةً فَلَا [S 50r] تُخْطِفْ عَنْ عَيْنِكَ مَا أَنْتَ صَانِعُهُ". 59 فَأَمَّا مُوسَى، فَإِنَّمَا كَانَ يَسْمَعُ<sup>125</sup> الصَّوْتِ قَطُّ، 60 وَقَدْ كَانَ بَنُو إِسْرَائِيلَ [A 5r] لَمْ يَسْتَطِيعُوا سَمَاعَ صَوْتِهِ، وَلَا مُشَاهَدَةَ بُرُوقِهِ وَرُوعُدِهِ<sup>126</sup> الْحَالَةَ عِنْدَ ذَلِكَ، فَضَلَّ عَنْ مُشَاهَدَةِ<sup>127</sup> عَظْمَةِ لَاهُوتِهِ (سُبْحَانَهُ).

<sup>102</sup> يستنكر؛

<sup>103</sup> العمي؛

<sup>104</sup> تبين؛

<sup>105</sup> ينظرون؛

<sup>106</sup> ويفهمون؛

<sup>107</sup> ويرجعون؛

<sup>108</sup> شيء؛

<sup>109</sup> انجاسا؛

<sup>110</sup> اخطأوا؛

<sup>111</sup> معاصي؛

<sup>112</sup> V, A: -. It must be noted that the copyist of A was copying from V which already had the missing folio, therefore he starts from قُلُوبًا, considering it the first word of the chapter and thus writing it with a bigger size.

<sup>113</sup> رأي؛

<sup>114</sup> V, A: واحد؛

<sup>115</sup> V, A: بشرًا؛

<sup>116</sup> حواريه؛ S: الخواريين؛

<sup>117</sup> يراه؛

<sup>118</sup> صورت؛

<sup>119</sup> ثلاث؛

<sup>120</sup> V, A: نفر؛

<sup>121</sup> على ظهوره ايضًا؛

<sup>122</sup> من +؛

<sup>123</sup> ي؛ -؛

<sup>124</sup> بقوله له؛

<sup>125</sup> يسمعه؛

<sup>126</sup> V: وعدة؛

<sup>127</sup> ذاته +؛

61 فَلَمَّا لَمْ يُمَكِّنْهُمْ مُشَاهَدَتَهُ، إِلَّا أَنْ يَتَجَسَّدَ بِجَسَدٍ مِنْ جَنَسِهِمْ، يُمَكِّنُهُمْ بِهِ مُشَاهَدَتَهُ، 62 كَمَا أَنَّ الْكَلَامَ الدَّائِيَّ الْمُتَوَكَّدَ<sup>128</sup> مِنَ الْعَقْلِ فِينَا، لَا يُمَكِّنُ ظُهُورَهُ لِلْحَوَاسِ الظَّاهِرَةِ، إِلَّا بِالْأَشْيَاءِ الْمُخْتَوَسَةِ كَالصَّوْتِ لِلسَّمْعِ، وَالْمَدَادِ وَالْقِرطَاسِ لِلبُّطْرِ وَاللَّبْسِ. 63 وَكَانَ<sup>129</sup> قَدْ تَقَدَّمَ ذَلِكَ فِي سَابِقِ عِلْمِهِ، فَخَلَقَ نَفْسَ الْإِنْسَانِ عَلَى صُورَتِهِ وَمِثَالِهِ<sup>130</sup>، كَمَا وَزَدَ فِي التَّوْرَةِ<sup>131</sup> 64 لِتَقَرُّبِ<sup>132</sup> مَعْرِفَتِهِ لَهُ بِذَلِكَ، إِذْ صَارَتْ مَرْسُومَةً فِيهِ وَفِي جَمِيعِ جَنَسِهِ، 65 لَا عَلَى أَنَّ جَوْهَرَهُ أَوْ ذَاتَهُ صَارَ فِيهِمْ، بَلْ كَحَكْمِ<sup>133</sup> خَاتِمِ الْمَلِكِ وَالْمَخْتُومِ بِهِ.

66 وَاللَّجَلِ ذَلِكَ وَصِفَ الْبَارِي (مُبْتَعَانَهُ<sup>1</sup>)، بِالْأَعْضَاءِ لِأَجْلِ نَسَبَةِ الْبَشَرِ إِلَيْهِ، وَإِلَّا فَلَيْسَ لَهُ عَيْنٌ يُبْصِرُ<sup>134</sup> بِهَا فَإِذَا بَطَلَتْ لَا يُبْصِرُ<sup>135</sup> بِغَيْرِهَا، أَوْ أَذُنٌ [V 6r] أَوْ بَقِيَّةُ الْحَوَاسِ كَذَلِكَ<sup>136</sup>. 67 بَلْ هُوَ جَمِيعُهُ أَعْيُنٌ وَأَذَانٌ، وَنَحْوُ ذَلِكَ مِنَ الْحَوَاسِ، نَاطِرًا<sup>137</sup> سَامِعًا<sup>138</sup>. 68 فَكُلُّ جِهَاتِهِا<sup>139</sup> غَيْرِ الْمُخَدَّوَةِ (وَنَحْوُ ذَلِكَ)<sup>140</sup> مِنْ أَعْمَالِ الْجَسَدِ اللَّطِيفِ<sup>141</sup>، غَيْرِ مُدْرِكِ، وَنَسَبَتُهُ<sup>142</sup> فِي الْإِلَاطَةِ مِنَ الرُّوحَانِيِّينَ كِنَسَبَةِ الرُّوحَانِيِّينَ [S 50v] مِنَ الْبَشَرِ الْجَسَدَانِيِّينَ. 69 وَأَيْضًا فَغَيْرُ مُمْكِنٍ أَنْ<sup>144</sup> يَظْهَرَ فِي<sup>145</sup> الْوُجُودِ لَطِيفٌ<sup>146</sup> إِلَّا فِي كَيْفِيفٍ<sup>147</sup>، 70 كَالنَّفْسِ وَالْجَسَدِ، وَالنَّارِ<sup>148</sup> فِي الْأَجْزَامِ، وَالْهَوَاءِ فِي الْهَوَاءِ وَنَحْوُ ذَلِكَ. 71 لِأَنَّ نَرِي الْأَشْيَاءِ الْبَسِيطَةَ، لَهَا فِي فُوتِهَا أَنْ تُجْعَدَ بِالْكَثِيفَةِ<sup>149</sup> وَلَيْسَتْ<sup>150</sup> فِي طَبْعِهَا الْإِسْتِحَالَةَ. 72 وَبِحَسَبِ [V 6v] ذَلِكَ كَانَتْ النَّفْسُ بَعْدَ اتِّخَادِهَا بِالْبَدَنِ مُحْيِيَةً لَهُ بِجَوْهَرِهَا لِغَيْرِ الْمُتَقَرِّبِ<sup>151</sup>.

73 وَلَمْ<sup>152</sup> يَكُنْ فِي جَمِيعِ الْمَخْلُوقَاتِ أَلْفَافٍ مِنْ رُوحِ الْإِنْسَانِ، أَلْتِي<sup>153</sup> خَلَقَهَا اللَّهُ<sup>154</sup> عَلَى صُورَتِهِ وَمِثَالِهِ، لِمَا تَقَدَّمَ فِي سَابِقِ عِلْمِهِ مِنْ حُلُولِهِ فِيهِ، 74 فَكَانَ أُولَى<sup>155</sup> بِاتِّخَادِهِ بِهِ مِنْ جَمِيعِ الْمَخْلُوقَاتِ. 75 فَجِئْنَا أَرَادَ إِنْتِهَامَ<sup>156</sup> مَشِيئَتِهِ<sup>157</sup> بِظُهُورِهِ لِخَلِيقَتِهِ [A 6r] مُتَجَسِّدًا، أَسْطَقَى أَمْرًا عَذْرَاءَ ذَكِيَّةً رَكِيَّةً، نَسَمَى مَرْزَمٍ مِنْ أَشْرَفِ جَنَسِ فِي<sup>158</sup> الْبَشَرِ وَمِنْ ذَوِي الْإِيمَانِ بِاللَّهِ<sup>159</sup>. 76 فَحَلَّ فِيهَا بِقَنُومِ كَلْبَتِهِ، الَّذِي يُمَكِّنُ اتِّخَادَهُ، مِنْ غَيْرِ [V 7r] أَنْفِصَالٍ مِنْ قَنُومِي الْأَبِ<sup>160</sup> وَالرُّوحِ، 77 كَمَضُوءِ<sup>161</sup> الشَّمْسِ الْمُمْكِنِ ظُهُورَهُ فِي الْأَجْزَامِ دُونَ عَيْنَيْهَا وَسُخُونَتِهَا، 78 مِنْ غَيْرِ أَنْ نُحْوِيَهُ<sup>162</sup> أَوْ نُحِيطَ بِهِ بِالْبَطْنِ أَوْ الْجَسَدِ، بَلْ هُوَ الْمَحِيطُ بِهِ وَبِجَمِيعِ<sup>163</sup> الْوُجُودِ، إِذْ لَا يَسْفَهُ مَكَانٌ وَلَا يَخْلُو مِنْهُ مَكَانٌ. 79 وَدَوَّ نَرِي الْأَشْيَاءِ اللَّطِيفَةَ وَالْبَسِيطَةَ، وَهِيَ

<sup>128</sup> A: cancelled.

<sup>129</sup> S: فكان

<sup>130</sup> S: -

<sup>131</sup> S: الكتب

<sup>132</sup> S: ليقرب

<sup>133</sup> V, S: لعمركم

<sup>134</sup> S: ينظر

<sup>135</sup> S: ينظر

<sup>136</sup> V, S: لذلك

<sup>137</sup> S: ناظر

<sup>138</sup> S: سامع

<sup>139</sup> S: بكل حياته

<sup>140</sup> S: نحو ذلك V: -

<sup>141</sup> V, A, S: لطيف

<sup>142</sup> S: نسبته

<sup>143</sup> S: -

<sup>144</sup> S: -

<sup>145</sup> A: cancelled

<sup>146</sup> S: لطيفًا

<sup>147</sup> V: In the margin of the folio it is written: وهذا هو معنى الاتحاد ان السى اللطيف يفوض فى السى الكثيف فى جميع اقطاره: cancelled

<sup>148</sup> A: وكالتار

<sup>149</sup> S: بالكثيف

<sup>150</sup> V, S: وليس

<sup>151</sup> S: يعيده في جوهرها عن التعبير

<sup>152</sup> S: ادلم

<sup>153</sup> V: الدي

<sup>154</sup> S: -

<sup>155</sup> S: اولًا

<sup>156</sup> S: تمام

<sup>157</sup> V: مشبته

<sup>158</sup> S: -

<sup>159</sup> S: جل ذكره +

<sup>160</sup> S: الذات

<sup>161</sup> S: كضوء

<sup>162</sup> V: يحويه

<sup>163</sup> S: ولجميع



مخلوقة، لا تحويها [S 51c] الأَشْيَاءُ الكَيْفِيَّةُ، **80** كَأَنْفُسِ مَع<sup>164</sup> الْجَسَدِ، فَإِنَّ الْجَسَدَ لَا يَحْيِي النَّفْسَ وَلَا يُحِيطُ بِهَا نَبْلٌ هِيَ الْمُهَيَّبَةُ بِهِ<sup>165</sup>، إِذْ<sup>166</sup> الْجَسَدُ<sup>167</sup> يَرَى وَيُلْمَسُ، وَالنَّفْسُ لَا تُرَى وَلَا تُلْمَسُ<sup>168</sup>، **81** [A 6v] وَكَأَنَّ<sup>169</sup> وَالْقَتِيلَةَ وَالنُّورَ وَالْحَدِيقَةَ<sup>170</sup> وَكَثِيرٌ<sup>170</sup> مِثْلُ ذَلِكَ.

**82** فَاتَّحَدَ بِجَسَدٍ مِنْ أَحْسَائِهَا، ذِي نَفْسٍ عَاقِلَةٍ نَاطِقَةٍ مِنْ غَيْرِ رُزْعِ رَجُلٍ (جَلَّ وَعَلَا عَنْ ذَلِكَ!). مِنْ غَيْرِ تَقَاوُثٍ (وَقَتٍ [أَوْ] لِحْظَةٍ زَمَانٍ)<sup>171</sup>، أَوْ طَرَفَةٍ عَيْنٍ بَيْنَ حُلُولِهِ<sup>172</sup> فِي الْبَطْنِ وَاتِّحَادِهِ بِالْجَسَدِ<sup>173</sup>، **83** كَمَا لَمْ يُدْرِكْ ذَلِكَ بَيْنَ<sup>174</sup> حُلُولِ النَّفْسِ فِي اللَّطْفَةِ، اتِّحَادًا لَا كَثْرَةً نَعْدَهُ. **84** لِأَنَّ حَدَّ اتِّحَادِ مَا كَانَ كَثِيرًا يَصِيرُ وَاحِدًا فِي الْعَدَدِ وَالْمَوْضُوعِ، لَا فِي الصِّفَاتِ، مَوْجُودٌ مَا لَا تَوْجُدُ فِيهِ غَيْرِيَّةٌ، يَجُوزُ وَصْفُ جُزْءِهِ بِكُلِّهِ<sup>175</sup>. يَشْتَرِكُ أَسْمُهُ فِي مَعَانِي<sup>176</sup> شَيْءٍ، كَأَسْمِ الْعَيْنِ إِذْ يَدُلُّ<sup>177</sup> عَلَى [V 8c] الْحَدِيقَةِ وَالْتَبَنُوعِ وَنَحْوِ ذَلِكَ، **85** كَاتِّحَادِ النَّفْسِ وَالْجَسَدِ<sup>178</sup>.

**86** فَإِنْ أَعْتَرَضَ مُعْتَرِضٌ، فَقَالَ<sup>179</sup> إِنَّ النَّفْسَ إِثْمًا هِيَ مَلَامَسَةُ الْجَسَدِ وَمَتَّصِلَةٌ بِهِ<sup>180</sup> اتَّصَالَ<sup>181</sup> مُجَاوِزَةً<sup>447</sup>، يُقَالُ لَهُ، لَوْ كَانَ كَذَلِكَ لَمْ يُحْيِي<sup>182</sup> مِنَ الْجَسَدِ إِلَّا الْجُزْءَ الْمَلَامَسَ لَهَا<sup>183</sup>، بَلْ إِثْمًا مُتَّحِدَةٌ بِهِ بِغَيْرِ اخْتِلَاطٍ، **88** وَدَلِيلُ ذَلِكَ فِعْلُهَا بِالنَّائِمِ، فَإِنَّهَا تَفْعَلُ أَفْعَالَهَا وَكَأَنَّهَا مُفَارِقَةٌ لَهُ، وَكَذَلِكَ عِنْدَ التَّفَكِيرِ<sup>184</sup>، **89** وَلِنَا [S 51v] دَلَالَةُ<sup>185</sup> الْخُرَى فِي اتِّحَادِ الْإِنْسَانِ، أَحَدُهَا أَنَّ الْجَسَدَ يَمْفَرِدُهُ لَا يُقَالُ لَهُ<sup>185</sup> قُنُومٌ، وَلَا النَّفْسُ يَمْفَرِدُهَا أَيْضًا، بَلْ مَجْمُوعُهُمَا<sup>186</sup> قُنُومٌ وَاحِدٌ. **90** وَأَيْضًا فَإِنَّ<sup>187</sup> أَنَا<sup>187</sup> [V 8v] كَثِيرِينَ<sup>188</sup>، فَيَكُونُ الْإِنْسَانُ صُرُورَةً وَاحِدًا<sup>189</sup>.

**91** فَإِنْ قَالَ فَائِلٌ<sup>190</sup> إِنَّ الْمَوْتَ يَقْرُبُ بَيْنَ هَذَا الْإِتِّحَادِ، **92** فَلَنَا إِنَّ اتِّحَادَ الْمَسِيحِ إِثْمًا يُشْبِهُ اتِّحَادَ النَّفْسِ بِالْجَسَدِ بَعْدَ التَّبْعِ، إِذْ لَا اتِّفَاصَالٌ نَعْدَهُ. **93** فَكَانَ ذَلِكَ مِنْ غَيْرِ اتِّفَاصَالٍ وَلَا أَفْتِرَاقٍ مِنْ قُنُومِي الْآبِ وَرُوحِ<sup>191</sup> الْقُدْسِ، وَلَا امْتِزَاجٍ بِالْجَسَدِ وَلَا اخْتِلَاطٍ فِيهِ، لِأَنَّ ذَلِكَ فَسَادٌ لِكُلِّيَّهَا<sup>192</sup>، **94** بَلْ طَبِيعَةٌ وَاحِدَةٌ جَمَعَهَا الْإِتِّحَادُ مِنْ طَبِيعَتِي الْأَلْهُوتِ وَالنَّاسُوتِ. **95** وَلَيْسَ ذَلِكَ بِمُسْتَقَرِّبٍ، لِأَنَّهُ إِذَا كَانَتْ الْقُوَّةُ<sup>193</sup> الْإِلَهِيَّةُ إِذَا حَلَّتْ فِي أَنْفُسِ<sup>194</sup> الْأَبْرَارِ وَالْقُدَيْسِينَ، [V 9c] رَفَعَتْهَا عَنْ حَدِّ صَفْعِ الْبَشَرِيَّةِ، وَجَعَلَتْهَا تَفْعَلُ الْمَفْعَزَاتِ وَالْآبَاتِ. **96** فَكَمْ خُرَى [ب]الذَّاتِ الْإِلَهِيَّةِ

<sup>164</sup> S: و

<sup>165</sup> S: -

<sup>166</sup> S: اذن

<sup>167</sup> S: بجسد

<sup>168</sup> V: In the margin of the folio is written: في حيط الالهوت ولا يطن مريم  
وكما ان الهوا وهو متحد بالنفس ليس محبظا بها اد منها الهوا كره النار والسمس بعدها بتلات كرات كذلك الناسوت لم يحط الالهوت ولا يطن مريم  
in A this addition is incorporated in the body of the text, while S is silent on it.

<sup>169</sup> V, A: وذلك كاتنا:

<sup>170</sup> S: + من

<sup>171</sup> S: لحظه وزمان

<sup>172</sup> V: + في حلوله

<sup>173</sup> A: في الجسد

<sup>174</sup> S: من

<sup>175</sup> S: بكلمته

<sup>176</sup> S: معاني

<sup>177</sup> S: تدل

<sup>178</sup> S: بالجسد

<sup>179</sup> S: وقال

<sup>180</sup> S: -

<sup>181</sup> At this point the rest of the work is missing from A.

<sup>182</sup> S: يحيى

<sup>183</sup> S: -

<sup>184</sup> V, S: الفكره

<sup>185</sup> S: هذا

<sup>186</sup> S: مجموعها

<sup>187</sup> S: اناس

<sup>188</sup> S: كثيرون

<sup>189</sup> S: -

<sup>190</sup> S: -

<sup>191</sup> S: الروح

<sup>192</sup> S: لكلها

<sup>193</sup> S: القوي

<sup>194</sup> S: نفس

إِذَا اتَّحَدَتْ بِالطَّبِيعَةِ الْبَشَرِيَّةِ<sup>195</sup> فِجَعَلْتَهَا<sup>196</sup> مَعَهَا طَبِيعَةً وَاحِدَةً؟ 97 وبِالْجُمْلَةِ اتِّحَادًا لَا يُشْبِهُ شَيْئًا<sup>197</sup>. يَعلُو<sup>198</sup> عَن عَقْلِ الْبَشَرِيَّيْنِ، لِأَنَّ الْأُمُورَ الرَّوْحَانِيَّةَ لَا فَهْمَ<sup>199</sup> بِكَلَامِ جِسْمَانِيٍّ، 98 وَلَا يُقَاسُ الْفَائِبُ بِالْمُسَاهِدِ مَا لَمْ يَكُنْ بَيْنَهُمَا نِسْبَةٌ غَامَّةٌ كَالْجِنْسِ وَالنُّوعِ.

99 فَأَمَّا اصْطِفَاؤُهُ<sup>200</sup> هَذِهِ الْعُذْرَاءَ مَرْتَمَرِيْمَ، [S 52r] وَأَخَذَهُ لَهَا مِنْهَا جَسَدًا اتَّحَدَ بِهِ، فَذَلِكَ<sup>201</sup> لِأَنَّهُ لَمْ يَكُنْ فِي (الْبَشَرِ إِنْسَانٌ فِيهِ<sup>202</sup> مِنَ الصَّفَاءِ وَالْكَمَالِ، مَن [V 9v] يَصْلُحُ لِاتِّحَادِهِ بِهِ سِوَاهُ، 100 وَإِذْ لَيْسَ هُوَ أَيْضًا مِنْ زَرْعِ رَجُلٍ وَلَا مِنْ جَمَاعٍ (تَعَالَى عَن ذَلِكَ!)، وَكَوْنُهُ لِحَبْلِ بِهِ<sup>203</sup> بِغَيْرِ شَهْوَةٍ (وُلِدَ وَوَالِدَتُهُ<sup>204</sup> تَبُولُ، قَبْلَ وِلَادَتِهِ وَتَعَدَّهَا، وَأُرْضِعَ<sup>205</sup> لَبَنَ عَذْرَاءَ.

101 كَمَا أَنَّ النَّارَ لَا يُمَكِّنُ وَفُوعَهَا وَظَهُورَهَا إِلَّا فِي الْأَجْرَامِ الْمُعَدَّةِ لِقَبُولِهَا، 102 وَكَمَا حَمَلَتْ الشَّجَرَةُ نَارَ الْأَلَاهُوتِ عِنْدَ مُخَاطَبَتِهِ لِمُوسَى<sup>206</sup>، 103 وَكَذَلِكَ السَّحَابُ وَالقَّبْةُ وَالْعَرْشُ وَنَحْوُ ذَلِكَ، 104 —إِذْ هُوَ مُحِيطٌ بِالْوُجُودِ وَلَيْسَ مُوضِعٌ وَلَا شَيْءٌ خَالِيًا مِنْهُ، لَيْلَ حَيْثُمَا<sup>207</sup> ظَهَرَ فَهُوَ فِيهِ (وَفِي غَيْرِهِ<sup>208</sup>) — 105 فَكَذَلِكَ<sup>209</sup> حَمَلَتْ<sup>210</sup> مَرْيَمَ الْعُذْرَاءَ كَلِمَةَ اللَّهِ، إِذْ [V 10r] تَجَسَّدَ مِنْهَا فَصَارَ الْكَلِمَةُ وَذَلِكَ<sup>211</sup> الْجَسَدُ الْمُتَّخِذُ مِنْ مَرْيَمَ بِالِاتِّحَادِ وَاحِدًا، هُوَ يَسُوعُ الْمَسِيحُ، إِلَهٌ مَتَّائِسٌ ذُو طَبِيعَةٍ وَاحِدَةٍ وَفِعْلٍ وَاحِدٍ مِنْ غَيْرِ زِيَادَةٍ عَلَى ذَاتِهِ<sup>212</sup> فِي الْخَارِجِ.

106 فَإِنَّ الْأَشْيَاءَ الْبَسِيطَةَ غَيْرَ شَبِيهَةٍ بِالْأَشْيَاءِ الْكُتِبِيَّةِ، كَمَا أَنَّ النَّفْسَ تَكُونُ مُتَّصِلَةً بِالْعَقْلِ، وَهِيَ نَارَةٌ مُتَّصِلَةٌ بِجَسْمَانِهَا وَتَارَةٌ مُجَرَّدَةٌ عَنْهُ مِنْ غَيْرِ تَكْثِيرٍ يُلْزَمُ فِي ذَاتِهَا أَوْ تَقْسَمُ. 107 كَذَلِكَ اتَّحَدَ فُئُومُ الْكَلِمَةِ خَاصَّةً بِالْجَسَدِ، كَمَا شَرَحْنَا، مِنْ غَيْرِ تَكْثِيرٍ يُلْزَمُ فِي الْأَدَاتِ [V 10v] أَوْ التَّقْسَمِ<sup>214</sup>. 108 وَكَمَا أَنَّ صَوَاءَ الشَّمْسِ يَتَّعَى عَلَى الْأَجْرَامِ، مِنْ غَيْرِ تَكْثِيرٍ<sup>215</sup> يُلْزَمُ فِي ذَاتِ الشَّمْسِ، [S 52v] وَلَا وَجُودَ<sup>216</sup> لَهَا زَائِدًا<sup>217</sup> عَلَى ذَاتِهَا فِي الْخَارِجِ، بَلْ إِحْسَانًا<sup>218</sup> بِحَاسِنِيٍّ<sup>219</sup> النَّظَرِ وَاللَّمْسِ، 109 كَذَلِكَ اتِّحَادُ<sup>220</sup> فُئُومِ الْكَلِمَةِ بِالْجَسَدِ مِنْ غَيْرِ تَكْثِيرٍ يُلْزَمُ فِي الْأَدَاتِ.

110 فَإِنَّ<sup>221</sup> اعْتَرَضَ مُعْتَرِضٌ وَقَالَ إِنَّهُ لَا يُمَكِّنُ اتِّحَادَ فُئُومِ مِنَ الْأَقَانِيمِ بَشِيءٍ ذُونَ مَجْمُوعِ الْأَدَاتِ، 111 يُقَالُ لَهُ كَمَا أَنَّ خِرَازَةَ الشَّمْسِ وَالنَّارِ تَتَّجِدُ بِالْأَجْرَامِ ذُونَ ذَاتَيْهَا<sup>222</sup> وَصُورَيْهَا<sup>223</sup>، 112 وَكَذَلِكَ رَائِحَةُ الطَّيِّبِ وَسَائِرُ الْأَشْيَاءِ النَّبَاتِيَّةِ وَبَعْضُ الْمَعْدِنِيَّةِ تَتَّجِدُ بِمَا تَمُرُّ بِهِ مِنْ [V 11r] الْأَجْسَادِ ذُونَ اللَّوْنِ وَالطَّعْمِ، وَإِنَّ كَانَ ذَلِكَ اتِّحَادًا مُجَاوِزَةً، 113 كَذَلِكَ<sup>224</sup> فُئُومُ الْكَلِمَةِ اتَّحَدَ<sup>225</sup> بِالْجَسَدِ ذُونَ الْأَدَاتِ وَالرُّوحِ، لَكِنْ لَيْسَ مِثْلَ ذَلِكَ الْإِتِّحَادُ، (بَلْ اتِّحَادٌ تَلَزِمٌ لَا انْتِفَاكًا لَهُ وَلَا مَثْنُوِيَّةً<sup>226</sup>). 114 وبِالْجُمْلَةِ اتَّحَدَ بِصِفَةٍ تَعَلُّو<sup>227</sup> عَن عَقْلِ<sup>228</sup> الْبَشَرِيَّيْنِ، وَإِنَّمَا أَوْرَدْنَا<sup>229</sup> لِعَقُولِنَا الْمَخْلُوقَةَ أَمثَالًا

<sup>195</sup> الناسوتية:

<sup>196</sup> S: تعطلها

<sup>197</sup> V, S: شئ

<sup>198</sup> V, S: يعلوا

<sup>199</sup> S: يفهم

<sup>200</sup> S: اصطفاؤه

<sup>201</sup> S: فذلك

<sup>202</sup> S: البشرية

<sup>203</sup> S: حل فيه

<sup>204</sup> S: وولده

<sup>205</sup> S: ورضع من

<sup>206</sup> S: مخاطبة موسى

<sup>207</sup> S: فيحيها

<sup>208</sup> S: -

<sup>209</sup> S: وكذلك

<sup>210</sup> S: حملة

<sup>211</sup> S: وكذلك

<sup>212</sup> S: أو وجود زايد على ذاته +

<sup>213</sup> S: -

<sup>214</sup> S: يتقسم

<sup>215</sup> S: يقع و +

<sup>216</sup> S: وجوداً

<sup>217</sup> V: زائد

<sup>218</sup> S: احتسائي

<sup>219</sup> S: بحساسيتي

<sup>220</sup> S: اتحد

<sup>221</sup> S: فلها

<sup>222</sup> V: ذاتها

<sup>223</sup> V: ضوها

<sup>224</sup> S: ولذلك

<sup>225</sup> S: اتحد

<sup>226</sup> S: لا انفكاك له بل اتحاد ملازم لا انفصال له ولا ميتوته

<sup>227</sup> V, S: تعلوا

<sup>228</sup> S: عقول

<sup>229</sup> S: المخلوقه +

مَخْلُوقَةً يَسْتَدَلُّ<sup>230</sup> بِهَا عَلَى ذَلِكَ بِقَدْرِ<sup>231</sup> الْإِسْتِعْطَاعَةِ. 115 وَقَدْ أَوْرَدَ الْأَبَاءُ السَّالِفُونَ<sup>232</sup> فِي ذَلِكَ أَمثَالًا كَثِيرَةً وَمَقَائِسَ تَدُلُّ عَلَى حَقِيقَتِهِ أَقْتَصَرْنَا<sup>233</sup> عَلَى التَّبَسُّيرِ مِنْهَا لِقَصْدِ الْإِخْتِصَارِ<sup>234</sup> وَالتَّقْرِيبِ<sup>235</sup>.

[V 11v] 116 ثُمَّ وَلَدَتْهُ<sup>236</sup> الْعَذْرَاءُ وَهِيَ بِخَائِمِ عَذْرَيْتِهَا<sup>237</sup> (لَمْ تَتَغَيَّرْ)<sup>238</sup>، كَمَا نُتِبْنَا لِعَلِّيَّهَا مِنْ قَبْلِ عَلَى لِسَانِ حَرْفِيَالِ<sup>239</sup> الرَّبِّيِّ، 117 وَهَذَا مَا لَمْ يَكُنْ لِأَحَدٍ سِوَاهُ مِمَّنْ أَتَى مِنَ اللَّهِ. 118 وَكَانَ ذَلِكَ مِنْ كَمَالِ تَدْبِيرِهِ أَيْضًا، [S 53r] لِيَسْتَتِرَ عَنِ الشَّيْطَانِ بِالْجَسَدِ<sup>240</sup> الَّذِي اتَّخَذَ بِهِ مِنْ جَنَسِ آدَمَ، تَلَطُّفًا فِي خَلَاصِهِ وَخَلَاصِي دُرَيْتِهِ، وَحَمَلُ الْوَرَزِ عَنْهُمْ مِنْ غَيْرِ أَدَى يَلْحَقُ جَوْهَرَهُ (سُبْحَانَهُ!)، 119 كَمَا اسْتَتَرَ عَدُوَّ الْبَشَرِ بِجَسَدِ الْحَيَّةِ لِخَدِيعَتِهِمْ<sup>241</sup> وَهَلَاكِهِمْ. 120 وَلِهَذَا قَالُوا فِي عَقِيدَتِهِمْ "إِنَّهُ مِنْ أَجَلْنَا نَحْنُ الْبَشَرُ وَمِنْ أَجَلِ خَلَاصِنَا، نَزَلَ مِنَ السَّمَاءِ [V 12r] وَتَجَسَّدَ مِنْ رُوحِ الْقُدُسِ<sup>242</sup> وَمِنْ مَرْزَمِ الْعَذْرَاءِ"، 121 أُنِي أَنَّهُ اتَّصَعَ وَحَلَّ فِي الْجَسَدِ مِنْ أَجَلْنَا وَإِلَّا فَيَبُو يَبْمَلُ السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ، وَلَيْسَ مُوضِعٌ خَالِيًا مِنْهُ، وَلَيْسَ هُوَ مَتَحَيَّرًا<sup>243</sup> أَوْ مُنْتَقِلًا، فَيَجَلُّ فِي مَكَانٍ وَيَخْلُو مِنْهُ مَكَانٌ (سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى عَنْ جَمِيعِ هَذِهِ<sup>244</sup> الْأَوْهَامِ!)، 122 حِينَئِذٍ رَأَتْهُ<sup>245</sup> جَمِيعَ خَلْقِيَتِهِ<sup>246</sup>، (الْعُلُوبِيُونَ وَالسُّفْلِيُونَ)<sup>247</sup>. 123 وَكَانَ كُلُّ<sup>248</sup> مِنْهُمْ يَوَدُّ ذَلِكَ وَيَتَمَنَّاهُ، 124 فَرَأَهُ الْعُلُوبِيُّونَ<sup>249</sup> بِصُورَةٍ<sup>250</sup> النَّكَّسِ وَالْجَسَدِ، 125 وَرَأَهُ السُّفْلِيُّونَ بِصُورَةٍ<sup>251</sup> الْجَسَدِ خَاصَّةً الَّتِي أَمَكَّنَهُمْ مُشَاهَدَتَهُ بِهَا، وَكَذَلِكَ<sup>252</sup> أَيْضًا [V 12v] اسْمَعَهُمْ<sup>253</sup> صَوْتًا كَصَوْتِهِمْ<sup>254</sup> لِيَسْتَطِيعُوا سَمَاعَهُ<sup>255</sup>.

126 فَإِنْ أَعْتَرَضَ مُعْتَرِضٌ وَقَالَ إِنَّ هَذَا تَغْيِيرٌ مِنْ حَالٍ إِلَى حَالٍ، 127 فَلِنَا لَيْسَ أُمُورًا<sup>256</sup> أَلْبَارِي (سُبْحَانَهُ!) لَفَجْرِي عَلَى مَا نَعْقِلُ<sup>257</sup>، 128 فَكَمَا أَنَّهُ يَكُونُ رَاضِيًا فِي وَقْتٍ لَوْسَاخِطًا فِي وَقْتٍ<sup>258</sup>، وَلَا يَقُولُ أَنَّ ذَلِكَ تَغْيِيرٌ<sup>259</sup>، 129 كَذَلِكَ اتَّخَذَهُ [S 53r] بِالْجَسَدِ مِنْ غَيْرِ تَغْيِيرٍ وَلَا اسْتِجَالَةٍ لِجَوْهَرِهِ (سُبْحَانَهُ!)، 130 فَإِنْ زَادَ اعْتِرَاضًا وَقَالَ كَيْفَ يَجَلُّ الْقَدِيمُ فِي الْمُبْحَثِ؟ 131 فَلِنَا إِذْ<sup>260</sup> كَانَ لَا بَدَّ مِنْ طُهُورِهِ لِخَلْقِيَتِهِ فَإِنَّ الْقَدِيمَ لَمْ يَدْرِكْ قَطُّ لِلْمُبْحَثِينَ إِلَّا بِالْمُبْحَثِ، كَمَا قَدَّمْنَا الْقَوْلَ، أَنَا<sup>261</sup> لَمْ [V 13r] نُدْرِكِ الْإِلَهَ إِلَّا بِمَخْلُوقَاتِهِ. 132 وَكَمَا حَلَّ فِي السَّمَاءِ وَالْأَرْضِ الْمُبْحَثَاتِ، وَكَثِيرٍ مِنَ الْأَشْيَاءِ وَالْأَنْوَاعِ الَّتِي كَلَّمَ مِنْهَا أَنْبِيَائَهُ<sup>262</sup>، وَهُوَ غَيْرٌ مَحْضُورٍ مِنْهَا، 133 هَكَذَا اتَّخَذَ بِالْجَسَدِ وَهُوَ غَيْرٌ مَحْضُورٍ مِنْهُ<sup>263</sup>، بَلْ لَاهُوتُهُ

<sup>230</sup> نستدل

<sup>231</sup> قدر

<sup>232</sup> السالفين

<sup>233</sup> اختصرنا

<sup>234</sup> قصد الاختصار

<sup>235</sup> -

<sup>236</sup> ولد من

<sup>237</sup> عذرتها

<sup>238</sup> ولم يتغير

<sup>239</sup> -

<sup>240</sup> بذلك الجسد

<sup>241</sup> بحال تغديبهم

<sup>242</sup> الحقي

<sup>243</sup> متحيزًا

<sup>244</sup> -

<sup>245</sup> رآه

<sup>246</sup> خلائقه

<sup>247</sup> العلويين والسفليين

<sup>248</sup> كل

<sup>249</sup> العلويين

<sup>250</sup> بصورت

<sup>251</sup> بصورت

<sup>252</sup> وذلك

<sup>253</sup> ليسمعهم

<sup>254</sup> صوته

<sup>255</sup> واما صوته الذاتي ليس يستطيع مخلوق سماعه +

<sup>256</sup> -

<sup>257</sup> يجري على ما لا يعقل

<sup>258</sup> ووقت ساخطًا

<sup>259</sup> ولا يكون ذلك تغييرًا

<sup>260</sup> اذ

<sup>261</sup> انا

<sup>262</sup> لسانه

<sup>263</sup> -

مُحِيطٌ بِهِ<sup>264</sup> وَيَجْمَعُ الْوُجُودَ كَمَا قُلْنَا، 134 وَلَمْ يَسْتَجِلْ<sup>266</sup> جَوْهَرِ الْأَلَاهُوتِ<sup>267</sup> (وَلَا تَعَيَّرَ عَنْ كُنْهِهِ)<sup>268</sup>، وَلَمْ يَنْقِصْ ذَلِكَ شَرَفَ جَلَالَتِهِ (سُبْحَانَهُ!).

135 فَإِنَّ قَالِ إِنَّ الْمَعْنَى فِي ذَلِكَ لِعَظَمَتِهِ أَنَّهُ تَمَالَأَ السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضَ، 136 قُلْنَا فَذُ شَدَّمَ الْقَوْلُ أَنَّهُ قَادِرٌ أَنْ يَخْرِقَ الْأَعَادَاتِ فَيَهْوُ يَفْعَلُ<sup>269</sup> مَا يَشَاءُ، وَلَا يَسْتَجِيلُ جَوْهَرُهُ<sup>270</sup> [V 13v] وَلَا يَنْقِصُ ذَلِكَ شَرَفَ جَلَالَتِهِ (سُبْحَانَهُ!). 137 وَإِنْ كَانَ هَذَا جَمِيعَهُ يَرُدُّ عَلَيْنَا بِكَلَامِ جِسْمَانِي مِنْ جِسْمَانِي لَا يَدُ مِنْهُ، وَإِلَّا فَهُوَ أَعْلَى مِنْ جَمِيعِ ذَلِكَ وَمَعْرِفَتُهُ أَدْنَى<sup>271</sup> مِنْ أَنْ يَدْرِكَهَا الْبَشَرُ. 138 فَإِنَّ الْإِنْسَانَ لَوْ سِئِلَ<sup>272</sup> عَنْ عِلْمِ نَفْسِهِ لَعَجَزَ عَنْ ذَلِكَ غَايَةَ الْعَجْزِ. 139 فَإِنَّهُ لَوْ قِيلَ لَمْ صَارَتْ النَّفْسُ، وَهِيَ زَوْحَانِيَّةٌ بَسِيطَةٌ غَيْرُ مَحْدُودَةٍ، تَكُونُ فِي بَدَنِ مَحْدُودٍ مُحَاطَةً بِهِ؟ أَوْ أَيْنَ تَكُونُ مُسْتَقَرًّا مِنْ الْبَدَنِ وَمَا حُدُّهَا؟ 140 فَإِنَّ قَالِ هِيَ تَمَالَأُ الْبَدْنَ كُلَّهُ، دَاخِلُهُ وَخَارِجُهُ، 141 يُقَالُ لَهُ فَبِنَ تَقْطَعُ<sup>274</sup> يَدَهُ أَوْ رِجْلَهُ هَلْ يَفْطَعُ [V 14r] مَقَامًا مَقْدَارًا مِنَ النَّفْسِ<sup>275</sup>، أَوْ تَرْتَفِعُ نَفْسُ تِلْكَ الْيَدِ أَوْ الرَّجْلِ وَتَسْتَقَرُّ فِي مَكَانٍ آخَرَ أَوْ تَنْقَلِبُ<sup>276</sup> إِلَى فَوْقِ؟ 142 فَلَا أَحْسَبُهُ يَرُدُّ عَنْ ذَلِكَ جَوَابًا.

143 وَإِنَّهَا النَّفْسُ تُجْرِي فِي الْبَدَنِ كَالْمَاءِ<sup>278</sup> فِي أَعْصَانِ الشَّجَرِ، فَإِنَّ حَفَّ غُصْنٍ<sup>279</sup> مِنْهَا لِعَارِضٍ مَا، لَمْ يَخْرُ<sup>280</sup> فِيهِ الْمَاءُ، فَتَرَى الْأَعْصَانَ جَمِيعَهَا نَاضِرَةً<sup>281</sup> وَذَلِكَ بَابِ، 144 فَالْنَّفْسُ فِي الْبَدَنِ كَذَلِكَ عَلَى حَسَبِ نَقْصِهِ وَتَمَامِهِ وَعَظَمِهِ وَدُمَامَتِهِ<sup>282</sup> لَا تَنْجَرُ<sup>283</sup> وَلَا تَنْزَايِدُ وَلَا تَنْقِصُ. 145 وَأَيْضًا فَإِنَّ كَانَتْ النَّفْسُ إِنَّمَا بِهَا فِوَامُ الْجَسَدِ وَأَنَّ حَيَاةَ الْإِنْسَانِ بِنَفْسِهِ [V 14v] لَا يَبْدِيهِ، فَمَا بَالُ النَّفْسِ تُفَارِقُ الْبَدْنَ إِذَا فَطِعَ الْغِذَاءَ عَنِ الْبَدَنِ؟ 146 وَأَيْضًا فَلَوْ غَذِيَ الْإِنْسَانُ غَايَةَ التَّغْذِيَةِ وَمُنِعَ اسْتِنْسَاقَ الْهَوَاءِ ذَهَبَتْ نَفْسُهُ، وَإِنْ كَانَ الْهَوَاءُ لَيْسَ يُحْصَلُ مِنْهُ فِي الْإِنْسَانِ شَيْءٌ لِأَنَّهُ يَرُدُّ قَدْرَ مَا يَسْتَنْشِقُ بَسِيرًا كَانَتْ أَوْ كَثِيرًا. 147 وَأَيْضًا إِذَا لَمْ يُنْعَمِ الْإِنْسَانُ مِنَ الْغِذَاءِ وَلَا مِنَ اسْتِنْسَاقِ الْهَوَاءِ، لَمْ فَصِلْ لَهُ عِرْقٌ<sup>284</sup> وَأَسْرَفَ<sup>285</sup> فِي إِخْرَاجِ دَمِهِ، ذَهَبَتْ أَيْضًا نَفْسُهُ. 148 فَإِمَّا أَنْ تَكُونَ<sup>286</sup> الْحَيَاةَ بِالْغِذَاءِ أَوْ بِالْهَوَاءِ أَوْ بِالْدَمِ، فَالْنَّفْسُ [S 54r] إِذَا<sup>287</sup> لَا مَعْنَى لَهَا، 149 وَإِمَّا أَنْ تَكُونَ الْحَيَاةَ بِالنَّفْسِ، فَهَذِهِ الْأَسْبَابُ لَا مَعْنَى لَهَا، 150 وَإِلَّا فَمَا بَالُ النَّفْسِ<sup>288</sup>، وَهِيَ زَوْحَانِيَّةٌ بَسِيطَةٌ، تُثَبَّتُ أَوْ تُهْرَبُ بِهَا وَصَفَانَا<sup>289</sup>؟ 151 وَأَيْضًا فَإِنَّهَا تُفَارِقُ الْمَلْدُوعَ<sup>290</sup>، أَوْ مَنْ يُسْقَى عَقَارًا مَسْمُومًا، وَرَبَّهَا رَجَعَتْ وَثَبَّتْ (لِعَقَارِ إِذْ)<sup>291</sup> تَدَاوَى بِهِ. 152 فَهَذَا جَمِيعُهُ، لَعْمَرِي، لَا يَخْبُرُ فِيهِ<sup>292</sup> جَوَابٌ عَلَى حَقِيقَتِهِ بَلْ بِدَلَالِيلٍ وَإِيمَاءٍ<sup>293</sup> قَطُّ.

153 وَأَيْضًا لِمَ صَارَتْ تُفَارِقُ الْبَدْنَ إِذَا عَرِضَتْ لَهُ عِلَّةٌ مِنَ الْعِلَلِ، مِثْلَ حَسْبِ الْبَطْنِ أَوْ إِطْلَاقِ الْبَطْنِ وَغَيْرِ ذَلِكَ مِنَ الْعَوَارِضِ وَالْحَوَادِثِ؟ 154 وَكَيْفَ صَارَتْ النَّفْسُ فِي الْخَبِينِ؟ وَهَلِ الْنُطْفَةُ تُصَوَّرُ<sup>294</sup> وَنَشَأَتْ<sup>294</sup> وَتَمَّتْ لِكَيْتُوتَةِ النَّفْسِ فِيهَا، وَإِلَّا فَكَاثَتْ لَمْ تَزَلْ فِي الْبَطْنِ عَلَى خَالِهَا،

<sup>264</sup> محيطاً؛ V.

<sup>265</sup> بها؛ S.

<sup>266</sup> يستجيل؛ V, S.

<sup>267</sup> لاهوت؛ S.

<sup>268</sup> ولم يتغير عن كينته؛ S.

<sup>269</sup> جميع +؛ S.

<sup>270</sup> S: -.

<sup>271</sup> S: اذن.

<sup>272</sup> S: -.

<sup>273</sup> S: سال.

<sup>274</sup> S: يقطع.

<sup>275</sup> S: نفس.

<sup>276</sup> S: و.

<sup>277</sup> S: هذا.

<sup>278</sup> S: كما تجري المياه؛ S.

<sup>279</sup> S: غصناً؛ S.

<sup>280</sup> S: تجري؛ V, S.

<sup>281</sup> S: ناطرة؛ S.

<sup>282</sup> S: دمامته؛ S: بدامته؛ V.

<sup>283</sup> S: تجزي؛ V.

<sup>284</sup> S: -.

<sup>285</sup> S: اشرف؛ S.

<sup>286</sup> S: يكون؛ S.

<sup>287</sup> S: اذ؛ S.

<sup>288</sup> S: النفس؛ S.

<sup>289</sup> S: وصفناه؛ S.

<sup>290</sup> S: نفاق بالملدوع؛ V.

<sup>291</sup> S: يعقار آخر؛ S.

<sup>292</sup> S: عنه؛ S.

<sup>293</sup> S: انما؛ S.

<sup>294</sup> S: ونشأة؛ S.

أَمْ هِيَ نَفْسُ الْأُمِّ فَعَلَتْ بِهَا ذَلِكَ؟ 155 وكيف حَضَرَتْ<sup>295</sup> النَّفْسُ فِي تِلْكَ السَّاعَةِ وَلَمْ تَحْضُرْ فِي كُلِّ الْأَوْقَاتِ؟ 156 وَهَلِ النَّفْسُ خَرَجَتْ مِنَ الْأَبِّ (مَعَ النَّطْفَةِ)<sup>296</sup>، أَمْ هِيَ مِنَ الْأُمِّ أَوْ مِنْهُمَا جَمِيعًا، عَلَى أَنَّ لَيْسَ لِلْأُمِّ فِي الْوَلَدِ إِلَّا النَّطْفَةُ مِنْ بَطْنِهَا فَقَطْ؟ 157 وَإِنْ لَمْ تَكُنْ مِنَ الْأَبِّ وَلَا<sup>297</sup> الْأُمِّ فَأَيْنَ كَانَتْ تِلْكَ النَّفْسُ إِلَى أَنْ صَارَتْ فِي النَّطْفَةِ؟ 158 وَهَلِ نَفْسُ<sup>298</sup> الْجَبِينِ يُحِبُّ بِهَا بَطْنَ أُمِّهِ أَمْ هِيَ مُتَمَرِّجَةٌ مَعَ نَفْسِهَا فَيَكُونُ [V 16r] نَه<sup>299</sup> نَفْسَانِ مُجْتَمِعَتَانِ<sup>300</sup>؟ 159 وَهَلِ هُمَا مُتَّصِلَتَانِ أَمْ<sup>301</sup> مُفْتَرِقَتَانِ؟ 160 وَكَيْفَ<sup>302</sup> حُدُّهُمَا؟

[S 55r] 161 ثُمَّ نَدَّعَ ذِكْرَ النَّفْسِ وَتَذَكَّرَ الْبَدْنَ خَاصَّةً. 162 فَلَوْ قِيلَ لَهُ مَا بَالُ الْإِنْسَانِ إِذَا أَصَابَتْهُ فَرْحَةٌ أَوْ حُجْلَةٌ أَوْ نُحُوٌّ ذَلِكَ، طَهَّرَ دَمَهُ، وَإِنْ<sup>303</sup> أَصَابَتْهُ حُزْنٌ أَوْ غَضَبٌ ذَهَبَ طَهْرُهُ<sup>304</sup> ذَمِهِ فَبُرَى مُتَغَيِّرًا فِي وَجْهِهِ وَأَطْرَافِهِ؟ 163 فَإِلَى أَيْنَ يَذْهَبُ ذَلِكَ الدَّمُ وَمِنْ أَيْنَ يَرْجِعُ إِذَا طَهَّرَ؟ 164 وَكَذَلِكَ السُّرُورُ وَالْإِغْتِمَامُ وَالشَّهْوَةُ وَالْفُضْبُ، أَيْنَ مُسْتَقَرُّ كُلِّ وَاحِدٍ مِنْهُمْ<sup>305</sup>؟ 165 وَإِلَى أَيْنَ يَذْهَبُ الْغَمُّ إِذَا جَاءَ السُّرُورُ، وَإِلَى أَيْنَ يَذْهَبُ السُّرُورُ [V 16r] إِذَا جَاءَ<sup>306</sup> الْغَمُّ؟ 166 وَالشَّهْوَةُ وَالْفُضْبُ مِثْلُ ذَلِكَ. 167 وَكَذَلِكَ النَّوْمُ وَالْيَقِظَةُ وَالْحَفِظُ وَالنَّسْتَانُ، مِنْ أَيْنَ بَأْتِي كُلُّ وَاحِدٍ مِنْهُمْ وَإِلَى أَيْنَ يَذْهَبُ؟ 168 وَلِمَ صَارَ الْإِنْسَانُ يَحْفَظُ الْأَمْرَ الْعَاجِبَ مُنْذُ دَهْرٍ طَوِيلٍ وَيَنْسَى الشَّيْءَ الْقَرِيبَ الْعَهْدِ؟ 169 وَإِذَا حَفِظَ شَيْئًا<sup>307</sup> مِنْ الْعُلُومِ ثُمَّ زَادَ عَلَيْهِ عِلْمًا آخَرَ<sup>308</sup>، أَيْنَ كَانَ مُسْتَقَرُّ الْأَوَّلِ ثُمَّ الثَّانِي؟ 170 وَكَيْفَ حَدُّ اجْتِمَاعِهِمَا أَوْ حَدُّ ذَهَابِ<sup>309</sup> أَحَدِهِمَا إِذَا ذَهَبَ وَبَقِيَ الْآخَرُ وَلَمْ يَذْهَبِ الذَّاهِبُ وَبَقِيَ<sup>310</sup> الْبَاقِي؟

171 هَذَا كُلُّهُ وَغَيْرُهُ إِنْ ذَكَرْنَا مِنْ أَمْرِ الْإِنْسَانِ خَاصَّةً، طَالَ عَلَى الْمَسْئُولِ الْجَوَابَ عَنْهُ، وَرُبَّمَا لَمْ [V 17r] يَفْهَمْهُ وَلَمْ يَذْكُرْ كَيْفَهُ الْحَالُ فِيهِ عَلَى حَقِيقَتِهِ، 172 فَكَيْفَ إِنْ ذَكَرْنَا<sup>311</sup> الْعَالَمَ جَمِيعًا؟ فَكَانَ أَعْظَمَ وَأَجَلًا<sup>312</sup> 173 فَإِذَا كَانَ الْأَمْرُ عَلَى ذَلِكَ، كَيْفَ يَجْتَرِي الْإِنْسَانُ، وَلَا<sup>313</sup> يَسِيْرُهُ [S 55r] الْجَاهِلُ<sup>314</sup>، أَنْ يَدْبِرَ لِسَانَهُ فَيَذْكُرَ الْخَالِقَ (جَلَّ اسْمُهُ وَتَعَالَى ذِكْرُهُ!) أَوْ تَدْبِرُهُ أَوْ مَشِيئَتَهُ فِي خَلْقِهِ بِالسَّرَائِرِ الْغَايِبَةِ الرُّوحَانِيَّةِ الْمُحْجُوبَةِ، 174 لَوْلَا إِطْلَاعُهُ هُوَ<sup>315</sup> لَنَا عَلَى بَعْضِ ذَلِكَ بِمَا أُوْدِعَهُ<sup>316</sup> عَقُولَ الْحَكَمَاءِ وَذَوِي الْبَصَائِرِ الثَّاقِبَةِ<sup>317</sup>؟ 175 وَبِالْحَقْلِ<sup>318</sup>، فَلِنَدَّعِ الْآنَ ذِكْرَ جَمِيعِ ذَلِكَ وَنَرْجِعَ إِلَى كِبَالِ الْقَوْلِ فِيهَا قَصْدَنَا.

[V 17v] 176 فَلَمَّا طَهَّرَ (سُبْحَانَهُ!) لِحَلِيقَتِهِ مَا لَ<sup>319</sup> النَّاسُ إِلَى الْإِيمَانِ وَأَرْنَدْتُ<sup>320</sup> فُلُوبَهُمْ عَنِ الْعَصْيَانِ وَبَطَلْتُ يَابِتِيَّهِ عِبَادَةَ الْأَوْثَانِ. 177 وَمَا كَانَ أَحَدُ الْأَنْبِيَاءِ وَالْمُرْسَلِينَ<sup>321</sup> اسْتِطْلَاعَ إِطْمَالِ ذَلِكَ<sup>322</sup>، فَتَسَاقَطَتِ الْأَصْنَامُ وَتَكَسَّرَتْ<sup>323</sup> عِنْدَ صُغُودِهِ إِلَى (بِصْرٍ وَصَعِيدًا)<sup>324</sup>. 178 ثُمَّ فَعَلَ الْأَفْعَالَ الْإِلَهِيَّةَ، مِنَ الْآيَاتِ وَالْمُعْجَزِ<sup>325</sup> الدَّلَالِ<sup>326</sup> عَلَى لَاهُوتِهِ، بِأَمْرِ لَا بِسُؤَالٍ وَتَضَرُّعٍ كَسَائِرِ الْأَنْبِيَاءِ. 179 وَفَعَلَ الْأَفْعَالَ الْبَشَرِيَّةَ لِيَهْدِينَا إِلَى الصَّلَاحِ

<sup>295</sup> S: حصرة

<sup>296</sup> S: -

<sup>297</sup> S: + من

<sup>298</sup> S: النفس

<sup>299</sup> S: لها

<sup>300</sup> V, S: مجتمعان

<sup>301</sup> V, S: او

<sup>302</sup> V: او كيف

<sup>303</sup> S: وادا

<sup>304</sup> S: -

<sup>305</sup> S: منها

<sup>306</sup> S: -

<sup>307</sup> V: شي S: بشيا

<sup>308</sup> S: -

<sup>309</sup> S: ذاهبها

<sup>310</sup> V: written on the margin.

<sup>311</sup> S: -

<sup>312</sup> S: جميع العالم مكان اعظم واحل من مكان غيره

<sup>313</sup> S: -

<sup>314</sup> S: -

<sup>315</sup> S: وان كان جاهلًا

<sup>316</sup> S: -

<sup>317</sup> S: اطلعه على

<sup>318</sup> S: الناقية

<sup>319</sup> S: وبالحكم

<sup>320</sup> S: امال

<sup>321</sup> S: واراد

<sup>322</sup> S: من المرسلين

<sup>323</sup> V: On the margin of the folio is written: ان اوليك كانوا واسطه قوه الله الى البشر كما ان البراه واسطه لصوره السمس الى الاجرام عند وقوعه عليها

<sup>324</sup> S: تكسرة

<sup>325</sup> S: صعيد مصر

<sup>326</sup> S: والمعجزات

<sup>327</sup> S: الداله

وإلى تركيبة نفوسنا إذ كانت الأبناء قد عجزوا عن ذلك. 180 وليعلمنا<sup>327</sup> أن لنا [V 18r] القدرة على الأفعال الصالحة التي فعلها، إذا أردنا، 181 كما يفعل الطبيب الحاذق مع المريض في الدواء الكريه، فإنه يتناول<sup>328</sup> منه يسيراً<sup>329</sup> ليخسره<sup>330</sup> عليه، ويعلمه<sup>331</sup> أن له الاستطاعة على شربه.

182 فإذ ذلك أحتمل الإيلاد مثلنا والرضاع والتربية، ثم قبل الآلام والصلب والموت ونحو ذلك بالجسد، لكمال تذيبه في [S 56r] إنقاد<sup>332</sup> خيلته من يد عدوهم بعدل كما شرحنا، 183 وليتحقق<sup>333</sup> اتحاد<sup>334</sup> الجسد لئلا يطل<sup>335</sup> أنه فعل ذلك بجسد لطيف نفوق<sup>336</sup> أجسادنا في الطبيعة<sup>337</sup>، حتى أنه طعن في جنبه بعد موته، فخرخ منه ماء ودم طهر الأرض [V 18v] من اللعنة الواجبة عليها بخطية آدم، 184 ولكي يستتر لاهوته أيضاً عن الشيطان، كما ستر الشيطان شخصه عن آدم بجسد الحية، 185 من غير أن يتعدى شيء<sup>338</sup> من ذلك إلى جوهر لاهوته غير الممكن فيه قبول ذلك، إذ هو خالق الآلام والموت والسلطان<sup>339</sup> (له على ذلك)<sup>340</sup>، 186 كما أن النفس منزّهة عن تأثير الآلام في جوهرها<sup>341</sup>، 187 وقد كان قدّم لذلك رسماً ومثالاً في إسحق بن إبراهيم، فإنه كان بالنتية ذبيحاً لا بالفعل.

188 وكما أن الواحد<sup>339</sup> تصدر<sup>340</sup> عنه صفات وتصدر<sup>341</sup> عن تلك الصفات أفعال، من غير تكثير يلزم في الذات، 189 كصدور القدرة والعلم عن القادر العالم، فإن الصفة التي هو بها قادر غير الصفة التي هو بها عالم، 190 كذلك صدور الفاعل الممار إليهما، أعني فعل<sup>342</sup> الآيات وقبول الآلام، عن هذا الواحد، 191 وكما لا يقال نطق الإنسان بنفسه وأكل يجسده، 192 كذلك لا يقال في السيد المسيح<sup>343</sup> بعد الاتحاد طبيعتين<sup>344</sup>، واجدة فاعلة المفعول<sup>345</sup>، وأخرى قابلة الآلام، 193 بل إنه بهذه الطبيعة الواحدة [S 56v] فعل<sup>346</sup> الآيات بالقوة<sup>347</sup> الإلهية وقبل الآلام والموت<sup>348</sup> (بالخاصية الناسوتية)<sup>349</sup> بتأليف الاتحاد<sup>350</sup>.

194 ولما أكمل جميع<sup>351</sup> تذيبه، كما شرحنا، أخفى لاهوته عن الشيطان وطمأن أنه كأحد<sup>352</sup> ذرية آدم المتملك عليهم، فتقدم إليه ليقبض نفسه ويُجدرها<sup>353</sup> إلى الجحيم، كعادته مع ذرية آدم، 195 فلما جسز على باربه وخالفه كافأه على جزائه<sup>354</sup> وتعديه على باربه بإنقاد آدم وجميع ذريته من عبوديته، ثم خراه وأبعده خازياً مذخوراً، 196 وصارت الطبيعة البشرية التي غلبها الشيطان بآدم غالبة بالمسيح، 197 ولذلك قال: "أعطيت كل سلطان في السماء وعلى الأرض"<sup>355</sup> [V 20r] دلالة على الغلبة والتملك، وإن كان لم ينزل ملكاً، 198 ولكن كما قال داود النبي: "ملك الرب وليس ألبناه"، كأنه قد ملك في وقت ما، وهو فلم ينزل ملكاً، 199 ومثل ذلك في [الكُتب] العتيقة كثير.

<sup>327</sup> واعلمنا: S;

<sup>328</sup> يتناول: V, S;

<sup>329</sup> يسير: S;

<sup>330</sup> ليخسر: V;

<sup>331</sup> ويعلم: S;

<sup>332</sup> انقاد: S;

<sup>333</sup> وتحقق: S;

<sup>334</sup> أجسادهم الطبيعيه: S;

<sup>335</sup> -: S;

<sup>336</sup> والتسلط: S;

<sup>337</sup> -: S;

<sup>338</sup> V: On the margin of the folio is written: اد كل دي جزء غير له ولا يلزم انطلاق الآلام والموت على اللاهوت بالذات بل بما هو متحد به اد يوصف الكل بما هو موجود بجزه فالآلام واقعه بما

هو قابل لما من الجوهر المنفوم من جوهرين

<sup>339</sup> على الاطلاق: + V;

<sup>340</sup> يصدر: S;

<sup>341</sup> ويصدر: S;

<sup>342</sup> فعله: S;

<sup>343</sup> -: S;

<sup>344</sup> طبيعتان: S;

<sup>345</sup> بالمهجر: S;

<sup>346</sup> الافعال و + S;

<sup>347</sup> بالخاصه: S;

<sup>348</sup> -: S;

<sup>349</sup> بالمزاج الناسوتي الكاين: S;

<sup>350</sup> A: On the margin of the folio is written: ونعني بالهوت افتراق نفس ناسوته من ناسوته خاصه وهي متخذه بلاهوته فكان في كل ذلك كاستعمال النفس بعض اعضا البدن دون بعض

<sup>351</sup> -: S;

<sup>352</sup> من + S;

<sup>353</sup> ويجدتها: S;

<sup>354</sup> جوابه: S;

<sup>355</sup> والارض: V;

200 [وَأَ] لِيَا أَنْ<sup>356</sup> السَّيِّدَ الْمَسِيحَ اسَلَّمَ نَفْسَهُ لِذَاتِهِ، 201 كَمَا قَالَ فِي الْإِنْجِيلِ الْمَقْدَسِ: "إِنَّ لِي سَلْطَنًا"<sup>357</sup> [أَنْ] أَدْفَعُ نَفْسِي وَلِي سَلْطَنًا"<sup>358</sup> [أَنْ] أَخَذَهَا وَلَيْسَ أَحَدٌ<sup>359</sup> يَأْخُذُهَا مِنِّي"، 202 فَكَانَ مَوْتُهُ أَفْرَاقَ نَفْسِ نَاسُوتِهِ<sup>360</sup> مِنْ نَاسُوتِهِ وَهِيَ مُتَّحِدَةٌ بِلَاهُوتِهِ بِحَيْثُ لَمْ يَصِلْ شَيْءٌ مِنْ ذَلِكَ إِلَى لَاهُوتِهِ. 203 وَكَذَلِكَ سَمَّى الْآبَ أَبَاهُ وَالْهَمَّ، إِذْ هُوَ أَبُوهُ<sup>361</sup> [S<sub>57f</sub>] بِالْجَوْهَرِ<sup>362</sup> وَالْهَمُّ بِتَأْلِيفِ اتِّحَادِهِ بِنَاسُوتِهِ، 204 فَبُيُ وَاحِدًا، [V<sub>20v</sub>] وَخَذَهُ فَاعِلُ الْآيَاتِ<sup>363</sup> وَقَابِلُ الْأَلَامِ (سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى<sup>364</sup>).

205 وَظَهَرَ عِنْدَ صَلْبِهِ مِنَ الْآيَاتِ، كَمَا نَصَّ فِي الْإِنْجِيلِ الْمَقْدَسِ<sup>365</sup>. مَا دَلَّ عَلَى شَرَفِ لَاهُوتِهِ وَعِظَمِ رُبُوبِيَّتِهِ. 206 وَحَقَّقَ أَنْ لَيْسَ قُبُولُهُ الْآلَمَ وَالْمَوْتَ عَلَى أَنَّهُ مَقْهُورٌ مِنَ الْيَهُودِ<sup>366</sup> أَوْ مَغْلُوبٌ، بَلْ يَرَادُتَهُ وَمَشِيئَتُهُ<sup>367</sup> فَعَلَّ ذَلِكَ لِكِمَالِ تَدْبِيرِهِ، 207 إِذْ لَوْ كَانَ مَقْهُورًا لَمْ تَتَكَسَّفِ الشَّمْسُ وَتَتَسَاقَطَ<sup>368</sup> النُّجُومُ وَتَتَشَقَّقَ<sup>369</sup> الصُّخُورُ وَتَمُوتَ<sup>370</sup> الْمَوْتَى مِنَ الْقُبُورِ، عِنْدَ صَلْبِهِ وَمَوْتِهِ. 208 وَقَدْ كَانَ قَبْلَ ذَلِكَ أَقَامَ الْمَوْتَى وَأَشْفَى<sup>371</sup> الْمَرَضَى<sup>372</sup> وَأَبْرَأَ الْمَجَانِينَ بِأَمْرِهِ، 209 أَفَمَا كَانَ يَقْدِرُ [V<sub>21v</sub>] عَلَى نَجَاةِ نَفْسِهِ مِنَ الْيَهُودِ؟ بَلْ قَدْ كَانَ قَادِرًا<sup>374</sup> عَلَى إِهْلَاكِ<sup>375</sup> جَمِيعِهِمْ. 210 ثُمَّ إِنَّهُمْ لَوُ كَانُوا فَعَلُوا ذَلِكَ قَصْدًا لِمُؤَافَقَةِ رَأْيِهِ وَتَدْبِيرِهِ، لَمَا كَانَ إِنَّهُمْ عَلَيْهِمْ<sup>376</sup> فِي ذَلِكَ، بَلْ كَانَ صَمِيرُهُمْ كِبْدَهُ وَإِهْلَاكُهُ. 211 وَلَيْسَ ذَلِكَ مِمَّا يُقْبَضُ عِظَمَتَهُ وَجَلَالَتَهُ<sup>377</sup> (سُبْحَانَهُ!) لِأَنَّ الْمُسْتَسْفَهَ<sup>378</sup> مِنْ أَمْرِ اللَّهِ أَحْكَمُ مِنْ حِكْمَةِ الْحُكَمَاءِ، بَلْ نَحْنُ، لِأَعْوَجَاجِ نَظَرِ غَفُولِنَا، نَرَى الْمُسْتَقِيمَ مِنْ أَعْمَالِهِ مُفْجَأًا. 212 فَإِذَا<sup>379</sup> فَخَرْنَا وَأَبْتَهَاجْنَا بِمَوْتِهِ<sup>380</sup> الَّذِي هُوَ سَبَبُ خَلَاصِنَا وَنَجَاتِنَا مِنَ الْمَهَالِكِ، وَهُوَ بِدِ غَالِبٍ مُتَّصِرٌ بِكِمَالِ [V<sub>21v</sub>] تَدْبِيرِهِ، كَمَا هُوَ خَدِيرٌ وَحَقِيقٌ بِشَرَفِ لَاهُوتِهِ (سُبْحَانَهُ!).

[S<sub>57v</sub>] 213 ثُمَّ قَامَ مِنَ الْقَبْرِ فِي الْيَوْمِ الثَّلَاثِ وَظَهَرَ بَعْدَ قِيَامَتِهِ لِتَلَامِيذِهِ الْخَوَارِيزِينَ<sup>381</sup>، الَّذِينَ اصْطَفَاهُمْ عِدَّةً<sup>382</sup> دَفَعَاتٍ وَمَكْتَمَهُمْ مِنْ جَسَنِ بَدَنِيهِ وَرَجُلِيَّتِهِ، وَأَرَاهُمْ عَلَامَةَ الْمَسَامِيرِ، 214 لِيَحَقِّقَ لَهُمْ قِيَامَتَهُ بِجَسَدِهِ الَّذِي فَبْرَ 215 لِيَحَقِّقَ لَهُمْ قِيَامَةَ جَمِيعِ الْأَجْسَادِ بِقِيَامَتِهِ نَاقِضًا<sup>384</sup> رَأْيَ الْفَلَايِمَةِ الْمُعْتَقِدِينَ فَنَاءَ الْأَجْسَادِ بِأَحْجَاجِهِمْ أَنَّهُا مُرَكَّبَةٌ وَأَنَّ كُلَّ مُرَكَّبٍ يَلْزَمُهُ الْأَنْحِلَالُ، وَلَمْ يَفْكَرُوا<sup>385</sup> فِي أَنَّ خَالِقَ الطَّبَائِعِ<sup>387</sup> قَادِرٌ أَنْ<sup>388</sup>

356 S: لان  
357 S: سلطان  
358 S: سلطان  
359 S: احداً  
360 S: نفسه  
361 S: ابيه  
362 S: بالحقيقة  
363 S: الآليات  
364 S: ذكره +  
365 S: -  
366 S: بد العدو  
367 S: مشيته  
368 S: ولم تتساقط  
369 S: وتشتق  
370 S: تقوم  
371 S: وانشفا  
372 S: وايرا المخلصين +  
373 S: نجات  
374 S: قادر  
375 S: هلاك  
376 S: -  
377 S: جلالة  
378 S: المستسفة  
379 S: فاذن  
380 S: بصلبه وموته  
381 S: الخواريزون  
382 S: -  
383 S: -  
384 S: ناكضا  
385 S: يفكرون  
386 S: -  
387 S: انه +  
388 S: -

يَهَيِّبَهَا بَعْدَ [V 22r] أَجْلَالِهَا عَدَمَ الْفِتَارِ، 216 فَتَفْطُومُ حَلْفَةً جَدِيدَةً بِالْمَسِيحِ، كَمَا قَالَ (يُولِسُ الرَّسُولُ)<sup>389</sup>: "لَا فِتَاءَ لَهَا فِيهَا بَعْدُ". 217 فَاتَّصَلَ الْقَدِيمُ بِالْمُحَدَّثِ لِيَبْقِيَ الْمُبْحَثُ، وَالْحَيُّ<sup>390</sup> بِالْمَيِّتِ لِيُحْيِيَ<sup>391</sup> وَيَقِيمَ الْمَيِّتَ، وَالْحُرُّ بِالْعَبْدِ لِيُعْتِقَ الْعَبْدَ.

218 وَلَعَبْرِي لَمْ يَكُنْ مَوْتُهُ يُشْبِهُ مَوْتَ جَمِيعِ الْبَشَرِ، وَلَا عَلَى مَا نَقَعَلُ<sup>392</sup>. 219 وَكَيْفَ يَكُونُ مَوْتُ إِبْنِ تَائِسٍ<sup>393</sup> كَمَوْتِ الْإِنْسَانِ الْمَخْلُوقِ؟ 220 لِأَنَّهُ طَعِنَ بَعْدَ مَوْتِهِ فَخَرَجَ مِنْهُ مَاءٌ وَدَمٌ<sup>394</sup>، 221 وَأَنَّهُ قَامَ بِجَسَدِهِ مِنَ الْقَبْرِ بَعْدَ ثَلَاثَةِ أَيَّامٍ، 222 وَأَنَّ الْمَلَائِكَةَ قَالَ لِلنَّسُوءِ: "لِمَ تَطْلُبِينَ الْحَيَّ مَعَ الْأَمْوَاتِ؟"، 223 وَلَمْ يُرَى<sup>395</sup> وَلَمْ يُسْمَعْ [V 22v] قَطُّ عَنْ أَحَدٍ مِمَّنْ آتَى مِنْ اللَّهِ مِثْلَ ذَلِكَ. 224 فَكَانَ بِذَلِكَ مَبْنًى حَيًّا<sup>396</sup> لَيْسَ هَالِكًا، 225 كَقَوْلِنَا إِنْسَانًا أَعْمَى بَصِيرًا، فَالْعَمَى مُخْتَصٌّ بِالْعَيْنِ وَالْبَصْرَ بِالْقَلْبِ، وَإِنْ كَانَ اسْمُ الْعَمَى وَاقِعًا<sup>397</sup> عَلَى جَمِيعِهِ، 226 كَذَلِكَ [S 58r] مَوْتُ الْمَسِيحِ مُخْتَصٌّ<sup>398</sup> بِالنَّاسُوتِ وَإِنْ كَانَ اسْمُ الْمَوْتِ وَاقِعًا عَلَى جَمِيعِهِ بِالْإِسْتِعَارَةِ، 227 كَمَا يُقَالُ قُتِلَهُ السَّيْفُ، وَاللَّهُ هُوَ قَاتِلُهُ، وَكَذَلِكَ طَالَبَ الْخَلْقَةَ وَوَبَّتْ الْبَقْلَ<sup>399</sup> وَتَحَوَّ ذَلِكَ، (وَأَنَّهُ فَاعِلٌ ذَلِكَ)<sup>400</sup>.

228 ثُمَّ صَعِدَ إِلَى السَّمَاءِ بِمَشَاهِدَتِهِمْ بِمَجْدٍ عَظِيمٍ لِتَمَامِ أَرْبَعِينَ يَوْمًا لِقِيَامَتِهِ إِلَى الْمَحَلِّ الْأَعْلَى غَيْرِ الْمَذْرُوكِ، حَيْثُ لَمْ يُفَارِقْ<sup>401</sup> [V 23r] بِجَوْهَرِ<sup>402</sup> لَاهُوتِهِ الْمَحِيطِ بِكُلِّ شَيْءٍ<sup>403</sup> الَّذِي لَا يَخُويهِ مَكَانٌ. 229 وَإِنَّمَا أَدْرَكْنَا مِنْهُ بِقَوْلِنَا الْمَخْلُوقَةَ مَا فِي اسْتِطَاعَتِهَا إِدْرَاكُهُ، 230 كَمَا اسْتِطَاعَ<sup>404</sup> أَنْ يُدْرِكَ مِنَ الشَّمْسِ وَسَائِرِ الْمَوْجُودَاتِ الْمَخْسُوسَةِ. 231 وَصَعُودُهُ إِلَى السَّمَاءِ لِأَنَّهُ الْمَحَلُّ الْأَعْلَى اللَّائِقُ بِهِ.

232 فَإِنْ أَغْتَرَضَ مُعْتَرِضٌ وَقَالَ قَدْ نَسَبْتُمْ إِلَى الْبَارِي (سُبْحَانَهُ!) حَرَكَةً، وَكُلُّ مُتَحَرِّكِ فَلَهُ حَرَكَةٌ وَبَلْزَمُهُ السُّكُونُ، 233 فَلَمَّا قُلْنَا إِنَّمَا يَتَحَرَّكُ الْمَخْلُوقُونَ فِي الْأَفْعَالِ لِأَنَّهُمْ مَحْدُودُونَ، فَأَمَّا الْخَالِقُ (سُبْحَانَهُ!)، فَيُغَيِّرُ حَرَكَةَ بَعْضِ مَا يَشَاءُ. 234 فَأَمَّا مَا نُسِبَ إِلَيْهِ مِنَ التَّرْوِيلِ [V 23v] وَالصُّعُودِ وَنَحْوِ ذَلِكَ، فَإِنَّ ذَلِكَ عِبَارَةٌ عَنْ ظُهُورِهِ لِيُخَلِّقَ بِالْجَسَدِ وَارْتِفَاعِهِ عَنْهُمْ، 235 وَإِلَّا فَمَنْ كَانَ مُجِيبًا بِالسَّمَاءِ وَالْأَرْضِ وَبِكُلِّ مَكَانٍ، كَيْفَ يَكُونُ لَهُ تَرْوِيلٌ أَوْ صُعُودٌ أَوْ نَحْوُ ذَلِكَ؟<sup>406</sup>

236 وَأَمَّا قَوْلُهُمْ فِي نَصِّ عَقِيدَتِهِمْ: "جَلَسَ عَنْ يَمِينِ الْآبِ"، فَإِنَّهُمْ يَعْنُونَ [S 58v] بِذَلِكَ، مُسَاوَةً<sup>407</sup> قُنُومِ الْكَلْبَةِ بِقُنُومِ الْآبِ وَرُوحِ<sup>408</sup> الْفُؤْدِ، بَعْدَ اتِّجَادِهِ بِالْجَسَدِ مِنْ غَيْرِ تَغْيِيرٍ<sup>409</sup> عَنْ ذَلِكَ أَوْ تَقْصِي<sup>410</sup>، وَأَيْضًا فَإِنَّ الْمَعْنَى فِي ذَلِكَ لَعَطْمَةُ الْبَارِي (سُبْحَانَهُ!). 237 وَإِذَا كَانَتْ الشَّمْسُ وَهِيَ مَخْلُوقَةٌ لَا يَتَمَيَّزُ لَهَا يَمِينٌ وَلَا [V 24r] شِمَالٌ، فَكَيْفَ يُمَيَّزُ<sup>411</sup> ذَلِكَ فِي الْبَارِي (سُبْحَانَهُ!)؟ 238 وَإِنَّمَا أوردَ ذَلِكَ عَلَيَّ مَا تَسَعَهُ الْأَفْعُولُ وَيَحْتَمِلُهُ الْأَطْلُقُ وَالْفَهْمُ لَا عَلَى حَقِيقَةِ الْمَعْنَى. 239 وَقَدْ وَرَدَ (مِثْلُ ذَلِكَ)<sup>412</sup> فِي مَرَامِيرِ دَاوُدَ كَثِيرًا، إِذْ<sup>413</sup> يَذْكَرُ يَمِينَ اللَّهِ فِي عِدَّةٍ<sup>414</sup> مَوَاضِعَ. 240 وَكَثِيرٌ مِنْ هَذَا النَّوعِ يَرَدُّ فِي التَّنْبُوءِ وَغَيْرِهَا، عَلَى سَبِيلِ الْمَجَازِ لِمَا يَحْتَمِلُهُ الْكَلَامُ لَا عَلَى حَقِيقَةِ الْمَعْنَى. 241 وَكَثِيرٌ<sup>415</sup> مِثْلُ ذَلِكَ أَيْضًا يَرَدُّ فِي كَلَامِ الْعَامَّةِ، مِمَّا لَا يَخْصِي<sup>416</sup> لِكثْرَتِهِ، 242 كَقَوْلِهِمْ "الْجُبُودُ تَبِينُ يَدَيْهِ"، أَيْ أَمَامَهُ، 243 وَ"فَلَانَ مَوْلَى فَلَانٍ"، فَلَا يَعْلَمُ أَنَّهُ سَيِّدٌ<sup>417</sup> أَوْ مَعْتُوقٌ. [V

<sup>389</sup> الرسول بولس:

<sup>390</sup> س: -

<sup>391</sup> لتحيي:

<sup>392</sup> يعقل:

<sup>393</sup> متانس:

<sup>394</sup> كما قنا +:

<sup>395</sup> يروا:

<sup>396</sup> V: -

<sup>397</sup> واقع:

<sup>398</sup> S: -

<sup>399</sup> البقلة:

<sup>400</sup> V: -

<sup>401</sup> يفرق:

<sup>402</sup> جوهر:

<sup>403</sup> V: -

<sup>404</sup> يستطيع:

<sup>405</sup> V: -

<sup>406</sup> ونحو:

<sup>407</sup> مساوات:

<sup>408</sup> الروح:

<sup>409</sup> تغير:

<sup>410</sup> النقص:

<sup>411</sup> S: -

<sup>412</sup> S: -

<sup>413</sup> S: -

<sup>414</sup> عدت:

<sup>415</sup> وكثيراً:

<sup>416</sup> تعصي:

<sup>417</sup> ان كان هو سيداً:



244<sup>v1</sup> وَكَبِيرٌ مِنَ الْأَسْمَاءِ الْمَشْتَرَكَةِ كَالْعَيْنِ، يُنْطَلِقُ أَسْمُهَا عَلَى عِدَّةِ أَشْيَاءَ، وَنَحْوَ ذَلِكَ. 245 وَكَبِيرٌ مِمَّا<sup>418</sup> يَسْمُونُ النَّاسُ بِهِ<sup>419</sup> مِنْ أَسْمَاءِ الطَّائِرِ وَالْوَحْشِ وَالْجِبَالِ وَالْبُحُورِ وَالْخُرُوبِ (نَحْوَ عِقَابٍ<sup>420</sup> وَذَنْبٍ وَصَخْرَةٍ وَبَحْرِ وَسَيْفٍ وَمَا يُشَابِهُ ذَلِكَ)<sup>421</sup>، 246 (وَأَيْضًا مِنَ الْأَفْعَالِ وَالْحَرَكَاتِ<sup>422</sup> نَحْوَ مَحْمُودٍ<sup>423</sup> وَمَعْرُوفٍ وَصَاعِدٍ وَقَادِمٍ وَحَسَنٍ وَجَمِيلٍ، وَنَحْوَ ذَلِكَ.

247 وَمَعَ ذَلِكَ فَلَمْ تَكُنْ أَعْمَالُهُ، لَعُمْرِي، تُشْبِهُ أَعْمَالَ الْبَشَرِيِّينَ، فَإِنَّهُ قَدْ كَانَ مُتَجَسِّدًا وَهُوَ كَالرُّوحَانِيِّينَ وَكَمَنْ لَا جَسَدَ لَهُ، إِذْ دَخَلَ عَلَى تَلَامِيذِهِ وَالْأَبْوَابَ مَغْلَقَةً وَمَنِّعَهُمْ مِنْ جَسَدِهِ فِي وَقْتٍ وَاحِدٍ. 248 وَلَيْسَ ذَلِكَ [V 25v] بِمُسْتَعْرَبٍ عَنْهُ، لِأَنَّهُ<sup>424</sup> إِذَا كَانَ الْيَسِيرُ مِنْ نِعْمَةٍ<sup>425</sup> رُوحَ الْقُدْسِ يَتَوَيَّ<sup>426</sup> الْقَدِيبِيِّينَ عَلَى الْجِهَادَاتِ حَتَّى يَلِي فِعْلَ الْآيَاتِ يُبَلِّغُهُمْ<sup>427</sup>، 249 فَكَمْ بِالْحَرِيِّ اتِّخَاذَ الْأَلْهَوَاتِ بِالنَّاسُوتِ، أَفَلَا<sup>428</sup> يُسَاوِيهِ<sup>429</sup> فِي الْقُدْرَةِ وَالْفِعْلِ وَالْحِكْمَةِ وَالْعِلْمِ وَنَحْوِ ذَلِكَ؟ 250 وَإِنْ كَانَتْ هَذِهِ الصِّفَاتُ مُوجُودَةً فِي الْبَشَرِ كَوُجُودِهَا فِي الْإِلَهِ، وَلَكِنَّهَا فِي الْإِلَهِ بِنُوعِ كَلِّهِ بِكَمَالٍ قَائِمٍ بِنَفْسِهِ وَفِينَا نَحْنُ بِنُوعِ جَزْئِيٍّ مُسْتَمَدَّةٍ مِنْ غَيْرِهَا، 251 كَمَا أَنَّ قُوَّةَ<sup>430</sup> الرُّوحِ<sup>431</sup> الْقُدْسِ تَعْمَلُ فِي الْجَسَدِ بَعْدَ الْقِيَامَةِ<sup>432</sup> وَتُغْلَبُ عَلَيْهِ [V 25v] حَتَّى يَصِيرَ كَخَالِيهَا، هَكَذَا فَعَلَ الْأَلْهَوَاتُ بِالنَّاسُوتِ. 252 فَهَذَا مَا أَرَدْنَا بَيَانَهُ مِنْ شَوَاهِدِ الْعَقْلِ فِي ذَلِكَ.

253 وَلَوْ أَخَذْنَا فِي إِبْرَادِ شَوَاهِدِ الشَّرْعِ فِي ذَلِكَ مِمَّا أَهْنَأْنَا<sup>433</sup> الْمُتَقَدِّمُونَ بِمَا أَوْرَدُوهُ مِنْ ذَلِكَ، عَنْ إِعَادَةِ ذِكْرِهِ، لَطَالَ<sup>434</sup> الشَّرْحُ فِي ذَلِكَ وَأَسْتَعْرِقَ<sup>435</sup> مَعَانِيَهُ، 254 وَأَعْتَدَرَ<sup>436</sup> النَّاسُ عَنْ بَيَانِ مَعْرِفَتِهِ، كَمَا قَدَّمْنَا الْقَوْلَ مِنْ أَعْدَائِهِمْ فِيهَا سِوَاهُ.

255 فَإِنْ اعْتَرَضَ مَعْتَرِضٌ فَقَالَ قَدْ كَانَ قَادِرًا<sup>437</sup> (عَلَى) إِنْقَادِ آدَمَ وَذُرِّيَّتِهِ مِنْ يَدِ الشَّيْطَانِ مِنْ غَيْرِ أَنْ يَتَجَسَّدَ، لِعَلِمِهِ أَنَّهُ مَقْهُودٌ فِي [V 26r] عَصْيَانِهِ بِغَوَائِبِهِ، 256 يُقَالُ لَهُ، وَهُوَ قَدْ كَانَ قَادِرًا<sup>438</sup> أَنْ لَا يَخْلُقَ [S 99v] الشَّيْطَانُ الْبَيْتَةَ، وَيَعْبُدُ أَنْ خَلَقَهُ أَنْ لَا يُمَكِّنُهُ كَلْبَتَهُ<sup>439</sup> مِنْ<sup>440</sup> آدَمَ وَلَا مِنْ قَائِلِينَ<sup>441</sup> فِي قَتْلِ أَجْبِهِ هَائِيلَ، وَلَا مِنْ جَمِيعِ الْأَزْيَارِ وَكُلِّ ذُرِّيَّةِ آدَمَ، 257 لَكِنْ<sup>442</sup> يُبْطِلُ بِذَلِكَ<sup>443</sup> مَا وَهَبَهُ اللَّهُ<sup>444</sup> (لِجِنْسِ الْبَشَرِ)<sup>445</sup> مِنْ سُلْطَانِ الْإِرَادَةِ وَالْحُكْمِ<sup>446</sup>، 258 بَلْ إِنَّ اللَّهَ يَفْعَلُ مَا يَشَاءُ كَمَا يَشَاءُ بِحِكْمَتِهِ، وَكَلَّمَهَا يَفْعَلُهُ حَسَنٌ جَدًّا<sup>447</sup>.

<sup>418</sup> ما

<sup>419</sup> S: -

<sup>420</sup> عِقَاب

<sup>421</sup> V: -

<sup>422</sup> S: -

<sup>423</sup> S: -

<sup>424</sup> V: لَنْ

<sup>425</sup> S: كَلِمَةٌ

<sup>426</sup> S: تَقْوَى

<sup>427</sup> S: ومعرفة كل اللغات

<sup>428</sup> V: -

<sup>429</sup> S: تساويه

<sup>430</sup> S: قدرة

<sup>431</sup> S: روح

<sup>432</sup> S: القيمة

<sup>433</sup> S: اغتننا عنه

<sup>434</sup> S: ليلا يطول

<sup>435</sup> S: ونستعرق

<sup>436</sup> S: وتعندر

<sup>437</sup> S: قادر

<sup>438</sup> S: -

<sup>439</sup> S: -

<sup>440</sup> S: خليقته قبل له لو لم يكن متبكتاً من خديعة + S:

<sup>441</sup> S: قاييل

<sup>442</sup> S: لكان

<sup>443</sup> S: لذلك

<sup>444</sup> S: -

<sup>445</sup> S: لهلايكته الروحانيين والبشر الادميين

<sup>446</sup> S: وكانوا يكونوا الجميع كالبهائم وبقية الحيوان المملكين + S:

<sup>447</sup> A: -

## FIRST CHAPTER ON INCARNATION

1 The Maker<sup>448</sup> (may He be glorified!), created Adam according to this noble form and gave him an intellect; in fact, knowing that Adam belongs to the genus of animals<sup>449</sup> and that bestial desires are innate in him, and in order for him to be able to fight them and overcome them, He created intellect for him, so that if Adam followed its judgement without deviation, he would need neither a prophet nor a guide. 2 Consequently, having given him intellect and endowed him with the ability and the will,<sup>450</sup> it is requisite that God recompense him with beatitude for obedience and punish him severely for disobedience. 3 When He assigned Paradise to him as his place of habitation and ordered him what he should do and what he should not do, Adam disobeyed and violated [His commandments] by going beyond a tree called the Tree of the knowledge of good and evil, a thing which God forbade him to do. 4 —People disagreed in interpreting [the meaning] of the tree, 5 some said that it means going towards and beyond the knowledge of the truth of God (may He be glorified!), 6 some said that [going beyond the tree] means that each time Adam looks at the tree he knows that God is behind him, 7 while others said something else— 8 God, then, forbade him from all this in order that he should not be captivated by magnificence and majesty and to put his obedience to the test. 9 For this reason, and although He already knew everything, God wanted Adam himself to be aware of his abuse and disobedience. 10 He violated [God's commandments] and disobeyed Him, and his disobedience occurred as a result of Satan's seduction and trickery; in fact, Satan had no control over him, so being hidden in the body of the snake, he made Eve desirous of the [ambition] that with this [disobedience] they would become gods, they would know the concealed things etc. 11 His trick succeeded due to the pureness of her heart and due to her ingenuousness; then she also made Adam desirous so he disobeyed like her and violated the commandment of his Maker and obeyed Satan his enemy. Consequently, Satan

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448 The author uses two different terms for Creator: *al-ṣāni*, translated with Maker, and *al-hāliq*, translated with Creator.

449 By the expression *ġins al-ḥayawān* the author means the species or genus of the animal, as an ontological category, which can be translated as the kingdom or the family of animals.

450 The author means the ability to take decisions and actions freely (i.e. free will) and the responsibility of Adam and his kind concerning the consequences of these decisions and actions.

ruled over him and he became enslaved to him, 12 —since whoever obeys something<sup>451</sup> becomes his slave and becomes like one who has sold himself to his enemy, who covered him with a tent from which he could not escape except through something which<sup>452</sup> is stronger than his enemy, like the great brave man whom no one can defeat except a brave man who is greater than him in taking good care [of others] and in kindness—13 and also his offspring after him, who continued to follow the dictates of Satan,<sup>453</sup> their enemy, as their father did, and their obedience made them his slaves.<sup>454</sup>

14 Their Creator and Maker felt compassion for them, so He warned them through the prophets, pious and just, who were of their kind,<sup>455</sup> but they did not turn back and did not go back to obeying Him, and none of the messengers could defeat Satan. 15 Then He disciplined them, once by the flood,<sup>456</sup> [other time] by the fragmentation of languages,<sup>457</sup> the destruction of cities,<sup>458</sup> the great plague, which killed thousands of them in one day,<sup>459</sup> and so on, but they did not turn back. Adam and all his kind deserved punishment for that violation but punishing them at the same moment was impossible. 17 When the Maker (may He be glorified!) knew that they fell in sin since they were cheated and hurt by their enemy, and when He saw the just, evil and those in difficulty among those of Adam's kind, 18 because of His great clemency and His immense mercy, and through [His] divine economy,<sup>460</sup> He desired to announce His incarnation [that is, His assumption of the body] of their kind to His creation in order that He Himself might save them all in one moment, and liberate them from the prison of their enemy who dominates them through their obedience to him, 19 since punishing all of them for all the days of their life and after their life is not equal to His suffering for one

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451 Note that the author uses the term "something" and not "someone".

452 Here too the author uses the expression "something which" and not "someone who".

453 Literally, the text says: "the opinion of Satan".

454 Literally, the text says: "they all became in his slavery and under his obedience".

455 The author uses the term *ġins* again here, that is, genus to refer to humankind. In the translation, the term *ġins*, when it refers to human beings and their genus, is always rendered as kind (humankind).

456 Cf. Genesis 6-9.

457 Cf. Genesis 11:1-9

458 See for example Genesis 14:2

459 Probably he is referring to the plagues of Egypt, Exodus 7-11.

460 Divine economy is the "Economy of Salvation" God planned for His creation.

time. 20 He in fact saw that it was not right to take them out of the hands of their enemy by using force but through divine economy, like the enemy, who had not subjugated them by using force but through trickery, deception, and corporal economy.<sup>461</sup> 21 And in this way, angels, Satan and whoever thinks that Adam became imperfect due to his transgression and that his nature comprised desire and things that are not found in [the nature of] the angels, can understand that his salvation and the defeat of his enemy was [realized] through his nature [i.e. human nature].

22 This is the reason for His manifestation in the body, 23 [though it was] also due to the intense desire of His creation to see Him, just like the prophets, the most honourable kind of His creation, who asked for that, since without it they were not convinced of the revelation [they received], 24 like, for instance, the prophet Moses, who said: “My Lord, let me see Your glory so I [may] know You”.<sup>462</sup> 25 All the prophets have proclaimed it and have announced His manifestation on earth and everything He has done in the body, 26 especially David the prophet, who mentioned many of those [things], all of which we cannot report since they would take so long to explain, 27 though we mention some of them in order to inquire about them. 28 Of this is his saying “Our God will appear in public and will not be ignored”,<sup>463</sup> 29 and his saying: “He inclined the heavens and came down”,<sup>464</sup> 30 and also his saying: “He ascended upon the Cherubim”,<sup>465</sup> 31 and also: “God has ascended in glory”,<sup>466</sup> 32 and his saying: “They stared at me and insulted me, they pierced my hands and my feet, and divided my garments among them and cast lots upon my vesture”.<sup>467</sup> 33 And Ezekiel the prophet said: “The Lord manifested Himself to me in Zion hidden in a veil of flesh of a human being like me”.<sup>468</sup>

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461 In opposition to divine economy, the author uses the expression “corporal economy” or “the economy of the flesh” to refer to Satan’s plan to subjugate humankind, which is based on corporeal elements, while divine economy is spiritual and based on the fact that the human soul is created in the image of God and is the place where God inhabited the human being when He was incarnate. It is the dialectic between the spirit and the flesh that we already find in the New Testament, namely, in Romans 8, where the apostle relates them to sin and salvation.

462 Exodus 33:18.

463 Psalms 50:3.

464 II Samuel 22:10.

465 Cf. Psalms 80:1; 99:1.

466 Cf. Psalms 47:5.

467 Cf. Psalms 22:16-18.

468 Probably the author is referring to Ezekiel 1:1-5.

34 And [God] said in the Torah: “You will see with your own eyes your life hanging on tree and you will not believe”.<sup>469</sup> 35 People were waiting for their salvation by trusting their prophecies, since they believed in Him and trusted the prophets in other things. 36 When this was accomplished, it was necessary to be accepted through the correct faith [i.e. Orthodoxy]. 37 We know, through the Gospel, that it did indeed occur, but even if it had not really taken place, we would have said that it must happen, and we would be waiting for it to be accomplished to the end of our days and even until the end of the world 38 since it is based on two firm principles, the one testifies for the other, and they are the Torah, the Gospel, and the Prophets’ prophecies, none of which we reject or consider to be deleterious.

39 Therefore, and since they do not speak of things deriving from God which are disapproved or invalid, and since God did not send them [with prophecies] in vain, [we accept them] not like the ignorant Jews whose fathers prophesied this, and who recite their prophesies during the day and the night but turn them to different ends because of their rigidity. 40 How can they understand all that when their hearts are hard, their character is unkind, and they have hidden their eyes and ears from the way of truth, 41 as prophesied of them by Isaiah the prophet when he said: “ They coated their own eyes and they made their hearts hard in order not to see with their own eyes and understand with their own hearts and turn back to Me so that I [may] restore them”,<sup>470</sup> 42 and therefore the apostle Paul testified this of them [and said]: “The nations have their flesh covered while the children of Israel have their hearts covered”,<sup>471</sup> and the proof of that is the fact that having seen what they have seen of Christ’s great miracles, they said: “show us a miracle”,<sup>472</sup> as if they had not seen anything at all. 44 They, in fact, always opposed the truth, not proud of doing what pleases God; God, however, was kind with their fathers, who rejected His grace and refused to worship Him. 45 Despite the fact that they could see the great and marvellous miracles with their own eyes and not through [transmission of] information, nevertheless they disobeyed the performer [of miracles] and denied His prophets, not just once [but always].

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469 Deuteronomy 28:66.

470 Cf. Isaiah 44:18; the quotation derives from Acts 28:27.

471 The author is probably referring to II Corinthians 3:13-16.

472 See Matthew 12:38; 16:1; Mark 8:11; Luke 11:16 and John 2:18.

46 Consequently, they deserved the curses since they ignored God's graces and His great miracles. 47 For this reason they were unclean and impure. God, in fact, has judged them, if they should sleep with their legitimate wives or touch a dead man, to be unclean for seven days if they do not bathe in water; otherwise, if they bathe in water, they remain unclean for just that day, and they can neither offer sacrifice nor incense nor undertake purification nor [enter] in the Holy Temple, 49 and from the time they were exiled from the Temple they are unclean, immersed in their sins without forgiveness.<sup>473</sup> 50 In fact, they have sinned many times and have committed grave sins, but God was always kindly with them, and He did not remove His kindness and prophecy from them nor did He exile them from Jerusalem like this time. 51 In fact, if they had not denied Christ, nothing of the sort would have happened to them at all.

52 Let us leave their mention and come back to our objective of the *Discourse on Incarnation*.<sup>474</sup> 53 And when He willed that, [i.e. to incarnate Himself], and since not one of His creation could see the substance of His divinity, 54 as is mentioned in the revealed<sup>475</sup> Books of God, first in the Torah, on the tongue of the prophet Moses who said: "No human being can see me and [remain] alive",<sup>476</sup> 55 and secondly in the Holy Gospel, in the testimony of John, one of the apostles, who said: "No one has ever seen God".<sup>477</sup> 56 And according to this, when He desired to manifest Himself to Abraham, He appeared to him in the image of a human [being], that of one of three persons,<sup>478</sup> as a proof of His later incarnate manifestation. 57 And if He was not really God, Abraham, with his sound intuition and having been the first in his time to demonstrate faith in God, would not have said: "O Judge of the earth",<sup>479</sup> 58 and "If I have found grace before You, do not hide what You do from Your

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473 Cf. Leviticus 15.

474 This sentence may be a pointer to the real title of the chapter, that is, *Discourse on Incarnation*, or simply, *On Incarnation*, which means that the title given for this chapter in MS Vat. ar. 138, is more authentic than that in MS Fondation Georges et Mathilde Salem, Ar 238.

475 Literally "sent down", which is the Islamic term for the revelation of the Qur'an: *anzala, inzöl, munzal*.

476 Exodus 33:20

477 John 1:18.

478 Cf. Genesis 18:1-2.

479 Genesis 18:25.

servant".<sup>480</sup> 59 Moses, in fact, was hearing just the voice,<sup>481</sup> 60 while the children of Israel, besides being incapable of seeing the greatness of His divinity (may He be glorified!), could neither hear His voice nor see His lightnings and His thunders that were taking place at that [time].<sup>482</sup>

61 And, since they could not see Him unless He was incarnate in a body [taken] from their [human] kind, in which form they could see Him [He was incarnate], 62 just as the essential discourse, generated in us by our intellect, cannot be manifested to our external senses if not through tangible things, like the voice for hearing, the pen and paper for seeing and touching. 63 In fact, this was known to Him from the beginning; therefore, He created the soul of human beings in His image and likeness, as mentioned in the Torah,<sup>483</sup> 64 so the soul could in this way bring the knowledge of God closer to human beings, the which became established in them, 65 without this meaning that His substance or His essence became part of them, but like the seal of the king and the thing sealed with it.

66 For this reason the Maker (may He be glorified!) is described [as] with body parts, because of the relationship of human beings to Him; otherwise, He has neither eyes with which He can see and in their absence He cannot see with anything else, nor ears, nor the rest of the senses. 67 However, all of Him is eyes and ears, and the rest of the senses, [therefore He is said to be] all-seeing and all-hearing. 68 All His limitless aspects, as well as the acts of His immaterial and ineffable body,<sup>484</sup> and its relationship in immateriality to spiritual beings are like the relationship of spiritual beings to corporeal human beings. 69 In addition, it is impossible that an immaterial being can be manifested if not in a material being, 70 as in the [case of] the soul and the body, fire in physical forms, air in water etc. 71 Because we see simple things to have the ability to be united with material ones, despite being unchangeable in their nature. 72 It follows that the soul, after being united to the body, revives it with its unchangeable substance.

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480 Genesis 18:3.

481 Cf. Exodus 19:19.

482 Cf. Exodus 20:18-19.

483 Cf. Genesis 1:26.

484 This sentence manifests a kind of Docetism in the thought of the author, who nevertheless rejects Docetism, considering the body of Christ real and true; see also what he asserts below in verse 247.

73 Among all creatures, there has been none more immaterial than the spirit of the human being, which God created in His image and likeness, for He always knew that He would inhabit it, 74 therefore it was more proper to unite with it than with any other creature. 75 And when He wanted to fulfil His will by manifesting Himself incarnate in His creation; He chose a virgin, an intelligent and chaste woman, whose name was Maryam, from the most honourable of humankind, and from those who believe in God. 76 So He dwelt in her through the hypostasis of His Word which could be united [with a body], without being separated from the hypostases of the Father and the Spirit, 77 —like the sun's light which, without its disc and heat, can manifest itself in physical forms—, 78 and without being included or surrounded by the [virgin's] stomach or body, [since] it is He who surrounds it [i.e. the body] and the whole existence, since there is neither a place that can include Him nor a place that can be without Him. 79 In fact, it is possible to see immaterial and simple things which are created, not to be included in material things, 80 like [the case of] the soul with the body, since the body neither includes the soul nor surrounds it, but it is the soul that encompasses it, because the body sees and touches, while the soul neither sees nor touches, 81 and like [the case of] fire and the wick, light and the pupil, and many other things.

82 And He was united with a body with a rational soul, [taken] from her womb without the seeding of a man (may He thus be exalted and extolled!), and without a difference of time, a moment or blink of an eye between His habitation in the stomach and His union with the body, 83 as it was not perceived [i.e. the difference of time] between the habitation of the soul in the sperm [and the union with the body], after which union there is no multiplication. 84 Because the definition of union is [as follows]: what was multitudinous and becomes one in number and in subject, not according to [its] attributes; it exists and in its existence there is no altruism; it is possible to describe a part of it with its totality; and its name shares different meanings —like the term *'ayn* which indicates the pupil of the eye, a fountain etc. — 85 and like the union of the soul and the body.

86 And if one objects to this and says that the soul is in contact with the body and is joined to it through a conjunction of closeness,<sup>485</sup> 87 he is told that if this were so then the soul would revive only the part of the body with

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485 On the conjunction of closeness see also verse 112.



which it is in contact. It is, however, united with the body without confusion, 88 and the proof thereof is its action in the sleeping person since it operates its actions as if it was separated from the body; the same occurs during the act of thinking, 89 and we have other proofs concerning the union of the human being, one of them being that the body alone is not called hypostasis, nor is the soul alone [called hypostasis], but both of them together is [called] one hypostasis. 90 Moreover, human beings are indeed multitudinous [of persons] but the human being [as a genus and species] is necessarily one.

91 And if someone says that death divides this union, 92 we say that the union in Christ is like the union of the soul with the body after the resurrection, since after it there is no separation. 93 [The union in Christ] happened without separation<sup>486</sup> [of the hypostasis of the Son] from the hypostases of the Father and the Holy Spirit, and without mixing with the body nor confusion with it, since this would [involve] the corruption of both, 94 but [the result was] one nature, which through the union was composed of two natures, the divine and the human.<sup>487</sup> 95 This is not strange, because when the divine power inhabits the souls of the pious and saints, it elevates them from the constraints of human weakness and makes them perform miracles and signs. 96 Is it not more appropriate for the divine essence, when it unites with human nature, to make it one nature with it? 97 In short, it is a union which is not similar to anything else, and is superior to the intellect of human beings, since spiritual things are not comprehended with corporeal discourse, 98 and the invisible cannot be taken in analogy with the visible if there is no general relationship between them, like [the case of] the genus and the species.

99 His choice of this Virgin, Maryam,<sup>488</sup> and having taken from her a body for Himself, and uniting with it, was due to the fact that of [all] human beings there was no [other person] of purity and perfection who could be adequate for His union besides it [i.e. the taken body], 100 moreover, it was the result neither of the sperm of a man nor of a sexual act (may He be far above that!), it was conceived without desire, was born of a Virgin mother, she was Virgin before and after giving birth, and was breastfed the milk of this Virgin.

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486 The author uses two terms for separation: *infisāl* and *iftirāq*.

487 Literally the author says: "of two natures of the divinity and the humanity".

488 The author here calls the virgin *Martamaryam*, while in verse 75 he calls her just Maryam.

101 And like fire, which cannot occur or be manifested if not in bodies prepared to receive it, 102 and like the tree which held the fire of the divinity [without being burned] when [the divinity] spoke to Moses,<sup>489</sup> 103 and also the cloud, the cupola, the throne etc.,<sup>490</sup> 104 —He, in fact, surrounds all things that exist<sup>491</sup> and there is no place or thing empty of Him, but wherever He is manifest He can [at one and the same time] be in that place and elsewhere—, 105 likewise the Virgin Mary, when conceived the Word of God, who was incarnate [taking a body] from her, the Word with that body taken from Mary, in the union, became one [subject], Jesus Christ, an incarnate God of one nature, one operation, without any external addition to His essence.

106 In fact, simple things are not similar to material ones, like the soul, which can be connected with the intellect, while it is sometimes connected with the body and other times free from it, without this necessarily meaning increase or division of the soul's essence. 107 Accordingly, only the hypostasis of the Word was united with the body, as we have explained, without this necessarily meaning any increase or division in the [divine] essence. 108 And just as the sun's light falls on bodies and can be felt through the senses of sight and touch, without this necessarily meaning any increase in the sun's essence, or its essence acquiring an addition outside [of itself], 109 the same thing occurred with the union of the Word's hypostasis with the body, without this necessarily meaning any increase in the [divine] essence.

110 And if someone objects and says that it is not possible for the union of one of the hypostases to be achieved without the totality of the essence<sup>492</sup> 111 he is told that just as the sun's heat and the heat of fire unite with bodies, without their [i.e. the sun's and heat's] essences and lights [being united also], 112 and as the fragrance of perfume, and that from any botanical elements and from some metallic elements, unite with passing bodies, without their colour and their taste [being united also], even if this union is of closeness,<sup>493</sup> 113 likewise the hypostasis of the Word was united with the body without the

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489 Cf. Exodus 3:2-4.

490 Cf. Exodus 24:15-16, 18; 33:9-10. All these examples are cases of Theophany in the Old Testament, that is, the appearance of God to man through physical things.

491 Literally the author says: "He, in fact, surrounds the existence".

492 This affirmation means that for our author the essence is the sum total of its hypostases.

493 With "union of closeness" (*ittihād muġawarah*) the author probably intends to say the conjunction and not of mixture, since in verse 87 he calls this union "conjunction of closeness" (*ittisōl muġawarah*).

essence and the Spirit,<sup>494</sup> however, not like that union [of closeness] but a union of inseparableness, that is, without dissolution or duality. 114 To summarize, He was united [with a body] in an exalted way, [hard] for the intellect [to understand], but we mentioned, for our created intellects, some examples taken from the created world through which, as clearly as possible, this union can be understood. 115 Previous Fathers, in fact, have mentioned many examples and analogies concerning this that demonstrate its truth, only some of which we have mentioned, for the sake of brevity and clarification.<sup>495</sup>

116 Then the Virgin gave birth to Him though her perpetual virginity remained intact, as was prophesied of her on the tongue of Ezekiel the prophet,<sup>496</sup> and this happened to no other person of those who came from God. 118 This also was due to the fulfilment of His economy in order that He should be hidden from Satan through the body taken from the strain of Adam with which He was united, by clemency, for his salvation and the salvation of his offspring, and [for this reason] He bore the sin instead of them without causing harm to His substance (may He be glorified!), 119 like the enemy of human beings, who was hidden in the body of a snake to cheat them and cause them death. 120 Therefore, they [i.e. the Christians] said in their dogma [i.e. the Nicene Creed] “for us human beings and for our salvation, He came down from heaven and was incarnate of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary”,<sup>497</sup> 121 that is, He humbled Himself and inhabited a body for us, even if He fills the heavens and the earth, and there is no place empty of Him, and He is neither limited [in one place] nor mobile, so He can inhabit a place and a place can be empty of Him (may He be glorified and far above all these imaginations!), 122 then all His creation saw Him, the superior and the inferior ones.<sup>498</sup> 123 Each of them desired and yearned for that; the superior ones saw Him in the image of the soul and the body, 125 while the inferior saw Him especially in

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494 This affirmation clarifies that even if our author takes the essence as the sum total of its hypostases, he also identifies the essence with the Father, which means that he follows, in some way, the doctrine of the monarchy of the Father.

495 The author uses the word *taqrib*, that literally means bringing closer. Using this term he wants to say that the examples aim to bring the meaning of the union closer to the intellects, that is, closer to their way of understanding, with other words, clearer.

496 Cf. Ezekiel 44: 1-3.

497 See his explanation of this passage in his *Commentary on the Creed*, Ibn al-Muqaffa', 'Histoire des Conciles', 546-555.

498 By superior the author means the angels while he uses inferior to mean human beings.

the image of the body, which made it possible to see Him. In addition, He enabled them to hear a voice like their voice so they could hear Him.

126 And if someone objects and says that this is a change from one state to another, 127 he is told that the affairs of the Maker (may He be glorified!) do not occur according to our comprehension, 128 and just as He is sometimes content and other times furious, and we do not say that this is a change, 129 likewise His union with the body [occurred] without change nor transformation of His substance (may He be glorified!). 130 And if the opposition increases and asks how can the eternal inhabit the temporal, 131 we say that He had to be manifested to His creation, and since the eternal cannot be comprehended by the temporal if not through the temporal, as we have said previously, we could not comprehend God if not through His creatures. 132 And just as He inhabits the heaven and the earth, and [inhabited] many things and elements of which He spoke to the prophets without being limited by them, 133 likewise He was united with the body without being constrained by it; on the contrary, His divinity surrounded it and the whole of existence, as we have said, 134 and the substance of the divinity was neither transformed nor changed from its essence, and this did not decrease the honour of His glory (may He be glorified!).

135 And if he says that the meaning of this is that His greatness is what fills the heavens and the earth, 136 we say that we have previously stated that He can breach traditions since He does whatever He wants, and His substance is not transformed, and this does not decrease the honour of His glory (may He be glorified!). 137 And all this [explanation] comes to us with the corporeal discourse of humankind, and is necessary, otherwise [this truth] remains more elevated than all this [explanation], and knowledge of it is too complicated to be comprehended by human beings. 138 And if a human being is asked the knowledge of himself, [that is the knowledge of the human kind], he will be thoroughly incapable of answering the question, 139 since if he is asked why does the soul, which is spiritual, simple and unlimited, exist in and is surrounded by a limited body? Or where is its residence in the body and what is its definition? 140 If he says that the soul fills the whole body, inside and outside, 141 he is told, if any man's hand or leg is cut, is a percentage of the soul also cut, or does the soul of that hand or leg rise higher [in the body] and take residence in another place or is it diminished by rising higher [in the body]? 142 I think he would not [be able to] answer this.

143 The soul flows in the body like water in the branches of the trees; if one branch becomes dry for some reason, the water will not flow in it, and you will see all the other branches fresh but that one dry, 144 also, regardless of the body's imperfection or perfection, its bones and blood, the soul in the body is not divided, nor does it increase or decrease. 145 Moreover, if the subsistence of the body and the human being's life depend on his soul not on his body, why then does the soul leave the body if the latter is deprived of food? 146 In addition, if the human being is fed very well and is prevented from breathing air, his soul will leave [the body], even if the air does not actually do anything in the human being, since [the body] breathes out whatever was breathed in, however much or little it was. 147 Moreover, if the human being is not denied food and breathing air, but suffers a cut to a vein and he loses a great amount of blood, again his soul will leave [the body]. 148 Consequently, either life is [ensured] through food, air or blood, so the soul has no sense, 149 or life is [ensured] through the soul, and these causes [of death] have no sense; 150 otherwise, why does the soul, which is spiritual and simple, remain [in the body] or leave [it], as we described? 151 Moreover, it leaves the bitten person or the one who is given a poison, and probably returns once the person is treated for it and remains [in the body] with the help of a drug. 152 All this, on my life, does not give a real answer, but just proofs and indications in this regard.

153 In addition, why does the soul start to leave the body when the latter contracts an ailment like bellyache, diarrhoea, and other accidents and disasters? 154 How does the soul start to exist in the foetus? Does the sperm acquire a form and undergo creation and development because of the existence of the soul in it, or does it remain in its state in the stomach [of the mother], or is it the mother's soul that achieves all this? 155 How does the soul enter [the foetus] at that [specific] moment and not at another time? 156 Does the soul leave the father together with the sperm, or does it derive from the mother, or from both, even if it is just the mother who nourishes the child from her stomach? 157 If the soul came neither from the father nor from the mother, where was it before entering the sperm? 158 Does the mother's stomach surround the foetus' soul or it is mixed with the mother's soul, which mean that the foetus has two joint souls? 159 Are they united or separated? 160 And how can they be defined?

161 Let us leave the subject of the soul and focus on the body. 162 If the objector is asked why the blood of a human being appears if he feels joy, shyness etc., while if he feels sadness or anger the blood disappears and he looks changed in his face and the extremities of the body? 163 Where does the blood go, and from where does it come when it returns? 164 Moreover, where do happiness, dejection, pleasure, and anger reside? 165 Where does dejection go if happiness comes, and where does happiness go if dejection comes? 166 The same [question can be asked] concerning pleasure, anger, 167 sleeping, waking, memorizing, and even forgetting, from where does each of them derive and where does it go? 168 Why does a human being remember the things that happened a long time but forget the things that occurred recently? 169 If he memorizes something and then adds new knowledge to it, where was the residence of the first and where is the residence of the second? 170 How can they be defined, being joined together, and how to define one of them, if it goes away while the second remains, and vice versa?

171 If we mention all this and other things, especially concerning the affairs of human beings, the questioned person would need a long time to answer them, and probably he would not understand the true substance of human beings, 172 so how it would be [for him], if we mention [and question him about] the whole world? [The answer] would be more elevated and greater! 173 If things are so, how do people, especially the ignorant, dare to speak about the Creator (may His name be glorified, and the mention of Him exalted!) or about His economy or His will concerning [the salvation of] His creation [which occurred] through spiritual and hidden secrets and mysteries, 174 if it was not He who informed us about some of those things through what He has entrusted to the intellects of the wise and intelligent? 175 In short, let us now leave mention of all this and return to complete the discourse of what we aimed [to write about].

176 And when He (may He be glorified!) manifested himself to His creation, the people were inclined towards faith and their hearts turned back from disobedience, and with His arrival idolatry was eliminated. 177 In fact, none of the prophets and messengers were able to put an end to idolatry, while when He came to Egypt and its Upper part<sup>499</sup> the idols fell and were

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499 This information is very important, since we would propose it as highly probable that the place of the composition of this work is Upper Egypt, and it helps us to confirm the authenticity of the work and its attribution to Ibn al-Muqaffa', who was

broken. 178 Then He performed divine actions, miracles and signs indicating His divinity, by [His] order and not by imploring or praying [to God] like the rest of the prophets.<sup>500</sup> 179 He also performed human actions in order to guide us to rightness and to the purification of our souls, since the prophets were unable to do that. 180 And to teach us that we have the capacity to make the good actions He did, if we are willing, 181 as the smart physician does with a sick person concerning the administration of a hated drug, giving him a little of it in order to encourage him to take it, and to teach him that he is able to drink it.

182 Therefore He agreed to be born like us, to be nurtured, to grow, to suffer the passion, crucifixion, death etc. in the body, in order to fulfil His economy for saving, with justice, His creation from the hand of their enemy, as we explained, 183 and [He agreed] to realize His union with the body in order for it not to be thought that He has done that with an immaterial body superior to our bodies in nature; therefore He was also pierced [with a spear] in His side after His death, and from it came out water and blood,<sup>501</sup> which purified the earth from the malediction justified by Adam's sin. 184 In addition, [He accepted all that] to hide His divinity from Satan as the latter hid his person from Adam in the body of the snake, 185 without introducing anything from all that [i.e. the human properties] into the substance of His divinity, in which [all] that [i.e. human properties] is impossible to be received, since He is the Creator of suffering and death, and He has the authority over [all] that, 186 like [the case of] the soul which is above the influence of the passions in its substance. 187 He, in fact, previously foreshadowed all that in the example of Isaac, the son of Abraham, who was sacrificed not in act but in intention.<sup>502</sup>

188 And as one [subject] brings out attributes, and from these attributes actions are generated, without this necessarily meaning an increase in essence, 189 —like the generation of capacity and knowledge from one who is capable and knowing, since the attribute through which he is capable is not the one through which he is knowing— 190 likewise the generation of the [previously]

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active in Upper Egypt; in fact he was the bishop of *al-Ašmunayn*, an important city of Upper Egypt.

500 This statement is very important, since it rejects the image the Qur'an gives of Jesus Christ, performing miracles and signs by imploring or praying to God, which is how the Qur'an tries to demonstrate that Christ was a simple prophet and not the incarnate God, see for example Qur'an 5:110.

501 Cf. John 19:34.

502 Cf. Genesis 22:1-18.

indicated actions, I mean performing the signs and receiving suffering, from that one [subject]. 191 And, as it is not said, human beings speak through the soul and eat through the body, 192 also it is not said regarding the Lord Christ, after the union of the two natures, that one [nature] performs miracles and the other receives suffering, 193 but that He, in the one nature and because of the composition of the union, performed signs through divine power, and received suffering and death through human property.

194 And when He had fulfilled all His economy, as we explained, He hid His divinity from Satan, who thought that He was one of Adam's offspring, over whom he ruled; therefore, Satan approached Him to capture His soul and to take it down to hell, as was his practice with Adam's offspring. 195 When Satan dared to [capture the soul] of His Maker and Creator, the latter rewarded his daring and transgression against Him by saving Adam and all his offspring from slavery to him, and then He dishonoured, defeated and expelled him. 196 And human nature, which was won by Satan through Adam, became a winner through Christ. 197 Therefore he said: "I was given all the authority in heaven and on earth",<sup>503</sup> as an indication of His victory and rule, even if He was always the ruler, 198 but, and as David the prophet said: "God ruled and He was clothed in glory",<sup>504</sup> as if He had ruled once upon a time, whereas He is the sempiternal ruler, 199 and there are many [examples] like this in the Old [Testament].

200 And since the Lord Christ gave up His soul to Himself,<sup>505</sup> 201 — He in fact said in the Holy Gospel: "I have the authority to lay down my soul and the authority to take it up and no one shall take it from me"<sup>506</sup> — 202 His death was the separation of the soul of His humanity from His humanity while it was united with His divinity, so nothing from the [consequences of this separation] affected His divinity. 203 He, moreover, named the Father His Father and His God,<sup>507</sup> since He is His Father according to the substance, and His God according to the composition of His union with His humanity, 204 consequently, He is one, He alone is the one performing the signs and receiving suffering (may He be glorified and exalted!).

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503 Matthew 28:18.

504 Psalms 93:1

505 Cf. Matthew 27:50; Mark 15:37; Luke 23:47; John 19:30.

506 John 10:17-18.

507 Cf. John 20:17.



205 At His crucifixion signs were manifested, as is written in the Holy Gospel,<sup>508</sup> which indicated the honour of His divinity and the greatness of His lordship. 206 And He demonstrated that His acceptance of suffering and death was not because He was suppressed by the Jews or defeated, but because He willed and wanted to do this in order to fulfil His economy, 207 because if He was defeated, at His crucifixion and death the sun would not have been eclipsed, stars would not have fallen, rocks would not have been split, and dead would not have been raised from their tombs.<sup>509</sup> 208 Before that, by His order, He had resurrected the dead, cured the sick and healed the insane, 209 so, would He not have been able to save Himself from the Jews? In fact, He was able to cause all of them to die. 210 Then, if they had done that on purpose, agreeing with His opinion and His economy, they would not have sinned in that, whereas in fact, their conscience aimed to make Him appear guilty and cause Him death. 211 And that diminishes neither His greatness nor His glory (may He be glorified!), because the things from God, though they be judged stupid, are wiser than the wisdom of the wise, however, we, due to the deviant vision of our intellect, see the direct actions of God deviated. 212 So we should be proud of and glad for His death, which is the cause of our salvation and safety from death, by which He is winner and victorious through the fulfilment of His economy, as it is worthy and true that it be for the honour of His divinity (may He be glorified!).

213 Then He was raised from the tomb on the third day and after His resurrection He manifested Himself several times to His disciples and apostles, whom He had selected, and He made them touch His hands and legs, and made them see the marks of the nails,<sup>510</sup> 214 in order to confirm to them His resurrection with His body which was buried, 215 thus affirming to them the resurrection of all bodies by virtue of His resurrection, repudiating the opinion of the philosophers who believed that bodies gradually vanish arguing that they are composite and that it is necessary for each composite [reality] to decompose, and they did not believe that the Creator of natures is able, after their decomposition, to give them the state of being unchangeable, 216

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508 Cf. Matthew 27: 51-53; Luke 23:44-45.

509 Cf. Matthew 27: 51-53 and Luke 23:44-45.

510 Cf. Luke 24:36-40.

which is a new creation in Christ;<sup>511</sup> as the apostle Paul has said: “they will not demolish again”.<sup>512</sup> 217 Consequently, the eternal was united with the temporal in order to give duration to the temporal, and the living with the dead in order to give life to the dead and to raise him, and the free with the slave in order to give freedom to the slave.

218 On my life, His death was not like the death of all human beings and was beyond our comprehension. 219 How could the death of God made man be like that of a created human being? 220 He, in fact, was pierced [with a spear] after His death and from [His side] came out water and blood,<sup>513</sup> 221 He was raised with His body from the tomb after three days, 222 and the angel said to the women: “Why do you seek the living one among the dead?”,<sup>514</sup> 223 and neither was anything like this heard nor seen concerning anyone among those sent from God. 224 With this He was living, dead but not destructible, 225 like our saying a human being is blind with mental vision, since blindness concerns the eye and mental vision concerns the heart, even if the term “blind” is said of all human beings, 226 likewise the death of Christ concerns [just His] humanity, even if the term “death” is said, metaphorically, of all of Him 227 just as we say “the sword killed him”, but in fact, it is God who killed him; likewise, we say “the palm tree grew tall”, “the herb got bigger” etc., but in fact it is God who does all this.

228 Then, forty complete days after His resurrection, and while they [i.e. the apostles] were looking at Him, He ascended to Heaven in great glory, towards the most high and ineffable place,<sup>515</sup> which He [never] left according to the substance of His divinity that surrounds everything and cannot be surrounded. 229 —Our created intellects comprehend whatever they can of the divinity, 230 in the same way that we are able to comprehend [whatever we can] of the sun and all other touchable beings— 231 He ascended to Heaven since it is the highest place fitting for Him.

232 And if someone objects and says that you have attributed movement to the Maker (may He be glorified!), and each mobile being has a mover and must [necessarily] be in a state of immobility, 233 we say that created

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511 Cf. II Corinthians 5:17.

512 Cf. I Corinthians 15:42.

513 Cf. John 19:34.

514 Cf. Luke 24:5.

515 Cf. Luke 24:51.

beings move through actions since they are limited, but the Creator (may He be glorified!), does whatever He wants without movement. 234 But what has been attributed to Him, such as descent and ascent, etc., is His manifestation to His created beings in the body and His ascension from among them, 235 otherwise, how could He who surrounds heaven and earth and every place, accomplish descent and ascent etc.?

236 Concerning what they say in the text of their dogma [i.e. the Nicene Creed] “He is seated on the right side of the Father”,<sup>516</sup> they mean the equality of the hypostasis of the Word with that of the Father and that of the Holy Spirit, after being united with the body without change or imperfection; in addition, the meaning of this is the greatness of the Maker (may He be glorified!). 237 In fact, if one cannot distinguish right or left [sides] for the sun, which is created, how [is it possible] to distinguish it for the Maker (may He be glorified!)? 238 This, however, was mentioned [in the Creed] in accordance with what is possible for the intellect, rationality, and comprehension and not according to its real meaning. 239 Therefore, it was said many times in the psalms of David, since he mentions the right [side] of God in many passages.<sup>517</sup> 240 There are many [examples] of this kind [of discourse] in the prophecies and other [places of the Scripture],<sup>518</sup> which are mentioned in metaphorical way according to what the [human] words can handle and not according to their true meaning. 241 In addition, many [examples] of this [kind], which cannot be counted because of their great number, are present in the discourse of the common people, 242 like their saying “the armies are between his hands”, that is, in front of him, 243 and “someone is *mawlā* of someone else”, and it is not understood whether the word *mawlā* here means master or liberated slave;<sup>519</sup> 244 and many shared nouns like *‘ayn*<sup>520</sup> etc. which can be said of different things, 245 and many words with which persons are named, which are names of birds, wild

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516 See the explanation of this passage our author gives in his *Commentary on the Creed* which contains similar ideas, Ibn al-Muqaffa', *Histoire des Conciles*, 575-577.

517 See for example Psalms 60:5; 110:1.

518 See for example Exodus 22:11.

519 In fact, in Arabic, the word *mawlā* has dual meaning, it can mean either “master” or “liberated slave”, precisely, a person of slave origin who does not have tribal protection.

520 In Arabic, the word *‘ayn* means “eye”, “fountain”, “source”, “water-spring”, and has many other meanings.

animals, mountains, seas and wars like *‘Uqāb*,<sup>521</sup> *danab*,<sup>522</sup> *ṣaḥrah*,<sup>523</sup> *Baḥr*,<sup>524</sup> *Sayf*<sup>525</sup> and so on, 246 and [words] which denote actions and movements, like *Maḥmūd*,<sup>526</sup> *Ma‘rūf*,<sup>527</sup> *ṣā‘id*,<sup>528</sup> *Qādim*,<sup>529</sup> *ḥasan*,<sup>530</sup> *ġamīl*<sup>531</sup> etc.

247 Despite this, His actions, on my life, were not like those of the human beings; He was indeed incarnate but was like the spiritual beings, that is, as if He did not have a body.<sup>532</sup> In fact, He entered the place where His disciples were while the doors were closed, and at the same time He allowed them to touch his body.<sup>533</sup> 248 And this is not strange to Him, since a little of the Holy Spirit’s grace empowered the saints to cope with trials and [enabled them] to perform miracles. 249 What then would be [the consequence] of the union of the divinity with humanity? Would it not make [the humanity] equal [to the divinity] in power, action, wisdom, knowledge etc.? 250 Even if these attributes exist in human beings as well as in God, their existence in God is absolute through a subsistent perfectness, while in us their existence is partial and depends on other things. 251 And as the power of the Holy Spirit acts in the body after the resurrection and triumphs over it so the body becomes [spiritual] like the state of the Spirit, likewise the divinity acted in the humanity [of Christ]. 252 And this is what we wanted to demonstrate by the testimonies of the intellect.<sup>534</sup>

253 If we start to mention the legal testimonies<sup>535</sup> concerning this, from the enriching comments that the previous [Fathers] have mentioned, they are

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521 *‘Uqāb* means “eagle”.

522 *danab* means “tail”.

523 *ṣaḥrah* means “rock”.

524 *Baḥr* means “sea”.

525 *Sayf* means “sword”.

526 *Maḥmūd* is the passive particle (past participle) of the verb *ḥamad* and means “praised”.

527 *Ma‘rūf* is the passive particle (past participle) of the verb *‘arafa* and means “known”.

528 *ṣā‘id* is the active particle (present participle) of the verb *ṣā‘ida* and means “ascending”.

529 *Qādim* is the active particle (present participle) of the verb *qadima* and means “coming”.

530 *ḥasan* is an adjective deriving from the verb *ḥasana* and means “handsome”.

531 *Ġamīl* is an adjective deriving from the verb *ġamula* and means “beautiful”.

532 This affirmation explains what I have said concerning the Docetism in the author’s doctrine, in verse 68 above.

533 Cf. Luke 24:36-40.

534 Testimonies of the intellect are the rational arguments and proofs the author used in his discourse on the Incarnation.

535 By legal testimonies, the author means the proofs and the arguments mentioned in the Christian legal books, which could be the canons of the synods and councils as well as some patristic writings in this regard.

so many and there is no need to repeat them [because] their presentation would be long, and the exposition of their meanings would take a long time, 254 and people would look for excuses for not [trying to understand] their clear meanings, like their excuses concerning other things which we have already mentioned.<sup>536</sup>

255 And if someone objects and says that God could have saved Adam and his offspring from the hand of Satan without being incarnate, for He knew that Adam was forced to disobey Him because of Satan's seduction, 256 he should be told that God could also not have created Satan at all, or that after creating him, He could have refrained from allowing him [i.e. Satan] to [possess] Adam at all, or to [convince] Cain to kill his brother Abel,<sup>537</sup> or to [dominate] the pious and all Adam's offspring. 257 By doing so, however, He would have cancelled the self-determination and free will<sup>538</sup> and the control that He had given to humankind;<sup>539</sup> 258 God, finally, does whatever He wills, as He wills, through His wisdom, and everything He does is very good.

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536 Here the author is probably referring to the passages above where he asks questions concerning the relationship between the human body and the soul in verses 138-175.

537 Cf. Genesis 4:8.

538 I think that by the expression *sulṭān al-irādah*, which literally means "authority over the will", the author intends the Greek τὸ ἀρεξούσιον.

539 In regards, see also the author's statement in verse 2.

