

What Happened in Iznik? The Shaping of Ottoman Intellectual Life and Dāwūd Qayşarī *

Ihsan Fazlıoğlu **

*Translated by Dr. Taha Yasin Arslan****

Abstract: This work examines the shaping of Ottoman intellectual life between 1302 and 1362 as part of the common cultural heritage of Turkistan, Iran, and Anatolia. The relevant Damascus-Cairo and Byzantine aspects are also considered. It will detail how the components of this heritage were transmitted to the Ottoman realm and investigate both the channels used and the institutions involved during the reigns of ‘Osman and Orhān Gāzī as well as the role of Dāwūd Qayşarī, who was considered to be the first Ottoman mudarris. The period’s political, intellectual, and ideological approaches will also be taken into account, and a brief context evaluation will be conducted on the *al-Itḥāf al-Sulaymānī fī al-‘ahdī al-Ūrkhānī* attributed to Qayşarī and presented to Sulayman Pasha. This scholarly work is identified as the first one to be compiled in the Ottoman realm. Its editio princeps will be appended to the article..

Keywords: The Ottoman realm, Dāwūd Qayşarī, *al-Itḥāf al-Sulaymānī fī al-‘ahdī al-Ūrkhānī*, Iznik Madrasa, Grogery Palamas, ‘Osmān Gāzī, Orhān Gāzī, Sulayman Pasha, the Marāgha school of mathematics and astronomy, the Tabriz school of mathematics and astronomy, Konya. .

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** Prof., Istanbul Medeniyet University, Department of Philosophy.

Correspondence: ihsanfazlioglu@gmail.com

*** Istanbul Medeniyet University

Introduction

The scholarly literature regarding the founding of the Ottoman Empire, which first appeared upon the land of ancient Bithynia in western Anatolia at the end of the thirteenth century, has several discrepancies. These vary from the roots of its founding families to the date of its establishment and the motives that triggered, fed, and furthered its rise.¹ Moreover, we lack sufficient information in the sources to understand the intellectual and cultural life of the empire, which established as a principality.

In this work, we present an edition of *al-İthāf al-Sulaymānī fī al-'ahd al-Ūrkhānī* attributed to Dāwūd Qayşarī (d.1350), who is regarded as one of the founders of Ottoman intellectual and educational activities. We also offer a brief overview of Ottoman intellectual and cultural life at specific time and places. The work covers the period of 1250 to 1362, as well as places within the Ottoman Principality (located in Anatolia) and its neighbours: the Byzantines in the west and the Ilkhanids in the east. We intend to keep the Mamluk realm in mind, considering its relation to Anatolia.

I. Philosophy and Science in the Common Cultural Heritage of Anatolia, Iran, Turkistan, and Damascus-Cairo between the Second Half of the Thirteenth Century and the First Half of the Fourteenth Century

This section deals with philosophy and science in Anatolia, Iran, Turkistan, and Damascus-Cairo, albeit not in detail, in terms of their being so culturally interconnected that they were able to create a common heritage. In this context, the main argument is that the philosophy and science flourishing in Anatolia is a natural continuity of Turkistan and Iran's cultural traditions through the intellectual undertakings of the scholars who fled to Anatolia due to the Mongol invasions and, at a later stage, through the Ilkhanids' intellectual atmosphere and institutions. This common cultural tradition is an important element in comprehending Ottoman intellectual life in both the establishment and development periods.

1 A great deal of research on the foundation of the Ottoman Principality has been conducted by scholars such as Herbert Adams Gibbons, Mehmed Fuad Köprülü, Paul Wittek, Halil İnalçık, Rudi Paul Lindner, Colin Imber, Heath W. Lowry, Feridun Emecen, and Cemal Kafadar. Nevertheless, the topic remains its popularity. See Oktay Özel and Mehmet Öz (ed.), *Söğüt'ten İstanbul'a Osmanlı Devleti'nin Kuruluşu Üzerine Tartışmalar* (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 2000); Cemal Kafadar, *İki Cihân Aresinde: Osmanlı Devletinin Kuruluşu*, trans. Ceren Çıkmış; ed. Mehmet Öz (Ankara: Birleşik Yayınevi, 2010). For the English version, see Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).

A short historical anecdote is given here.² After the Manzikert War of 1071, Anatolia gradually became part of the Islamic world. Political stability was gradually restored, and the region's cities, the linkage of trade routes, and the population's homogenisation all supported its growing intellectual and cultural activities, which were institutionalized in the form of teaching hospitals (*shifākhāna*) and schools (*madrasa*). Due to the contributions of scholars from all over the Islamic world, particularly of those fleeing the Mongols, Anatolia became an intellectual and cultural epicentre, notably during the time of Alā al-Dīn Kayqubād, who was revered as "great" (*ulugh*) by his people. The Mongol victory at the Battle of Kosedag (1254) was followed by a short period of instability; however, it enabled Anatolia to become a natural continuity of Turkistan and Iran both administratively and intellectually under Ilkhanid rule.

The scholars who lived within this common cultural tradition during 1250-1362 are listed in table 2, 3, and 4. These tables are open to interpretation by experts on the different branches of science. In this work, the important names and aspects of logical and mathematical (*riyādi*) philosophy, as well as Anatolia and the early stage of the Ottoman Principality, are points of discussion. Our primary argument is that there are three stages: (1) the combination of sufi/'irfāni doctrines and the knowledge of *kalām* and philosophy with local traditions and its subsequent maturity, particularly at the time of Mu'īn al-Dīn Parwāna (1254-1277); (2) the reception of Maragha's mathematical-astronomical school and its transformation into an independently developed tradition; and (3) the reverse-reception of Anatolian knowledge in the late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century Damascus-Cairo region, the Shanb-i Ghāzān school in Tabriz, and the heritage of Rab'ī Rashīdī founded by Rashīd al-Dīn Faql Allāh-i Hamadānī. While the first stage and the reception of the Maragha School took place in Konya, the transformation process occurred via scholarly activities in centres like Sivas and Tokat.

Dāwūd Kayserī bears the marks of all three stages: He was born in Kayseri and probably educated in Konya as well as other Anatolian knowledge centres, pursued his education in Damascus and Cairo's cultural environment, and then moved to Tabriz to participate in the scholarly activities in Shanb-i Ghāzān and Rab'ī Rashīdī.

Although we do not want to get into details regarding Anatolia's local accumulation of knowledge, it is imperative to mention that it comprised many different

2 For an overview on philosophy and science under the Anatolian Seljuks and the period of the various principalities, see İhsan Fazlıođlu, "Selçuklular Devri'nde Anadolu'da Felsefe-Bilim -Bir Giriş-", *Kayıp Halka: İslam-Türk Felsefe-Bilim Tarihinin Anlam Küresi*, 5th ed. (İstanbul: Papersense Yayınları 2016), 125-174.

strands of Islamic civilization.³ The Ishrāqī philosopher Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī's (d.1191) works were presented to Anatolia's Seljuk sultans; the activities of 'Umar Suhrawardī (d.1234), the founder of the Suhrawardiyya sufi order in Konya; the Hanafi *faqīh* and mathematician Ismā'īl Mardīnī's (d.1239) mathematical works; and Abū al-'Izz Jazarī's (still active in 1202-1206) mechanical works in Artuqid Principality picture the outline of Anatolia's scientific tradition. Other important figures were Ḥubaysh Tifisī (d.1232[?]), who came to Tifis from Marw and migrated to Konya, where he worked on several branches of science; the physician and philosopher 'Abd al-Laṭīf Baghdādī (d.1233), who visited Anatolia for a short period; the *mutakallim* and philosopher Sayf al-Dīn Āmidī (d.1233) of Diyarbakir; Athīr al-Dīn Abharī (d.1264) who lived in Konya and perhaps in some other Anatolian cities for a short time; and Ḥakīm Barka (alive in 1223), who established the Turkish-language medical tradition in Anatolia.

It is rather curious to see that the scholarly activity that took local traditions of sufism/'irfān, *kalām*, and philosophy to a higher level began right after the Battle of Kosedag (1254). The torch of a higher level of intellectuality was primarily carried by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī (d.1273) in Konya, the Anatolian Seljuks' capital; Şadr al-Dīn Qunawī (d.1274), the adopted son and pupil of Ibn al-Arabī (d.1240), who lived in Konya for a short period; the *faqīh*, *mutakallim*, and philosopher Sirāj al-Dīn Urmawī (d.1283); as well as the scholars around them. We assume that this phase is a conscious composition of the various types of knowledge that flourished in Konya. It is also curious to see that this composition was enriched by the arrival of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (d.1311), the Ishrāqī philosopher and, more importantly, a scholar of medicine, mathematics, and astronomy who was also a member of the Maragha School. The most important feature of this composition is that it held different strains of thought, such as *fiqh*, *kalām*, logic, mathematics, and mysticism, together. On account of Islamic thought, this phase can be regarded as a starting point for the integration of various methodologies and metaphysical approaches that will reach their peak in the sixteenth century.

There is no doubt that scholars continued their independent works during the shaping of this composition. Various approaches, such as the sufi tradition represented by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī and *sūfī 'ishq* expressed by Yunus Emre (d.1320?) and Āshiq Pasha (d.1332) were pursued in Turkish. Āshiq Pasha's voluminous *Garīb-nāma* is particularly important, for it followed this composition in poetic

3 For detailed information, see Fazhoğlu, "Selçuklular Devri'nde Anadolu'da Felsefe-Bilim -Bir Giriş-".

form and became the triggering work in the Ottoman Empire. Several scholars, among them ‘Afif al-Dīn Tilimsānī (d.1291), Mu‘ayyid al-Dīn Jandī (d.1291), Fakhr al-Dīn-i ‘Irāqī (d.1289), and Sa‘īd al-Dīn Farghānī (d.1301) were tutored by Şadr al-Dīn Qunawī and became influential followers of the Ibn al-Arabī school. Their contributions to Anatolian intellectual life were followed by Sirāj al-Dīn Urmawī’s pupils, who served as *mudarrises* in Anatolia and the Ottoman Principality.

Two more names need to be mentioned in regard to those who pursued the pure mathematical scientific attitude of the Maragha School: Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shirāzī and Ibn Sartāq (d. c. 1328), a member of Maragha School, who taught Dāwūd Qayşarī in Niksar (Tokat province). Shirāzī worked as a *mudarris* and a physician in Konya, Kayseri, and Malatya. While in Sivas, he wrote two of the most important astronomical treaties produced in the Islamic world: *Nihāya al-İdrāk fi dirāya al-aflāk* and *al-Tuhfa al-shāhiyya fi ‘ilm al-hay’a*.⁴

Ibn Sartāq, another important contribution of this school to Anatolia’s intellectual life, was active in Maragha during Aşil al-Dīn Ḥasan’s (the son of Tūşī) administration. He then moved to Anatolia, worked as a *mudarris* in Niẓām al-Dīn Yaghibaşan Madrasa in Niksar, and taught the mathematical and philosophical sciences to Dāwūd Qayşarī. This advanced mathematician edited Mu‘taman ibn Hūd’s (d.1085) treatise on geometrical mathematics, *al-Istikmāl fi ‘ilm al-handasa*, which was written in the Andalusian-Maghribi tradition. The title of his edition is *al-Ikmāl al-aşīlī fi al-handasa*. He also wrote *Risāla al-uşul al-asīliyya fi al-handasa* on the geometrical ratio theory. The titles of both works point out that they were presented to Aşil al-Dīn.⁵ These two works as well as a corpus kept in Süleymaniye Library’s Ayasofya collection, further indicate that he taught various mathematical and philosophical works in his lectures.⁶

This brief description of the composition that manifested itself in Qayşarī’s persona does not represent the whole picture, for many scholars who lived only briefly in Anatolia were actively involved with the region’s scholarly works. The

4 For a recent study of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shirāzī, see Kaveh Farzad Niazi, *Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shirāzī and the Configuration of the Heavens: A Comparison of Texts and Models* (Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 2014).

5 Researchers were only aware of Ibn Sartāq’s work by its title until 1994, when a copy of it was discovered in the library of the Cairo University. A year later, a second copy was discovered in the Military Museum in Istanbul. For more details, see our 1996 article: İhsan Fazlıođlu, “Osmanlı Coğrafyasında İlmī Hayatın Teşekkülü ve Dāwūd el-Kayserī (656-660/1258-1261-751/1350)”, *Nazarī Ufuk: İslām-Türk Felsefe-Bilim Tarihini Zihin Penceresi*, 2nd ed. (İstanbul: Papersense Yayınları 2017), 44-75; Ahmed Djebbar, “La rédaction de l’istikmal d’al-Mu’taman (XIe s.) par Ibn Sartāq un mathématicien des XIIIe-XIVe siècles”, *Historia Mathematica* 24 (1997): 185-192.

6 Süleymaniye Library, Ayasofya 4830.

names of Akmal al-Dīn Nahjuwānī (d. after 1302) and the logician, *mutakallim*, mathematician, and philosopher Shams al-Dīn Samarqandī (d.1322) stand out the most. On another note, it is very interesting to see that the some of these scholars' descendants lived in Anatolia and continued this intellectual activity. For instance, Amin al-Dīn Siwāsī, the grandson of Athīr al-Dīn Abharī, a temporary resident of Konya, remained in Anatolia.⁷ Although we lack concrete evidence, we can easily argue that he was close to Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī's intellectual circle.

The third stage is the reverse-reception of Anatolian knowledge in late thirteenth-and early fourteenth-century Damascus and Cairo, the Shanb-i Ghāzān school in Tabrīz, and the heritage of Rab'ī Rashīdī. This extensive process can be summarized in two points. The first, Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī's move to Tabrīz after the Shanb-i Ghāzān school was founded. Many of his pupils followed him to Tabrīz, although some later returned to Anatolia. The "Siwāsī" title of several copyists who were active around Tabrīz is a good example of this Anatolia-Tabrīz scholarly connection. Secondly, the instability provoked by Parwāna's assassination and the subsequent rise of political havoc caused by the Anatolian Seljuks dynasty's fall in 1308 incited scholars to relocate to Damascus and Cairo which was under control of Mamluks after the 1250s.

Especially scholars and *mudarrises* of linguistics, logic, *fiqh*, *kalām*, and sufism/ 'irfān, all of whom have the same title (i.e., Qunawī), such as Ibrāhīm, 'Alā al-Dīn, Muḥammad, Naṣīr al-Dīn, Jamāl al-Dīn, Ḥasan, and Shams al-Dīn, were active in the cultural environment of both cities. The linguist, *mufasssīr*, *faqīh*, *mutakallim*, and sufi 'Alā al-Dīn Qunawī (d.1329) is the most important example of the Anatolian intellectual perspective, because he became both a *qāḍī al-quḍāt* (judge of judges) and a *mashikhat al-shuyūkh* (mentor of mentors). He defended and criticized Ibn Taymiyya, whom he had met in person⁸; became a pupil of Muḥammad Ābili, who was also a tutor to Ibn Khaldūn; and taught Abū Mūsā ibn al-Imām and his brother Abū Zayd, both of whom came from the Maghrib. In his *Nafh al-ṭīb*, Maqqarī states: "They both visited the east and received tutorage from 'Alā al-Dīn Qunawī and Jalāl al-Dīn Qazwīnī. These two scholars were members of the new methodology in *rational kalām*."⁹

7 Cevad İzgi, "Ebherī, Eminüddin", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* [hereinafter *DİA*], c. X, 75.

8 For scholars who bore the title Qunawī, see. *DİA*, c. XXVI, 163-167. For 'Alā al-Dīn Qunawī, see pp. 163-164.

9 al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-ṭīb* (Cairo: n.d.), III, 118.

All of the material presented above indicates that a common intellectual heritage was building up in the Islamic world, even though there are different political textures in place including the Mongols and their non-Muslim dynasty the Ilkhanids. One can easily say that Anatolia and the Ottoman Principality, as its extent, integrated with Turkistan and Iran's cultural heritage very naturally due to the Ilkhanids' spread. This cultural integration, which continued until the end of Ilkhanid rule in 1337, created a new and wider cultural common ground among Anatolia, Iran, and Turkistan.

In our opinion, this became the foundation of the newly shaped Ottoman philosophy and science. The travel accounts, scholarly interactions, and master-student relations of the scholars listed in the end of this article can be used as evidence. But there is far more obvious evidence in front of us: Dāwūd Qayşarī. When he was invited to become the director of the first Ottoman *madrassa*, he was already in Tabriz, the Ilkhanid capital. An interesting anecdote: His travel date, 1337, is also the date of the Ilkhanids' disappearance from history.

At this stage, although it is not completely related, we would like to mention China during the Yuan and Ming dynasties on the grounds that it will help us comprehend the "common cultural heritage" and a small but worth mentioning Chinese connection through Ibn Sartāq. The Pax Mongolica did not affect only Anatolia, Iran, and Turkistan, but China as well. In 1267, a scholar named Jamāl al-Dīn introduced the theoretical astronomy of the Mediterranean world to China. He founded the school of astronomy in 1271 and taught both Muslim and Chinese students. During the Mongol-Yuan dynasty, a Chinese astronomer named Faomun-ji was employed in Maragha's observatory when Aşıl al-Dīn Tūsi, the second son of Naşır al-Dīn Tūsi, was the director (1304-1317).¹⁰ This could be important because Ibn Sartāq, who tutored Qayşarī in Niksar, mentions that he worked in Maragha until at least 1313 and compiled two major works: *al-Ikmāl* and *al-Uşūl*.¹¹ This obviously indicates that he was influenced by the Maragha School's cultural diversity and was aware of the intellectual activity beyond its doors. In fact, the mystical approaches on some geometrical objects in *al-Ikmāl* might have been influenced by this integration. This is a good issue for future studies.

10 For a detailed study, see Shi Yunli, "Islamic Astronomy in the Service of Yuan and Ming Monarchs", *Suhayl International Journal for the History of the Exact and Natural Sciences in Islamic Civilisation* (Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 2014), XIII, 41-61.

11 Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 4830.

II. Byzantine Philosophy and Science as an Extension of the Common Cultural Heritage in the First Half of the Fourteenth Century

The term “common cultural heritage,” a natural outcome of the Pax Mongolica, could also include Byzantine. Interestingly, the most intensive scientific activities in its capital city of Istanbul occurred between the beginning of the fourteenth century and its fall, when the Ottoman Principality was rising. Gregory Chionides (b. c. Istanbul 1240 – d. c. Trabzon 1320)¹² began this activity by translating Arabic and Persian texts, founding schools, and lecturing. He visited the Ilkhanid capital of Tabrīz in November of either 1295 or 1296; was tutored on astronomy and other mathematical sciences by Shams-i Bukhārī,¹³ who was probably active in Shanb-i Ghāzān when Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī was its director; and collected Arabic and Persian books. He initially brought them to Trabzon (September 1302) and then moved them to Istanbul (April 1303). In 1305, he returned to Tabrīz as that city’s bishop and remained there until 1310.

Chionides benefited greatly from his education in Tabrīz while teaching at schools he set up in Trabzon and Istanbul. He enriched their students’ education by his translations of Arabic and Persian works. *Zij al-‘Alā’i*¹⁴, *Persian Astronomical Composition*, and *Revised Canons* are among his authenticated translations; those attributed to him include Khāzini’s *Zij-i Sanjari*¹⁵ and Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī’s *Zij-i Ilkānī*. He translated a Persian treatise on the astrolabe compiled by his own master Shams-i Bukhārī. In addition to this output, he wrote an introductory to astronomy titled *The Schemata of the Stars*¹⁶ in which he utilized the “Ṭūsī couple”.¹⁷ The latest research shows that this treatise is sort of a translation of Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī’s Persian work *al-Risāla al-mu‘iniyya fī ‘ilm al-hay’a*.¹⁸ Chionides not only helped

12 Katherine Haramundanis, “Chionides, Gregor[George]”, *The Biographical Encyclopedia of Astronomers*, ed. Thomas Hockey vd. (New York: Springer, 2007), 29.

13 Raymon Mercier, “Shams al-Dīn al-Bukhārī”, *The Biographical Encyclopedia of Astronomers*, ed. Thomas Hockey vd. (New York: Springer, 2007), 1047-1048.

14 David Pingree, *The Astronomical Works of Gregory Chionides*. Vol. I, *The Zij al-‘Alā’i* (Amsterdam: Gieben 1985).

15 Joseph Leichter, www.archive.org/details/TheZijAs-sanjariOfGregoryChionides (date of the access: 01.10.2017).

16 E. A. Paschos and P. Sotiroudis, *The Schemata of the Stars: Byzantine Astronomy from A.D. 1300* (Singapore: River Edge 1998).

17 F. Jamil Ragep, “From Tūn to Turun : The Twists and Turns of the Ṭūsī-Couple”, *Before Copernicus: The Cultures and Contexts of Scientific Learning in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Rivka Feldhay and F. Jamil Ragep (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2017), 161-197.

18 Jamil Ragep, “New Light on Shams: The Islamic Side of Σύμψ Πουχάρης”, *Politics, Patronage and the Transmission of Knowledge in 13th - 15th Century Tabrīz*, ed. Judith Pfeiffer (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 231-247.

many Byzantine scholars who worked on mathematics and astronomy to flourish, but also aided the transmission of scientific knowledge from the Islamic world, particularly from the Maragha School, to Renaissance-era Europe.

We dealt with Chioniades's scientific activity in detail because we wanted to show that even philosophy and science in the Byzantine realm had been Islamised during the first phase of Ottoman intellectual activity. Therefore, it is fair to say that both the Byzantine and the Ottoman philosophical and scientific activities occurred within the frame of the common cultural heritage, and that both were influenced especially by schools of Maragha and Tabrīz. This integration continued during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.¹⁹

Another example of this Byzantine connection is the mystical approach of Gregory Palamas (d.1359), a Byzantine scholar and the archbishop of Thessaloniki who was strongly influenced by sufi movements. He strongly opposed the Catholic Church as well as the Byzantine elite, who hoped that a connection with them could protect Orthodox values against Islam. Palamism's approach and influence crippled the efforts for joint Catholic-Orthodox movement, which unknowingly helped Ottoman politics. On the other hand, the simultaneous rise of Palamism and the Qayşarī-led sufi approach provided a theoretical frame from which one could create an environment for coexistence. The shaping of this process and its reflection on Qayşarī will be discussed further below.

III. Intellectual Life in the Ottoman Principality (1302-1362)²⁰

We do not have a clear picture of the beginning of Ottoman intellectual life. Given that the aim of this article is neither to produce nor discuss clarity, we will only mention it when necessary. Becoming part of a common intellectual and cultural activity in any political texture requires not only the population's ethnical, religious, and cultural homogeneity, but also some degree of intellectual appetite. The exact place of the Ottoman Principality's emergence and expansion has not been located on the given timeline in terms of the Islamic world's political, administra-

19 For a detailed study, see David Pingree, "Gregory Chioniades and Palaeologan Astronomy", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers no. 18* (New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1968), 133-160. Ayrıca bkz. David Pingree, "Chioniades, Gregory", *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. Alexander P. Kazhdan vd. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 422-423.

20 Based on Halil İnalçık's accounts, we chose July 27, 1302 as the Ottoman Principality's foundation date, for on that day the Ottomans won the Battle of Bapheus (Koyunhisar). The date of Orkhān Gāzi's death is 1362.

tive, religious, intellectual, and social experiences. Therefore, it had to build up its own rather than continue building upon its predecessors.

Moreover, members of the Ottoman elite were aware of the background of the politics they were facing. For instance, ‘Osmān Gāzī named two of his sons after the region’s important political figures: Amir Chobān, whom ‘Osmān Gāzī served under during his Ilkhanid governorship of Anatolia, and the Mamluk sultan Malik Nāṣir who collaborated with Turkman princes to end Ilkhanid rule in Anatolia.²¹ Even this simple example can be interpreted as examples of the Ottoman elite’s wit and preparedness to turn the existing circumstances to their own advantage.

Ottoman political leaders decided to create an intellectual environment and initially turned their attention to the knowledge produced in Anatolia. When regional circumstances became rather favourable, they accelerated their desire for knowledge. The parameters of this acceleration were the regional accumulation of knowledge in Anatolia from 1071 onward and the influence of the common cultural heritage collectively generated in Anatolia, Iran, and Turkistan, particularly by the schools of Maragha and Tabrīz as well as in Damascus and Cairo. No matter where the discussion on Ottoman intellectual life may lead, this outlined justification indicates that its manifestation occurred under Orkhān Gāzī. It can therefore be summarized as the actualization of the potential content to be found in the common cultural heritage.²²

In light of the information given above, the intellectual status that existed between 1302 and 1362 can be examined more closely. Although the biographies of scholars and dervishes close to ‘Osmān Gāzī were distorted in the subsequent historical sources, the facts they present show how Ottoman intellectual life was based on the most advanced Islamic culture in Anatolia even at its very beginning. For instance, the Ottomans followed the Turkish tradition of conquest, appointed judges and town commanders, and established bazaars immediately after capturing a city. Moreover, they consulted Islamic scholars (*faqī*) regarding all matters related to the settlement. Endowment records show that the first bureaucratic applications occurred within the scope of the *fiqh* tradition under ‘Osmān Gāzī (1302-1324) and Orkhān Gāzī (1324-1362). Adabāli and Dursun Faqī, who advised ‘Osmān Gāzī, and ‘Alā al-Dīn ibn Kamal and Sinān al-Dīn Faqīh, who served as Orkhān Gāzī’s viziers, should also be mentioned here. For instance, almost all accounts mention Vizier ‘Alā al-Dīn’s involvement in shaping the Ottoman government.

21 The information on the reigns of Osmān Gāzī and Orkhān Gāzī is based on Halil İnalçık’s following articles, unless stated otherwise: “Osman I”, *DİA*, c. XXXIII, 443-453 and “Orhan”, *DİA*, c. XXXIII, 375-386.

22 What makes something possible and sustainable is the dialectic relation between its inner and outer potentials. In other words, a historical phenomenon, just like a living, is a dialectic formation of genotype and phenotype. Given that they influence each other, the historical reading leads to epigenetic.

Similarly, Chandarli Qara Khalīl, who served as both a judge and a vizier at the courts of Orkhān Gāzī and Murad Khodāvandgār, and Mulla Rustam Qaramānī were responsible for devising governmental and financial structures. The efficient role of *faqīhs* in the government, especially that of the Chandarli family, continued until the era of Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror. These *faqīhs* were very well educated in Islamic law and the historical experience on politics and administration in the Islamic civilization. In fact, they were so effective and powerful that during the reigns of ‘Osmān Gāzī and Orkhān Gāzī, every new application to the government required their approval. Furthermore, the early written records and names of the first Ottoman settlements indicate that there was an afflux of Wafāī – Babāī dervishes to the realm. These dervishes provided spiritual support to the *ghadā* ideology, helped shape judicial and social life, and served the public as *imams* and such.²³

This recollection was witnessed by Ibn Baṭūṭa, an outsider who visited Anatolia during the time of Orkhān Gāzī and met him personally in Bursa. In his *al-Riḥla*, he mentions *akhi zāwīyas* and faqīs who spread all over, even down to the villages and refers to scholars of Konyan and Egyptian origin in Anatolia.²⁴ The record of Cairene scholar Ibn Ḥajar ‘Asqalānī’s (d.1449) and Karaman-origin historian Shukr Allāh’s attestation in his *Bahjat al-tawārikh* support the evidence that known scholars visited the Ottoman realm during Orkhān Gāzī’s rule.²⁵ Perhaps the most credible emphasis is on the *Dāstān wa Tawārikh-i Mulūk ‘Āl-i ‘Osmān* by Aḥmadī (d.1413) that, despite its being appended to *Iskandarnāma*, can be considered an independent work and the very first treatise on Ottoman history. He wrote the following couplets regarding the time of Orkhān Gāzī: “Came the scholars from all around / taught what the religion and sharia are” and “See this became a land of Islam / Filled with Islamic scholars”²⁶.

These assertions can be construed as the outcome of the government’s intentional policy of establishing *madrasas* in Iznik (1331) and Izmit (1337). This can also be interpreted as the Ottoman elite’s manifestation of confidence upon the Ilkhanid Abū Sa’īd’s death in 1336 because Orkhān Gāzī, who was named Shujā’ al-Dīn in an epitaph and known as “Sultan of the Gāzīs”, assumed the title of al-Sulṭān al-a’zam, a title no prince was brave enough to bear in Anatolia.²⁷ In his *Tārikh*,

23 İnalçık, “Osman I” and “Orhan”. Also see Murteza Bedir, “Osmanlı Tarihinin Kuruluş Asrında (1389’a kadar) İlmīye’ye Dair Bir Araştırma: İlk Fakihler”, *Türk Hukuk Tarihi Araştırmaları* 1(2006 Bahar): 23-39.

24 Ebū Abdullah Muhammed b. Battūta Tancī, *İbn Battuta Seyahatnāmesi*, translation, analysis and notes: A. Sait Aykut (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları 2004), I, 400-461.

25 Şükrullah, *Behcetüttevārih*, çev. Çiftçiođlu Nihal Atsız, *Osmanlı Tarihleri I* içinde (İstanbul: Türkiye Yayınevi, 1949), 39-76.

26 Ahmedī, *Dāstān ve Tevārih-i Mülük-i Āl-i Osman*, düz. Çiftçiođlu Nihal Atsız, *Osmanlı Tarihleri I* içinde (İstanbul: Türkiye Yayınevi, 1949), 9-10.

27 İnalçık, “Orhan”.

he lists the four entities that shaped the Ottoman Principality: *ghāziyān-i Rūm*, *ākhiyān-i Rūm*, *abdālān-i Rūm*, and *bājiyān-i Rūm*. We believe that our introduction gives us the right to add a fifth entity: *faqīyān-i/faqihān-i Rūm*.²⁸

Another attestation to this period's intellectual life is the accounts of Grigorios Palamas, the archbishop of Thessaloniki and founder of a mystical sect called *Palamism*, which the Byzantine sacred council officially recognized in 1351. He was greatly influenced by sufi mysticism and totally opposed the Catholic Church. While traveling to Istanbul in 1354, he was captured by Ottoman forces and brought to the court of Orkhān Gāzī. He engaged in theological discussions with Prince Ismail before being presented. Palamas characterized the prince as an enemy of Christianity, but nevertheless friendly. Taronites, Orkhān Gāzī's physician, translated the debate. Orkhān Gāzī then ordered a debate between Ottoman scholars and Palamas. Palamas, Ottoman scholars, some of the elite, and a person named Balaban (Palapanis), who chaired the event, focused on the differences between Christianity and Islam. The important thing here is the request for a debate, for this is the manifestation not just of a warrior people, but of a culturally confident people. One should not see this event as the only outcome of a mutual interest in theological topics, for it can also be interpreted as a personal attempt by a prominent Byzantine scholar to understand another religion and to search for common ground in the pursuit of coexistence.²⁹

Palamas' accounts indicate that Orkhān Gāzī, and perhaps other members of the Ottoman elite, were accompanied by non-Muslim scholars and physicians. For instance, his Greek physician Taronites is particularly important. Many sources, including Ibn Baṭūṭa and Palamas, recount the presence of Christian and Jewish physicians who either converted to Islam or remained in their faith, in the courts of Ottoman and other Anatolian principalities. The accounts of the attitude displayed toward these scholars show that Ottoman elite would prefer debating and trying to find a mutual understanding on the intellectual level. At the same period, some

28 For a similar assessment, see Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, "Osmanlı Devletinin Kuruluş Tarihi Açısından Bir Sorgulama", *İslami Araştırmalar* XII/3-4 (1999): 226.

29 G. Georgiades Arnakis, "Gregory Palamas among the Turks and Documents of His Captivity as Historical Sources", *Speculum* XXVI/1 (Ocak 1951): 104-118; John Meyendorff, *A Study of Gregory Palamas*, trans. George Lawrence (London: The Faith Press, 1964), 103-107; Hüsnü Demircan, "Orhan Gazi ve Gregory Palamas", master's thesis, Ankara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 1993; Michel Palivet, "Açık Kültür ve 14. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Kentlerinde Dinler Arası İlişkiler", *Osmanlı Beyliği (1300-1389)*, ed. Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, trans. Gül Çağalı Güven, İsmail Yerguz, and Tülin Altınova (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1997), 1-7; Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, "Religious Dialogue between Byzantines and Turks during the Ottoman Expansion", *Studies in Pre-Ottoman Turkey and the Ottomans* (Aldershot: Hampshire; Burlington: VT: Ashgate, cop. 2007), 289-304; Ruth A. Miller, "14. Yüzyılda Bitinya'da Dinî ve Etnik Kimlik: Gregory Palamas ve Chionai Örneği", *Osmanlı Dünyasında Kimlik ve Kimlik Oluşumu: Norman Itzkowitz Armağanı*, trans. Zeynep Nevin Yelçe, ed. Baki Tezcan and Karl K. Barbir (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2012), 35-54.

regions on the Anatolian side of the Ottoman realm were already forming small-scale cosmopolitan structures.

An overview of this period's institutions presents a more interesting outlook. The rapid increase of *madrasas*, which represents an advanced Islamic culture, deserves admiration. Although none seem to have been built under 'Osmān Gāzī, this changed remarkable with an intensive activity on madrasa construction under Orkhān Gāzī, when the Ottoman Principality reached around 100.000 square metres. According to historical records, ten *madrasas* were built during his reign, Iznik (1331) and Izmit (1337) being the first two.³⁰ Considering the small size of the Ottoman realm, as well as the percentage of this heterodox society's inhabitants who were warriors and Muslims, this feat is quite extraordinary and deserves some reinterpretation.

IV. Dāwūd Qaysarī³¹ as a Scholar and a Mudarris

By combining the accounts found in different sources, we can reconstruct his full name: Sharaf al-Dīn Abū Sulaymān³² Dāwūd ibn Maḥmūd ibn Muḥammad al-Qaysarī al-Qaramānī al-Rūmī al-Sāwī³³. Modern researchers date his birth at

30 Ekmeleddin İhsanođlu, "Osmanlı Eđitim ve Bilim MÜesseseleri", *Osmanlı Devleti ve Medeniyeti Tarihi* (İstanbul: İslam Tarih, Sanat ve KÜltür Arařtırma Merkezi IRCICA), 1998), c. II, 244.

31 As the primary and secondary sources we consulted for Dāwūd Qaysarī's life and works are listed above, we will refer them again only if absolutely necessary. **Primary Sources:** Ařıkpařaogđlu Ahmed Ařıkı, *Tevārīh-i Āl-i Osman*, ed. Çiftçiođlu Nihal Atsız, in *Osmanlı Tarihleri I* (İstanbul: Trkiye Yayınevi, 1949), 119-120; Mevlana Mehmed Neřri, *Cihānnüma (Osmanlı Tarihi 1288-1485)*, ed. Necdet Öztrk (İstanbul: Çamlıca Basım Yayın, 2008), 388; *Oruç Beđ Tarihi (Osmanlı Tarihi 1288-1502)*, ed. Necdet Öztrk (İstanbul: Çamlıca Basım Yayın, 2007), 22; Tařkprlzāde, *al-Shaqā'iq'u'n-nu'māniyya fi 'u-lamāi'd-dawlati'l-'Uthmāniyya*, analysis and notes by Ahmed Subhi Furat (İstanbul: İstanbul niversitesi Edebiyat Fakltesi řarkiyat Arařtırma Merkezi, 1985/1405), 7; Tařkprlzāde, *al-Shaqā'iq'u'n-nu'māniyya*, ed. Seyyid Muhammed Tabātabāi (Mansr), (Tehran: Kitabhāne, Mzih va Merkez-i Asnād, Meclis-i řrā-yi İslāmī, 2010), 9-10; Mecdī Mehmed Efendi, *Hadaiku'ř-řekaik*, ed. Abdlkadir Özcan (İstanbul: Çađrı Yayınları, 1989), 27; Maḥmd b. Sleyman Kefevi, *Ketāib a'lām el-ahyār min fukehā mezheb el-Numan el-muhtār*, Sleymaniye Ktphanesi, řehid Ali Pařa 1932, 346a-347a; Bursalı Mehmed Tāhir, *Osmanlı Mellifleri* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Āmire, 1333), I, 67-69; and Mehmed Sreyya, *Sicill-i Osmanī* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1308), c. II, 323. **Secondary Sources:** Mehmet Bayraktar, *Kaysarili Davud (Davudu'l-Kaysari)* (Ankara: Kltr ve Turizm Bakanlıđı, 1988); Mehmet Bayraktar, *La Philosophie Mystique Chez Davud De Kayseri* (Ankara: Ministere de la Culture [Kltr Bakanlıđı], 1990), 11-15; Mehmet Bayraktar, "Dāvd-i Kayseri", *DĀ*, c. IX, 32-35; İhsan Fazlıođlu, "Osmanlı Cođrafyasında İlmī hayatın Teřekkl ve Davud Kayseri", *Nazarı Ufuk: İslām-Trk Felsefe-Bilim Tarihini Zihin Penceresi*, 2. Baskı (İstanbul: Paparsense Yayınları, 2017), 44-75; Dāvd el-Kaysari, *er-Resāl*, thk. Mehmet Bayraktar (Kayseri: Kayseri Bykřehir Belediyesi, 1997); Dawud ibn Mahmud al-Qaysari, *The Wine of Love and Life: Ibn al-Fārid's al-Khamriyah and al-Qaysari's Quest for Meaning*, ed., řev. ve giriř Th. Emil Homerin (Chicago: Chicago Middle East Documentation Center, 2005), xii-xvii; Caner K. Daglı. *Ibn al-'Arabī and Islamic Intellectual Culture: From Mysticism to Philosophy* (London: Routledge, 2016); Mehmet Bayraktar, *Dāvd el-Kaysari* (İstanbul: Kurtuba Kitap, 2009); Turan Koç (haz.), *İbn Arabi Geleneđi ve Dāvd el-Kaysari* (İstanbul: İnsan Yayınları, 2011); and Sema Özdemir, *Dāvd Kayseri'de Varlık, Bilgi ve İnsan* (İstanbul: Nefes Yayınları, 2014), 15-21.

32 řarř *Diwāni'l-Mutanabbi*, Kprl Library, Fazıl Ahmed Pařa 1316, 2a.

33 For instance: Kayseri, "el-Mukaddimāt", in *al-Rasā'il*, 25 and "Nihāyetu'l-Beyān fi Dirāyeti'z-Zaman", in

1260 in Kayseri. The title Sâwî refers to his ancestors, whereas Rûmî refers to Anatolia, Qaramânî to the Konya region where he spent small part of his life, and Qayşarî to his birthplace. The Mongols destroyed Sâwa in 1224 and Kayseri in 1243. Between 1262 and 1277, Kayseri was ruled by Mu‘în al-Dîn Parwâna, who brokered a relative peace deal between the Anatolian Seljuks and the Mongols. Despite being born in a devastated city, Qayşarî was fortunate enough to be raised in an intellectually rich environment, for Parwâna hosted many scholars from abroad and provided a safe haven for intellectual activities.³⁴

The historical information about his birth, education, visits, teaching activities, and treatises are both inadequate and inconsistent. We will try to describe his life based on primary sources, some credible secondary works, indications extracted from his treatises, and our own research. We also intend to mention the gaps and problematic assumptions.³⁵

The records indicate that he received his first education in Kayseri as a pupil of the *mutakallim* and philosopher Sirâj al-Dîn Urmawî.³⁶ Since Urmawî died in 1283, Qayşarî must have been 23 at that time. His tutorage is within the margin of possibility, but it is unclear where they might have interacted. One theory is that Urmawî was already in Kayseri and moved to Konya until he became the judge of Konya in 1272/1273.³⁷ So, he tutored Qayşarî while he was there. One problem with this theory is that Qayşarî must have been very young (twelve years old) to be

al-Rasâ'il, 63.

- 34 Mehmet İpşirli investigates the city's history based on the classical sources and describes the Mongol devastation as well as intellectual life. See. Mehmet İpşirli, "Kayseri", *DİA*, c. XXV, 96-101.
- 35 We believe that giving information on Dâwûd Qayşarî as presented in the accounts of 'Âshiq Pasha Zâda and Tashkoprizâda accounts is enough to show how limited our knowledge is. 'Âshiq Pasha Zâda states that Iznik was captured in 731 (1331) and that a monastery was converted into a *madrasa*. He then states "the *madrasa* was given to our master Dâwûd Qayşarî" (Âşıkpaşaoğlu, *Tevârih*, 119-120). On the other hand, Tashkoprizâda, in the second *tabaqa* under the title of "Scholars during Orkhân Gâzî's Reign", states: "Dâwûd al-Qayşarî al-Qaramânî received education in his home country, then went to Cairo and was tutored in tafsîr, hadith, and methodology. He became skilful in rational sciences and researching the sufi tradition. He then compiled a commentary of Ibn 'Arabi's *Fuşûş*. The introduction of this commentary proves his ability in rational sciences. Sultan Orkhân built a *madrasa* and put Dâwûd Qayşarî in charge of it. He gave lectures and compiled treatises." (*Shaâiq*, Furat, s. 7; Tabatabâi, s. 9).
- 36 Mustafa Çağrıncı, "Sirâceddin el-Urmevi", *DİA*, c. XXXVII, 262-264; Louise Marlow, "A Thirteenth-Century Scholar in the Eastern Mediterranean: Siraj al-Din Urmavi, Jurist, Logician, Diplomat", *Al-Masaq* XXII/3 (Aralık 2010): 279-313; Cüneyt Kaya, "Bir 'Filozof' Olarak Sirâceddin el-Urmevi (ö. 682/1283): Letâifu'l-hikme Bağlamında Bir Tahlil Denemesi", *Divân -Disiplinlerarası Çalışmalar Dergisi-* XVII/33 (2012/2): 1-45.
- 37 Bayraktar, "Dâvûd-i Kayserî", *DİA*, c. IX, 32.

his pupil. Another theory is that Urmawî came to Konya without passing by Kayseri before 1266.³⁸ However there is no record of Qayşarî being in Konya at these dates. Therefore, we do not have enough evidence to say with any certainty that Urmawî tutored him in Konya.

In our opinion, it is not difficult to imagine that Qayşarî went to Konya and became his pupil. Despite the lack of any solid evidence in this regard, it is traditionally appropriate. This could also explain his title Qaramânî, because the Qaramânid Principality's rule over Konya began in 1256, long before Kayseri (1277). That being said, if Qayşarî never went to Kayseri but instead went directly to Konya,³⁹ then giving him this title may have been anachronistic at a later date. Qayşarî's move to Cairo after completing his education in Anatolia can also be used as supporting evidence, because Urmawî was in Damascus, Mosul, and Cairo during the Ayyubids' reign. Moreover, he became the Ayyubid ruler Malik al-Şâliḥ Najm al-Dîn's (1240-1249) ambassador to the court of King Frederick II in the Hohenstaufen Palace, where he remained for a long time. In Anatolia, and particularly in Konya, students generally preferred to continue their higher education in Damascus and Cairo. However, Qayşarî's visit may have been the result of Urmawî's influence upon him.

Qayşarî did go to Cairo to pursue his education, but we do not know when, how, and at what age he made this journey. Therefore, we cannot be sure about his intellectual abilities at that time. However, considering that students generally went there for a higher education, he may have attended lectures on the knowledge of instruments and the fundamental sciences known as *mukhtaşarât*. Assuming that he had been Urmawî's pupil, it is possible that he may also have attended introductory lectures on the higher sciences. If we assume that this kind of education is for at least students over fifteen, he must have begun his journey no earlier than 1275. But who taught him, where was he educated in Cairo, or what kind of education he received remain unclear. However, his proficiency in Arabic language and literature indicates that he could not have stayed in Cairo for just a few years⁴⁰, as some sources claimed. On another note, he wrote commentaries on two works of Ibn al-Fâriḍ (d.1235), who also lived in the same city. His grandson 'Alî taught Ibn al-Fâriḍ's works until 1333. Hence, there is a possibility that 'Alî himself tutored Qayşarî on these works. There is even some evidence of this connection: Th.

38 Özdemir, *Dâvûd Kayseri'de Varlık, Bilgi ve İnsan*, 29. The same author states that Urmawî must have arrived in Konya, at the latest, by 1253 (p.30).

39 Marlow, "A Thirteenth-Century Scholar in the Eastern Mediterranean", 288; Kaya, "Bir 'Filozof' Olarak Sirâceddin el-Urmevî", 6.

40 Bursalı Mehmed Tahir, *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, I, 67.

Emil Homerin states that Qayşarî's copy of *Sharḥ al-Khamriyya* does not include the verses between 23 and 30.⁴¹ The Anatolian copies of the work contain these verses, but the copy used by 'Alî does not. 'Alî was aware of the missing verses but did not accept them as authentic. Since Qayşarî's copy is similar to Alî's, it corresponds with the story that he was tutored by 'Alî.

We do not have an exact date for Qayşarî's return to Anatolia. As we suggested above, this should have occurred after more than just a few years. Regardless of the date, however, he returned as an accomplished scholar. The records indicate that he moved to Kayseri and Bursa, but provide no hard evidence of this. It seems that he did not exist before he appears in Niksar around 1313-1314, for there is an absolute silence on this period. Did he go into seclusion? Did he make the pilgrimage to Mecca? In which realm or city did he live? We have almost no single answer to these questions. As an acclaimed scholar, he may have been teaching in the *madrasas* located in such Anatolian cities as Konya or Kayseri.

Qayşarî was present at the Niẓâm al-Dîn Yaghibaşan *madrasa* on either 27 Sha'bân 713/17 December 1313 or at the end of Sha'bân 714/December 1314. Assuming that he was born during 1260, he has been around fifty-three or fifty-four years old. At this stage, we need to deal with his master Ibn Sartâq's *al-Ikmâl* and *al-Uşûl*, as well as his corpus in the Ayasofya collection in connection with the manuscript culture, for Qayşarî may have copied the copies of the first two in the Istanbul Military Museum. At this point we can only say "may", since there are some unclear issues as regards the manuscripts. However, he definitely copied the copies found inside a corpus in Cairo University. The first treatise was copied in Niksar during the end of Sha'bân 714/December 1314, and the second was copied during the beginning of Rabî' al-awwal 715/June 1315. In fact, we know that Ibn Sartâq personally checked them since he made the corrections with his own hand. This could mean that both men worked on the treatises together. Moreover, Qayşarî addresses Ibn Sartâq respectfully and refers to him as "my master".⁴²

These records show that Qayşarî was definitely in Niksar. Naturally, he must have arrived there at an early stage and left thereafter. According to his personal notes on the corpus, Ibn Sartâq was in Niksar between Şafar 728/December 1327 and January 1328. Since 'Abd al-Razzâq Kâshânî, Qayşarî's tutor in Sâwa, died in 1329, Qayşarî must have left Niksar around 1328. Besides the uncertainties,

41 Homerin, *The Wine of Love and Life*, xviii-xix.

42 For more details on these corpuses, see Fazlıoğlu, "Osmanlı Coğrafyasında İlmî Hayatın Teşekkülü ve Dâvûd el-Kayserî".

we would like to repeat some points to emphasize Qayşarī's presence in Niksar in 1313/1314 and 1315. *al-Uşūl* may not be a voluminous work, but *al-Ikmāl* is. As copying such a work requires a great amount of time, it is quite possible that he stayed in Niksar for a long time. It is also obvious that he received his education here after his return from Cairo, for his education included advanced mathematical sciences and philosophy in accordance with the Maragha School, sciences with which only higher-level students can cope. Moreover, his copying activity points to a scholar who is well educated on geometrical figures.

On the other hand, he is assumed to be either fifty-three or fifty-four years old upon his arrival in Niksar, a very unusual age to become a simple student. In our opinion, Qayşarī came to the Nizām al-Dīn Yaghībaşan *madrasa* as a *mudarris* and took advantage of being close to an expert by taking lessons on the knowledge produced in the Maragha School, for we know that he had never been educated in mathematical science and philosophy at that level before. It is also customary for teachers to tutor each other. For instance, Athīr al-Dīn Abharī took advanced mathematics from Kamāl al-Dīn ibn Yūnus, and Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī took hadith lessons from Şadr al-Dīn Qunawī while probably tutoring him on astronomy.

We now turn our attention to the following points: No record in the first or secondary sources indicates that Qayşarī compiled a treatise until he reached the above-mentioned age, and no evidence links him to the sufi tradition other than being tutored by 'Alī, the grandson of Ibn al-Fāriḍ. We point this out in order to determine if there was any correlation between his mathematics and philosophy education and his sufi tendencies, for Ibn Sartāq, via a reference to one Tāmātī, makes mystical comments about various geometrical shapes, such as the ellipse, parabola, and hyperbola.⁴³ Since he arrived in Sāwa and met with Kāshānī after he left Niksar, one can ask the following: What was Ibn Sartāq's role in Qayşarī's inclination toward the sufi tradition and visiting Sāwa and Tabrīz? As a person who was tutored in Maragha and aware of the intellectual activities in Tabrīz, he might have encouraged his colleague-student, whom he suspected of having sufi tendencies.

We do not know exactly when Dāwūd Qayşarī decided to move to Iran, but can make an educated guess based upon the information we have. It is certain that he did so after 1315 and before 1329, when his master 'Abd al-Razzāq Kāshānī's died⁴⁴, because he copied 'Abd Allāh Harawī's (d.1089) *Manāzil al-sā'irīn* and 'Afif al-

43 Ibn Sartāq, *Kitābu'l-ikmālī'l-Asīlī fi'l-hendese*, Cairo University, no. 23209/2, 177a.

44 Although Kāshānī's death is given 1335, this cannot be correct because Qayşarī mentions him as "departed" in his *Sharḥ-i Fuşūş* in 1331. See Table 1.

Dīn Tilimsānī's (d.1291) commentary of the former at the end of Jumāda I al-awwal 724 (May 1324).⁴⁵ He received a sufi education from Kāshānī in Rab'ī Rashīdī, which was founded by Vizier Rashīd al-Dīn Faḡl Allāh Hamadānī (d.1318), who was also a scholar. He was in his seventies, and one can assume that he taught there as well. On the other hand, although Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shirāzī had already passed away, the Tabrīz school of mathematics and astronomy was still active. Many active scholars also lived around Tabrīz. The lists of scholars in this work clearly agrees with this statement (Tables 2, 3, and 4).

Qayşarī compiled his first treatise, *Sharh-i Fuşûş*, in 1331 and dedicated it to his patron, the Ilkhanid vizier Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḡammad, the son of Rashīd al-Dīn, who was murdered in 1336. All of his dated works were compiled between 1331 and 1337 in Tabrīz. (Please refer to Table 1 in this work for the chronology, relations, and dedications of his works.) The most interesting thing here is that he was seventy-one when he wrote this treatise, which seems to be a bit problematic. Either his assumed birth date is wrong, or there must be some reasonable explanation for his late start on compilation. We may suggest that he stayed in Tabrīz until his patron was murdered, as his copies indicate that he was active in Tabrīz: two copies in 1331, another two in 1335, and *Sharḡ Qasīda al-khamriyya* in between 1335 and 1337.

Historical records indicate that the Ottoman sultan Orkhān Gāzī (1324-1362) invited him to Iznik, where he started working as the director of the Iznik *madrassa* and received a 30 *akçe* salary in 1337. Due to the evidence presented here, he could not have been in Iznik before 1335 or after 1337. Therefore, the suggested arrival date of 1331 in the secondary sources may not be correct. In addition, 1331 and 1337 are the dates of the conquest of Iznik and Izmit, respectively. If the Iznik *madrassa* was founded in the same year as Iznik's capture, then Qayşarī cannot have been its first director, as some historical records suggest. This would not be an issue if the *madrassa* had been founded in 1337. However, it was the Ottoman conquest tradition to convert a monastery into a *madrassa* or to build a new one right after the capture of a city.⁴⁶ Even so, we can assume that this tradition had not yet been set at that time.

45 Köprülü Library, Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 744/1 ve 2, 1b-16b ve 19a-107a. Qayşarī wrote two poems, one in Arabic and the other in Persian (folios 17b and 18a). In these poems, he introduces himself as "Sharafu'r-Rūmī". The notes on the margins might have been made by his own hand.

46 The foundation date of the Iznik Madrasa is uncertain. 'Ashiq Pasha Zāda gives 731/1331 as the date for capturing Iznik and states that "a monastery was converted into a *madrassa*"; however, he does not specify the date of conversion (Âşıkpaşaoğlu, *Tevârih*, 119). Adnan Adivar, probably based on this record, gives the date 1332. Abdülhak Adnan Adivar, *Osmanlı Türklerinde İlim*, (İstanbul: Maarif Vekaleti, 1943), 1. M. Bayraktar does not give a date, but states that Dāwūd Qayşarī became a *mudarris* in the *madrassa* around 1336/37 (Qayşarī, *al-Rasâil*, 9).

If we accept 1331 as the foundation date, then another question arises: If Qayşarī came to Iznik in 1337, then who was the director that he replaced? But if we use the three charters of the *madrasa* found in Mustafa Bilge's accounts, which indicate that it was not converted from a monastery but built from the ground,⁴⁷ the construction might actually have been finished in 1337. Even if we can make a connection between Qayşarī's arrival and the *madrasa*'s construction, there is a slight doubt as to whether the Qayşarī who came to Iznik and compiled the *Sharh-i Fuşuş* is the same person. For instance, the *madrasa* charter in Bilge's accounts names him as "Dāwūd-i Qayşarī ibn 'Abd al-Karīm", and it is dubious that this refers to our Dāwūd Qayşarī,⁴⁸ who never mentions Abd al-Karīm as his ancestor on his own writings. One can argue and say that his father might have been 'Abd al-karīm Maḥmūd or his grandfather 'Abd al-Karīm Muḥammad. But then we can ask: "Why did someone who is so careful when writing names in his works neglect to mention this name?"⁴⁹

But we still cannot rule out this possibility. One can also think of an entirely different solution: Might Dāwūd Qayşarī have worked in the Izmit *madrasa* instead of Iznik, since the monastery was converted into a *madrasa* right after Izmit's capture in 1337? If so, they might have made written the *madrasa*'s name correctly but the date incorrectly. A relatively late record contains an argument about the first Ottoman *madrasa* being in Izmit (Iznikmid) and not in Iznik. But it seems this idea did not become very widespread. As an already important city, Iznik became the centre of government. Therefore, the records allegedly deemed that a *madrasa* had been founded there by converting a monastery.⁵⁰ However, all classical sources agree on the Iznik *madrasa* being the first one.

At this point, we can ask another question: Since Bursa was the Ottoman capital city at the time of Iznik's capture, why was the first and the most important *madrasa* was not built there? The application at the later dates indicate that important *madrasas* were generally founded in the capital or its region, and that if great scholars have had some specific preferences as to where they would live, all of them would reside in the capital. Although we will not go into too much detail, thinking of "Iznik as a governmental centre for a period" is a compelling argument.⁵¹ But regardless of the

47 Mustafa Bilge, *İlk Osmanlı Medreseleri* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1984), 67-68.

48 Ibid., 296-298.

49 The presence of different dates (i.e., 1331, 1335, and 1336) regarding its foundation indicates a degree of confusion. See footnote no. 47.

50 Arif Bey, "Devlet-i Osmâniyenin teessüs ve takkarur devrinden ilim ve ulema", *Edebiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 2 (İstanbul: 1922): 139; Bilge, *İlk Osmanlı Medreseleri*, 11-12.

51 Arif Bey, "Devlet-i Osmâniyenin teessüs ve takkarur devrinden ilim ve ulema", 139; Bilge, *İlk Osmanlı Medreseleri*, 12.

outcome, we can emphasize some points. Iznik was the Anatolian Seljuks' first capital, while its subsequent capital of Konya was in the hands of the Qaramānids. When the Seljuks fell, the principalities competed among themselves to be acknowledged as their successor. The Ottomans might have wanted to send a political message that they were a candidate for this position by choosing Iznik for the first *madrasa* and appointing Qayşarî, an epitome of Islamic culture in Anatolia, as its director. Iznik had been an important knowledge centre for ages, particularly for the Orthodox Christians, and even this could have been one of the reasons for building a *madrasa* there.

Surprisingly, the Iznik *madrasa* remained important even after the spread of the Ottoman realm and Iznik's loss of popularity as a city. It retained its status until Chalabî Sultan Mehmed built the *madrasa* in Bursa, and continued its traditional significance until the first half of the sixteenth century. During this period, Quṭb al-Dīn Iznikî (d.1418), Fanārîzâda Ḥasan Chalabî (d.1455), Mulla Khayâlî (d.1480), Mulla Khusraw (d.1480), Khwajazâda (d.1487), Khatibzâda (d.1495), and Zanbillî 'Alî Jamâlî (d.1525) worked as *mudarrises* in this illustrious *madrasa*.⁵² This agrees with the idea of Ottoman politics that regarded Iznik as special.⁵³

If we assume that Qayşarî came to Iznik in 1337, then he must have been seventy-seven at the time. Considering that he dedicated his *Ithâf* to Sulayman Pasha, a son of Orkhân Gâzî, he seems to have written this treatise even after this age. Qayşarî allegedly died in 1350, aged ninety, and was buried in Iznik. Mehmed Süreyya opposes this in *Sijill-i 'Osmânî* and gives his death date as 1344.⁵⁴ Mehmed Süreyya usually derives dates from tombstones, but it is not clear whether he had seen Qayşarî's tomb or used another source. Interestingly, Yûsuf ibn Mûsâ mentions him as "deceased" in his copy of *Sharḥ Nazm al-sulûk (al-Tâiyya al-kubrâ)* in 1347.⁵⁵

The real problem is not whether the difference is the three or six years, but rather why Qayşarî compiled his first treatise at age seventy-one. Why had he never written anything before, and what happened at this point to make him decide to compile treatises consecutively?⁵⁶ He was mentioned as a copyist around 1314-1315 in Niksar, where he copied his master Ibn Sartâq's *al-Ikmâl* and *al-'Usûl*. There-

52 Bilge, *ibid*, 68-72.

53 The renowned Ḥurûfî scholar 'Abd al-Raḥmân Bistâmî (d. 1455) compiled his *al-Adwiyatu'sh-shâfiya wa'l-ad'îyyati'l-kâfiya* in the *ushshu'l-'ulamâ* (The Home of Scholars) Iznik in 824/1421. See. *Durratu tâji'r-rasâil wa ghurratu minhâji'l-wasâil*, Süleymaniye Library, Nuruosmaniye 4905, 31a.

54 Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmanî*, II, 323.

55 Homerin, *The Wine of Love and Life*, xv-xvi.

56 Although Qayşarî states that he compiled *Sharḥ-i Fuşûş* as "divine inspiration", this cannot be used as a reason for his decision to start writing, but only for compiling this commentary.

after he copied Abū al-Ḥasan Nisāburî's *Sharḥ Dīwān al-Mutanabbî*⁵⁷, 'Abd Allāh Harawî's *Manāzil al-sā'irîn*, and Tilimsānî's *Sharḥ* (commentary) of the latter.⁵⁸ Qayşarî also copied 'Umar ibn Dāvūd ibn Shaykh Sulaymān al-Fārisî's *al-Shāfiya fî sebk al-Kāfiya*,⁵⁹ the commentary on Ibn Hājib's (d.1249) *Kāfiya*, Fārisî's own *al-Shāfiya fî al-taṣrîf*⁶⁰ and his commentary, *al-Tamhîdāt*,⁶¹ on Ibn Hājib's *fiqh* work *al-Mukhtaṣar* during 707-708/1308. The conveyance records of the first two works do not include the copyist's name; however, the third one names the copyist as Dāvūd ibn Muḥammad al-Qayşarî. If he is the same Qayşarî who wrote commentary on *Fuṣūṣ*, then we must absurdly think that he forgot his father's name and used his grandfather's. Instead, we can assume that the copyist is another scholar/copyist from Kayseri.

All relevant information presented above indicates that Dāvūd Qayşarî is a well-educated scholar in the rational and traditional sciences. It seems that Ibn al-'Arabî, along with his followers such as 'Abd al-Razzāq Kāshānî, and Ibn al-Fāridî influenced him greatly. In his writings, he portrays a very confident man, one who is even able to challenge the ideas of Aristotle, Ibn Sīnā, Abū al-Barakāt Baghdādî, Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardî, and Zamakhsharî.

In the introduction of *Sharḥ-i Fusus*, Qayşarî construed *waḥdat-i wujūd* philosophically. He tried to set out its principle and construct its method. In short, he wanted to transform sufi tradition into a metaphysical method and a knowledge that pursues reality.⁶² Therefore, he sought to use the language of the *madrasas*, the deductive method to express sufi discourse. His successors, especially his first-generation followers Efdāl al-Dīn Torke, Mehmed Fanārî, and Sāin al-Dīn Torke, understood his goals and followed in his footsteps. Qayşarî's approach and his sufi discourse continued to influence and spread throughout Anatolia and the Balkans,

57 Köprülü Library, Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 1316. Qayşarî prepared this copy at the end of Muḥarram 720 / the beginning of March 1320 (folio 427b). No information is given as to where it was copied. Hibatullāh Maḥmūd ibn Ismā'îl ibn Maḥmūd al-Ḥalabî al-Ḥanafî examined this copy in Jamāziyalākhîr 858 / May-June 1454 (folio 472b). According to the note in folio 1b, Muḥammad ibn Qādî Shams al-Dīn, known as Shar'î, wrote an introduction letter for the work and gifted it to the Ottoman vizier Mustafa Pasha. In his introduction (folio 2a), Ibn Qādî Shams al-Dīn identified the copyist as Sharaf al-Dīn Abî Sulaymān Dāvūd ibn Maḥmūd ibn Muḥammad al-Qayşarî. This is the only record of Qayşarî with the title Abū Sulayman, which indicates that he had a son named Sulayman.

58 See footnote no. 47.

59 Köprülü Library, Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 1470, 1b-32a. Copied in the beginning of Muḥarram 708 / the end of June 1308 (folio 32a).

60 Ibid., 32b-64a. Copied in Ramaḍān 707 / February-March 1308 (folio 64a).

61 Ibid., 65b-180a. Copied in the middle of Muḥarram 708 / the beginning of July 1308 by Dāvūd ibn Muḥammad al-Qayşarî (folio 180a).

62 Fazlıoğlu, "Osmanlı Coğrafyasında İlmî Hayatın Teşekkülü ve Dāvūd el-Kayserî".

as well as in Turkistan and Iran. And it still does. His treatises, their dates, and the dedications are given in Table 1. In this context, we must say that there are significant differences between copies of the same works, possibly due to different versions of the same treatise or to the copyists taking the initiative in their own versions.

This relatively long introduction to Qayṣarī's life is designed to emphasize the kind of knowledge he obtained and transmitted within the early Ottoman Principality. Obviously, this can be understood better when his journey for education in the various cultural environments are investigated in detail. For a general idea, readers can refer to our lists of scholars (Tables 2, 3, and 4). To sum up the information presented above, we can easily say that Dāwūd Qayṣarī represents the thirteenth-century Islamic initiative in general and the newly established Konya-centred Anatolian approach in particular. This approach can be summarized as an enterprise to combine *fiqh*, *kalām*, and *'irfān*, and therefore belief, deduction, and *istishhād* (intuition). In addition, Qayṣarī's appointment to the Ottoman realm's first *madrassa* is a proper attempt to its nature that needs conformance between geographical elements of its region, because said region was not yet ready to receive the full extent of a higher Islamic culture based upon *fiqh* and *kalām*.

V. al-Itḥāf al-Sulaymānī fī al-'ahd al-Ūrkhānī

Dāwūd Qayṣarī's *Itḥāf*, as its name suggests, was written during the reign of Orkhān Gāzī and dedicated to his son Sulayman Pasha. In the preamble, Qayṣarī mentions Shujā' al-Dīn Sulayman Bāshā ibn Urkhān. The titles used in this section for both men should be investigated. Since the title "The Greatest Sultan" (*al-Sulṭān al-A'zam*) had never been used by another Anatolian prince after the Ilkhanid ruler Abū Sa'īd Bahādir died in 1336, we can assume that this work was compiled after that. Similarly, Qayṣarī uses the titles "*al-Sulṭān al-Mu'azzam*" and "*al-Shahinshāh al-mufahham*" for Suleyman Pasha and describes Orkhān Gāzī as "the Anūshirwān of the time".

Although these titles are used for the purpose of glorification, there must be some level of truth in them so that they are not regarded as unreasonable exaggerations. For instance, Orkhān Gāzī's Ottoman realm was both a safe haven for people and an opportune land for scholars, one in which justice ruled. The titles used for his son, "the one who spends his life in the service of the religion" and "the hope of the people", manifest the political motivations of the time as well as the people's deep feelings toward the ruler. Qayṣarī presents his reason of compilation with

a story: Sulayman Pasha values knowledge and art, and so scholars and artisans come to him in waves. After he kindly gifts Qayşarī a book, the latter intends to pay him back in kind. Therefore, he writes this treatise on essentials and non-essentials with the blessings of “*Wāhib al-‘aql wa mufid al-iḥsān wa al-‘adl*”.

From this story, we can assume that either Sulayman Pasha gave him a really important work, or that he just uses this gift as an excuse to dedicate it to him. Although it is not related to our topic, we would like to point out that Qayşarī rarely uses the title *Shujā’ al-Dīn* for both Sulayman Pasha and Orkhān Gāzī. Generally, the title for the name Sulayman is *Sayf al-Dīn*. In fact, some sources use the same title for Orkhān Gāzī. On the other hand, Ibn Baṭūṭa uses another descriptive title for Orkhān Gāzī: *Ikhtiyār al-Dīn*. All three titles are proper for that time.

There is also the question of when Qayşarī compiled and presented his treatise to Sulayman Pasha, who died in 1357 in Gelibolu while leading the military incursions between 1348 and 1354 in Rumeli. He briefly came to Anatolia to command the capture of Ankara in 1354, but returned to Rumeli.⁶³ This means that the *Ithāf* was compiled between 1337 and 1348. As for its character, this treatise is neither an encyclopaedia of sciences⁶⁴, as Togan assumed, nor the classification of sciences (*taşnif al-‘ulūm*).⁶⁵ A close investigation reveals that it is, in fact, a kind of *anmūzaj*.

An *anmūzaj*, an Arabic derivation of the Persian word *numūda* or *numūna*, means instance or example. There are several reasons for writing an *anmūzaj*: (1) a newly arrived scholar’s attempt to demonstrate competence in various sciences by dealing some of their problems and (2) a local scholar’s attempt to demonstrate competence in the event that his knowledge and capabilities have fallen under a cloud. These usually deal with the popular issues of the region and time to prove the authors abilities; (3) to inform the public about some of the scientific issues that the scholar deems important; and (4) to guide seekers of knowledge toward important subjects. In our opinion, Qayşarī’s *Ithāf* falls in the first category, for the issues dealt with could be, although are not necessarily, of interest to the locals. But we can confidently say that the questionnaire contained within the *Ithāf* is not random. Rather, it seems to have been extracted from the scholarly discussions and debates allegedly held in Sulayman Pasha’s residence. We will get back to this later.

63 The information on Sulayman Pasha’s life is based on Feridun Emecen’s work. See “Süleyman Paşa”, *DİA*, c. XXXVIII, 94-96.

64 A. Zeki Velidî Togan, *Umumi Türk tarihine giriş: En Eski Devirlerden 16. Asra Kadar* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1981), 372. Togan states: “ki nüshası Beyazıd Umumi kütüphanesinde mahfuz bulunmaktadır (N. 288)”.

65 Özdemir, *Dāvūd Kayseri’de Varlık, Bilgi ve İnsan*, 59; 162-164.

Before dealing with the treatise's context, we should emphasize that neither the author's name nor the treatise's title is mentioned in the preamble. We see Dāwūd Qayşarî as the author and *al-İthāf al-Sulaymānî fî al-'ahdi al-Ûrkhānî* as the title in the frontispiece. While at first glance the title and the context do not seem to be related to the context, a detailed review of the preamble shows implications to it. As mentioned above, Zeki Velîdî Togan categorizes this work as an "encyclopaedia" and mistakenly records it in Bayezid Library number 288. In 2004, the work's location was discovered at the Millet Library, Ali Emîrî, Arabî collection no. 2173.⁶⁶ For one last note, based upon what we gathered from the preamble, we can say that Sulayman Pasha was interested in the sciences and generously supported scholars. For instance, Muştafa ibn Muḥammad (d. after 1331) presented his Turkish-language *Mulk Sûrasi Tafşiri* to him.⁶⁷

1. Physical Features of the Book

The book *al-İthāf al-Sulaymānî fî al-'ahdi al-Ûrkhānî* is located in the Millet Library, Ali Emîrî, Arabî collection no. 2173. It consists of forty-four folios, each one of which has ten lines of text. There is no record of a copying date, but it was obviously copied during a late period. A flawed copy, it contains many mistakes that were in the version used for copying or that were made by the copyist himself. The copyist left the unintelligible sections blank. In the frontispiece, above the treatise's title and the author's name is an inscription: "Nûmero 1, Arabice/Arabca kutub-I mutenevvia". There are also two seals of the Millet Library and another seal that reads "Diyârbakirli 'Alî Amîrî".

2. The Content of the Book

The *İthāf* consists of a preamble and three chapters. The preamble's glorification and salutations are followed by a justification of the compilation and the de-

66 Two articles on the *İthāf* were prepared and published under our supervision. See Ahmet Faruk Güney, "Gaza Devrinde Kur'an'ı Yorumlamak: Fetih Öncesi Osmanlı Müfessirleri ve Tefsir Eserleri", *Divan İlmi Araştırmalar* 18 (2005/1). Between pp. 193-244, he gives an overview and treats the section about *tafsîr*, which was appended to the article. Kemal Faruk Molla, "Mehmed Şah Fenârî'nin Enmûzecu'l-Ulûm adlı eserine göre Fetih öncesi dönemde Osmanlılar'da ilim anlayışı ve ilim tasnifi", *Divân İlmi Araştırmalar* 18 (2005/1). He briefly introduces Qayşarî and the *İthāf* and then lists the names of the sciences with which this work deals. Also see İhsan Fazlıoğlu, "İthâf'tan Enmûzec'e Fetih'ten Önce Osmanlı Ülkesi'nde Matematik Bilimler", *Uluslararası Molla Fenârî Sempozyumu (4-6 Aralık 2009 Bursa) -Bildiriler-* (Bursa: Bursa Büyükşehir Belediyesi Yayınları, Mart 2010), 131-163.

67 Güney, "Gaza Devrinde Kur'an'ı Yorumlamak", 210-211.

scriptions of Sulayman Pasha and Orkân Gâzî. The words he used in the glorification and the salutations imply a sufi influence. Thereafter, he gives details about the work and explains that he divided it into three chapters. **The first chapter** deals with religious sciences *al-‘ulüm al-shar‘iyya* and answers selected questions from six different sciences (i.e., *tafsîr*, *ḥadîth*, *furû‘-i fiqh*, *uşûl-i fiqh*, *kalâm*, and *khilâf*). He then discusses the rational sciences in **the second chapter**. Nine sciences are mentioned: *handasa*, *hay‘a*, *manâzîr*, logic, *kalâm*, *tabi‘iyyât* (natural philosophy), medicine, and ethics. **The third chapter** treats the ‘Arabi sciences (i.e., linguistics). After dealing with *‘ilm al-adab* and numbering its sections, he presents questions from only *şarf*, *naḥw*, *ma‘ânî*, *bayân*, and *‘arûḍ*. Since no principle was proposed for sorting the subjects, we believe that there was no specific reason behind it. We can only assume that he begins with the religious sciences because of their spiritual significance. In fact, this is a proper choice of starting point in a frontier and warrior principality.

In this work, we will only deal with the list of problems mentioned in the book because investigating each problem would be impossible. That being said, we will now go into detail on a couple of problems related to the rational sciences as an example and to introduce Qayşarî’s approach.

Preamble (ff. 1b-4b): We have already covered this above.

Chapter I: Religious sciences [*al-‘ulüm al-shar‘iyya*] (ff. 5a-22b)

‘*Ilm al-tafsîr* (ff. 5a-7b): This deals with the contrariety between the 109th verse of Sura al-Kahf and the 27th verse of Sura Luqmân in the Holy Quran. Ahmet Faruk Güney investigated and published this section in his article.⁶⁸

‘*Ilm al-ḥadîth* (ff. 7b-14b): It primarily deals with the famous *Jibrîl* hadith about the “faith and essence of Islam”. Qayşarî treats the topic in three sections. **The first section** covers the elements of faith (God, the angels, the holy scriptures, the prophets, the Day of Judgement, fate, and good-evil). He emphasizes that fate is a very heavy subject and that only a few people can grasp it. He presents and then answers three problems regarding faith. **The first problem** is that a hadith defines the faith as “to have faith”, therefore using a term to explain the same term. Does doing so cause a loop? For the answer, he proposes that “faith” has two distinctive meanings, one religious and the other lexical. The hadith used the lexi-

68 Ibid.

cal meaning to define the religious meaning, and thus there is no loop. **The second problem** is the priority of prophets and angels in terms of virtue. According to the *Ahl al-sunna wa al-jamā'a*, prophets are more virtuous than angels. But if so, why did the hadith mention the latter before the former? Qayşarî separates the priority of virtue and the priority of sequence and asserts that prophets are prior in virtue but are mentioned after angels because they receive the scripture from angles. **The third problem** is that the properness of Angel Jibril's use of the term "*şadaq-ta*". Qayşarî proposes a solution for the difference between definition and affirmation: Jibril's confirmation was not in terms of defining, but of affirming.

The second section covers Islam, which consists of two acts of bearing witness and the prayers. He asserts that the first item precedes the second one because they are the most essential. The prayers are arranged with the *tartib-i hissî*, and their aims are to acquire virtues and prevent one's self from engaging in viciousness. At this point, Qayşarî makes a distinction between inner and outer virtuousness and viciousness and also categorizes the prayers according to their external and internal features. He then deals with a problem presented by Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal: "If the two acts of bearing witness and the prayers are parts of a whole, then are those people who perform the act of bearing witness but not the prayers infidels as opposed to Muslims?". Qayşarî proposes two terms to answer this question: absolute *mu'min* and absolute *muslim*. Those who do not observe the prayers are not absolute Muslims but are still essentially Muslims. He supports this idea using the hadith: "A Muslim is the one whom Muslims are safe from his hand and tongue".

The third section covers the question as to whether there is a difference between faith and Islam. He argues that faith is an internal belief in God, whereas Islam is the external practice of that faith, because the manifestation of belief in God is purely in its practical applications. In this sense, every *mu'min* can be a Muslim but not every Muslim can be *mu'min*, for one can act like a Muslim without internally believing as a *mu'min*.

This detailed overview is given to emphasize the sufi influence and the historical appropriateness of the problems mentioned in the work. His "absolute *mu'min* and absolute *muslim*" theory, which is based on the Islamic culture's higher knowledge, is a fresh approach for people who are Sunni Muslims but heterodox and have never been introduced to the *madrassa* tradition. This may also be a psychological way out for newly converts who cannot perform the prayers consistently and prevent practicing Muslims' harsh judgements of them. Qayşarî also approaches this issue in reverse by warning the community about the possibility of people who act

like Muslims out of fear for their life or of alienation. Although he usually keeps the balance of the internal-external in his thoughts, he leans toward the internal side of this issue.

Qayşarī's approach is very important to establishing a common ground between the Muslims and the Greek Orthodox, who were most likely still the majority Ottoman population. Palamas' mystical ideas, influenced as they were by the Islamic sufi tradition, coincides with Qayşarī's. In our opinion, both of their views shaped the theoretical frame to propose an environment of co-existence for two very different cultures.

Qayşarī's approach to the *Jibrīl* hadith⁶⁹ is also remarkable, given that he deals with faith and Islam but neglects the third part of the famous hadith's interpretation, namely, that of *ihsān*. In our opinion, he hesitated to introduce this very complex term to uninitiated minds. In other words, introducing a term embedded with complex meanings to a community who are culturally not ready to absorb deductive methods is no different than preaching without an audience.

'İlm furū' al-fiqh (14b-17b): Qayşarī deals with the problem of necessity of intent (*niyat*) while making the ablution (*wuđu'*) according to the Hanafī and Şāfi'ī schools. He examines the issue within the context of water, cleaning, and whether the wudu is independently a religious practice.

'İlm uşūl al-fiqh (17b-18b): He deals with the term "*mithl*" (to be compared with) in the Quranic verse "and there is nothing that could be compared with Him" and proposes two methods for its two figurative meanings.

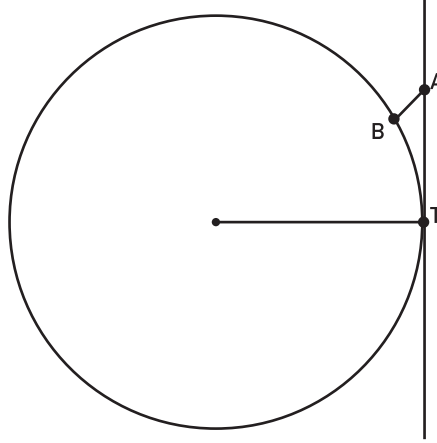
'İlm al-kalām (18b-21a): He deals with the *hissī* and *nafsī kalām* and whether God is *mutakallim*. He here discusses Mu'tazili ideas in particular, and concludes by saying that this issue is far too lengthy and complex to fit in this work. Therefore, he just defines the problem as *kalām* and its knowledge as *'ilm al-kalām*.

'İlm al-khilāf (21a-22b): He mentions the disputes over the definition of *al-naqđ al-ijmālī*, proposes solutions, and discusses the issue through the terms "secession" (*iftirāq*) and "the shaping of the body".

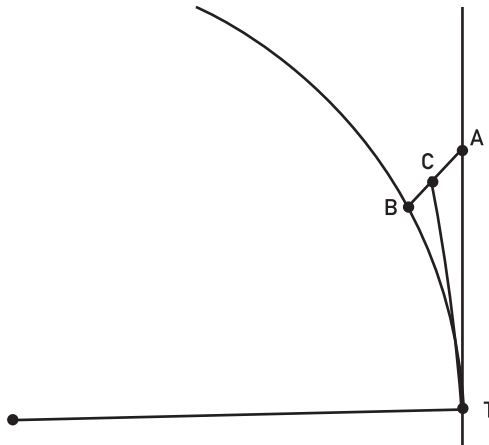
69 For the *Jibrīl* hadith, see Bekir Tatlı, "Hadis Tekniđi Açısından Cibrīl Hadisi ve İslām Düşüncesine Yansımaları", D. Phil. dissertation, Ankara Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2005.

The Chapter II: Rational Sciences [*al-'ulūm al-aqliyya*] (22b-37a)

'Ilm al-handasa (22b-23b): Qayşari deals with horn-like angles, which are also known as infinity, angle, and atom (*juz'un lā-yatajazza*). Euclid treated this in the fifteenth proposition of the third book of *Elements* (*Uşūl*).⁷⁰ According to Euclid, the angle between the circumference of a circle and a line that is drawn perpendicularly to the diameter from any end of the diameter is “the most acute angle”.



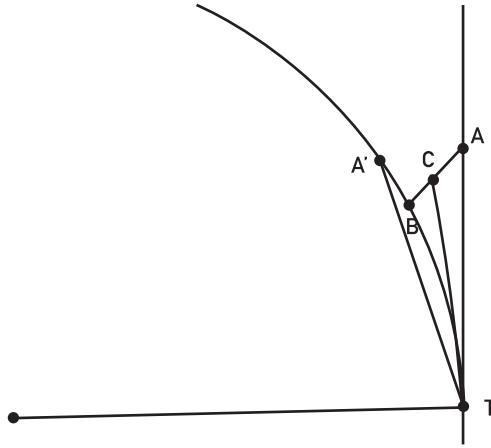
One can object to this as follows: Let's connect a point (A) on the line that is perpendicular to the diameter to another point (B) anywhere on the circumference using the first postulate⁷¹. Then, let's pick a point (C) on the line AB and connect C to the joint (T) of the diameter and its perpendicular.



70 Thomas Heath, *A History of Greek Mathematics* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), I, 354-446; Nasirüddin Tûsî, *Tahriru Usûli'l-Hendese ve'l-Hisâb (Eukleides'in Elemanlar Kitabının Tahriri)*, prepared by İhsan Fazlhoğlu (İstanbul: İstanbul Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı, 2012), folio 40b-41a.

71 The first postulate of Book I of *Elements*: We can draw a straight line from any point to any point.

The new angle (CTA) will be more acute than BTA. The imaginary refuser of this argument tries to prove that TC remains outside the circumference and inside the BTA. If the tangent is rotated to form an arc inside the circumference (arc of TA'), in every possibility it crosses over the line TC.



However, this is incorrect. Qaysarī answers this issue based on the III/15. Figure and proves that TC always cuts the circumference. If a straight line is chosen on the tangent, it will cut the circumference. If it does not cut but takes an opposite side, this new straight line, according to III/15. Figure, will form a right angle with the diameter. In this case, the acute angle (CTA: part) needs to be equal to (BTA: full), so that is *qiyās-i khulf*.

This problem was very popular among mathematicians even after Qaysarī. 'Ali Qushji proposed a different approach in the presence of Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror. Sinan Pasha compiled a treatise about it. Similarly his famous contemporary, the mutakallim-philosopher Dawwānī, dealt with this in his *Enmūzaj*.⁷²

'İlm al-ḥisāb (23b-24b): Qaysarī deals with the rooted and rootless numbers. Numbers that are derived from another number's multiplication by itself are called "rooted" (*majdhūr*), and the remaining numbers are called "rootless" (*ghayr-i majdhūr*). The rooted numbers are also called "rational" (*munṭaq*), and the rootless numbers are also called "irrational" (*aṣamm*). Qaysarī refers to the arithmetical

72 See İhsan Fazlıođlu, "Ali Kuşçu'nun Bir Hendese Problemi ve Sinan Paşa'ya Nisbet Edilen Cevabı", *Divân İlmi Araştırmalar Dergisi* 1 (1996/1): 85-105; Roshdi Rashed, "L'angle de contingence: un problème de philosophie des mathématiques", *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy* 22/1 (2012): 1-50.

(*arithmos*) and extensional (*megethos*) and argues that arithmetical rootless numbers may be inferred as extensional by using Euclid's arguments in the *Elements*. Therefore, one can say that "there are no irrational numbers".

Although it looks possible, Qayṣarī emphasizes that human beings will never truly comprehend the root of an irrational number. If all of the world's mathematicians were to come together in an attempt to find the root of 5, they would fail to find the exact solution. Therefore, philosophers argue that only God can truly know the roots of irrational numbers and the number Pi (π).

'Ilm al-hay'a (24b-26b): Under this title, Qayṣarī deals with the relative positions of the Sun and the Moon, which is a popular issue mentioned in Jaghminī's *Mulakkhkhas* and Tūsi's *Tadhkira*.⁷³ According to Ptolemaic astronomy, the direction of the Sun's mean motion and the Moon's epicyclic (*tadwīr*) motion, albeit different in speed, are the same. Their speed would be different because the centre of the Moon's *tadwīr* moves faster. Therefore, the speed of the *tadwīr* is called "double elongation" (*al-bu'd al-muḏā'af*). Classical astronomy contains four different relative positions, namely, *tarbī'* (double quadrature), between the centre of *tadwīr* and the Sun. These positions form right angles with each other. Although the text does not mention this explicitly, these four positions refer to phases of the Moon. Qayṣarī deals with two further issues: the conjunction of the centre of *tadwīr* and the Sun, which requires a full rotation around the zodiac, and whether it is possible to pick a hypothetical point on the zodiac when dealing with the conjunction.

'Ilm al-manāzīr (26b-28a): Here, Qayṣarī deals with the terms like "light" and "darkness" as well as the discussions on their physical entities. He defines "seeing" within the contexts of visibility, rays, and imprint (*intibā'*), and argues the relation between *ihsās* and *maḥsūs*.

It is very important to see *manāzīr* (optics) in an *anmūzaj* work like the *Ithāf*, because it gives many hints about the author's educational background. As we know, Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shirāzī acquired Ibn al-Haytham's *Kitāb al-Manāzīr* during his visit to Cairo and revived his optical approach by using it in his own astronomical works. He also asked Kamāl al-Dīn Fārisī, his student in Tabriz, to study this work and reinvestigate the topics of optics. Fārisī compiled several works on optics, including the famous *Tanqīḥ al-Manāzīr*, and also prepared a textbook on optics,

73 Sally P. Ragep, *Jaghminī's Mulakkhkhas: An Islamic Introduction to Ptolemaic Astronomy* (Cham, Switzerland: Springer Nature, 2016), 144-145; F. Jamil Ragep, *Nasīr al-Dīn al-Tūsi's Memoir on Astronomy: al-Tadhkira fī ilm al-hay'a* (New York; Berlin; Paris: Springer, 1993), I, 152-155.

Kitāb al-Başā'ir fī 'ilm al-manāzır, in the Seljuk-Khwarzamsah tradition.⁷⁴ Although this work did not become popular, it certainly helped a wider audience accept Ibn al-Haytham's optics during the fourteenth century. Starting from this point, it is fair to say that the *Ithāf* represented the attitude of its time. On the other hand, both the *Ishrāqī* and sufi traditions were interested in the topics of *manāzır* within the context of the metaphysics of light (*nūr*). Therefore, it is appropriate to see an independent title in this work.

'İlm al-manṭiq (28a-30b): In this section, Qayşarı treats the connective "if" that combines the antecedent of hypothetical propositions with its consequent from the point of the chapter related with logic of Ibn Sinā's *al-Shifā*: Is it a logical or a lexical relation? He briefly states that if the *antecedent*, i.e. *al-muqaddam*, is not impossible, then there are two possibilities: (1) although the *consequent*, i.e. *tālī*, corresponds with reality, only if there is no implicational relation between *antecedent* and *consequent*, which is called '*alā sabīl al-muwākat* and (2) that the *consequent* corresponds with reality and there is an implicational relation between these two components, which is called '*alā sabīl al-luzūm*.

Provided that the antecedent consists of impossible cases, two possibilities arise: (1) if the antecedent is impossible and the consequent is false, then the impossible case implies the falsity of the consequent and (2) if the antecedent is impossible and the consequent is valid, then once again there are two possibilities: (1) in spite of the fact that the antecedent is impossible, it has no affect upon reality because "if" is not used in the sense of logical implication. In other words, an invalid assumption does not influence reality, or an impossible assumption does not vitiate the existence of reality, which is independent of it, and (2) even if the impossible antecedent does not logically imply the consequent, it nevertheless binds the consequent. In a word, it forces to the consequent be accepted. Qayşarı gives an example by saying that "if 5 is an even number, then it is a number", after which he argues various cases. He especially attempts to create a syllogistic form of this kind of assent. His usage of the term "*nafs al-amr*" indicates the text's historical importance, for this term is present in the correspondence between Naşır al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī and Shams al-Dīn Kīshī and became one of the most important terms in the tradition of Islamic thought during the second half of the thirteenth century.⁷⁵

74 Kamāl al-Dīn Fārisī, *Kitābul-Başā'ir fī 'ilmi'l-manāzır*, ed. Mustafa Mevaldi (Kuwait: Muassasatu'l-Kuwait li't-Taqaddumi'l-'İlmī, 2009).

75 İhsan Fazlıođlu, "Hakikat ile İtibar: Dış-dünya'nın Bilgisinin Doğası Üzerine -XV. Yüzyıl Dođa Felsefesi ve Matematik Açısından Bir İnceleme-", *Derin Yapı: İslām-Türk Felsefe-Bilim Tarihinin Çerçevesi*, 2d ed. (İstanbul: Papersense 2016), 117-174; İhsan Fazlıođlu, "Seyyid Şerif'in Nefsü'l-emr Nazariyesi ve

'Ilm al-ilāhī (30b-32a): Based on Ibn Sīnā's *al-Ishārāt*, Qayṣarī discusses whether the form is the reason of first materia (*hayūlā*). This problem, one of the most important ones in *kalām* and Islamic philosophy after Fakhr al-Dīn Rāḍī, also became a prominent issue in Ottoman thought. Ibrahim Halil Üçer has investigated this debate in detail.⁷⁶

'Ilm al-ṭabī'ī (32a-34a): Qayṣarī argues the views of scholars who believe that there are no intenseness and weakness as quantitative categories, as well as the views of those who believe the opposite, such as Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī, whom he refers to as "Shaykh".

The ones who deny the first argument say that a line will never be more than any other line and that a time will never be "intense and more" than any other time. Suhrawardī argues that this is unclear because intenseness means an increase, whereas weakness means a decrease, in the individual. Therefore, one line is longer than another line and one time is longer than another time. Thus, the quantitative categories accept intenseness as density and weakness as rareness. One never refers to a more intense time, but it is possible to do so at the level of *naḥs al-amr*. Qayṣarī mentions the views of both sides and then adds "but we say", after which he proposes his own argument. His precise terminological frame is the most important part of his argument.

Qayṣarī's reference to Suhrawardī is quite appropriate for his time. Suhrawardī's views and the Ishrāqī approach were revived by Shahrazūrī, Ibn Kammūna, and Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī during the second half of the thirteenth century and the first half of the fourteenth century. Şadr al-Dīn Qunawī and his circle followed it in Konya. The rise of optics nourished Ishrāqī thought as well. Similarly, the Ishrāqī school's theory of the geometrical ontic unit (*imtidād*, *miqdār*) attracted the attention of scholars who saw nature through mathematics, such as the members of the Tabriz school.⁷⁷

Matematik Bilimlere Uygulanması: *Şerhu'l Mevâkif Örneği*", *Derin Yapı: İslâm-Türk Felsefe-Bilim Tarihi'nin Çerçevesi*, 175-218.

76 İbrahim Halil Üçer, "Müteahhir Dönem Mantık Düşüncesinde Tanımın Birliği Sorunu: Molla Khussraw'ın *Nakdu'l-efkâr fi reddi'l-enzâr*'ı Bağlamında Bir Tahlil", *Kutadgubilig Felsefe-Bilim Araştırmaları Dergisi* 22 (2012): 97-122.

77 İhsan Fazlıoğlu, "Hakikat ile İtibar: Dış Dünya'nın Bilgisinin Doğası Üzerine", 133. For a detailed study, see İshak Arslan, "Fiziksel Evrenin Bütünleştirilmesi İçin Erken Bir Teşebbüs: Sühreverdî'nin Miktar Kavramı", *Nazariyat: İslâm Felsefe ve Bilim Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi* III/2 (April 2017): 47-68.

‘İlm al-ṭibb (34a-35b): He treats some terms mentioned in Ibn Sīnā’s *al-Qānūn fī al-ṭibb*’s *Kulliyāt* section, such as temperament, composure, temperate, and personal temperament. His choice of problems in medicine, namely, the theoretical ones, is once again appropriate for its time. The mentioned period is rich with commentaries on *al-Qānūn* and especially on its *Kulliyāt* chapter by physicians such as Ibn Nafis and Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī. Considering that Shīrāzī worked as a physician in Kayseri’s Gawhar Nasība hospital, *al-Qānūn* and its commentaries might have been part of its practice and education.

‘İlm al-akhlāq (35b-37a): This section presents an extensive comparison between medicine and morality, such as keeping healthy in order to keep one’s virtues and overcoming diseases in order to overcome vices. In other words, one’s physical health and sicknesses are related to one’s spiritual health and sicknesses. As physicians cure one’s physical sicknesses, prophets and philosophers cure one’s spiritual sicknesses.

Chapter III: Arabī Sciences / Linguistic Sciences (37a-43)

‘İlm al-adab (37a-38a): Qayşarī treats the classification of literary knowledge, which he viewed as an essential element that prevents one from making mistakes when using Arabic. He first divides the basics of the language into plain and compound and then argues that the plain (or its conditions) and the compound’s verse form, composition, and usefulness needs to be examined. He contends that they are six types of literary knowledge: *‘ilm al-lughā*, *şarf*, *‘arud*, *naḥw*, *ma’ānī*, and *bayān*, and two nonessential elements of literary knowledge: *‘ilm al-khaṭṭ* and the art of composition. Qayşarī seems to have left *‘ilm al-lughā* out and only deals with five of the six types of knowledge.

‘İlm al-şarf (38-39a): In this section, he deals with the essential and nonessential letters in words. If the letter remains in the word despite any inflection, then it is essential. If this is not the case, then it is nonessential. Qayşarī compares the essential letters to first material, which always exists in objects regardless of its shape. In this sense, he counts the letters of weakness (*ḥurūf al-‘illa*) as nonessential as well. He mentions that although it is a generalization, it is induced from the Arabic language.

‘İlm al-naḥw (40b-41b): He treats the *muntaqil* and *mu’akkad* types of the forms of subject and object. He is particularly interested in consistency and variability, and argues that even the *mu’akkad* case is dependent upon the verb’s time.

‘Ilm al-ma‘ānī (40b-41b): He provides two sentences as examples and examines which one is correct according to the art of *ma‘ānī*. He also deals the term *zawq-i salīm* along with various linguistic elements.

‘Ilm al-bayān (41b-42b): He treats the asserted nuance between metaphor and insinuation, and argues that using either one would not make any particular difference.

‘Ilm al-‘arūḍ (42b-43b): He deals with the incompatibility of the rulings over the “Fa‘ūlun” metre from the *tawīl* type of ‘*arūḍ* and the “fā‘ilun” metre from the *madīd* type.

The issues treated, names referred to, sources used, and the methods of presenting and solving problems utilized in the *Ithāf* exceed the capabilities of a common scholar. They are also appropriate for the intellectual activities of that particular time. Therefore, there is no doubt that its author is an exceptional scholar. The problems and their solutions also attest to this fact. It is crucial to know the different aspects and approaches of an issue, as well as to present them skilfully and solve them via comparisons. Moreover, the adequacy in logic and metaphysics, creating questionnaires on different topics and proposing solutions to each one are quite significant qualities. Considering the names and the works used as references, it is clear that the author has a comprehensive knowledge of the rational sciences and mathematical sciences.

3. The method used in *editio princeps*

The *Ithāf*'s extant copy is from a rather late period, around the end of the nineteenth century. Its text is significantly flawed; however, this may be because of the version used for copying as well as the copyist's inadequacy in terms of Arabic and the sciences mentioned in the work.

This *editio princeps* was prepared in accordance with the “ISAM Text Edition Rules”. Modern orthographic rules were followed throughout the text. Unintelligible words or phrases were represented by three dots in brackets [...]. To make some sentences more comprehensible, short descriptive additions were made in square brackets []. All supplementations in the text were footnoted. We do not assume that we have managed to present the most correct version of the text, despite our utmost efforts to do so, because definitions of the terms in each subject require an expert's touch. Therefore, we owe to our counterparts to publish the opy's original text.

VI. Conclusion: Problems and Questions

Our research on Dāwūd Qayşarī, the primary and secondary sources, as well as the *Ithāf* itself, provided us with some conclusive remarks regarding Ottoman intellectual life. We will only mention them and leave the details to future studies. As we emphasized at the beginning, there are discrepancies between the records on the shaping of both the Ottoman Principality and Ottoman intellectual life. Notably, the establishment of the first Ottoman *madrassa* and Dāwūd Qayşarī's directorship of it are essential topics that need to be re-evaluated, because none of the historical records, including those of Āshiq Pasha Zāda, are earlier than the conquest of Istanbul. The endowment of the first *madrassa* was registered by Mulla Khusraw (d.1480) in 841/1437 and approved by Sultan Bayezid II in 895/1489, but was then lost and re-registered by the sultan's order, is a reference to a record earlier than the conquest. However, it does raise some concern over the recorded name of the first director, Dāwūd Qayşarī's father.

The accounts of Qayşarī's life contain many blank spaces. Given his assumed birth and death dates, compiling his first treatise at the age of seventy-one presents a remarkable conundrum. His education in Cairo is another mystery, for there is absolutely no record of it. Homerin's remarks on *Sharḥ al-Khamriyya* are the clearest presumptions regarding his education so far. Qayşarī's interactions with Ibn Sartāq in Niksar and, as an outcome of these interactions, his sufi inclination and move to Tabrīz can also be considered tangible evidence of his education process. The chronological data on his works proves that he could not have come to Iznik before 1337. On the other hand, we still have no early record of his arrival there and becoming the director of its *madrassa*.

The detailed review of *Ithāf* shows that it was indeed written during the above-mentioned period. Although Qayşarī's authorship of it is not as concrete as it seems, there is no contradictory evidence to disprove it. If it is his work, then it is also the earliest proof of his activities in the Ottoman realm. Moreover, if Mehmed Süreyya's account on the date of Qayşarī's death is actually based on his tombstone, then this can also be a solid piece of evidence that he had actually lived there.

In conclusion, this work argues that the traditional approaches to Dāwūd Qayşarī's life and his directorship of the first Ottoman *madrassa* lack evidence and few primary or early sources support them. The arguments presented here seek to examine, rather than to cast doubt, upon these traditional approaches. In fact, they provide some supporting evidence regarding the *Ithāf*. All that we propose is a thorough investigation of Dāwūd Qayşarī and the shaping of Ottoman intellectual life in order to answer the questions presented in this work.

Table 1.*Dāvūd Qayşari's works.*

Title of the work	Dedicated to	Compilation Date
<i>Maṭla' husūs al-kilam fī ma'āni Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam (Sharḥ Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam)</i> ¹ – His first work. – Commemorates his master Kāshānī. – Wrote <i>Muqaddima</i> first; <i>Sharḥ</i> later.	Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh	1331
<i>Taḥqīq mā' al-ḥayāt wa kashf asrār al-zulumāt</i> ² – The topic is debated with Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Sayrāfi al-Jīlī.	Fakhr al-Dīn Maḥmud ibn Qiwām al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ḍiyā al-Dīn 'Abd al-'Azīz	November 1331
References – <i>Sharḥ Fuṣūṣ</i> . – Ibn 'Arabī, <i>Futūḥāt</i> . – Shaykh Awhād al-Dīn.		
<i>Kashf al-hijāb 'an kalām Rabb al-arbāb</i> ³ He mentions both <i>Muqaddima</i> and <i>Sharḥ</i> . Therefore, he must have written this between these works.	Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh	1331
<i>Risāla fī Bismillāh (Sharḥu ta'wīlāt al-basmala bi-al-ṣūwar al-naw'iyya al-insāniyya al-kāmila)</i> ⁴ – A commentary on a section of his master Kāshānī's <i>Ta'wīlāt al-Qur'an al-Karīm</i> . – He commemorates his master Kāshānī. – Makes references to <i>Sharḥ Fuṣūṣ</i> .	At the request of a scholar named Fulān al-Dīn	
<i>Sharḥ nazm al-sulūk / al-Tāiyya al-kubra</i> ⁵ Makes references to <i>Sharḥ Fuṣūṣ</i> .	Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh	1335

1 This work has been published several times. See Dāvūd ibn Maḥmūd al-Qayşari, *Matlau husūsi'l-kilam fī ma'āni Fusūsi'l-hikem*, ed. Muhammed Hasan es-Saidi (Qom: Anwaru'l-Khudā, 1416). For *al-Mukaddimāt* see. Dāvūd Qayşari, *al-Rasā'il*, 25-88.

2 Qayşari, *al-Rasā'il*, 181-192.

3 Ibid., 91-104.

4 Ibid., 195-201.

5 Dāvūd el-Kayseri, *Şerhu taiyyeti İbni'l-Fāriz el-kubra*, nşr. Ahmed Ferid el-Mezidi (Beirut: Dāru'l-Kutubi'l-İlmiyya, 2004/1425).

<i>Kitābu/Risāla fī ‘ilm al-tasawwuf</i> ⁶ It resembles the introduction of <i>Sharḥ al-Tāiyya al-kubra</i> .	Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh	1335
References		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Ibn al-Fāriḍin the preamble. – <i>Sharḥ Fuṣūṣ</i> 		
<i>Sharḥ qasida al-khamriyya (al-mimiyya)</i> ⁷ He specifies that he wrote it after <i>Sharḥ al-Tāiyya al-kubra</i> .	Amin al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Kāfi ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Tabrizī -This person could be the sufi scholar Amin al-Dīn Abū al-Qāsīm Hajbalah / Bulah. ⁸	1335-1337
<i>Asās al-waḥdāniyya wa mabnā al-fardāniyya</i> ⁹	Orkhān Gāzi (?) Scholar/Sultan Jalāl al-Dīn	After 1337
<i>Nihāya al-bayān fī dirāya al-zamān</i> ¹⁰	Orkhān Gāzi (?) Scholar/Sultan Zahir al-Dīn	After 1337
References		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Aristotle – Ibn Sinā (<i>al-Shifā</i>) – Abū al-Barakāt al-Baghdādi – Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī – Ḥakīm Sināi – Ibn ‘Arabī (<i>Futūḥāt, Fuṣūṣ</i>) – <i>Sharḥ Fuṣūṣ</i>. 		
<i>al-Ikhtilāfu al-Sulaymānī fī al-ahdi al-Urhānī</i>	Sulayman Pasha (d.1357-1360) Sultan Orkhān	1337-1348
References		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Abū Ḥanifa – Imām Shāfi‘i – Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal – Zamakhsharī (<i>Sāḥib al-Kashshāf</i>) – Ibn Sinā, Shaykh (<i>al-Shifā, al-Ishārāt</i>) – Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardi – Euclid (<i>Uṣūl</i>) – Mütazila 		

6 Qaysarı, *al-Rasā’il*, 107-133. The same work was published under the title *al-Tawḥīd wa’n-Nubuwwa wa’l-Wilāya*. See *Rasā’il-i Qaysarı bā Havāshi ‘Arif-i Muḥaqqiq Āghā Muḥammad Riḍā-yi Kumshāi*, ed. Jalāladdīn Ashtiyāni (Tehran: Muassasa-i Pajūhaṣha-yi Hikmat ve Falsafa, 1381).

7 For *Mukaddima*’s publication, see. Qaysarı, *al-Rasā’il*, 137-145.

8 Amin al-Dīn Abū al-Qāsīm Hajbalah / Bulah, debated with ‘Irāqī for three days in Konya during 676/1277-78. He belonged to the Khorasāni sufi tradition. It has been said that he was the one who brought Aḥmad Ghazālī’s *‘ishq* ideas to Tabriz through his lectures.

9 Qaysarı, *al-Rasā’il*, 149-160. Also see *Rasā’il-i Qaysarı bā Havāshi ‘Arif-i Muḥaqqiq Āghā Muḥammad Riḍā-yi Kumshāi*.

10 Qaysarı, *al-Rasā’il*, 163-177. Also see *Rasā’il-i Qaysarı bā Havāshi ‘Arif-i Muḥaqqiq Āghā Muḥammad Riḍā-yi Kumshāi*.

Table 2.*Scholars who lived in Anatolia between 1250 and 1362.*

Name	Area of Expertise
Asīr al-Dīn Abharī (d.1265)	Logic, Philosophy, Mathematics
Hājī Baktāsh Walī (d.1271?)	Sufi tradition
Ahī Awran (d.1272?)	Sufi tradition
Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d.1273)	Sufi tradition
Şadr al-Dīn Qunawī (d.1274)	Sufi tradition, Hadith
Sirāj al-Dīn Urmawī (d.1283)	<i>Kalām</i> , Logic, Philosophy, <i>Fiqh</i>
Ibn Bibī (d. after 1285)	History
Ibn al-'Tbri (d.1286)	Medicine, Religious Sciences
'Imād al-Dīn Muḥammad Qochḥişārī (d.1287)	Medicine, Pharmacology
Fakhr al-Dīn 'Irāqī (d.1289)	Sufi tradition
'Afif al-Dīn Tilimsānī (d.1291)	Sufi tradition
Mu'ayyid al-Dīn Jandī (d.1292)	Sufi tradition
Sā'd al-Dīn Farghānī (d.1300)	Sufi tradition
Akmal al-Dīn Nakhjuwānī (d.1302)	Philosophy, Medicine
Quṭb al-Dīn Shirāzī (d.1311)	Mathematics, Astronomy, Medicine, Music, Optics, Linguistics, Philosophy, Tafsir, etc.
Yunus Emre (d.1320?)	Sufi tradition
Ibrāhīm Qunawī (1322)	<i>Fiqh</i> , <i>Kalām</i> , Sufi tradition
Shakh Adabālī (d.1326)	Sufi tradition
Dursun Faqīh (d. after 1326)	Poetry, Sufi tradition, <i>Fiqh</i>
Ibn Sartāq (d. circa 1328)	Mathematics, Astronomy

Ibn Taymiyya (d.1328)	Religious Sciences, <i>Kalām</i>
‘Alā al-Dīn Qunawī (d.1329)	Religious Sciences, Sufi tradition
Shams al-Dīn Samarqandī (d.1322)	Mathematics, Astronomy, Logic, <i>Fiqh</i> , Morals, <i>Kalām</i> , Philosophy
Zayn al-Munajjim ibn Sulayman (d. after 1331)	Mathematics, Astronomy
‘Āshiq Pasha (d.1332)	Poetry, Sufi tradition
Karīm al-Dīn Aksarāyī (d.1332-33)	History
Amin al-Dīn Abharī (d.1333)	Mathematics, Astronomy
Muḥammad Qunawī (d.1357)	<i>Fiqh</i> , <i>Kalām</i> , Sufi tradition
Alwan Chalabī (d. after 1359)	Poetry, Sufi tradition
Aḥmad Afākī (d.1360)	History, Sufi tradition
Muḥsin Qaysārī (1360)	Linguistics, <i>Fiqh</i>
Geyikli Baba (the first half of the 14 th c.)	Sufi tradition

Table 3.*Scholars who lived in Turkistan and Iran between 1250 and 1362.*

Name	Area of Expertise
Khusrawshāhi Tabrizī (d.1254)	<i>Fiqh</i> , Logic, <i>Kalām</i> , Philosophy
Najm al-Din Dāya (d.1256)	Sufi tradition, Tafsir
‘Izz al-Din Zanjāni (d.1262?)	Linguistics, Literature, Mathematics
Mu‘ayyid al-Din Urđi (d.1266)	Mathematics, Astronomy
Tāj al-Din Urmawī (d.1271)	<i>Fiqh</i>
Sā‘d al-Din Hammūya (d.1272/73)	Sufi tradition
Naşir al-Din Tūsi (d.1274)	Mathematics, Astronomy, <i>Kalām</i> , Logic, Philosophy, etc.
Najm al-Din Kāṭibi (d.1277)	Logic, Philosophy, <i>Kalām</i>
Ghażanfar Tabrizī (d. after 1280)	Medicine
Muḥyiddin Maghribi (d.1283)	Mathematics, Astronomy
Ibn Muhannā (d.1283)	Linguistics, History
Qadi Bayḍāwī (d.1286)	Linguistics, <i>Tafsir</i> , <i>Kalām</i>
Shams al-Din Şahrazūri (d.1298)	Ishrāqī Philosophy
Burhān al-Din Nasafi (d.1289)	<i>Fiqh</i> , <i>Kalām</i>
Shams al-Din Işfahāni (d.1289)	<i>Fiqh</i>
Shams al-Din Kishi (d.1295)	Religious Sciences, <i>Kalām</i>
‘Aziz al-Din Nasafi (d.1300)	Sufi tradition
Nūr al-Din Natanzi (d.1310)	Sufi tradition
Abū al-Barakāt Nasafi (d.1310)	<i>Fiqh</i> , <i>Kalām</i>
Quṭb al-Din Shirāzi (d.1311)	Mathematics, Astronomy, Medicine, Music, Optics, Linguistics, Philosophy, <i>Tafsir</i> etc...

Jamāl al-Dīn Turkistānī (active in 1312)	Mathematics, Astronomy, Optics, Philosophy
Asıl al-Dīn Ḥasan (d.1317)	Mathematics, Astronomy
Rashīd al-Dīn Fađl Allāh Hamadānī (d.1318)	Politics, Religious Sciences
Kamāl al-Dīn Fārisī (d.1319)	Mathematics, Optics
Ibn Fuwatī (d.1323)	History, Astronomical Instruments
Ibn Hawwām (d.1324)	Mathematics
‘Allāma Ḥilli (d.1326)	Logic, <i>Kalām</i>
Nizām al-Dīn Nisābūrī (d. after 1330)	Mathematics, Astronomy, Tafsir
Yūsuf Ālānī (d.1334)	Astronomy
‘Alāuddawla Simnānī (d.1336)	Sufi tradition
‘Abd al-Razzāq Kāshānī (d.1336)	Sufi tradition
‘Imād al-Dīn Kāshī (d.1344)	Mathematics, Linguistics, <i>Fiqh</i>
Mubarakshāh Bukhārī (d.1341)	Astronomy, Philosophy
Shams al-Dīn Maḥmud İsfahānī (d.1345)	<i>Fiqh</i> , Logic, <i>Kalām</i>
Şadru al-Sharī‘a Thānī (d.1346)	<i>Fiqh</i> , Logic, <i>Kalām</i> , Astronomy
Fakhr al-Dīn Chārpardī (d.1346)	Linguistics, <i>Fiqh</i>
Fađl Allāh ‘Ubaydī (d.1350)	Astronomy
‘Adūd al-Dīn Ījī (d.1355)	Linguistics, <i>Fiqh</i> , <i>Kalām</i>
Kamāl al-Dīn Turkmānī(d.1357)	Astronomy
Shams al-Dīn Bukhārī (first half of 14 th c.)	Astronomy
Shams al-Dīn Wabqanawī	Astronomy

١/الإتحاف السليمانى فى العهد الأورخانى داود [ال]قىصرى

٢/بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

إن أبهى جوهر يعقد على معاهد الأيام، وأزهر زهر يفتق عنه كمام الكلام حمدٌ من لا يبلغ كنهه حادٌ، وشكر من لا يقبض نعمه عادٌ، حار فى بحار عرفانه أرواح العالمين، ونار بأنوار إحسانه أشباح العالمين، وأحمده على آلائه المترامية أفواجها، وأشكره على نعمائه المتلاطمة أمواجها، ٣/حمداً لا يحيط نطاق النطق بعده، وشكراً لا يدرك كمال؛ غايات مدده، ولو استنهض مدده. وأصلى على صدر جريدة اليقين، بيت قصيدة المرسلين، محمد المختار، وعلى آله الأطهار، وأصحابه الأخيار، ما انعقد الخير بنواصي الخيل، وتسابق أشهب النهار وأدهم الليل. أما بعد؛

فقد وصل إلى كتاب بديع، وورد عليّ خطاب رفيع من نادي الفضل والعلاء، منبع المجد والبهاء، محط رحال الإقبال، ينبوع زلال الإفضال علىّ جناب السلطان المعظم، ٤/الشهينشاہ المفخّم، منبع خلال المكارم والأخلاق، آية الله فى نشر العدل والإنصاف، ناصب رايات المناصب، سباق غايات المناقب، الفائز من قداح المعالي بالقدح المعلّى، المشهود له فى الطول باليد الطولى، المخصوص بعناية ربّ العالمين، الصارف عمره فى إعلاء أعلام الدين، مآل آمال الناس أجمعين، شجاع الدولة والدنيا والدين، ليث الإسلام وغيث المسلمين، العالم بأمر الله، الصادع بحجة الله سليمان باشاه ابن السلطان الأعظم، ٥/الملك الأعدل الأعلم، مالك رقاب الأمم، رافع أعلام الكمالات، جامع أسباب السعادات، أنوشروان الزمان، ملجأ أهل الإيوان، ممهد قواعد الأمن والأمان، مربّي أرباب الفضل والعرفان السلطان أورخان المشكور فى كل جنان، المحمود بكل لسان، لازال ظلال سلطنتها ممدودة، وأطناب سرادقات دولتها بأوتاد الخلود مشدودة، وما برحت مقاليد الأمور كأعنة الجياد بيديهما، وحزب الأعادي كالركاب مذلاً تحت قدميهما ٦/ينثران بنتائج آرائهما على مشاهير الأيام دُرراً، ويعبثان سحائب سخائهما إلى جماهير الأنام دُرراً؛ من قال: «أمين» أبقى الله مهجته، فإنّ

- ١ ١.أ
- ٢ ١.ب
- ٣ ٢.أ
- ٤ فى النص: كامل.
- ٥ فى الهامش: وورد
- ٦ فى النص: مربع.
- ٧ ٢.ب
- ٨ ٣.أ
- ٩ ٣.ب

هذا دعاء يشمل البشري^{١٠}. وحين تُشرف بورود كتابه، وتوسّمت سمة الفضل من فصل خطابه، تعطّرت بروائح أخلاقه العاطرة، وتسمّمت روح الحياة^{١١} من نسائم تلك الشمائل الزاهرة. وقلت لنفسِي: شمّري الآن، واطلبي نهاية ما أمّلته من مطالب.

ثمّ لما كان العلم خير هدية، وأحسن تحفة سنّية^{١٢} في ذلك الجنب الذي يجلب إليه بصنائع العلوم والآداب من كل مرميٍّ سحيق، ويتوجّه إليه العلماء وأولو الألباب من كل فجّ عميق، حرّرت من كلّ علم من العلوم المشهورة مسألة مشتملة على لطائف فكري^{١٣} الماثورة، ونوّرت مشكلات المسائل غاية تنويرها، وزيّنت معاقد الأيام بعقود البيان من لآلئ تقريرها متحفاً بها ذلك الجنب العالي، والمجلس الشريف المتألّم، أتاح الله لدولته الدوام، ولا عدم زمر الفضل من عناية الاعتناء^{١٤} والاهتمام، حتى إنّ كل فن من فنون العلوم يعجبه نظره الصائب، ويميل إليه طبعه الثاقب، أقبل بمجامع قلبي عليه، وأوجه ركاب الطلب إليه، وأصنّف منه كتاباً حاوياً للفروع والأصول، مشتملاً على جميع الأبواب والفصول، مشرفاً باسمه الشريف مطرّزاً بلقبه المنيف. وها أنا أرّتب الكلام في هذه الرسالة على ثلاثة أقسام مستعينا من واهب العقل ومُفيض الإحسان والعدل، إنّه وليّ التوقيف، وييده أزمّة التحقيق.

١٥/ القسم الأوّل

في

العلوم الشرعية

من علم التفسير

قال الله تعالى علت كلمته: ﴿قُلْ لَوْ كَانَ الْبَحْرُ مَدَادًا لَكَلِمَاتِ رَبِّي لَنَفَذَ الْبَحْرُ قَبْلَ أَنْ تَنْفَذَ كَلِمَاتِ رَبِّي وَلَوْ جِئْنَا بِمِثْلِهِ مَدَدًا﴾^{١٦}. وقال الله تعالى: ﴿وَلَوْ أَنَّ مَا فِي الْأَرْضِ مِنْ شَجَرَةٍ أَقْلَامٌ وَالْبَحْرُ يَمُدُّهُ مِنْ بَعْدِهِ سَبْعَةُ أَبْحُرٍ مَا نَفِدَتْ كَلِمَاتُ اللَّهِ﴾^{١٧}. في الآيتين بحثان.

البحث الأوّل: أنّه ربّها يورد ويقال: الآيتان متنافيتان؛ لأنّ الآية الأولى دالّة على نفاذ كلمات الله بعد نفاذ

١٠ في النص: البشر.

١١ في النص: الحياة.

١٢ أ.

١٣ ي: فوق السطر.

١٤ ب.

١٥ أ.

١٦ سورة الكهف ١٨/١٠٩.

١٧ سورة لقمان ٣١/٢٧.

البحر على ذلك^{١٨}/التقدير، والآية الثانية دالّة على عدم نفاذها بعد نفاذ البحر على ذلك التقدير. أمّا دلالة الآية الثانية على عدم نفاذ الكلمات على ذلك التقدير فظاهرة لا ستره به. وأمّا دلالة الآية الأولى على نفاذ كلمات الله بعد نفاذ البحر، فلأنّ معناها أنّ البحر ينفذ قبل نفاذ الكلمات على ذلك. وإذا كان نفاذ البحر واقعاً قبل نفاذ الكلمات على ذلك التقدير يكون نفاذ الكلمات واقعاً بعد نفاذ البحر على ذلك التقدير؛ ضرورة أنّ القبل مستلزم^{١٩}/للبعد.

والجواب: أنّ الآية الثانية دالّة على نفاذ الكلمات مطلقاً سواء كان بعد نفاذ البحر أو قبل نفاذه. وأمّا الآية الأولى^{٢٠} فالمراد منها أيضاً عدم نفاذ الكلمات؛ لأنّ مفهومها لما كان نفاذ الكلمات بعد نفاذ البحر، ونفاذ البحر وإن كان ممكناً في نفسه، ممتنع عادةً كان نفاذ الكلمات ممتنعاً؛ لأنّ البعد إذا كان مُتَمَتِّعاً كان القبل أيضاً ممتنعاً لا محالة، مكاناً أُطِيق نفاذ الكلمات وأريد عدم نفاذها بطريق الكناية على ما هو المتعارف في المحاورات^{٢١}/في بيان عدم تناهي الشيء، كما يقال: «نهاية أشواقني متصلة بنهاية الزمان»، فليس المقصود إلاّ بيان عدم نهايتها، فقد ظهر أنّ الآيتين دالتان على عدم تناهي الكلمات؛ إلاّ أنّ دلالة الآية الأولى بالكناية، والآية الثانية بالصريح. وقد تقرر في علم البيان أنّ الكناية أبلغ من الصريح.

البحث الثاني: من المفسّرين من فسّر «الكلمات» بالألفاظ^{٢٢} الصادرة من الله تعالى. ولهذا ذهب إلى تناهيها^{٢٣} دلالة الآية عليه، وهو باطل؛ لأنّ الألفاظ الصادرة^{٢٤}/منه تعالى ليست بحيث لو كان الأشجار أقلاماً والبحار مدداً لما نفذت؛ بل الحقّ ما ذهب إليه صاحب الكشّاف من أنّ المراد «بالكلمات» كلمات العلم^{٢٥} والحكمة -أي: المعلومات-، ومعلومات الله تعالى غير متناهية بالاتّفاق بين المتكلّمين والحكّماء. ومصداق ذلك سبب النزول، وهو أنّ حيي [بن] أخطب قال: في كتابكم ﴿ومن يؤت الحكمة فقد أوتي خيراً كثيراً﴾^{٢٦}، ثمّ أنكم تقرؤون ﴿وما أوتيتُم من العلم إلاّ قليلاً﴾^{٢٧}. فنزلت، أي: ذلك خير كثير في نفسه، لكنّه بالنسبة إلى علم الله تعالى قليل. فإن قلت: ^{٢٨}/أليس المتكلّمون يحيلون عدم تناهي الأشياء، فكيف يقولون بعدم تناهي معلومات الله تعالى، قلت: الممتنع عندهم عدم تناهي الأشياء في الوجود؛ لأنّ الموجودات تقبل

١٨ ٥ب.

١٩ أ٦.

٢٠ في النص: الأوّل.

٢١ ب٦.

٢٢ في النص: بالفاظ.

٢٣ في النص: تناملها.

٢٤ أ٧.

٢٥ في النص: لعلم.

٢٦ سورة البقرة ٢/٢٦٩.

٢٧ سورة الإسراء ١٧/٨٥.

٢٨ ب٧.

الزيادة والنقصان. وكلّ ما هذا شأنه فهو متناه، وأمّا عدم التناهي في العلم فليس كذلك.

من علم الحديث

«قال جبرئيل -عليه السّلام-: «يا محمد -صلى الله عليه وسلّم- أخبرني عن الإيمان. فقال: «عزم الإيمان أن تؤمن بالله، وملائكته، وكتبه، ورسله، واليوم الآخر، وأن تؤمن بالقدر خيره وشره». ٢٩/ فقال: «صدقت». قال: «فأخبرني ٣٠ عن الإسلام». قال عليه السّلام: «الإسلام أن تشهدوا ٣١ [أن] لا إله إلا الله وأن محمداً ٣٢ رسول الله، وتقيم الصلاة، وتؤتي الزكاة، وتصوم رمضان، وتحج البيت إن استطعت إليه سبيلاً».»

في الحديث ثلاثة مباحث. المبحث الأول في الإيمان: عرّف الإيمان بأن تؤمن بالله وملائكته إلخ. والإيمان بالله أن يعتقد أنّه واجب الوجود، موصوف بصفات الكمال [و]الجلال. والإيمان بالملائكة أن يعتقد أنّهم عباد الله تعالى يعبدونه ولا يفترون ٣٣/ عن عبادته لحظة. والإيمان بالكتب اعتقاد أنّها مُنزّلة من الله تعالى، وأن ما فيها فحقّ صدق. والإيمان بالرسول ٣٤ أن يعتقد أنّهم مبعوثون إلى الخلق بالحق، وهم خير البشر. والإيمان باليوم الآخر، وهو آخر الدّنيا -أي: يوم القيامة- أن يصدّق به وبما فيه من الحشر والنشر والحساب والثواب والعقاب. والقدر تعلق القضاء بالأشياء في أوقاتها. وإثما كرّر ٣٥ قوله «وأن تؤمن» عطفاً على خبر المبتدأ، ولم يعطف بالجرّ على اليوم الآخر ليكون ٣٦/ دليلاً ٣٧ على بطلان مذهب من لا يقول بالقدر، ويضيف الخير والشر إلا الظلمة؛ ولأنّ مسألة القدر فيها غموض بحيث لا يطلع عليه إلا الخاصة من العلماء الراسخين؛ فكرّر الإيمان تنبيهاً على الاهتمام شأنه.

ثمّ [في هذا المبحث] إشكالات لا بدّ من إيرادها وحلّها: أحدها: أنّه -عليه السلام- عرّف الإيمان بأن تؤمن؛ ومعرفة «أن تؤمن» موقوفة على موقوفة الإيمان؛ والموقوف على الموقوف على الشيء موقوف على ذلك الشيء، فتكون معرفة الإيمان موقوفة على ٣٨/ نفسه وهو دَوْرٌ.

وجوابه: أنّ للإيمان مفهوماً شرعياً ومفهوماً لغوياً، وهو التصديق والاعتقاد. فقد عرّف المفهوم الشرعي بالمفهوم اللغوي فلا دور.

٢٩ ٨.أ.

٣٠ في النص: ما أخبرني.

٣١ تشهدون: في النص.

٣٢ في النص: محمد.

٣٣ ب.٨.

٣٤ في النص: ما ترسل.

٣٥ في النص: كدر.

٣٦ ٩.أ.

٣٧ في النص: أول.

٣٨ ب.٩.

وثانيها: أنّ الأنبياء -عليهم السلام- أفضل من الملائكة عند أهل السنة والجماعة، فالأنسب^{٣٩} تقديم الرسل على الملائكة لا بالعكس. والجواب: أنّ التقديم ههنا ليس لتفضيلهم على الرسل بل للترتيب الواقع في إرسالها^{٤٠}؛ لأنّ الله تعالى أرسل الملك فجاء بالكتاب^{٤١}/إلى الرسول.

وثالثها: أنّ التعريف تصوير لمفهوم الشيء لا تصديق^{٤٢} به، فتصديق جبرئيل -عليه السلام- «يقول: صدقت» لا يناسب ذلك. والجواب: أنّ التعريف إنّما يستقيم لو كان المعرّف مساوياً للمعرّف -أي: يصدق المعرّف على كل ما صدق عليه المعرّف، وبالعكس؛ فيكون لقوله -عليه السلام- «الإيمان أن تؤمن» جهتان: جهة التصديق، وجهة التعريف. وجهة التصديق أي: ما صدق عليه [الإيمان] يصدق عليه الاعتقاد بالله الخ، وتصديق جبرئيل -عليه السلام-^{٤٣}/راجع إلى جهة التصديق لا^{٤٤} إلى جهة التعريف والتصديق.

المبحث الثاني: في تعريف الإسلام: عرّف بالشهادتين والعبادات؛ وإنّما قدّم الشهادتين على العبادات؛ لأنّهما الأصل والأساس؛ ورُتّب العبادات ذلك الترتيب الحسي^{٤٥}؛ لأنّ الغرض من شرع العبادات أن تتحلّى النفس الإنسانية بالفضائل وتتخلّى من الرزائل. ولا شكّ أن التحلّي بالفضائل هو المقصود الأعلى والمطلب الأسنى، والصلاة -أعني: ذكر الله تعالى- على أنحاء مخصوصة، هي^{٤٦}/المتكفّلة بحصول سائر الفضائل والكمالات، ولا جرم وجب تقديمها. والتخلّي من الرزائل النفسانية التي هي تابعة للقوى الشهوانية والغضبية أو من الرزائل الخارجية المستفادة من الأمور الدنيوية الدنية؛ لكنّ التخلّي من الرزائل الخارجية مقدّم على التخلّي من الرزائل الباطنية؛ لأنّ الإنسان ما لم يقطع النظر من خارج، وكان مشتغلاً بالخارجيات يكون غافلاً عمّا في نفسه. والذي يحصل منه بعد التجرد والتخلّي هو إعطاء الزكاة^{٤٧}/والصدقات، فلذلك [عقب] الصلاة بالزكاة. وأمّا التخلّي عن الرزائل الباطنة التابعة للشهوة والغضب فإنّما يحصل من الصوم والحجّ؛ لأنّهما رياضيات جاذبتان للبدن من التعلّقات الدنية إلى شطر الحق. وقدّم الصوم على الحجّ؛ لأنّه رياضته تتكرّر كلّ سنة بخلاف الحجّ، فالصوم في [...] الشرع أهمّ.

ووجه آخر في ترتيب العبادات: أنّ العبادة إمّا يومية أو حولية أو عمرية؛ فقدّمت اليومية، وهي الصلاة؛ لأنّ

٣٩ في النص: فلا نسب.

٤٠ في النص: في تراثها.

٤١ أ.

٤٢ في النص: تصدق.

٤٣ ب.

٤٤ في النص: إلا.

٤٥ في النص: الحس.

٤٦ أ.

٤٧ ب.

اهتمام الشارع بها فوق الاهتمام بغيرها،^{٤٨}/ ولهذا تتكرر كل يوم ويقتل تاركها أو يكفر. فقال عليه السلام: «بين^{٤٩} الإسلام والكفر الصلاة». والحولية؛ إمّا ماليّة، وهي الزكاة أو بدنيّة، وهي الصوم؛ والماليّة مقدّمة على البدنيّة؛ لأنّها أحر الحوليتين وأشقّهما، وأفضل العبادات أحرها. والعمريّة هي الحجّ، وكذلك ترتيب العبادات. كذلك [...] على التعريف أنّه لو كان الإسلام عبارة عن الشهادتين والعبادات يلزم أن لا يكون من أتى بالشهادتين وترك^{٥٠} عبادة من الصلاة والزكاة أو الصوم أو الحج مسلماً بل يكون كافراً كما [ذهب] إليه أحمد بن حنبل؛ وهو [مقتضى] لقوله عليه السلام: «خمس صلوات كتبهنّ الله تعالى عليكم في اليوم والليلة فمن جاء بهنّ لم يُضع^{٥١} منهنّ شيئاً كان له عند الله عهد أن يدخل الجنة، ومن لم يأت بهنّ فليس له عند الله عهد، إن شاء أعدّبه وإن شاء أدخل الجنة.» وأيضاً من عصر النبي عليه السلام والصحابة والتابعين^{٥٢} / -رضوان الله عليهم أجمعين- إلى يومنا هذا كل من أتى بالشهادتين حكم بإسلام وصار أمناً أمواله وأولاده.

وأيضاً من مسائل الفروع: أنّ الكافر إذا أدّن يحكم بإسلامه لإتيانه بالشهادتين، فقد ظهر أن الإسلام في عرف الشرع ليس إلا الإتيان بالشهادتين؛ وللإمام الشافعي نكتة^{٥٣} في ذلك، وهي أن تارك الصلاة لو كفى ترك الصلاة لم يمكن عودته إلى الإسلام، وقد أمكن عودته إلى الإسلام بالإجماع.^{٥٤} بيان الملازمة أن عودته إلى الإسلام إمّا بالصلاة أو بغيرها. لا سبيل إلى الأوّل؛ لأنّ الصلاة لا تصحّ من الكافر، ولا إلى الثاني؛ لأنّ سبب الكفر ترك الصلاة، وهو باقٍ بحاله، وهذه النكتة [...] الزكاة والصوم والحج أيضاً.

وحلّ الإشكال أنّه كما يطلق المسلم ويراد به المسلم الكامل كقوله عليه السلام: «المسلم من سلّم المسلمون من لسانه ويده.»^{٥٥} كذلك يطلق المؤمن على الكامل في الإيمان كقوله تعالى: ﴿إِنَّمَا الْمُؤْمِنُونَ الَّذِينَ إِذَا ذَكَرَ اللَّهُ وَجِلَتْ قُلُوبُهُمْ...﴾^{٥٦} كذلك أطلق في هذا الحديث الإسلام وأريد به الإسلام الكامل، فاللزام أن من ترك إحدى العبادات لا يكون مسلماً كاملاً لا أنّه لا يكون مسلماً أصلاً، فزال الإشكال.

المبحث الثالث: الفرق بين الإيمان والإسلام على ما أفادنا رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم. لِمَا كان محصّل التعريفين أنّ الإيمان عبارة عمّا بطن من الاعتقادات الحقّة، والإسلام عمّا ظهر من الأعمال الصالحة. ولا شك أنّ^{٥٨}

٤٨ ١٢٠.

٤٩ في النص: نير.

٥٠ ١٢ب.

٥١ في النص: يضع.

٥٢ ١٣أ.

٥٣ في النص: انكتة.

٥٤ ١٣ب.

٥٥ صحيح البخاري، الإيمان ٤؛ صحيح مسلم، الإيمان ٦٤.

٥٦ ١٤أ.

٥٧ سورة الأنفال ٨/٢.

٥٨ ١٤ب.

الاعتقادات الحقّ يظهر آثارها على صفحات الأعمال، وآثار الاعتقادات الحق هي الأعمال الصالحة، فيكون كل مؤمن مسلماً، وليس كل مسلم مؤمناً؛ إذ المرء قد يكون مستمسكاً في الظاهر غير منقاد في الباطن؛ والله أعلم بالصواب.

من علم الفقه

اختلفت كلمة الأئمة في إشراف النية في الوضوء؛ فذهب أبو حنيفة -رحمه الله- إلى أنها ليست بشرط؛ والشافعي -رحمه الله- أنها شرط. لنا وجهان:

الأول: أنّ الماء خلق طهوراً. فإذا أصاب الأعضاء طهرها^{٥٩}/نوي التطهر أو لا، كما أنّ الماء لما كان مروياً في نفسه فإذا ورد المعدة أوى؛ وكما أنّ الطعام لما خلق مشبعاً أشبع سواء قصد أو لا.

والثاني: أنّ الوضوء ليس عبادة في نفسه؛ لأنّه للصلاة لقوله تعالى: ﴿إِذَا قُمْتُمْ إِلَى الصَّلَاةِ فَاغْسِلُوا وُجُوهَكُمْ...﴾^{٦٠} أي: للصلاة، كما إذا جاء الشتاء فتأهب أي: للشتاء. والعبادة لا يكون إلا لله^{٦١} تعالى، وما لا يكون عبادة لا يشترط فيه النية، كما في سائر المعاملات تنعقد بصريح الإيجاب والقبول من غير افتقار إلى النية. وأصحّ الشافعي -رحمه الله- بوجوه: أحدها: ^{٦٢}/ أنّ الوضوء عبادة وكل عبادة يشترط فيه النية. أمّا المقدمة الأولى^{٦٣} فلأنّ الوضوء محض تعبد؛ إذ أعضاء الطهارة ليست بنجسة، فليس إلا هو استعمال ماء طاهر في محلّ طاهر، فهو محض عبادة؛ ولأنّ فيه معنى القرية لقوله عليه السلام: «الوضوء على الوضوء نور على نور». ولا يعنى بالعبادة إلا ما يتقرّب به إلى الله تعالى. وأمّا المقدمة الثانية فلقوله^{٦٤} تعالى: ﴿وَمَا أَمْرًا إِلَّا لِيَعْبُدُوا اللَّهَ مُخْلِصِينَ لَهُ الدِّينَ...﴾^{٦٥} والإخلاص لا يحصل إلا بالقصد.

والجواب: ^{٦٦}/ أنّنا لا نسلّم أن أعضاء الطهارة ليست بنجسة، بل محكوم عليها بالنجاسة. وقد ورد في بعض الروايات عن أبي حنيفة -رحمه الله- أنّ المسعتمل فيها نجس. سلّمناه لكنّ الحدث يتحقق في الأعضاء، فاستعمال الماء إنّما هو لدفع الحدث، فلا يكون محض عبادة. وأمّا أنّ فيه قرينة فجوابه: أنّ الوضوء له اعتباران: أحدهما^{٦٧} أنّه عبادة وقرينة، ولا يكون كذلك إلا بالنية؛ والآخر أنّه طهارة، وهذا^{٦٨}/ الاعتبار وقع شرطاً للصلاة ومفتاحاً لها؛ وحصول الوضوء بهذا الاعتبار لا يتوقف على النية. وعند هذا نقول: إن أريد بقوله

٥٩ ١٥٠.

٦٠ سورة المائدة ٦/٥.

٦١ في النص: الله.

٦٢ ب.

٦٣ في النص: الأول.

٦٤ في النص: ولقوله.

٦٥ سورة البيّنة ٥/٩٨.

٦٦ ١٦٠.

٦٧ في النص: ح.

٦٨ ١٦٠.

«الوضوء قربة» أنه كذلك جميع الوضوء^{٦٩} فهو ممنوع، بل إنها يكون كذلك بالنية؛ وإن إريد أنه قربة في الجملة فمسلم؛ لكنّ اللازمة منه اعتبار النية فيه من تلك الحيثية، وهو غير مطلوب. والمطلوب اشتراط النية فيه مطلقاً وهو غير لازم.

وثانيها: أنه لو لم يشترط النية في الوضوء لم يشترط في التيمم، واللازم منتفٍ إجماعاً. بيان الملازمة أنّ التيمم بدل عن الوضوء، فإذا لم يشترط النية في الأصل^{٧٠}/فبالطريق الأولى^{٧١} أن لا يشترط في البدل.

والجواب: الفرق بأنّ الوضوء بالهاء وهو مطهّر والتيمم بالتراب وهو ليس بمطهّر. الهاء في حال إرادة الصلاة فلا بدّ من قصد الصلاة من التيمم حتى يكون [...] مطهراً؛ وقصد الصلاة من التيمم قصد التيمم للصلاة وهو نية التيمم. ووجه آخر: أنّ التيمم يُنبئ عن القصد بالنصّ، وهو قوله تعالى: ﴿فَتَيَمَّمُوا صَعِيداً طَيِّباً...﴾^{٧٢}؛ وهو يدلّ على اعتماد النية في التيمم بخلاف الوضوء؛ لأنّه غسل ومسح، وهما يتحققان بدون النية.

^{٧٣}/وثالثها: أنّ الوضوء إنّما هو ماء [يؤتى] به للصلاة، ولا يكون الوضوء للصلاة إلا إذا كان بإتيان للصلاة؛ وإنّما يكون كذلك إذا قصد الصلاة من الوضوء. وفي ذلك قصد الوضوء للصلاة وهو نية الوضوء. والجواب: أنّ الوضوء للصلاة في نفسه أصل^{٧٤} وضع الشرع وإن لم يقصد الوضوء للصلاة.

من أصول الفقه

المجاز واقع في القرآن؛ لأنّ قوله تعالى: ﴿ليس كمثله شيء﴾^{٧٥} مجاز؛ لأنّه موضوع لنفي مثل المثل، والمراد نفي المثل. وفيه طريقان: الأول: أنّه^{٧٦}/لا يجوز أن يكون المراد نفي مثل المثل؛ لأنّ المقصود من الآية بيان التوحيد؛ إذ الأئمة تمسكوا بها فيه؛ ونفي مثل المثل لا يستلزم نفي المثل. وهو ضعيف؛ لأنّ نفي مثل المثل مستلزم لنفي المثل لأمرين: أحدهما: أنّه لو انتفى مثل المثل لانتفى المثل؛ لأنّه لو تحقّق المثل والله موجود لزم تحقّق مثل المثل؛ لأنّ الله تعالى يكون مثلاً لمثله؛ ضرورة أنّ الماهية من الطرفين، والتقدير انتفاء مثل المثل، هذا خُلف.

فإن قلت: تحقّق مثل المثل^{٧٧}/إنّما يلزم من مجموع، وهو وجود الله تعالى وتحقّق المثل. وانتفاؤه لا يستلزم

٦٩ في النص: الوضوء.

٧٠.أ.

٧١ في النص: الأول.

٧٢ سورة النساء ٤/٤٤.

٧٣ ب.

٧٤ في النص: بأصل.

٧٥ سورة الشورى ٤٢/١١.

٧٦.أ.

٧٧ ب.

إلا انتفاء ذلك المجموع، وانتفاء المجموع لا يستلزم انتفاء الجزء المعين، فلا يلزم انتفاء المثل، فنقول: إذا^{٧٨} انتفى المجموع فإمّا أن يكون انتفاؤه بانتفاء^{٧٩} هذا الجزء أو بانتفاء ذلك الجزء، لكنّ انتفاؤه بانتفاء^{٨٠} الله تعالى محالّ، فتعيّن أن يكون انتفاؤه بانتفاء^{٨١} المثل وهو المطلوب.

وثانيها: أنّه لو انتفى مثل المثل لا تنفى المثل؛ لأنّه لو تحقّق المثل، ومثل الله تعالى مثل مثله فيلزم^{٨٢} / تحقّق مثل المثل

الطريق الثاني: وهو الوجه أنّه لو كان معنى الآية انتفاء مثل المثل لزم انتفاؤه تعالى وهو محالّ؛ لأنّ الله تعالى مثل مثله، والمقدّر انتفاء مثل المثل فينبغي^{٨٣} أن يكون المراد انتفاء المثل وهو المطلوب؛ لا يقال: ^{٨٤} لا نسلم صدق «الله مثل مثله» وإمّا يصدق لو كان مثله موجوداً؛ لأنّنا نقول: صدق القضية ليس يتوقّف إلاّ على وجود ذات الموضوع، وصدق وصف المحمول عليه في نفس الأمر، وهما يتحقّقان هنا. وأمّا وجود^{٨٥} / متعلّق المحمول فلا توقّف للقضية عليه.

من علم الكلام

أطبق المتكلّمون على أن الله تعالى متكلّم، لكنّ الكلام إمّا حسيّ، وهو الألفاظ والحروف، وإمّا نفسي، وهو ما يدلّ عليه الألفاظ. والعمترلة أثبتوا الكلام المحسوس وقالوا: معنى كونه متكلّمًا أنّه موجد للحروف والأصوات الدالّة على المعاني في أجسامٍ مخصوصةٍ من ملك أو نبيّ أو غيرهما. والأشاعرة وغيرهم من أهل [السنة] لا ينازعونهم في هذا المعنى لذهابهم إلى حدوث الأصوات^{٨٦} / والحروف وتجويزهم حلّتها في الأجسام، لكنّهم قالوا: معنى كونه متكلّمًا أنّه موصوف بالكلام النفسي. والمعتزلة ينازعونهم أوّلاً في أنّ معاني ألفاظ كلام؛ وثانياً: في اتّصاف الله تعالى به؛ وثالثاً في قدمه.

فنقول: أمّا أنّ المعنى كلام؛ فلقول الشاعر: «إنّ الكلام لفي^{٨٧} الفؤاد / وإنما جعل اللسان على الفؤاد دليلاً^{٨٨}». فإن قلت: لو كان المعنى هو الكلام لم يكن بين العلم والكلام مغايرة؛ إذ المعاني ليست إلاّ الصور

٧٨ في النص: إذ.

٧٩ في النص: وبانتفاء.

٨٠ في النص: وبانتفاء.

٨١ في النص: وبانتفاء.

٨٢ أ.

٨٣ في النص: فتعالى.

٨٤ في النص: لأنّ تعالى.

٨٥ ب.

٨٦ أ.

٨٧ في النص: نفي.

٨٨ في النص: ولعلا.

العقلية، فنقول: ربّما يتكلم^{٨٩}/بألفاظ ويعتقد خلاف مدلولها كما اعتقد^{٩٠} سلب القيام عن زيد وقيل: «زيد قائم». فالمعلوم أنّ نسبة القيام ليست واقعة، ومعنى اللفظ أنّ نسبة القيام واقع، فيكون المعنى مغايراً للمعلوم. وأمّا اتّصاف الله تعالى به فلا أنّ قوله تعالى: ﴿وَكَلَّمَ اللَّهُ مُوسَى تَكْلِيمًا﴾^{٩٢}. وصف الله تعالى بالكلام؛ فهو إمّا الكلام الحسيّ أو النفسي. لا سبيل إلى الأوّل؛ لأنّه حادث. ومن^{٩٣} المحال أن يكون الله تعالى محلاً للحوادث، فتعيّن الثاني وهو المطلوب. وقد علم منه قدم^{٩٤}/الكلام. واعلم أنّ هذه المسئلة طويلة الأذنان بلغت في الإشكال إلى حيث سمّي الفنّ باسمها. هذه الرسالة لا يحتمل بيان جميع مباحثها، فاقصرنا على هذا القدر.

ومن علم الخلاف

عرّف النقص الإجمالي: بأنّه منع الدليل بعد إتمامه بناء على التخلّف. ورد^{٩٥} عليه أنّ إتمام الدليل ليس معناه إلّا تسليم الخصم جميع مقدماته؛ فبعد التسليم كيف يسمع إنكاره؟ وجوابه: أنّ هذا المنع لما كان مستنداً إلى التخلّف الذي يدلّ على فساد مقدّمة لا على التعيّن سمع في الاصطلاح^{٩٦}/وإن لم يكن للخصم توجيه المنع على المقدمات على^{٩٧} التعيّن. [هذه] نكتة خلافية من عندنا: أحد الأمرين^{٩٨} ثابت؛ لأنّ أحد الافتراقين: إمّا أن يكون متحقّقاً وإمّا أن لا يكون، وأياً ما كان يلزم أحد الأمرين: إمّا أن يتحقّق أحد الافتراقين فظاهر، وإمّا أن لم يتحقّق فليتحقّق شمول الوجود في الجملة، فإنّه لولا شمول الوجود في الجملة على تقدير عدم الافتراق يتحقّق عدم شمول الوجود دائماً على تقدير عدم الافتراق، فيلزم تحقّق الافتراق دائماً على تقدير شمول^{٩٩}/الوجود، لكنّ الافتراق وشمول الوجود متنافيان، ولمن المحال تحقّق أحد المتنافيين على تقدير الآخر وإلّا لكانا متنافيين وغير متنافيين، هذا خلف. وبعبارة أخرى: إمّا أن يكون شمول الوجود بين الأمرين متحقّقاً أو أن لا^{١٠٠} يكون؛ وأياً ما كان يتحقّق أحدهما إمّا على تقدير شمول الوجود فظاهر، وإمّا على تقدير عدم شمول الوجود فليتحقّق الافتراق في الجملة، وإلّا ليتحقّق عدم الافتراق دائماً على تقدير عدم شمول الوجود، فيلزم^{١٠١}/تحقّق شمول الوجود على تقدير الافتراق وإنّه محال لما تبيّن.

٨٩ ب.٢٠.

٩٠ في النص: ان عنده.

٩١ في النص: وفقول.

٩٢ سورة النساء/٤/١٦٤

٩٣ في النص: مكررة.

٩٤ أ.٢١.

٩٥ في النص: فوده.

٩٦ ب.٢١.

٩٧ في النص: ما.

٩٨ في النص: الأمري.

٩٩ أ.٢٢.

١٠٠ في النص: لا أن.

١٠١ ب.٢٢.

القسم الثانی

في

العلوم العقلية

> من علم الهندسة <

من كتاب أقليدس: قد برهن في المقالة الثالثة أنّ الزاوية التي يحيط بها العمود الخارج من طرف القطر ومحيط الدائرة أصغر الزوايا المستقيمة^{١٠٢} الخطّين. ويرد عليه أن تلك الزاوية تنقسم بخطّ مستقيم بين المحيط والعمود انفراجاً؛ فلتعيّن على المحيط نقطة وعلى العمود أخرى، فنصل بينهما^{١٠٣}/ بخطّ مستقيم على مقتضى المصادر. ولا خفاء في أنّ ذلك الخطّ تقبل الانقسام، فنصل بين نقطة الزاوية ونقطة من نقط ذلك الخطّ، وحينئذ يلزم انقسام كلّ^{١٠٤} الزاوية بذلك الخطّ المستقيم.

وأيضاً لو توهمنا أنّ العمود يتحرّك حتى يرسم القوس من دائرة، ولا شكّ أنّه يمرّ بكلّ نقطة من نقط الخطّ الواصل؛ وحينئذ يكون خطّاً مستقيماً. وإذا تبين انقسام الزاوية بخطّ مستقيم كان هناك زاوية^{١٠٥}/ أصغر من الزاوية الأولى؛ ضرورة أنّ الجزء أصغر من الكلّ.

والجواب: أنّه إذا فرض خطّ مستقيم فلا بدّ أن يقطع محيط الدائرة؛ لأنّه لو سامته لكان عموداً على القطر بحكم شكل «يه» من هذه المقالة. وكنا فرضنا خطّاً آخر خارجاً من طرف القطر عموداً عليه، فيلزم تساوي الزاويتين، فيكون الكلّ مساوياً للجزء، هذا خلفّ.

من علم الحساب

العدد قسماً: مجذور وهو الذي يتولّد من ضرب عدد في مثله، ويسمى جذراً كالأربعة^{١٠٦}/ والتسعة؛ وغير المجذور وهو الذي يقابله كالخمسة والسبعة^{١٠٧} ونحوهما. وربما سمّي المجذور مُنْطَقاً، وغير المجذور أصمّ. ولقائل^{١٠٨} أن يقول: لا عدد أصمّ؛ لأنّ كلّ عدد يمكن أن يعمل منه مسطح؛ وقد تبين في أقليدس أنّه يمكن أن يعمل مربّعاً مساوياً لكل سطح فيكون كلّ سطح لو جذر فيكون كلّ عدد له جذر.

وجوابه: أنّ المراد بغير المجذور عدد لا يمكن للبشر استخراج جذره؛ فإنّ محاسبي العالم لو حاولوا

١٠٢ في النص: مستقيمين.

١٠٣ ٢٣أ.

١٠٤ في النص: بكل.

١٠٥ ٢٣ب.

١٠٦ ٢٤أ.

١٠٧ في النص: التسعة.

١٠٨ في النص: ويقابل.

استخراج^{١٠٩}/ جذر الخمسة وافنوا مدد أعمادهم في العمل لما أمكنهم ذلك يزداد الكسور المضافة إلى الصحيح من الجذر أنواعاً، لكنّه لا ينتهي إلى الصواب أصلاً. ولذلك كان بعض الحكماء يواظب في إمداده على مراد^{١١٠} هذه الكلمة: «سبحان من يعلم جذر العدد الأصم»، «سبحان من يدري نسبة القطر إلى الدائرة».

من علم الهيئة

مركز تدوير القمر في دورة واحدة له ترييعان مع الشمس واجتماع واستقبال^{١١١}/ لأنّ مركز الشمس بعد الاجتماع متوسط دائماً بين المركز والأوج؛ ولهذا سمّي حركة المركز البعد المضعف؛ لأنّ ابتداء حركته من الأوج وبعد مركز التدوير منه - أعني: مقدار حركته - وبعده عن الشمس مضعفاً. فإذا فرضنا الثالثة كائنة في نقطة من البروج فهناك الاجتماع متحقّق؛ ثمّ إذا تحرّكت فالمركز بسرعة حركته سبق الشمس حتى يقبل إلى الخضيض بعيداً عنها ربع دور، وهناك ترييع. ثمّ إذا بعد عنها^{١١٢}/ نصف دور يكون في الأوج على نظر الاستقبال، ثمّ يتقارب من الشمس إلى أن يبقى بينه وبينها ربع دور، هناك الترييع في الخضيض مرّة أخرى؛ وهكذا يتقارب إلى الاجتماع فيكون للمركز في دورة واحدة اجتماع واستقبال وترييع بعد الاجتماع وترييع بعد الاستقبال؛ هذا ما ذكره.

وفيه نظر من وجهين: أحدهما^{١١٣}: أنّ هذه الأنظار الأربعة تتمّ في دورة واحدة،^{١١٤}/ فإنّ الشمس تتحرّك في زمان دورة مركز تدوير القمر برجاً، فالاجتماع الثاني لا يتحقّق إلا بعد قطع المركز ذلك البرج، فهي إمّا تتمّ بدورة برج. وثانيهما: أنّ الأوج والمركز لما فرض ابتداء حركتهما من نقطة من البروج لم يكن مقدار حركة المركز إلّا البعد الذي منه إلى النقطة لا إلى الأوج. والجواب: أمّا عن الأوّل: فبأنّ المراد بالدورة^{١١٥} دورة الشكل لا دورة الحركة؛ وأمّا عن الثاني: فبأنّ^{١١٦}/ نقطة البروج مبدأ حركة المركز بالقياس إلى البروج. وأمّا بالنسبة إلى مدار الخارج فالمبدأ هو الأوج.

من المناظر

إنّا نرى حيث لا ضوء سواداً مع أنّه ليس في الخارج سواد، فإنّ الظلمة على ما تحقّق وتقرّر هي عدم الضوء عمّا من شأنه أن يكون مضيئاً والعدم لا مطابق له في الخارج، فلا بدّ من بيان هذا الغلط وإماطة ما فيه

١٠٩ ٢٤ب.

١١٠ في النص: يراد.

١١١ ٢٥أ.

١١٢ ٢٥ب.

١١٣ في النص: اح.

١١٤ ٢٦أ.

١١٥ في النص: بالدور.

١١٦ ٢٦ب.

من الغلط.

فلنقدّم أمرين يفتقر إليهما^{١١٧} في بيان: الأوّل البصر إذا^{١١٨}/ قابله مبصر يرد صورته على السموات الشعاعية إلى سطح الرطوبة الجليدية، وينطبع فيها، فيتفطن النفس لها مستدلاً بها على أنّ لها مثلاً في الخارج في جميع معانيها، وأمر النفس مستمرّ على ذلك بحيث صادر لك ملكة لها، ويصدر عنها الحكم بوجود مطابق حالة الآلة بسرعة.

الثاني: أنّ آلة الإحساس يجب أن لا يكون متكيفة بالكيفيات، فإنّ الرطوبة التي في الغم، وهي آلة الذوق^{١١٩}/ ليست متكيفة بالكيفيات المذوقة؛ وكذلك آلة السمع لا يتكيف بالكيفيات؛ وإلاّ لها ميّز بين طرفي النقيض. فإنّ الإحساس إنّما هو بانفعالاته عن المحسوس. فلو كان للرطوبة الجليدية كيفة مبصرة لم تنفعل عن الكيفيات المماثلة فلم يدرکہا. إذا تمهد هذا فنقول: البصر إذا فتح في الظلمة أجهانه، ومعلوم من شأن النفس أنّ كلما انفتح البصر لاحظت آلتها^{١٢٠}/ حاکمة بوجوه مثال حالتها - أعني: عدم الضوء واللون [...]. بحالة إدراك السواد- فحكمت بأنّ في الخارج^{١٢١} سواد كما تحسّ بها عند التغميص.

من علم المنطق

ذكر الشيخ في الشفاء أنّ المقدم في الشرطيّة المتصلة إن لم يكن ممتنعاً فقد يكون اتصال التالي به على سبيل الموافقة، وقد يكون على سبيل اللزوم؛ وإن كان ممتنعاً فإن تبعه^{١٢٢} الباطل فإنّما يتبعه على سبيل^{١٢٣}/ اللزوم فقط؛ وإن تبعه الحقّ فقد يوافقته على أنّ الحقّ يكون موجوداً في نفسه مع كون الباطل مفروضاً، وقد يلزمه لكن لا يكون حقاً في نفسه بل من جهة الإلزام. فإذا قلنا: إن كانت الخمسة زوجاً كان عدداً^{١٢٤} فهو قول حقّ حين كان هذا^{١٢٥} إلزام القائل به وليس حقاً في نفس الأمر؛ وذلك لأنّ المحقّق لهذه القضية ونظيرها قياس قد حذف منه مقدمة. وتحليله أنّه إذا وضع^{١٢٦}/ أحد: أنّ الخمسة زوج وكان حقاً: «إنّ كلّ زوج عدد» فيلزم ذلك الواضع أنّ الخمسة عدد، وليس يلزم تسليم ذلك الحقّ على من سلم ذلك الباطل بل يجب أن يسلم مع محال آخر وهو أن ليس كلّ وزج عدداً؛ وذلك لأنّه لا شيء من العدد بخمسة زوج فلا

١١٧ في النص. لإليها.

١١٨ ٢٧أ.

١١٩ ٢٧ب.

١٢٠ ٢٨أ.

١٢١ عبارة «بأنّ في الخارج» مكررة في النص.

١٢٢ في النص: تبع.

١٢٣ ٢٨ب.

١٢٤ في النص: عدوا.

١٢٥ في النص: الانا.

١٢٦ ٢٩أ.

شيء من الخمسة الزوج بعده،^{١٢٧} فلا يكون كل زوج عدداً؛ وأيضاً لو كان قولنا: كلما كانت الخمسة زوجاً كان عدداً حقاً يجب أن يكون^{١٢٨}/قولنا: ما هو خمسة زوج فهو عدد حقاً في نفسه، وحين كان هذا باطلاً كانت المتصلة التي في قوته باطل.

ونحن نقول: لا نسلم أن قولنا لا شيء من العدد بخمسة زوج يصدق على ذلك التقدير. فإن قيل: هذا المنع لا يضرنا؛ لأنّ الصادق في نفس الأمر، إما أن يجب صدقه على التقدير المحال أو لا. فإن وجب يتم الكلام، وإلا بطل الملازمة. لو تحقق^{١٢٩}/الملازمة لوجب صدق الصادق في نفس الأمر على ذلك التقدير^{١٣٠} المحال. فنقول: الصادق في نفس الأمر إما أن يجب صدقه على التقدير المحال أو لا؛ فإن وجب صحّت الملازمة، وإلا بطل كلامكم بالكلية. ونقول: أيضاً لا نسلم أن المتصلة في قوّة الحملية وإتّما يكون كذلك أن لو لم يستدع الممكنة الموجبة وجود^{١٣١} الموضوع، أو استدعى المتصل الموجبة وجود^{١٣٢} المقدم وهو^{١٣٣}/ممنوع.

من العلم الإلهي

قال الشيخ في الإشارات: أن الصورة ليست علّة للهوى على الإطلاق، وإن كانت علّة [...] ضرب من الشركة، فإنّها لو كانت علّة لها على الإطلاق وجب انعدام الهوى عند انعدامها؛ لكنّ الهوى مستمرّة الوجود^{١٣٤} لا تنعدم بانعدامها.

وفيه نظر؛ لأنّ هذا البيان يدلّ على أن الصورة لا يكون شريكة للعلّة.^{١٣٥} والجواب: أن الشريكة للعلّة هي الصورة^{١٣٦}/المطلقة لا الشخصية، وهي مستمرّة الوجود^{١٣٧}.

فإن قيل: إن الصورة التي هي شريكة للعلّة، إمّا أن تكون موجودة أو لا. لا سبيل إلى الثاني^{١٣٨} فتعيّن الأوّل. وكل موجود فهو مشخّص، فيكون شريك العلّة مشخّصاً. فنقول: إتّما وإن كانت مشخّصة لكن لا مدخل للتشخيص في العليّة بل شريك العلّة ليس إلاّ طبيعة الصورة^{١٣٩} من حيث هي.

١٢٧ في النص: بعده.

١٢٨ ب. ٢٩.

١٢٩ أ. ٣٠.

١٣٠ في النص: تقدير.

١٣١ في النص: وجوه.

١٣٢ في النص: وجوه.

١٣٣ ب. ٣٠.

١٣٤ في النص: الوجوه.

١٣٥ في النص: العلي.

١٣٦ أ. ٣١.

١٣٧ في النص: الوجوه.

١٣٨ في النص: لثاني.

١٣٩ في النص: الصور.

فإن قيل: الموجود في الخارج ليس إلا الهويّة^{١٤٠}/الشخصيّة، وليس في الخارج ماهيّة مطلقّة عرض لها التّشخّص حتّى يكون في الخارج أمران: الماهيّة المطلقة والتّشخّص. فيمكن أن يقال بعليّة الماهيّة المطلقة وعدم عليّة المشخّصة، بل ليس فيه الأمر الواحد^{١٤١}، وهو الهويّة الشخصيّة، وهي إن كانت علّة لا تكون مطلقة. والجواب: أنّ المراد بعليّة الصورة المطلقة أنّه لا بدّ للهويّة في كلّ [حين] من الأحيان [من] صورة شخصيّة تلحق، فشريكة العلّة هي إحدى الصور الشخصيّة^{١٤٢}/لا على التّعين؛ فإنّ الهويّة لا يحتاج إلى إحداها^{١٤٣} من حيث هي معيّنة.^{١٤٤}

من العلم الطّبيعي

الكمّ لا يقبل^{١٤٥} الشدّة والضعف؛ لأنّ الخطّ لا يكون أخطّ من آخر؛ والزمان لا يكون أشدّ زمنيّة من زمان آخر؛ وهكذا في جميع أنواع الكمّ حتّى لا يكون إثبات الكليّ بالجزئيّ.

قال الشيخ شهاب الدين [السهروردي]: أن هذا ليس بمعلوم،^{١٤٦} فإنّ الشدّة هي الزيادة في الذات، والضعف هو النقصان في الذات، وهنا خطّ أطول^{١٤٧}/من خطّ، وزمان أطول من آخر، فالكمّ يقبل الشدّة والضعف. غاية ما في الباب أنّه لا يقال في العرف: إنه أشدّ زمنيّة أو خطيّة، لكنّه لا يكون كذلك في نفس الأمر.

ونحن نقول: فرق بين الزيادة والنقصان وهي الشدّة والضعف، فإنّ الشدّة حالة تعرض للشيء يكون كلّ جزء يفرض منه على تلك الحالة، مثلاً: البياض عرض له ابتداء وانتهاء. والاشتداد: التّرفي^{١٤٨}/من ابتداء الفرض^{١٤٩} إلى انتهائه؛ والضعف هو الانحطاط، فإن كان الجسم على مرتبة من مراتب الاشتداد يكون^{١٥٠} كلّ جزء يفرض منه على تلك المرتبة من التّرفي بخلاف الزيادة؛ [فإنه] ليس^{١٥١} كلّ جزء يفرض فيه تلك [على تلك المرتبة من] الزيادة؛ وأيضاً النوع لا يبقى بالاشتداد، فإنّه إذا اشتدّ يوجد فيه نوع آخر غير الذي كان، بخلاف الزيادة، فإنّ طبيعة النوع لا يتغيّر فيه. غاية ما في الباب أنّه انضمّ^{١٥٢}/إليه شيء آخر من ذلك النوع، ويتفرّع على الوجه الأوّل وجه آخر من الفرق وهو أنّه لا شكّ أنّ بين الشدّيد والضعيف نسبةً مخصوصةً لها يصحّ أن

١٤٠ ٣١ب.

١٤١ في النص: ليس لها الأمر واحد.

١٤٢ ٣٢أ.

١٤٣ في النص: أحدها.

١٤٤ في النص: من حيث بها معينة.

١٤٥ في النص: معنا.

١٤٦ في النص: لمعلوم.

١٤٧ ٣٢ب.

١٤٨ ٣٣أ.

١٤٩ في النص: العرض.

١٥٠ في النص: ويكون.

١٥١ في النص: فليس.

١٥٢ ٣٣ب.

يقال: إنَّ هذا شديد وذاك ضعيف، وهذه النسبة محفوظة في أجزاء الشديد والضعيف، فنسبة كلِّ جزء يفرض في الشديد إلى جزء يفرض في الضعيف نسبة الشديد إلى الضعيف، بخلاف الزيادة، فإنه ليس $103/$ نسبة كلِّ جزء يفرض في الزائد إلى كلِّ جزء يفرض في الناقص نسبة الزائد إلى الناقص فظهر الفرق وحصص الحق.

من <علم> الطبِّ

من كلام الشيخ في الكليات: إن أعدل أشخاص أصناف الإنسان أقرب الأشخاص المعتدل الحقيقي لا بمعنى^{١٥٤} أن له مزاجاً وحدانياً إذا نسب إلى المعتدل الحقيقي فهو أقرب إليه من سائر أمزجة الأشخاص الأخر الوحداية، فإن ذلك بين الكذب؛ بل $100/$ بمعنى أن أعضاء الحارّة والباردة والرطبة واليابسة إذا اجتمعت وامتزجت وتكافأت^{١٥٦} حصل من الكلِّ كيفيةً متشابهةً هي أقرب إلى الاعتدال الحقيقي من الكيفيات المتشابهة التي يحصل من اجتماع أعضاء الأشخاص الأخرى^{١٥٧} وامتزاجها.

وفيه نظر؛ لأنَّ هذا كلام يستلزم^{١٥٨} انتفاء المزاج الشخصي في الخارج؛ إذ هذا الإنسان إنما يكون أقرب إلى المعتدل الحقيقي بحسب $109/$ قرب مزاجه^{١٦٠} منه، وقد يعتبر في مزاجه^{١٦١} [...] أعضائه في الكيفيات الأربع، ولا شكَّ أن امتزاج أعضائه بعضها مع بعض حتى يتكافأ ويحصل منه مزاج لا تحقّق له في الخارج. ونقول أيضاً: اعتبر في المزاج كونه كيفيةً مشابهة، ولا خفاء في المغايرة بين أمزجة الأعضاء، فلا يكون للشخص كيفيةً متشابهة، فلا يكون مزاجه الشخصي موجوداً في الخارج، ويلزم^{١٦٢} منه انعدام المزاج النوعي والصنفي؛ لأنَّ أحدهما لو تحقّق لكان في ضمن أحد حدودهما الذي هو المزاج الشخصي.

من علم الأخلاق

علم الأخلاق متشابه لعلم الطبِّ؛ فكما أن للبدن صحّة ومرضاً، كذلك النفس صحّة ومرض. وصحّة النفس بالفضائل ومرضاها بالرزائل. وكما أن علم الطبِّ يشتمل على حفظ الصحّة وإزاحة المرض، كذلك هذا العلم يشتمل $113/$ حفظ الفضائل وإزاحة الرزائل. وكما أن للأبدان أطباءً كذلك للنفس أطباءً، وهم

١٥٣ ١٣٤.أ.

١٥٤ في النص: للمعنى.

١٥٥ ب.٣.

١٥٦ في النص: تكافأ.

١٥٧ في النص: الأخر.

١٥٨ في النص: سيلزم.

١٥٩ ١٣٥.أ.

١٦٠ في النص: مزاج.

١٦١ في النص: مزاجية.

١٦٢ ب.٣٥.

١٦٣ ١٣٦.أ.

الأنبياء عليهم السلام بما مهّدوا من الشرائع، والحكماء بما دونوا من قواعد هذا الفنّ. وكما أنّ صحّة البدن يحفظ بالمشاكل الملائم والمرض يرفع بالمعناو، كذلك حفظ صحّة النفس مقصور على حفظ الفضائل بأن يتعهّد رعاية الأخلاق الجميلة ولا يهمل^{١٦٤}/أمر النفس السبعيّة والبهيمة حتّى لا يعود إلى طبيعتها الخاصّة، ولا تحرك الشهوة والغضب بالتذكّر والتخيّل. وإن اتّفق خطورهما بالبال فليخطر نقائصها بالبال لتكرهها النفس، وإن تhtar من تخالطه وتصاحبه فلا شيء أشدّ تأثيراً من الجليس والخليل، وتحتز عن مخالطة الأشرار وعن استماع كلامهم؛ وكذلك مرض النفس^{١٦٥}/يعالج بالصدّ، فيعالج الجهل بالتعلّم، والبخل بالتسخي، والكبر بالتواضع، والشرة بالكفّ عن [...] . وعلى هذا القياس، والله أعلم.

القسم الثالث في العلوم العربيّة

< من علم الأدب >

علم الأدب ما يعصم مراعاته عن الخطأ في اللغة العربيّة. ولما كانت اللغة^{١٦٦} العربيّة إما مفردات أو مركّبات. والنظر في المفردات إمّا في أنفسها أو في أحوالها. والبحث عن المركّبات^{١٦٧}/إمّا من حيث النظم أو لا. وما لا^{١٦٨} يكون كذلك إمّا عن تركيبها أو عن فوائدها أو عن دلالتها أنفسهم.

علم الأدب إلى ستّة أقسام: فالعلم المتكفّل بالأوّل علم اللغة، والثاني الصرف، والثالث العروض، والرابع علم النحو، والخامس علم المعاني، والسادس علم البيان. فهذه أصول العلوم العربيّة. وأمّا بواقيتها مثل علم الخطّ والإنشاء والمحاضرات،^{١٦٩} فهي فروع وتوابع لها؛ فلنتعرض الأصول الخمسة، فإنّ علم اللغة بمعزل عن نظرنا فيها نحن بصدده.

فمن علم الصرف

اعلم أنّ الحرف الأصلي عبارة عن الحرف الذي يبقى في تصاريف الكلمة إما تحقّقاً أو تقديراً، والزائد

١٦٤ ٣٦.ب.

١٦٥ ٣٧.أ.

١٦٦ في النص: اللغات.

١٦٧ ٣٧.ب.

١٦٨ في النص: مادة.

١٦٩ في النص: المجاورات.

ما لا يكون كذلك. ونسبة الحروف الأصلية إلى تصاريف الكلمة نسبة الهيولى التي توارد^{١٧٠} عليها الصور إلى الأجسام الكائنة الفاسدة؛ فكما أن الهيولى يجب وجودها في الأجسام، كذلك الحروف الأصلية مادة لما يبنى من الأبينة المختلفة، لا بد من وجودها فيها؛ كما أن الضادّ والراء والباء موجودة في ضرب، يضرب، ضارب، مضروب إلى [غير] ذلك من الأبينة. ثم إن حروف العلة لكثرة دورانها في الكلام^{١٧١}/يزاد^{١٧٢} في الثلاثي فصاعداً زيادة مطّردة. فإذا رأيت ثلاثة أحرف أصول فصاعداً وفيها ألف أو واو أو ياء فاحكم عليها بالزيادة كنحو عجوز وقضيب وكتاب؛ لأنها مأخوذة من العجز والقضب والكتب؛ هذا الحكم الكليّ قد استنبط من استقراء كلام العرب فليكن على ما ذكر منك فإنه دقيقة أنيقة.

من علم النحو

الفرق بين^{١٧٣}/الحال المنتقلة وبين الحال المؤكّدة أنها ثابتة لذي الحال ما دام موجوداً والمنتقلة ينتقل ذو الحال عنها. فإذا قلت: «زيدٌ أبوك عَطُوفاً». يكون العطف متحققاً ما دام ذات الأب موجوداً بخلاف ما إذا قلت: «جاءني زيد قائماً»، فإن القيام على خطر من الانتقال. فإن قيل: لو صحّ هذا الفرق لفسد حدّ الحال بأنتها بيان هيئة الفاعل أو المفعول؛^{١٧٤}/لأنّ المراد بها إما الهيئة حالّ الفاعلية أو المفعولية أو مطلقاً. فإن كان المراد الثاني لم يكن مانعاً لورود الصفة؛ وإن كان المراد الأوّل لم يكن جامعاً لخروج المؤكّدة عنه؛ لأنّ الحال المؤكّدة كما ذكرتم ثابتة لذي الحال ما دام موجوداً، فلا يتقيّد بثبوتها بزمان الفعل.

فنقول: لا نسلم أن الحال المؤكّدة لو ثبت لذي الحال ما دام موجوداً^{١٧٥}/لم يكن مقيّداً بزمان الفعل. وإنما يكون كذلك^{١٧٦} أن لو لم يكن فعليّ مثل يوجد أو يتحقّق، فإنّ قولك: «زيد أبوك عَطُوفاً». تقديره: «زيد أبوك يوجد عَطُوفاً»، فالعطف متقيّد بزمان الفعل - أعني: الوجود-؛ إذ العطف حال العدم محال.

من علم المعاني

كأنك^{١٧٧} قد اختلج في قلبك أن تحرّر من الظواهر زواهر الجواهر ويخلو عليك عرائس نفائس المعاني^{١٧٨}/ من وراء غطاء المعاني قائلاً: ما بال علماء المعاني يحكمون بفسادها «ما أنا ضربت زيدا ولا أحد غيري» وصحّة «ما ضربت أنا زيدا ولا أحد غيري» مع توافقها في المعنى وتغايرهما في المبنى. فأبرز في شعار الذوق السليم،

١٧٠ في النص: تتولده.

١٧١ أ.

١٧٢ في النص: يراذ.

١٧٣ ب.

١٧٤ أ.

١٧٥ ب.

١٧٦ في النص: وإنما لم يكن.

١٧٧ في النص: كأي بك.

١٧٨ أ.

وَحُمٌ فِي حَوْمَاتِ الطَّبَعِ الْمُسْتَقِيمِ، وَاسْتَمِعْ: أَمَا فِسَادُ الْمِثَالِ الْأَوَّلِ فَلَوْجِهَيْنِ: الْأَوَّلُ: أَنَّ قَوْلَ الْعَامِلِ «مَا أَنَا ضَرَبْتُ زَيْدًا» يَدُلُّ عَلَى إِثْبَاتِ الضَّرْبِ لِغَيْرِهِ؛ وَقَوْلُهُ «وَلَا^{١٧٩}/أَحَدٌ غَيْرِي» يَدُلُّ عَلَى نَفْيِهِ عَنْهُ، فَجَاءَ التَّنَاقُضُ. الثَّانِي: أَنَّهُ يَدُلُّ عَلَى السَّلْبِ الْكَلْبِيِّ، وَتَقْدِيمِ الْفَاعِلِ عَلَى الْفِعْلِ -لَأَنَّهُ يَدُلُّ عَلَى وَجُودِ الْفِعْلِ فِي الْوَاقِعِ- دَالٌّ عَلَى الْإِيجَابِ الْجَزْئِيِّ. وَأَمَا صِحَّةُ الْمِثَالِ الثَّانِي فَلَأَنَّهُ وَإِنْ أَكَّدَ الْفَاعِلُ فِيهِ لَا يَدُلُّ عَلَى ثُبُوتِ الضَّرْبِ لِلْغَيْرِ حَتَّى يُلْزَمَ التَّنَاقُضُ، فَيَكُونُ صَحِيحًا.

من علم البيان

الفرق بين المجاز والكناية ينحل من وجهين: أحدهما: ^{١٨٠} «أَنَّ^{١٨١}/الكناية لا ينافي إرادة الحقيقة بلفظها، فيجوز في قولك «فلان طويل النجاد» أن تريد طول نجاهه مع إرادة طول قامته. والمجاز ينافي ذلك، فيمتنع في قولك «في الحمام أسد» أن تريد معنى الأسد، فإنَّ في المجاز قرينة تُعَايِدُ إِرَادَةَ الْحَقِيقَةِ. وَثَانِيهَا: أَنَّ بِنَاءَ الْمَجَازِ عَلَى الْإِنْتِقَالِ مِنَ الْمَلْزُومِ إِلَى الْمَلْزُومِ، وَبِنَاءِ الْكِنَايَةِ عَلَى الْإِنْتِقَالِ مِنَ الْمَلْزُومِ إِلَى الْمَلْزُومِ.

وفيها نظر: أَمَا الْأَوَّلُ فَلَأَنَّ الْكِنَايَةَ لَوْ لَمْ^{١٨٢}/تَنَافَ إِرَادَةُ الْحَقِيقَةِ لِحَازِ إِرَادَةَ الْحَقِيقَةِ مَعَهَا، وَحِينَئِذٍ يُلْزَمُ اسْتِعْمَالُ اللَّفْظِ فِي مَعْنِيَيْنِ: حَقِيقِيٍّ وَمَجَازِيٍّ. وَقَدْ أَحَالَهُ أئِمَّةُ الْأَصُولِ. وَأَمَا الثَّانِي^{١٨٣} فَلَأَنَّ الْإِنْتِقَالَ مِنَ الْمَلْزُومِ إِلَى الْمَلْزُومِ إِنَّمَا يَكُونُ لِكُونِ الْمَلْزُومِ مَلْزُومًا، فَالْإِنْتِقَالُ مِنَ الْمَلْزُومِ إِلَى الْمَلْزُومِ، فَيَكُونُ مَشْتَرَكًا بَيْنَ الْمَجَازِ وَالْكِنَايَةِ، فَكَيْفَ يَكُونُ مَا بِهِ الْإِفْتِرَاقُ.

من علم العروض

الواقع الأكتري قبض «فَعُولُنْ» قبل عروض البيت الثالث من الطويل؛ لأنَّ وضع دائرته -أعني الدائرة الأولى- على اختلاف الأجزاء. فإن قلت: فيقبض «فَاعِلُنْ» في المديد قبل عروض الثانية؛ لأنَّه من دائرة المختلف أيضاً. أجيب بأنَّ حكم المديد مخالف لحكم الطويل لوجوب الجزء وافتراق السببين لحجز الوجد بينهما فيه بخلافه. وفيه نظر: والأولى أن يقال: وجوب الجزء يرفع غاية الاختلاف بين الأجزاء والله أعلم. تم.

١٧٩ ٤١ ب.

١٨٠ في النص: أ.ح.

١٨١ ٤٢ أ.

١٨٢ ٤٢ ب.

١٨٣ في النص: في الثاني.