

The Mystical Lineage of *Ḥaḍarāt-Dignitates*: Historical-Lexical Perspectives on Ibn Arabi's Impact on Medieval European Spirituality

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Abstract

Notwithstanding the unfathomable intrigues augmented by a diversity of factors (historical, polemical, real-politik, etc), the East-West or Islam-Europe encounters of literary and cultural enterprise chiefly through Arabia and Afro-Iberian channels during Muslim dominions in Spain (711-1492) invariably bear some clear marks of spiritual affirmation while producing a sizable corpus of texts during the Middle Ages. This was possible in the backdrop

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of translations from Arabic to European languages (alongside trade, commerce, diplomacy and crusades) in renowned schools of Toledo, Salerno, Padua and Paris, metamorphosing into emergence of Latin Averroism and Latin Avicennism, besides the theological Schools of Gundisalvus (1187-1259), Ramon Lull (1232-1315) and other Franciscans and Dominicans.

The Mysticism, Alchemy, Encyclopedism and Evangelism of Lullism have entered a vibrant phase of interaction centering around domains of ontology, divinity and contemplative theology. In this context, Ibn Masarra (833-931) and Ibn Arabi (1165-1240) engage Ramon Lull and his school in a plethora of subjects concerning divinity, especially Ḥaḍarāt-Dignitates due: the One Hundred Names of Allah (Ibn Arabi) and Lull's Els cent noms de Deus.

The paper aims at approaching the theme in historical, textual and comparative perspectives.

Keywords: Ibn Arabi, Ramon Lull, Ḥaḍarāt-Dignitates, Sufism, Islam and Europe.

Introduction

Andalusia of the Almoravids (1095-1149) and Almohads (1149-1248) has been home to a large number of high-ranking Sufis with their spiritual centers enjoying wider collective appeal and greater following among the Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula. The spiritualist- philosophical

approach to the great problems of ontology, epistemology, morality and ethics made them highly respected to the academia. Among the Andalusian Sufis, the names such as Mohammed Ibn Abdullah Ibn Masarra (269/899 – 20th October 319/931) and his school consisting of Ṭarīf Ibn Ṣaleḥ al-Barghowātī of Rota, Mohammed al-Fannī (d.371/982), Ibn Ukht ‘Abdūn of Bajjanah (Pechina) who died in the year 376/986, Abān of Medina Sidona (d.377/987), Ibn al-Imām al-Khawlānī of Cordova (305/917–380/990), Mohammed al-Qaisī ibn al-Khair of Jaén (d. 382/992) and ‘Abd al-‘Azīz of Cordova, great grandson of Caliph Muḥammad I (d. 387/997), Ismā’īl al-Ra’inī, Abū al-‘Abbās Ahmad Ibn Mohammed Ibn al-‘Arīf al-Ṣinhājī (d. circa 536/1141) and his three disciples Abu Bakr al-Mayūrqī in Granada, ‘Abd al-Salām Ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Barrajan al-Lakhmī in Seville (d. circa 536/1141) and Abu al-Qāsim Ahmad Ibn Qasi al-Shilbī (d. 546 A.H.) in Portugal, and finally Shaikh Mohi’ al-Dīn Ibn Arabi of Murcia (560/1165 – 638/1240) and his school come to the fore while deliberating on the topic in historical perspectives (Sanaullah 2003:144-70).

Ibn Arabi in his numerous compendiums (*Fotūḥāt*, *Foṣūṣ*, etc) perceived divine existence intuitively in a highly sublime mystical station: the absolute simplicity, the *Tanzīh al-Tawḥīd* (transcendence of the Unity). Such approach was disseminated by a number of Jewish pseudo-Empedoclean thinkers such as Judah ha-Levi (c.1075-1141) of *Cuzari* fame, Moses ibn Ezra (c. 1050-c. 1138), Joseph ibn Zaddik (?-1149) who wrote *al-‘Ālam al-Saghīr* in Arabic, Samuel ibn Tibbon (1150-1230) and Sem-Tob ibn Joseph Falaquera (1225-1290) who alluded with more or less precision to the divine allegory of light in

the geometric pattern of concentric spheres as well as the eschatology based on *katharsis*. *Yanbū' al-Hayāt* or *Fons Vitae* of Avicenna (Solomon ibn Gabirol, 1021-1070) disseminated the thesis of *spiritual matter*, and its mystic and theosophist system shared the identical Ibn Masarra-Ibn Arabi orientation. The pantheism of John Scotus Erigena (c. 815-c.877) in his famous formula 'natura creans creat' (God creating Himself in the world) is, as well-testified by scholars (Palacios 1978) very similar to that which Ibn Barrajān and Ibn Arabi employ to designate spiritual matter, the first emanation of God: *al-Haqq al-Makhlūq bihī'*.

The Pythagorean pantheism of Thierry (died c. 1155) synthesized in the formula 'Omne quod est, odeo est, quia unum est' seems similar to the famous verse often repeated by Ibn Arabi: *wa fī kullī shai'in lahū ayatun tadullu 'ala annahū waḥīdu*: 'In every being there is a sign that proclaims that He is One', or *wa fī kullī shai'in lahū ayatun tadullu 'ala annahū 'ainuhū*. The pantheistic heresies of Amaury of Bennes (died c. 1204) and David of Dinant (1160-1217) had some analogous channels that are yet to be explored, but Dominicus Gundissalinus (1115-1190), Avicenna and one *Mauritius Hispanus* have been identified by the Scholars. This 'Mauritius Hispanus' was a Spanish Muslim, a defender of Pantheism, and this essential character would be analogous to that of David of Dinant for whom God is identical with *primal matter*. Amalricians affirm that God is 'principium formale omnium rerum' and David of Dinant: 'Deum esse materiam primam', along with the Indian Vedantic pantheistic traditions: *Aham Brahmasmi* (अहं ब्रह्माऽस्मि), (*Tat'tumasi*) तत्त्वमसि (and *Ekam Sat* (एकम् सत्

विप्रा बहुधा वदन्ति(, etc) of both the antiquity and the modern times (Sanaullah: 2010, 2013).

The Spanish Reconquista's Catalan Ramon Lull or Raymond Lull (1232-1315) legendarily known and acknowledged for his propaganda for Crusade and Missionary work that constitutes the very core of Lullism, his numerous books such as *Liber Contemplationis in Deum*, *Liber de Gentili*, *Compendium Logicae Algazalis*, *Liber de Fine*, *Liber de Acquisitione Terre Sancte*, etc, exhibits the esoteric Sufi proximity (imitation ?) in excellent clarity, with reference to his concept of *Dignitates (Divine Dignities)*, as a copy of the Sufi concept of the Divine Names the *Asmā Allah al-Hūsna*, and *Ḥaḍarah* as found especially in the works of Ibn Arabi. In 1292, Lull sailed from Genoa to Tunis for missionary work. In 1300, he arrived in Syria to preach the Tatars, but only to find that they had gone beyond reach. So, he went to Genoa and then to Paris to petition the professors and bachelors of the University to formulate the arguments most suitable for the conversion of heathens. This was the beginning of the *Disputatio Raymundi Christiani et Hamar Saraceni* which he was soon afterwards to write during his period of captivity in Tunis. In 1315, armed with a letter of protection from King James II of Aragón to 'Miralmomonin Bujahie Zacharie, King of Tunis, son of Almir Abhalabbar, son of Almirs' was allowed to lead a quiet life in Tunis, and even dedicated his book 'Liber de majori fine intellectus amoris et honoris' to the Mufti of the town, though, afterwards, was recognized by a furious mob stoned him to death on the beach. Two Genoese merchants drag his body to their ship and carry it to Palma where it is interred in the old church of San

Francisco. Lull wrote books in Arabic and his mother tongue Catalan, and got them translated into Latin, and translated some of his own books into Arabic. The *Ḥaḍarāt-Dignitates* mystical lineage stands a significant point of reference in the academic sphere of Occidentalism (Sanaullah: 2021) in regard to East-West spiritual dialogue and dissemination or the impact of Ibn Arabi on Medieval European Spirituality.

The Ḥaḍarāt lineage

To trace *Ḥaḍarāt* lineage in relevant historical trajectory, one has to relive the legacy of Ibn Masarra (833-931) and its dissemination. In the last years of the rule of Abdullah in Cordova, before the year 300/920, Ibn Masarra built a hermitage on the cliffs of the Sierra of Cordova where he lived with his most intimate disciples, hence called al-Jabalī or El Serrano. As we come across the recorded details (Ibn al-Faraḍī 1988: 650, Ibn al-Abbār 1915: 113,339, Ibn Sā'id 1942: 666, al-Qiftī 1903: 16, Ibn al-'Idhārī 1983: I, 201, Dozy 1861: chaps xvi, xvi, Codera 1904), we are not at loss of necessary information about his hermitage concerning the proselytes such as Hayy ibn 'Abd al-Malik, Khalīl ibn Abd al-Malik (d. 322/934 or 323/935), Mohammed (d. 357/968) and Ahmad ibn al-Muntil (d. 344/955). He wrote many books out of which two were very important, namely *Kītāb al-Tabṣirah* (Book of Clear Explanation) and *Kītāb al-Ḥorūf* (Book of Letters). He had to resist the intransigence of the Spanish jurists who ordered that the books of Ibn Massara be burnt as impious, without crucifixion of its author. But we can trace out his views in the *Fotūḥāt* of Ibn 'Arabi where he had often

cited him in support of his abstruse, hermetic and pantheist allegories. On 20th of October 311/931, he breathed his last after his prayer of mid-afternoon, surrounded by his disciples in his hermitage of the Sierra (Ibn Ḥazm 1996: 199, al-Dabbi 1989:163, Ibn 'Arabi 1293: I, 191, 194; II, 276, II; p. 767). We find fragmented information of the paradigm in Ibn Ḥazm's *al-Fiṣal* and Ibn Said's *Tabqāt al-Umam*. An outline of his philosophy can be found in *Rawdah* of al-Shahrazūrī, *al-Milal* of al-Shahristānī, *Uyūn* of Ibn Abi Usaibi'ah and *Tārīkh* of al-Qiftī that describe him to adhere to the Empedoclean views.

For Arab writers, the great Greek philosopher Empedocles of Agrigento was contemporary of King David and had inherited mystic sciences and wisdom from Solomon and Luqman, and other sages of ancient Hebrew and Syria. Some of the apocryphal treatises ascribed to Empedocles are: *Metaphysics*, *Treatise of the Soul*, *Book of the Falsity of the Spiritual and Corporal Resurrection* and *Book of Homilies or Ascetic Sermons*. The authentic work of Empedocles *On Nature* is not mentioned by the Arabs. The views contained in such sources are related to the excellence and esotericism of philosophy, the concept of *prime substance*, the esoteric method of psychology, the simplicity of soul, the absolute simplicity of Primal Being, the ineffability of the Primal Being, movement and quiescence of the Primal Being, origin of the world by Emanation, Emanation as the subsequent to the Cause, Hierarchy of the Emanation, Love and Hate as essential principles of Primal Matter, Love as property of Soul and Hate as property of Nature, Relationship between the first five emanations: Primal Matter, Intellect, Soul, Nature and

Secondary Matter, Particular souls as emanation of the Universal Soul, Five Categories of the Soul (Vegetative, Vital, Rational, Intellectual); concepts of physics and cosmology, pre-existence, sin and redemption of Souls (Ibn Ḥazm 1996: II, 126; IV, 198-200, Sā'id 1942: 666, Shahrzūrī 1993: 13-14; Shahrīstānī: 1993 II, 260-265; al-Qiftī 1903: I, 36-7, Barthélemy d'Herbelot 1776: 293a, 800b; Zeller 1877-84; 260, al-Mas'ūdī 1989: III, 434, Hājī Khalīfa 1941: V, 144, 152, Sanaullah: 2015).

The Sufis perceive the divine existence intuitively in a highly sublime mystical station: the absolute simplicity, the One without attributes, names, actions or ideal relationship that determine limit or multiplicity. Ibn Arabi (1293: II, 763) calls it *Tanzīh al-Tawḥīd* (transcendence of the Unity), and affirms that even though this mystic station consists essentially in the intuition of the absolute unity of God and of His exemption of all multiplicity, it is manifested also in the act of illumination of the soul of the Sufi as something endowed with concrete and corporal forms. Therefore, it is absolutely impossible for any of the Sufis to penetrate into it. Ibn Arabi (1293: II, 767) ascribes this idea to Ibn Masarra and his *Kītāb al-Ḥorūf*. Ibn Ḥazm says that for Ibn Masarra, the Throne of God (*al-'Arsh*) is the being that governs or commands the cosmos. God is too sublime to have any action attributed to Him *ad extra* (Ibn Ḥazm 1996: IV, 199). According to Ibn Arabi, Ibn Masarra thought of *'Arsh* as the dominion which is reduced to body, Spirit, substance and grade. Adam and Israfil are those who bear the forms; Gabriel and Mohammed are the bearers of the spirits; Michael and Abraham of the provisions; Malik and Ridwān of the rewards and punishments. So, the Throne of

God is the whole of everything that exists in the universe. The cosmos is divided into four categories of phenomena: origin of the bodies and forms, the origin of the spirits, the conservation and continuity of all beings and their happiness or unhappiness. Each of these four categories possesses a double reality: the esoteric and exoteric. Prophet Mohammed has a spiritual and pre-existence, preceding Adam and every being, and is the foundation of all spirits, but only with regard to their phenomenal reality. Their internal reality depends upon the angel Gabriel, the highest of the angelic hierarchy (Ibn Arabi 1293: I, 191; II, 372) Ibn Masarra, like other Muslim mystics recommended individual and daily contemplation and meditation in order to safeguard life from the dangers of carnal desires and worldly inhibitions, and keep up the fruit of the unitive life. This required a practice, which is made up of the commitment, that is anticipation from early morning the possible dangers to which the soul may be exposed, and in committing oneself before God to formulate the right intention in every case, vigilance or the careful attention of the soul in each incident or danger, examination of conscience, corporal mortification, expiatory penitence and reprimand of the soul, that is, the mental consideration which the devout person makes in order to free himself from the pain of contrition for the imperfections committed. This helps heeding to evangelical counsel to renounce all riches and the practice results in attaining the goal of saintliness and perfection like the prophetic souls (al-Ghazzālī 2011: IV, 281; Ibn Ḥazm 1996: IV, 199). Here, lots of parallels could be drawn between Muslim ontology and Indian Vedantic wisdom from perspectives of Sufism and Vedanta (Sanaullah:2009, 2010, 2013, 2015).

This amounts to human attainment of the gift of prophecy, a concept full of great controversies between canonical lawyers, philosophers and intuitive mystics. The concept at an obvious contrast to the dogma of the *seal of prophecy* had its metamorphosis in the injection of Mutazilites and Batinites who sustain that a *Mahdi* or later pontiff could complete it or at least interpret it with a new meaning (al-Jāhiz 1943: 184-5). Orientalism is quick to believe that the Alexandrian theories on the possibility of the mystic union of the perfect soul with God gave new force to that desire, as Philo himself had affirmed that prophecy is a common gift to all perfect men (Plotinus 1991: VI, 7, 35; 9,11; Philo 1898: I, 445; Mullach 1860-1: vs. 457-461), in disregard of active historical avenues of cross-cultural dialogue between Muslim philosophers and exegetists (El-Khatib: 2011; Kidwai: 1919; Sanallah: 2021). Muslim philosophers came up with a naturalistic theory of prophecy, explaining that divine gifts of the prophets represent necessary effects of the natural gifts of the spirit, perfected by ascetic discipline and study (Mehren 1891: 16; Palacios 1905: 781-6) while Sufis distinguished between *Wahī* (revelation) and *Ilhām* (inspiration), the former exclusively for the prophets and the later for the mystics (Ibn Arabi 1293: II, 3-4).

It starts with the concept of One as utterly simple and explained the cosmos as the result of an emanation via the hierarchy of the five substances, and visualized Divine Throne as a symbol of Primal Matter, which is common to every being. His ascetic doctrine is based on purification of everything corporeal in order to maintain an eschatology

absolutely spiritual, which denies physical rewards and punishments.

Ibn Masarran School was continued in Spain by Ismail ibn Abdullah al-Ruainī who lived in Pechina near Almería, his son Abu Haroon, his son-in-law Ahmad ibn Yahya, Sahl ibn Ibrāhīm, who was probably a native of Orhuela, Mundhir ibn Said al-Balūtī, the known Mutazilite and supreme magistrate of Cordova, his brothers Said and Abd al-Wahhāb, Abd al-Mālik, who was a judge under al-Hakam II and others, of schismatic or moderate schools. Ismā'il al-Ruainī's political ideas took the form of a fierce theocratic fanaticism, the approach of a man who considered the whole land a land of infidels whose blood was therefore lawful to shed and whose properties should be confiscated. And no one was to be exempt from such a sentence except his followers (Ibn Ḥazm 1996: IV, pp. 80. 199-200; Ibn al-Faraḍī 1988: 576; Ibn Bashkwāl 1950: 332, 470). According to Palacios 'This brought about a problem in Spanish Islam identical with that which a century later shook the Christian Society in France, Italy and Germany. It was there were the illuminist sects which were called Amalricians, Albigensians, Catharis, Waldenses, Beghards, and the Brethren of the Free Spirit, like the pseudo-prophets and Anabaptists of Zwickau in the beginning of the sixteenth century, paradoxically allied the asceticism and renunciation of the world with an antisocial hate for the rich' (Palacios 1978: 111).

Ibn Masarra's school in Andalusia flourished in disciplines adhered to by some new and inspired cenobitic associations headed by Abū al-'Abbās Ibn al-Areef who had a large number of adepts especially from Seville,

Granada and Portugal, Abu Bakr al-Mayūrqī in Granada and Ibn Qasī in Portugal. Ibn Qasī was so successful that he ruled almost for ten years as a sovereign in Portugal and lived in constant alternation between alliance and war with Christians, Almoravids and Almohads until he died in 546/1151 (Codera 1899: 33-52; Lopes 1911: 100-116; Ibn Sāhīb al-Ṣalāt:1964). Ibn al-Areef's *Maḥāsīn al-Majālis* (MS perhaps in Constantinople. Cf. Hājī Khalifa 1835-1858, no. 4788, and the Catalogue of the Library of Constantinople, I, 113., Ibn Qasi's *Khal' al-Na'lain* (cf. G.A.L, I, 434.), and books written by Ibn Barrajan (Ibn Arabi 1293: I, 75, 176, 297, 363, 407; II, 128, 366, 421, 811; III, 8,9,31, 101, 520, IV, 105, 117, 164, 282, 714) were destined to have an enigmatic personae in Murcia's Shaikh Mohi' al-Dīn Ibn Arabi, who was educated in Seville, the city of Ibn Barrajan, and educated in Tunis, going through the book of Ibn Qasi with the latter's son. Ibn Arabi has frequently used the esoteric books and writings of the three masters of Almería (Kaufman 1899: 17-51, 52-58).

Dissemination

Ideas of Ibn Masarra were disseminated by a number of Jewish thinkers of pseudo-Empedoclean initiative in the beginning of eleventh century. They include Judah ha-Levi (1075-1141) of Toledo who wrote *Cuzari*, Moses ibn Ezra (d. 1138) of Granada, Joseph ibn Zaddik (1075-1149) of Cordova who wrote *al-Ālam al-Saghīr* in Arabic, Samuel ibn Tibbon (d. 1232), Shem-Tob ibn Joseph

Falaquera (1225 - c. 1290) and others. ‘They alluded with more or less precision to a supposed book of his called *Of the Five Substances*. To judge by the title, it must have contained the complete system of pseudo-Empedocles, and therefore, of Ibn Masarra. Kaufman had the good fortune to discover some Hebraic fragments of that book and was able to prove the suspect...flagrant analogies were clearly indicated between the technical terms, symbols and ideas, on one hand, and the Arabic fragments of al-Shahristānī and of al-Shahrazūrī on the other...material appears in them (i.e., Rabbinic texts) designated by the name element (*unṣor*) and symbolized by the Throne of God, the same as in the Arabic Empedocles and in Ibn Masarra. The same kind of correspondence are noticed in the hierarchy of five substances, in their mutual relationship, in the divine allegory of light, in the geometric pattern of concentric spheres, and in their eschatology based on *Katharsis*. Moreover, as the philological analysis of these rabbinic texts demonstrates that they are not original, but a literal version of an Arabic source, the dependency of this pseudo-Empedoclean movement of the Spanish Jews on Ibn Masarra is indisputable.’ (Munk 1959: 164, 177, 190, 220, 231: *materia est sicut cathedra unis*, or ‘The Throne of God is the symbol of the spiritual matter’, 275ff.)

Yanbu’ al-Ḥayāt or *Fons Vitae* of Avicborn (Solomon ibn Gabirol, c. 1022 - c. 1070)) disseminated the thesis of *spiritual matter*, and its mystic and theosophic system shared the identical Masarran orientation.

We have seen earlier the Toledo and Palermo schools of translations and zeal of procuring and translating the Arab sources shown by noted persons, such as Raimundo (d. 1152) the Archbishop of Toledo, the Englishman Adelard of Bath (1080-1152), Herman of Dalmatia (c. 1110-1154), Englishman Alfred (Alphiatus) of Morley (c. 1200-1227), Gerard of Cremona (1114-1187), Michael Scott (1175-1232) and others who came to Spain from the most remote countries of Europe. This situation has led even some orientalist like Palacios to suspect whether some pantheistic systems of the Scholastics before St. Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) were examined closely with heterodox Sufism, and whether the complete dependency of the pantheism of John Scotus Erigena, whose boldness cannot be fully examined, is on heterodox Sufism (de Wulf 1912: 194), whose pantheistic formula ‘natura creans creat’ (God creating Himself in the world) ‘is very similar to that which Ibn Barrajān and Ibn Arabi employ to designate spiritual matter, the first emanation of God: *al-Haqq al-Makhlūq bīhī*’.

The School of Chartres conceived the origin of the cosmos in a neo-Platonic and Pythagorean sense, and Thierry, one of its illustrious members, had maintained relationship with Spain and had enjoyed the first productions of the translations of Toledo. He had derived the abundance of new logic and introduced it to the scholasticism of his time. The Pythagorean pantheism of Thierry synthesized in the formula ‘Omne quod est, odeo est, quia unum est’ seems to Palacios ‘a copy of the famous verse often repeated by Ibn Arabi (Ibn Arabi 1293: I, 354 et passim): *wa fī kullī shai’in lahū ayahtun tadullū ‘ala annahū wāḥīdū*: ‘In every being there is a sign that proclaims that He is One’,

or *wa fī kullī shai'in lahu ayahtun tadullū 'ala annahū 'ainuhū*, 'In every being is a sign that proclaims that He is the same (that He is His essence, that of God). William of Conches was another prominent member of Chartres 'who had confirmed the Arabic character of that school by his physiological psychology derived from the Arabic versions of Constantine the African and by his atomistic cosmology which is of *mutakallim* lineage' (Palacios 1978: 133, footnote). The pantheistic heresies of Amaury of Bennes and David of Dinant had some analogous channels that are yet to be explored, but Gundisalvi, Avicbron and one *Mauritius Hispanus* have been identified by the Scholars. This 'Mauritius Hispanus' was a Spanish Muslim, a defender of Pantheism, and this essential character would be analogous to that of David of Dinant for whom God is identical with *primal matter*. (de Wulf 1912: 246-250; Aquinas 1911: I, q.3, art. 8.) Amalricians affirm that God is 'principium formale omnium rerum' and David of Dinant: 'Deum esse materiam primam' (Palacios 1978: 133-134).

The principal representative of the school of Toledo, Dominicus Gundisalvi, in his *De Unitate Liber* was inspired by Avicbron's *Fons Vitae*, and had pleaded for the Ibn Masarran view that every being except God is composed of matter and form. This was beginning of a doctrinal tendency in a number of illustrious Augustinian or Pre-Thomist Franciscan Scholastics who inscribed at the head of their *Summas* and philosophical treatises the theorem cited: the positive reality of the primal matter which is common to bodies and spirits and their consequent hylomorphic composition, and affirmation of the plurality of the forms (Palacios 1978: 134). This blend of ideas is easily traceable in the works of Dominicus

Gundisalvi of Segovia, Guillaume d’Auvergne (d. 1249), Alexander of Hales (d. 1245), Saint Bonaventura (d. 1274), Duns Scotus (d. 1308), Roger Bacon (d. 1292) and Raymond Lull (d. 1315), together with their disciples of second rank. ‘Because of their inclinations more or less to blend the realm of faith with that of reason into total and harmonious “wisdom” which requires a certain divine illumination, they fully became a part of Muslim thinkers who call themselves *Ishraqis* or Illuminists’ (Palacios 1978: 144). Palacios calls Duns Scotus ‘the legitimate heir of Avicenna and of Ibn Masarra’, and St. Thomas ‘the continuer of the spirit of Stagira (Aristotle) and of his Commentator’ (Palacios 1978: 144).

Roger Bacon’s *Opus Majus* has cited on each page the names of each philosopher and theosophist, and has insisted on the unavoidable need to study the doctrines of these in original, as ‘Philosophy comes from ...the Arabic. And, therefore, no Latin can understand the wisdom of sacred scripture unless he understands the language from which they are translated...Likewise, almost all secrets of philosophy thus far lie in a foreign language (Bacon 1733: 44, 46): ‘Latins have nothing to express this except in other languages, and these are few interpreters, and even these are bad’(Bacon 1733: 46). Roger Bacon has cited a text from *Sirr al-Asrār*, the apocryphal Arabic book ascribed to Aristotle (which was translated into Latin by Philip of Tripoli, a Syrian Christian, around 1233) and states ‘God has revealed all wisdom to His prophets and righteous people and to certain others whom He chose beforehand, illuminating them with a spirit of divine wisdom and endowing them with the gifts of knowledge...

Philosophers coming after these received from them the beginning and origin of philosophy, and wrote down the principles and secrets of the arts and sciences.’ (Bacon 1733: 31). He has traced a long history of philosophy, starting with Noah and Abraham, teachers of Chaldeans and Egyptians, to Zoroaster and Hermes, to Greeks such as Thales, Pythagoras, Anaxagoras, Socrates, etc., to Latins, to Muslims, and finally infers that ‘we Christians ought to use philosophy in divine things, and in philosophy to assume many things pertaining to theology, in order that it be apparent that wisdom is one, shining forth in both.’ (Bacon 1733: 37). For Roger Bacon, a universal and harmonious wisdom, the *sapientia*, was transmitted by divine illumination from the time of the patriarchs of the ancient law to the philosophers of the time through the sages, saints and theosophists of all religions and peoples. To quote Palacios: ‘He adopts their mystic method of spiritual interpretation. He imitates their esoteric attitude of concealing from the common man the mystic truths. He employs their symbols and geometric examples, which he accommodates to the physics of light. He eulogizes and defends their occult extravaganza of alchemy, astrology and magic...And the ‘Muslim origin was proclaimed with utmost clarity’ (Palacios 1978: 136, 137).

Ramon Lull (1232-1315)

The Spanish Reconquista's Catalan Ramon Lull or Raymond Lull (1232-1315) legendarily known and acknowledged for his propaganda for Crusade and Missionary work, and his *Liber Contemplationis in Deum*, *Liber de Gentili*, *Compendium Logicae Algazalis*, *Liber de Fine*, *Liber de*

Acquisitione Terre Sancte, and other books, exhibits the esoteric Sufi imitation in excellent clarity, with reference to his concept of *Dignitates (Divine Dignities)*, as a copy of the Sufi concept of the Divine Names the *Asma Allah al-Husna*, and *Ḥaḍarah* as found especially in the works of the Murcian Shaikh Mohi' al-Dīn Ibn Arabi. I would like to entreat some details to the topic.

Raymond Lull was born in 1232 in Majorqa and spent ten years in the study of philosophy and learning Arabic from a Moorish slave. He spoke Arabic and wrote couples of books in that language. He had converted from a profligate life to penitence and to the service of God in 1263, and passed through spiritual crisis in the years 1291-92. In 1276, he founded the College of Miramer under the patronage of King James of Majorqa, perhaps the first in the West for the study of Arabic; and John XXI gave him and his college the papal benediction in the same year. He was a prolific writer who wrote about 4000 or 488 or 328 or 321 or 282 books! He delivered lectures in many intellectual centres of Europe. In 1294, he appeared at Naples with *Petitio Raymundi pro conversione infidelium ad Coelestinum V*, and in 1294, he interviewed Pope Boniface VIII (1294-1303) in Rome, and submitted his 'Petitio pro recuperatione Terrae Sanctae et pro conversione infidelium'. Historians have different views on Lull's scheme of conquering the Saracens: by reason or by military action. In April 1305, he wrote *Liber de Fine*, a work of importance for the crusades. He was in the Council of Vienna in 1311 in one of his 'Ordinationes' for the 'exaltio sanctae fidei Catholice et bonus status totius universis' he pressed for establishing three colleges in Rome, Paris and another suitable city

where philosophy, theology and Oriental languages may be taught for missionary propose. In the third and last sitting of the Council, it was decided that in order to propagate Christianity among the unbelievers, chairs should be created for the study of Oriental languages (Hebrew, Arabic and Chaldee) at Rome and in the universities of Paris, Oxford, Bologna and Salamanca, and the faculty would be appointed by the Pope in Rome, the King of France in Paris, and in remaining universities by their respective prelates and chapters.

In 1292, Lull sailed from Genoa to Tunis for missionary work. Before this mission, he had worked hard for converting the Muslims who had survived the Christian conquest in Majorqa, although his efforts were of little importance as the Majorqan Muslims were destined to forcible conversion. Tunis was under the rule of the Hafsides (1229-1574). Lull was caught preaching Christianity, and the penalty for this was death, but the Hafside Caliph managed to change the death-sentence into exile, and Lull had a narrow escape from the infuriated crowd. In 1300, he arrived in Syria to preach the Tatars, but only to find that they had gone beyond reach. So, he went to Genoa and then to Paris to petition the professors and bachelors of the University to formulate the arguments most suitable for the conversion of heathens. This was the beginning of the 'Disputatio Raymundi Christiani et Hamar Saraceni' which he was soon afterwards to write during his period of captivity in Tunis. His second North African mission took place in 1307, when he boarded a ship for the city of Bugia in Algeria, which was founded in 454 A. H. by the Hammadi ruler al-Nasir b. Ilnas b. Hammad b. Ziri b.

Manad b. Bulukkin on the site of an ancient Berber village, and had an excellent harbour. Bugian Muslims agreed to have polemic discussion with Lull, and this time Lull was able to gauge the depth of Muslim arguments forwarded by ‘episcopi Saracenorum’ against the Christian dogmas, and on this basis, he prepared his book ‘Disputatio’. Lull was thrown into prison for six months for abusing Islam. After being released from prison, he came back to Italy, but in 1315, we see him back to his mission in North Africa for the third and last time. This time, he was armed with a letter of protection from King James II of Aragón to ‘Miralmomonin Bujahie Zacharie, King of Tunis, son of Almir Abhalabbar, son of Almirs.’ He was allowed to lead a quiet life in Tunis, preaching his faith in secret and giving the public no cause for suspicion or animosity. In Tunis, Lull lived in a friendly atmosphere and even dedicated his book ‘Liber de majori fine intellectus amoris et honoris’ to the Mufti of the town. Then suddenly he takes the western road to Bugia, gets recognized and a furious mob stoned him to death on the beach. Two Genoese merchants drag his body to their ship and carry it to Palma where it is interred in the old church of San Francisco (Atiya 1938: 74; Peers 1929: 128-35; Perroquet 1667: 364-90; Zwemer 1902: T. VII, 640-9; Neander 1852: 520-38; Pasqual 1890: II, 112; Riber 1916: 194-207).

Raymond Lull did not know Latin, nor did he learn it in Paris. He wrote books in Arabic and his mother tongue Catalan, and got them translated into Latin, and translated some of his own books into Arabic. Lull’s following books are very important:

1. *Liber Contemplationis in Deum* (The Book of Contemplations of God), originally written in Arabic, and translated into Latin and Catalan. It is an encyclopedia of practical theology that gives satirical descriptions of various classes of peoples, such as physicians, lawyers and teachers, and uses various algebraical and geometrical symbols and figures.
2. *Liber de Gentili* (Book of the Gentile), originally written in Arabic and translated into Latin, was a book on polemics.
3. *Ars inventiva veritatis*. Lull translated the book into Arabic (Palacios 1978: 187-188)
4. *Blaquerna*
5. *Compendium Logicae Algazelis*, a summary of al-Ghazzālī's logic originally prepared in Arabic, and then translated into Latin in 1290.
6. *Liber de Fine*.
7. *Liber de Acquisitione Terre Sancte*.
8. *Ars*.
9. *Ars demonstrativa*.
10. *Del Amigo y del Amado* (The Lover and the Beloved, al-Muḥibbwa'l-Maḥbūb)
11. *De quadratura e triangulatura de cercle*.

12. *Disputatio Raymundi christiani et Hamar sarraceni.*
13. *De Ascensu et descensu intellectus.*
14. *Declaratio Raymundi.*
15. *Doctrina pueril.*
16. *Els Cent Noms de Deus.*
17. *Felix (Liber de meravelles).*
18. *Liber mirandarum demonstrationum.*
19. *Liber angelorum.*
20. *Liber de quatuordecim articulis fidei.*
21. *Liber de quinque sapientibus* ('Prologue of *Els cent noms de Deus: Perque eu, Ramón, suplich al Sant Pare apostólich e als senyors Cardenals qu'el fassen pausar [his book] en latí, car eu no li sabría pausar, per ço car ignor la gramática'* (Ribera 1928: 192-3).

In 1315, Lull had asked King James II of Aragon that he send him his disciple Simón of Puigcerdá, a Franciscan monk, to translate for him from Catalan to Latin the *Ars consilii* which he had prepared. James wrote under the dates of August 5th and October 29th of the same year to the Superior of the Monores de Lérida and to the Provincial of Aragon that they grant the petition of Lull (Rubió y Lluch 1908: I, 63,65,66). Lull's books appearing earlier include: *Opera omnia* (Coloniae: 1612), *Liber de maravelles*,

Opera omnia, Liber de quinque sapientibus, Liber demonstrationum, Libro del amigo y del amado (Palma, 1749), etc.

Sufi Ḥaḍarāt, Asma Allah al-Husna and Lull's Dignitates - Els cent noms de Deus

Lull's theological view reflects the Sufi tunes of Ibn Masarra and Ibn Arabi, besides his concept of love and love-poems as Catalan troubadour (Sanaullah: 2006; 2010), ontological diagrams and tree of sciences (*De quadratura e triangulatura de cercle, Blaquerna, Ars*, etc) that have been subjects of research by a number of oriental as well as occidental scholars in comparative domains involving classical Arabic texts of Al-Farabi (870-950), Avicenna (980-1037), Ibn Arabi (1165-1240) and others (Ribera: 1899; Pelayo: 1899; Burckhardt: 1950/1974; Renouard: 1964; Bellver: 2014; Koetsier: 2016; Mayer: 2016; Bornstein: 1919; Sari: 2020). Lull's *De quadratura e triangulatura de cercle* and *Del Amigo y del Amado* immediately recall Ibn Arabi's *Inshā al-Dawā'er* and Sari Al-Saqati's *Kitāb al-Muhibb wa al-Mahbūb* (Nyberg: 1919; Gla'unji: 1987). Lull says in his *Opera omnia; Disputatio Raumundi et Eremitae*, that God is the One Being, infinite and eternal, having no determination in regard to His essence and nature...God cannot be a subject of theology in the sense of some determinate attribute, but only with reference to His properties and effects. Divine perfections and attributes, which Lull call *Dignities*, are

identical to His essence, and it is impossible to think of any numerical plurality... Only approximately can His essence be even partially represented by means of the perfections of His creatures which are copies of His Dignities... Light is more adequate symbol of divinity... Spiritual matter common to angels and bodies is the first substance of every being except God... Even the plurality of human forms are axiomatic... The origin of the world is explained by love and divine generosity. God created it to manifest *ad extra* His Dignities. Dignities are the Divine Names in abstract, and they are exemplary and efficient cause of all created being, the latter being the concrete realization of the former. Proximity is evident between these views of Raymond Lull and what the Murcian Ibn Arabi said in his *Fotūhāt* and other books: the distinction between essence (*al-Dhāt*) and divinity (*al-Ulūhah*); the latter is the object of theology which can know only by rational induction in the divine attributes or relationship of God with His creatures, while *essence* is unknowable and can only be subject of ecstatic intuition... Light is the symbol of *al-Haqq* (truth)... Sufi concept of love as the cause of divine creations ‘I was a hidden and unknown treasure... I loved to be known and I created the creatures and I came to know them and they knew me’ forms the core of the theorem of *Asma Allah al-Husna* and their effects in the cosmos (Ibn Arabi 1293: I, 50, 54, 58 et passim, 130; II, 426, 432; III, p. 336; IV, 251, 818).

The Muslim theorem of *Ḥaḍrah* and *Asma Allah al-Husna* or *Divine Names* and Raymond Lull’s *Dignitates* should be discussed in some detail. *Ḥaḍrah* is a term from

the Sufi illuminist lexicon, comparable to *Parousia*, or presence to designate each one of the aspects or concrete relationship under which God manifested to souls in mystic contemplation. These aspects, manifestations or presences of God are the perfections or divine names (Dozy 1927: I, 298a.). Historians like Ibn Khaldun (Ibn Khaldun 1867: I, 393) have used *Ahl al-Ḥaḍrah* to refer to the illuminist Sufis. *Asma Allah al-Husna* have its origin in the Holy Quran, and Collections of Hadith. The famous narration of Abu Hurairah is recorded by *Sahih* of Bukhari and *Sahih* of Muslim that says: “God has ninety-nine names, one hundred less one. God is odd and loves the odd. He who enumerates them will enter paradise.” Then follows the enumeration of the divine names. The *al-Ism al-A'zam* (the greatest name) completes the number of one hundred. The Scholars of *Hadith* and the Sufis have written a number of commentaries on the one hundred divine names. Sufis approach to divine names had an esoteric hermetic initiation with somewhat cabala nature. Among the classic Sufi commentaries on divine names, mention should be made of al-Ghazzālī's *al-Maqṣad al-Asna Sharh Asma Allah al-Husna* (Cairo: 1312 A.H.), ‘Abd al-Salām Ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Barraḡān al-Ishbilī's *Sharh Ma'ani Asma Allah al-Husna* (Brockelman 1943-49:I, 559), Shaikh Mohi al-Dīn Ibn Arabi's *Tāj al-Rasā'il wa Minhāj al-Wasā'il fi Idāḥ al-Ma'ānī al-Ilāhiyah al-Muwada'ah fi al-Ma'ānī al-Ruḥīyah* (Cairo: 1328 AH), Fakhr al-Dīn al-Razī's *Kitāb Lawāmī' al-Bayyināt Sharh Asmā Allah Ta'ala wa al-Ṣifāt* (Cairo, 1328 AH) and Sadr al-Dīn al-Qaunvi's *Sharh al-Asmā al-Ḥusna* (2012), among others. The cabala nature is evident in the literature of the Sufis of the *Shattaria* order, like the *Awrad -é- Ghauthia* of Shaikh

Mohammed Ghauth (1500-1562) of Gawalior in the Indian Sub-continent (Sanaullah:2010, 2015).

The Christian Scholastics before Raymond Lull had the concepts of perfections, attributes, names and relations with regard to God. Plotinus in his *Enneads* (VI, 9, 4) spoke of the ecstatic intuition of God as a phenomenon superior to rational induction which can only be called “*praesentia quaedam*” or *Parousa* (Dozy 1927: I, 298a.) but only Lull and his disciples used the term *Dignitates*. Palacios has argued that Lull was not well initiated in the esoteric sense of lexicological subtleties, and “what does not derive from the Christian origin is the reduction of the number of those names to one hundred” (Palacios 1978: 173). Ibn Arabi formulated the theorem of *Ḥaḍrah* to designate abstract divine names and their importance in Sufi meditation, dedication an article in full to each of the one hundred names in his *Fotūhat* (Ibn Arabi 1293: IV, 250-420). In his *Els cent noms de Deus, Liber de quatuordecim articulis fidei, Declartio Raymundi and Doctrina pueril*, Lull “chose the *Dignities* from among the copious quantity of Sufi *ḥaḍras* ...in his various books with different number and order. But without a single exception, all of them correspond verbatim to one or more of the *ḥaḍras* of Ibn Arabi. Moreover, among them there are some which are exclusively used by Lull without precedence among the Christian theologians, such as Glory, Nobleness, Humility, Patience and Lordship” (Palacios 1978: 176). Let us see the points of affinity between the following *Divine Dignities* of Lull and *al-Ḥaḍārat al-Ilāhīyah* of Ibn Arabi as they appear in texts of *Els cent noms de Deus; Liber*

de quatuordecim articulis fidei (Opera omnia, II, p.1; Declartio Raymundi, p. 98 and Doctrina pueril, c. I, V. 5, p. 3 compared to Ibn Arabi *in his Fotūḥāt*, as juxtaposed by Ribera (1928) Palacios (1978), Sari (2010), Bellver (2014), Palma (2016), among others:

Lordship	(250)	al-Rabbānīyah
Mercy	(255)	al-Raḥmah
Glory	(263)	al-‘Izzah
	(293)	al-Izaz
Virtue or Power	(265)	al-Jabarūt
275))	al-Qahr
	(362)	al-Qūwah
	(364)	al-Matanah
Greatness	(266)	al-Kibriya
	(308)	al-‘Azmah
Largess	(277)	al-Wahab
	(324)	al-Ikrām
Wisdom	(283)	al-‘Ilm
	(331)	al-Ḥikmah

Humiliation	(295)	al-Idhlāl
Justice	(301)	al-Hukm
	(302)	al-‘Adl
Nobleness	(322)	al-Jalāl
Love	(333)	al-Wudd
Goodness	(340)	al-Iḥsān
	(339)	al-Tīb
Simplicity, Simpleness		
or Singleness	(355)	al-Ifrād
	(376)	al-Tawḥīd
Truth	(359)	al-Ḥaq
Eternity	(378)	al-Ṣamadiyah
Power or capability	(379)	al-Iqtidār
Patience	(408)	al-Ṣabr

It may be recollected that Raymond Lull had a polemic argument with the Muslim canonical lawyers in the city

of Bugia in 1307, and its details have been given by Lull himself in his *Disputatio Raymundi christini et Hamar saraceni*. In this book, Lull has put in the mouth of his adversary, Hamar (most probably *Amr*), an enumeration of the dignitates 'almost identical in number and names with his, accepting it as a common point of departure for both disputants with the propose of better defending the dogmas of the Trinity and the Incarnation against Islam' (Lull 1612: II, I, i. c. 34, 13).

Both of Professor Julian Ribera and his disciple Father Miguel Asín Palacois have dealt in good details with the astonishing similarity between the 'Dignitates' of Lull and 'Ḥaḍrāt' of Ibn Arabi. They have made comparison between the words and phrases used by Lull and Ibn Arabi while elaborating important points on the theme. We may have a glance of 'almost literal copy of the Arabic texts' in the following points:

(One) Allegory of two lights:

Lull says: "Just as the light of a candle descends downward through the smoke of a candle which has been recently extinguished and which is standing below and near a lighted candle, and this because fire seeks to rise with its own form...it will follow that the intellect and its understanding have the possibility of ascending higher, that in receiving..." (Lull 1612: II, I, i. c. 34, 13).

Ibn Arabi says: “When the wick of a lamp is put out, there remains in its snuff a bit of light from which something like smoke issues which tends by its nature to rise. Then if there is another lighted lamp close by and if we place the wick of the lamp just extinguished, while yet smoking, vertically below the flame of the lighted lamp in such a way that the smoke and light come together, we shall see that the light will immediately go down by itself to settle over the smoke and light the burned part of the wick. This light will appear in the same form as the lighted lamp from which it has taken its light...This in a similar way is the communication of the Spirit to the heart of man accomplished in order to teach him the knowledge of mystery.” (Ibn Arabi 1293: II, p. 751, line 4 inf.; III, 66-68).

(Two) Example of sick palate:

Lull says: “It is just as it seems in a sore throat that has a sensation of bitterness when it tastes a sweet apple or honey. From this it follows that the quality of bitterness is not in the apple or the honey, because, if it were there, the apple and the honey would not taste sweet. Thus, that bitterness is a quality which suggests soreness of the throat.” (Lull 1965: *Liber mirandarum demonstrationum*, 1.p. 40)

Ibn Arabi says: “In the same way, upon tasting sugar or

honey and finding it bitter, even though it is sweet, one necessarily knows that the sense of taste has been deceived... But there comes afterwards another understanding which says that the bilious disposition has been placed in the organ of taste... So the taste now perceives nothing but the bitterness of bile.” (Ibn Arabi 1293: II, 398)

(Three) The secret virtues of the divine names:

According to Lull, ‘As God has put virtue in words, stones and herbs, so much more, then, He put it in His names. ‘(Lull Prologue: Els cent noms de Deus).

And Ibn Arabi sees that ‘The science of the virtues of the divine names belongs to the intuitive mystics who should not reveal their mysteries to the secular ... The letters which make up the divine names have virtues or properties as do the physical elements, drugs and everything else’ (Ibn Arabi 1293: I, 278, line 21).

(Four) The goal of divine love:

For Lull (*Libro del Amigo y del Amado*, Prologue and p. 212), ‘Love is the charity and benevolence with which the Friend and the Beloved are loved. The three...are the

same thing...Love and loving, Friend and Beloved, are so firmly united in my Beloved that they are one actually in essence...’

And Ibn Arabi writes (1293: II, 441, line 3; Palacois 1978: 177-178; Ribera 1928: I): ‘The goal of spiritual love is identification. This means that the essence of the Beloved becomes the same essence that as that of the Lover, and reciprocally, the essence of the Lover comes to be the essence of the Beloved.’

Conclusion

The spiritually contoured discourse of Lullism on divinity is less blurred by polemics and conjectures while seen in historical-textual parameters involving Ramon Lull and a number of Muslim philosophers and spiritual masters such as Ibn Masarra and Ibn Arabi. Lull had written the book ‘Els cent noms de Deus’ as confessed by himself in imitation of similar books of the Muslim Sufis which study the metaphysics of divine love. Lull did not use the Christian terminology of *the soul and its spouse*, rather he borrowed the technical terminology particularly used in Arabic poetry, that is, the terms of ‘The Lover and the Beloved,’ *al-Muḥibb wa al-Maḥbūb*, with their various themes, such as jealousy, weeping, sadness, secrets, presence and absence, madness, etc. Again, the reader finds similar method of expression in the writings of Lull and Ibn Arabi, like the cabalistic symbolic value of letters (Ibn Arabi 1293: I, 64-117), use of geometric schemes with concentric and eccentric circles, triangles, squares and figures (Ibn Arabi

1293: III, 553-594; 1919; Lull: 1517) the famous symbol of tree to depict the whole harmonious divine system. Ibn Arabi's *Shajarah al-Kaūn*, *Kītāb Shaqq al-Jaib* and *al-Shajarah al-Nu'māniyah*, besides *al-Fotūhāt al-Makkīyah*, and Ramund Lull's *Ars Magna*, *Book of Angels* and *Els cent noms de Deus* hold special significance and relevance in historical-spiritual perspectives. Such books justify the use of a distinctive vocabulary.

Ibn Arabi (1293: I, 366; III, 505) had pleaded for the use of some esoteric technical terms on the ground that the mystic divine sciences are the fruit of religious experience and not of reason, and they vary in each subject and cannot be enclosed within the narrow molds of the common theological terminology. He had prepared a special vocabulary for his works which may be seen in a number of works such as the *Ta'rifāt* of al-Jurjānī (al-Jurjānī 1845: I, 366; III, 505), etc. Lull, too, justifies the same method. In *Opera omnia*, II, *Liber de quatuordecim articulis fidei*, Prologue, Lull has put it very explicitly: 'It is very necessary that we seek appropriate vocabulary through which we may declare and make credible the intrinsic work which is in our Lord God... Whence, since this vocabulary is necessary to make credible the acts of the divine attributes (*dignitatum*), no one ought to be surprised... Very often it happens that, for fear of introducing errors, a person speaks in a curtailed and restricted manner and therefore cannot explain those things that he could explain if he were able to speak at length... in which search we lack appropriate vocabulary to show completely what our mind conceives so much more perfectly than we can express in word. Nevertheless,

we should speak thus, if that we seek...we wish to explain to others.’ This along with Latin schools of Avicenna, Averroes and Medieval literary *Eurabia* (Sanaullah: 2006, 2007, 2010) substantiates the historicity of Arab-Muslim encounters in Latin Europe and opens vistas of assimilative affirmations in a trajectory of shared spiritual-culture epitomized in Ibn Arabi and his imprints on Ramon Lull (Bellver: 2014, Palma: 2016, Koetsier:2016, Sari: 2020).

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