

# I of the Heart

*Texts and Studies in Honor of  
Seyyed Hossein Nasr*

*Edited by*

Muhammad U. Faruque  
Atif Khalil  
Mohammed Rustom



BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON

Cover illustration: Art work by Behnaz Karjoo

The Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data is available online at <https://cat>:

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: "Brill". See and download: [brill.com/br](http://brill.com/br)

ISSN 0929-2403

ISBN 978-90-04-73494-4 (hardback)

ISBN 978-90-04-73495-1 (e-book)

DOI 10.1163/9789004734951

Copyright 2025 by Koninklijke Brill BV, Plantijnstraat 2, 2321 JC Leiden, The Netherlands. Koninklijke Brill BV incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Schöningh, Brill Fir Brill Wageningen Academic, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Böhlau and V&R unipress.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recor without prior written permission from the publisher. Requests for re-use and/or translati addressed to Koninklijke Brill BV via [brill.com](http://brill.com) or [copyright.com](http://copyright.com).

For more information: [info@brill.com](mailto:info@brill.com).

This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

ز عشقت آنچنان مستم که دیگر خود نمی دانم  
 در این مستی بوم حیران و با این حال خاموشم  
 نه دوریت بود ممکن نه آغوش پر از مهرت  
 ز بوی زلف مشکینت ولی همواره مدهوشم  
 رخت بگشای ای ساقی که جانم در طلب باشد  
 بده یک جرعه زان باده برد هم دم و هم هوشم  
 در این دیرپراز محنت بسی سختی پذیرفتم  
 به این اندیشه تا روزی شراب معرفت نوشم  
 در این عالم تو را دارم تو را دارم به تنهایی  
 وصال غایت عمرم در این ره همچنان کوشم  
 بود شور لقاات همچو آتش در درون من  
 در این آتش همی سوزم ولی فانی و خاموشم

So drunk am I with Thy love, that I no longer know myself,  
 In wonderment am I in this drunkenness, yet in this state I am silent.  
 Neither being far from Thee is possible, nor Thy embrace full of love,  
 Yet, from the smell of Thy black Hair I am constantly bewildered.  
 Unveil Thy Face, O Saki, for my soul is in quest.  
 Give a gulp of that Wine that will take away both my breath and  
 intelligence.  
 In this monastery full of affliction, I accepted much hardship,  
 With this thought that one day I would drink the wine of gnosis.  
 In this world I have Thee, I have Thee alone,  
 Union with Thee the goal of my life; I continue to strive on this road.  
 The fervor of meeting Thee within me burns like fire,  
 I continue to burn in this fire, but I am annihilated and silent.

SEYYED HOSSEIN NASR



# Contents

Preface	xv
Acknowledgements	xxi
List of Figures	xxii
Notes on Contributors	xxiii
Books by Seyyed Hossein Nasr	xxvii

## PART I

### *Sufi Theory*

- 1 Sufism and the Anthropocosmic Self 3  
*Muhammad U. Faruque*
- 2 On the Limits of Reasoning in 'Aṭṭār's *Dīwān*: Transcendent Knowledge in Post-classical Khurasan 40  
*Cyrus Ali Zargar*
- 3 The Theo-Poetics of Divine Unity in Rūmī's *Mathnawī* 58  
*Gholamreza Aavani*
- 4 The World before the Word: Existence and the State of Nonexistence in Ibn 'Arabī's Works 81  
*Dunja Rašić*
- 5 In the End Will Be Consciousness: Farghānī on the Ontology of the Soul 99  
*William C. Chittick*
- 6 Jāmī's *wujūdī* Metaphysics in Chinese 136  
*Sachiko Murata*
- 7 Dārā Shukōh's Persian Translation of the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* 147  
*Shankar Nair*
- 8 All Knowledge Is Light from His Light: The Role of the Muhammadan Reality in the Islamic Sciences 166  
*Joseph E.B. Lumbard*

## PART 2

*Sufi Praxis*

- 9 The Tranquility of Remembrance 183  
*Atif Khalil*
- 10 Al-Sulamī's *Dharm takabbur al-'ulamā'* 199  
*Mohammed Mehdi Ali*
- 11 Devotion and Metaphysics in a Litany Ascribed to 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī 220  
*Gregory Vandamme*
- 12 La pauvreté selon Ibn 'Arabī 235  
*Denis Gril*
- 13 Weakness, Fear, Desire: Ibn 'Arabī on the Earthly Premises of Spiritual Discernment 253  
*James Morris*
- 14 Perceiving Nature: Rūmī on Human Purpose and Cosmic Prayer 261  
*Munjed M. Murad*
- 15 From the Forms of Beauty to the Creator of All Beauty: *Leylī o Majnūn* in Persian Poetry 276  
*Leili Anvar*

## PART 3

*Philosophy, Mathematics, Science*

- 16 Ontology and Theurgy in the Brethren of Purity's Mathematical Treatises 311  
*Syed A.H. Zaidi*
- 17 Ibn Sīnā's *Treatise on Love* and the *Theology of Aristotle* 339  
*Kevin Corrigan and Syed A.H. Zaidi*
- 18 Ibn Sīnā on *ziyāra* 360  
*Vinay Khetia*

- 19 Pleasures—Sensual and Spiritual: A Chapter from Nāṣir-i Khusraw's *Pilgrims' Provision* 371  
*Shafique N. Virani*
- 20 Suhrawardī's Advice to the Needy 402  
*Justin Cancelliere*
- 21 Fetters, Flight, Freedom: A New Translation of Suhrawardī's *Risālat-i Ṭayr* 436  
*Mohammed Rustom*
- 22 Language and Linguistic Difference in Ibn Kammūna's Commentary on Suhrawardī's *Tabwīḥāt* 446  
*John Walbridge*
- 23 Some Theological and Philosophical Passages from Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *al-Sirr al-maktūm* 461  
*Muhammad Fariduddin Attar*
- 24 Exploring the Importance of Persian Works in Ottoman Astronomy: The Case of 'Alī Qūshjī's *Risāla dar 'ilm-i hay'a* 485  
*Hasan Umut*
- 25 Sacred History and Eschatology through the Lens of Philosophy: Mullā Ṣadrā's Commentary on Two Traditions about the Twelfth Imam in *Sharḥ Uṣūl al-kāfi* 498  
*Maria Massi Dakake*
- 26 Motion Denied: Lāhījī's Avicennan Refutation of *al-ḥaraka al-jawhariyya* 516  
*Davlat Dadikhuda*

## PART 4

*Law, Theology, Exegesis*

- 27 The Life and Legacy of 'Aṭā' b. Abī Rabāḥ (d. 114/732) 537  
*Asma Afzaruddin*

- 28 Affirmation Supersedes Negation (*al-muthbit muqaddam 'alā l-nāfi*): A Unifying and Productive Maxim in Islamic Thought 563  
*Jonathan A.C. Brown*
- 29 Charting the Theology of a Sufi Sage: The Ash'arism of Abū l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī 582  
*Martin Nguyen*
- 30 Ash'arism and the Rational Apprehension of Good and Bad: Another Reappraisal 604  
*Sherman A. Jackson*
- 31 Shi'ī Exegesis in the Akhbari Era: Hāshim al-Baḥrānī and *al-Tafsīr al-ma'thūr* 637  
*Liyakat Takim*
- 32 "Yā Muḥammad, yā 'Alī": *Istighātha* in Islamic Thought and Practice 664  
*Khalil Andani*

#### PART 5

#### *Art, Education, Ethics*

- 33 Mullā Shāh: Saintly Presence through Word and Image in Early-Modern Hindustan 703  
*Murad Khan Mumtaz*
- 34 Some Notes on the Music of *tajwīd* 721  
*Rana Shieh*
- 35 Education, Reform, and Renewal 730  
*Mukhtar H. Ali*
- 36 The Language of the Birds: Maulana Azad and the Recovery of Muslim Ecological Tradition 744  
*Anand Vivek Taneja*
- 37 *al-Ḥayā'*: The Dignity of Shame 766  
*Oludamini Ogunnaike*

**PART 6*****Poetry, Science, Economics***

- 38 Poetic Pilgrim: Vedāntic Reflections on Seyyed Hossein Nasr's *Poems of the Way* 801  
*Ankur Barua*
- 39 Desacralization and Dehumanization: Seyyed Hossein Nasr's Critique of Prevailing Science 824  
*Karim H. Karim*
- 40 Seyyed Hossein Nasr on Islamic Economics 839  
*Waleed El-Ansary*
- Index of Names and Terms 875

## Some Theological and Philosophical Passages from Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *al-Sirr al-maktūm*

Muhammad Fariduddin Attar

This paper offers a transcription and translation of selected passages in Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's (d. 606/1210) infamous work on the occult, *al-Sirr al-maktūm* (*The hidden secret*), based on several manuscript witnesses of the text. My intention is to highlight the *Sirr* as an essential source for the author's early cosmological doctrines, and the selection of passages is made with this goal in mind.<sup>1</sup> Fakhr al-Dīn conceived the *Sirr* as a *technical* manual for talisman making, the invocation of celestial spirits, and other forms of star magic. It was not a theoretical inquiry into what the Arabic Peripatetic tradition would regard as a branch of practical physics. Despite this, the author still employed a speculative method of inquiry that allowed him to expound the metaphysical and physical principles at work in occult phenomena and magical operations. Recognizing, perhaps, the difficulty of investigating such events that occur at the narrow fringes of the natural order, he turned to an exploratory approach using the latest philosophical and scientific theories of the day, which include the doctrines of the Eastern *ḥikma* tradition inaugurated by Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037) and later perspectives that emerged in its wake. It is in the course of this inquiry that Fakhr al-Dīn engages in cosmological speculations in a way that reflects

<sup>1</sup> Michael Noble has been at the forefront in discussing the philosophical aspects of *al-Sirr al-maktūm*. See: *Philosophising the occult: Avicennan psychology and "The Hidden Secret" of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020; "Sabian astral magic as soteriology in Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *al-Sirr al-maktūm*," in Liana Saif et al. (eds.), *Islamicate occult sciences in theory and practice*, Leiden: Brill, 2020, 207–229; and most recently "The entanglement of philosophy, politics and the occult: The hidden secret of early post-Avicennan thought in the Islamic East," in *Entangled Religions* 14.3 (2023). See also Jacobsen Ben Hammed, Nora, "As drops in their sea: Angelology through ontology in Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *al-Maṭālib al-ʿāliya*," in *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy* 29.2 (2019), 185–206; Obuchi, Hisashi, "Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī and occult science as philosophy: An aspect of the philosophical theology of Islam at the beginning of the thirteenth century," in *Annals of Japan Association for Middle East Studies* 34.1 (2018), 1–33; Attar, Muhammad Fariduddin, *Avicenna and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī on the cosmic system: The rule of one, efficient causality, and celestial mediation*, Montreal (PhD Diss.): McGill University, 2023, 237–263. My research for this paper was supported by public funds through the FRQSC (Fonds de recherche du Québec–Société et culture).

his own views rather than the authoritative sources he cites. Thus, we find in the *Sirr* evidence of a distinctly Rāzian view of the cosmic system, one that is either absent or understated in other works of the same period. That a manual in the occult became the chosen vessel for the author's insights into the structure and governing principles of the universe should not come as a surprise. Fakhr al-Dīn did not regard the teachings of occult texts (especially those ascribed to the Sabians of Harran and the First Teacher, Aristotle) as records of defunct religious beliefs and practices superseded by the Muhammadan dispensation and the scientific advances of Eastern *ḥikma*.<sup>2</sup> Rather, they were a repository of the Hermetic revelation and other ancient teachings on cosmic sympathies that the philosopher can evaluate and integrate into his own system.<sup>3</sup>

The *Sirr*, however, stands at the periphery of Fakhr al-Dīn's body of work, rarely consulted, and is still unavailable in a modern edition. To highlight the work as a unique witness to Fakhr al-Dīn's early philosophical project, I offer a transcription and translation of nine passages where the author adduces his considered views on key philosophical doctrines. These doctrines concern four questions: the eternity of the world, the metaphysics of celestial mediation, the occult powers of the human soul, and the epistemic status of astrological principles. I have chosen these passages with the following considerations in mind:

- 2 The "Sabians" in the *Sirr* is a generic reference to adherents of star-worshipping religion. The occult works attributed to Aristotle are what Kevin van Bladel calls the "Talismanic Pseudo-Aristotelian Hermetica"; see van Bladel, Kevin Thomas, *The Arabic Hermes: From pagan sage to prophet of science*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009, 92, 121–135. On the Sabian background to *al-Sirr al-maktūm*, see Noble, *Philosophising the occult* 6–8 and 48–64. Lillian McCabe, in her current doctoral project at Yale University, hypothesizes the existence of a "Sabian library" consisting of texts that transmit the religious teachings of star-worshippers to scholars like Fakhr al-Dīn. A recent contribution to the influence of the astral magic tradition on Islamic philosophy is Łukasz Piątak, *Between philosophy, mysticism and magic: A critical edition of occult writings of and attributed to Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī (1156–1191)*, Warsaw (PhD Diss.): University of Warsaw, 2018, 452–482. On the pseudo-Aristotelian hermetica more generally, see Burnett, Charles, "Aristoteles/Hermes Liber Antimaquis," in Paolo Lucentini and Vittoria Perrone Compagni (eds.), *Hermetis Trismegisti: Astrologica et Divinatoria*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2001, 175–221, and Saif, Liana, "A preliminary study of the pseudo-Aristotelian Hermetica: Texts, context, and doctrines," in *al-'Uṣūr al-Wuṣṭā* 29 (2021), 20–80.
- 3 Hermes and texts that ascribe their content to the teachings of Hermes are one of most cited authorities in *al-Sirr al-maktūm*. On the figure of Hermes as the prophetic source of philosophical knowledge in Islam, see Seyyed Hossein Nasr's *Islamic studies: Essays on law and society, the sciences, philosophy and Sufism*, Beirut: Librarie du Liban, 1967, 63–89; "The meaning and role of 'philosophy' in Islam," in *SI* 37:37 (1973), 57–80; *Islamic philosophy from its origin to the present: Philosophy in the land of prophecy*, Albany: SUNY Press, 2006, 43.

that they appeal primarily to philosophical reasoning or present significant philosophical implications; that they can be understood in themselves and would not appear disjointed or incomprehensible when culled from their original context; that they reveal Fakhr al-Dīn's considered views on the nature of occult phenomena rather than a record of someone else's opinion being cited; that they touch key areas of philosophy that clarify the author's understanding of the universal system; and that they contain distinctly Rāzian metaphysical and cosmological doctrines that are either original to the *Sirr* or which he develops in other works of the period. Together these passages present only a small but representative sample of the author's theoretical inquiry on the nature of occult phenomena.<sup>4</sup>

The transcription of these passages is based on MS Tehran: Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Milli 6853, copied in Isfahan and dated Dhū l-Ḥijja, 616/February 1220, around ten years after Fakhr al-Dīn's death.<sup>5</sup> This manuscript is one of the few to transmit the entire text of the *Sirr* and is one of the more reliable early witnesses I have examined.<sup>6</sup> We begin, however, with a short introduction to the general contents, structure, and method of the *Sirr*.

## 1 The General Contents and Method of the *Sirr* as an Occult Text

Current studies generally agree that the *Sirr* was written when Fakhr al-Dīn was in his late 20s or early 30s, around the same period he wrote or was writing several important works that would make him a famous scholar, such as *Nihāyat al-'uqūl* (*The summit of reason*), *al-Mabāḥith al-mashriqiyya* (*Eastern*

4 Michael Noble has translated and discussed many of these passages throughout his monograph, *Philosophising the occult*. Readers should consult his work to understand their meaning in relation to Fakhr al-Dīn's project in the *Sirr*. I have also analyzed these passages in my dissertation, *Avicenna and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī on the cosmic system* 237–263. However, the scope of the discussion is more limited as it deals with these passages in relation to Fakhr al-Dīn's criticism of Avicennian cosmological and psychological theories in his early philosophical works.

5 Fakhr al-Dīn died on Monday, 1 Shawwāl, 606/1210; see Shihadeh, Ayman, "On the final days of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī: A study, edition and translation of an anonymous obituary," in *Oriens* 52:3–4 (2025), 181–208.

6 In addition to the MS Majlis 6853, I also rely on the following manuscripts to verify my reading of the text: MSS Istanbul: Carullah 1482 (614/1217), Carullah 1481 (682/1283), Damad Ibrahim Paşa 845 (690/1291), Manisa il Halk 6284 (928/1522), Laleli 1548; Paris: Arabe 2645 (8th/15th cent.); Leiden: Or. 986 (879/1474); Berlin: Petermann 1.207 (ca. 11th/17th cent.). I would like to also thank Fateme Savadi and Sajjad Nikfahm-Khubravan for their help in acquiring some of the manuscripts used for my research.

investigations) and *al-Mulakhkhaṣ* (*The compendium*), as well as his commentary on Ibn Sīnā's *al-Ishārāt wa-l-tanbīhāt* (*Pointers and reminders*).<sup>7</sup> The *Sirr* is dedicated to an unnamed potentate, but it is possible that it was commissioned by the Khwarazmshāh 'Alā' al-Dīn Tekish (r. 567–596/1172–1200) when Fakhr al-Dīn was serving under his patronage.<sup>8</sup> Though royal commission is perhaps one factor for the *Sirr*'s composition, some personal interest must have been at play. Fakhr al-Dīn's concern with the occult sciences is one of the enduring features of his career. He was ascribed with the authorship of four other works on the occult, two of which, *Kitāb al-firāsa*, a work on physiognomy, and *Ikhtiyārāt al-Ālā'iyya*, a work on election astrology, are extant. In his major philosophical works, Fakhr al-Dīn also wrote extensively on occult phenomena, especially (and following Avicennian fashion) in the psychological sections of these works where the strange and rare powers of the human soul are discussed. Finally, in his *kalām* works and his exegesis of the Quran, Fakhr al-Dīn discusses the theological doctrines of the practitioners of magic and adherents of star-worshipping religions to show how they contradict Islamic teachings about God and His relationship to the created order. Thus, Fakhr al-Dīn engages with the occult tradition from three distinct but often overlapping perspectives: (1) from the concerns of a scholar of the occult, (2) from the theoretical framework of Eastern *ḥikma*, and (3) from the raised platform of the preacher's pulpit. Although the *Sirr* contains heresiographical discussions and delves into the physical principles of magical and astrological operations, the work is a straight contribution to the occult tradition. Fakhr al-Dīn

- 7 For the chronology of the *Sirr* relative to the *Mabāḥith* and *Mulakhkhaṣ*, see Altaş, Eşref, "Fahredden er-Rāzī'nin Eserlerinin Kronolojisi," in Ömer Türker (ed.), *İslām Düşüncesinin Dönüşüm Çağında Fahreddin er-Rāzī*, İstanbul: ISAM Yayınları, 2013, 106–107; cf. Griffel, Frank, "Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī," in Ulrich Rudolph and Peter Adamson (eds.), *Philosophy in the Islamic world. 11-1. 11th–12th centuries central and eastern regions*, trans. Gwendolin Goldbloom, Leiden: Brill, 2023, 607–615. The *Sirr* is referenced in the *Mulakhkhaṣ* and *Sharḥ al-Ishārāt*; see, Rāzī, Fakhr al-Dīn al-, *al-Mulakhkhaṣ fī al-ḥikma wa-l-mantiq*, ed. 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ismā'īl, Aḥmad Şābir Muştafā, and Rājiḥ Hilāl, iii, Cairo: Markaz Iḥyā' li-l-Buḥūth wa-l-Dirāsa, 2021, 442; and *Sharḥ al-Ishārāt wa-l-tanbīhāt: al-ṭabī'iyyāt wa-l-ilāhiyyāt*, ed. Alireza Najafzāda, ii, Tehran: Society for the Appreciation of Cultural Works and Dignitaries, 2005, 664. It is also referenced in a late work, the commentary on Avicenna's *Sharḥ 'Uyūn al-ḥikma*; see, al-Rāzī, *Sharḥ 'Uyūn al-ḥikma*, ed. Aḥmad Hījāzī al-Saqqā, Tehran: Mu'assasat al-Şādiq li-l-Tibā'a wa-l-Nashr, 1989, 193–194. Based on the references of the earlier works, Altaş places the *terminus ante quem* of the *Sirr*'s composition to 574/1179.
- 8 Altaş, "Fahredden er-Rāzī'nin eserlerinin kronolojisi" 107. The dedication is located at the end of the *Sirr* where Fakhr al-Dīn offers his parting advice (*waṣīya*), MS Majlis 6853 f. 274<sup>v</sup> line 5. On the political dimensions of the *Sirr*'s composition, see Noble, *Philosophising the occult* 29–34, and "The entanglement of philosophy, politics and the occult."

devotes himself to explaining the inner workings of magical operations from both theoretical and practical perspectives, sifting through the sources of the tradition, selecting the most relevant and authoritative bits, and reorganizing the discipline for greater intelligibility—all this for the goal of preserving the accumulated wisdom on the occult, deepening the aspirant's knowledge thereof and increasing his technical know-how in the art of channeling celestial powers. Where theological and philosophical discussions appear, they are not pursued for their own sake, but are embedded in the arrangement of a grimoire.

The *Sirr* is concerned with objects and devices that harness the powers of celestial entities for human purposes. Fakhr al-Dīn focuses on two such artifices: talismans, and ritual invocations. Talismans are statues, images, or inscriptions constructed at elected times and in such a manner as to draw in and capture the active powers of celestial entities into a fixed medium, thereby preserving the propitious effects of what are often fleeting celestial events. The second are formulaic utterances designed to extol and subsequently subjugate the will of celestial spirits to meet the purposes of the operator. Together they form the chief *mawḍūʿāt* or subject matters of the *Sirr*, as it is stated in the introduction of the text:

Text 1. MS Tehran: Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Milli 6853, f. 1<sup>v</sup> lines 3–5

فهذا كتاب يجمع فيه | ملخص ما وصل الينا من علم الطلسمات والسحريات والعزائم ودعوة  
الكواكب | مع التبري عن كل ما يخالف الدين وسلم اليقين

This book compiles what has reached us of the knowledge of talismans, magical operations, conjurations, and the invocation of the stars, while staying clear from anything that opposes the Religion and [undermines] the security of certitude.

From this statement we also learn that Fakhr al-Dīn views himself as compiling material on the subject. Indeed, substantial portions of the *Sirr* are citations of authoritative astrological and astral magic sources, rearranged according to his preferred scheme. But Fakhr al-Dīn does more than this. He also compares different opinions on a given issue, evaluates them critically, and occasionally pronounces his own position. He does this to sharpen the inquiries of the discipline, improve the efficacy of the magical operation under review, and secure the theoretical bases of the magical arts with the latest developments in metaphysics, the natural sciences, and speculative cosmology. Thus, the *Sirr* is more

than a repository of occult lore; it is a meticulously curated digest of transmitted knowledge on the occult sciences.<sup>9</sup>

Another notable aspect of the passage above is that Fakhr al-Dīn wants to reassure the reader that his inquiry into astral magic does not imply a blanket endorsement of everything the tradition transmits. Rather, he intends to stay clear “from anything that opposes the Religion and [undermines] the security of certitude.” This qualification, general and pre-emptive as it is, allows the author to get on with his inquiry into the material *despite* its controversial status. It announces neither that the astral magic tradition is inherently heretical nor that the *Sirr* is an exercise in heresiography.<sup>10</sup> In some passages transcribed below, Fakhr al-Dīn discusses which doctrines of the astral magic tradition contradict Islamic teachings. At the same time, he also offers an interpretation of such doctrines that would neutralize the theologically problematic aspects, keeping the underlying system intact.

Let us turn to the structure of the *Sirr*. As transmitted by MS Majlis 6853 and other witnesses, the text is divided into five *maqālāt* or treatises. The first treatise is devoted to the philosophical and scientific basis of occult phenomena and magical operations. Fakhr al-Dīn’s approach is open ended. Instead of proposing a single theoretical model, he enlists the aid of several, at times competing theoretical perspectives. This section covers the two poles of the magical worldview: the macrocosm, dealing with the metaphysics of cosmic sympathies and celestial mediation; and the microcosm, dealing with occult powers of the human soul. The second treatise is one of the longer sections of the

9 C.f. Noble, *Philosophising the occult* 1–6.

10 For a discussion on Rāzī’s heresiography of astrology and astral magic in the *Sirr* and other works, see Fawda, Sa’īd, “Introduction,” in Sa’īd Fawda, *Nihāyat al-‘uqūl fī dirāyat al-‘uṣūl*, i, Beirut: Dār al-Dhakhān, 2014, 47–86, and al-Nāblusī, ‘Uthmān, *Mawqif al-imām Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī min al-sihr wa-da’wat al-kawākib wa-radd takharriṣāt al-Taymīyya*, Jordan: al-Aṣḥayn li-l-Dirāsāt wa-l-Naṣh, 2018. I offer a brief evaluation of these studies in *Avicenna and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī on the cosmic system* 242. We must clearly acknowledge that Fakhr al-Dīn consistently regards the *performance* of ritual magic, specifically those that assume the divinity of celestial entities, as constituting unbelief (*kufūr*). We find this view already presented in *Jāmi’ al-‘ulūm*, an encyclopedic work written during the same period as the *Sirr*; see al-Rāzī, *Jāmi’ al-‘ulūm: Sittīnī*, ed. ‘Alī Āl Dāwūd, Tehran: Bunyād-i Mawqūfāt-i Duktur Maḥmūd Afshār, 2003, 331. According to Živa Vesel, *Jāmi’ al-‘ulūm* predates the composition of the *Sirr*. See her review article: “Michael-Sebastian Noble, *Philosophising the occult: Avicennan psychology and the ‘Hidden Secret’ of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī*,” in *Abstracta Iranica* 44 (2022), 1–2. The same pronouncement of unbelief can be seen in later works, such as *al-Arba’īn fī uṣūl al-dīn*, ed. Aḥmad Hījāzī al-Saqqā, Beirut: Dār al-Jil, 2004, 329–330, and *al-Taṣīr al-kabīr*, iii, Beirut: Dār Iḥyā’ al-Turāth al-‘Arabī, 232; see also vol. iii, 460 and vol. xxx, 707 of the same work. Consult also Noble, *Philosophising the occult* 217–228.

work. It deals with the astrological principles that the operator should master to be successful in his craft. Here, Fakhr al-Dīn defends the legitimacy of astrology as a scientific discipline and provides an epistemological framework to analyze astrological data and evaluate their reliability. These first two treatises can be regarded as the theoretical portion of the *Sīrr*, because they establish the cosmological and epistemic framework in which magical operations and occult phenomena take place. In the third treatise, Fakhr al-Dīn instructs in the art of constructing constellation talismans. In the fourth treatise he instructs in the discipline of invoking celestial spirits. Finally, in the fifth treatise he discusses a miscellaneous collection of magical operations, like those that cause love, hatred, and illnesses, binding spells, and the craft of deflecting magic. He concludes this treatise with instructions on how to make planetary talismans.<sup>11</sup> In contrast to the first two treatises, the last three can be regarded as the technical portion of the *Sīrr*, as they consist of instructions, recipes, pointers, and guidelines for the optimal performance of talisman making and star invocation. However, despite being practically oriented, these technical sections are always introduced by a detailed overview of the cosmological

11 For an outline of the contents of the *Sīrr* consult Noble, *Philosophising the occult* 37–39. We should note that this outline relies on the widely available lithographic print commissioned by Mirzā Muḥammad Shīrāzī published in the late 19th century. Yet this copy of the text transmits a heavily redacted version of Treatise v of the *Sīrr*. The problematic transmission begins in the middle of Treatise IV, p. 136 line 2 of the lithograph, at which point the text no longer accords with MSS that transmit what I believe is the correct reading of Treatises IV and v. To give a scale of the redaction, what the lithograph transmits as Treatise v is only one tenth of what is transmitted by other MSS. The redacted version of Treatise v contains only a single section, which deals with planetary talismans. The complete version, on the other hand, contains ten chapters (*bāb*, pl. *abwāb*), with the instructions for making planetary talismans being the subject of one of them, Chapter 10. Furthermore, what the lithographic print transmits as Chapters 7, 8, 9, and 10 of Treatise IV should rather belong to Treatise v as Chapters 6, 7, 2, and 3 respectively. These Chapters do not deal with planetary invocations, which is the subject of Treatise IV; rather they deal with a range of miscellaneous magical items and rituals, thus falling under the remit of Treatise v, which is correspondingly entitled: “On the detailed operations concerning love (*ḥubb*), hatred (*ghaḍab*), inflicting illness (*tamrīḍ*), deflecting magic (*daf’ al-siḥr*), the binding of the tongue (*‘uqd al-lisān*), the binding of sleep (*‘uqd al-nawm*).” A sample of the manuscript witnesses that transmit the correct version Treatises IV and v is the following: MSS Tehran: Majlis 6853; Istanbul: Carullah 1481, Damad Ibrahim Paşa 845; Leiden: Or. 986; Berlin: Petermann 1.207. Note that the transmission recorded in the Leiden manuscript is problematic, with missing pages and incorrect section headings; while the Berlin manuscript contains inaccurate section headings and the possible inclusion of foreign material related to Solomonic magic. A sample of other manuscripts that correctly transmit Treatises IV and v, but with some missing sections, are MSS Istanbul: Carullah 1482, Manisa il Halk 6284.

principles at work. Thus, we see that Fakhr al-Dīn is constantly preoccupied with the causal basis of occult phenomena. When we consider that he was citing the latest philosophical theories of the 6th/12th century, such as those of Ibn Sīnā and the alternative perspectives that emerged in the subsequent period, including his own, the text is one of the most theoretically informed and sophisticated occult manuals of the age.

## 2 Transcription and Translation of Selected Passages<sup>12</sup>

As mentioned above, the base witness used for the transcription and translation of the selected passages is MS Majlis 6853. Since I verify my reading of these passages with other MSS, the transcriptions can be regarded as an accurate representation of Fakhr al-Dīn's intentions, though obviously there are minor textual differences between witnesses. I will provide readings of other witnesses only when the MS Majlis 6853 is illegible, when other MSS transmit variants that are useful for understanding the meaning of the text, or when such variants affect the intention of the passage. Except for Text 3 and Text 7, where I offer emendations, the reader should view the transcription as an exact reproduction of MS Majlis 6853.

The selection of passages I transcribe and translate are culled from the theoretical portions of the *Sirr*. Text 2 contains Fakhr al-Dīn's criticism of the eternity of the world, a doctrine which he ascribes to the "Sabians" and the "philosophers." It contains an argument—unique among Fakhr al-Dīn's works—in support of the major premiss of a proof against the eternity of the world, this premiss being that "every contingent thing (*mumkin*) is originated (*hādith*)." The *minor* premiss is, of course, that "all existing things other than God are contingent." In Text 3 Fakhr al-Dīn affirms the theory of celestial mediation and the Hermetic system of celestial-sublunary correspondences in a manner that is consistent with his Ash'arite commitments. Text 4 offers a Quranic model of cosmic sympathies and identifies the celestial spirits of the astral magic tradition with angelic entities. In Text 5, Fakhr al-Dīn acknowledges the occult powers of the human souls using both Avicennian and Rāzian models of psychic faculties. Text 6 discusses the Hermetic doctrine of Perfect Natures as the celestial archetypes of human souls, while Text 7 affirms the reality of celestial

<sup>12</sup> I thank Rosy Azar for helping me improve the transcription and translation of these passages. Husayn Ibrahim also patiently went through my work and sharpened my understanding of these texts. I am responsible for any shortcomings.

archetypes using an argument that in other works was used to affirm the possibility of Platonic Forms. Finally in Text 8 and Text 9, Fakhr al-Dīn defends the epistemic reliability of astrological principles as these are transmitted in the authoritative sources of the tradition.

2.1 *Text 2. MS Tehran: Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Millī 6853, f. 23<sup>r</sup> line 10–23<sup>v</sup>  
line 2<sup>13</sup>*

وَأَمَّا قَلْنَا أَنَّ كُلَّ مُمْكِنٍ مُحَدَّثٍ | لِأَنَّ كُلَّ مُمْكِنٍ مَحْتَاجٍ إِلَى الْمُؤَثِّرِ فَاحْتِيَاجُهُ إِلَى الْمُؤَثِّرِ أَمَّا  
 أَنْ يَكُونَ حَالِ بَقَائِهِ | أَوْ حَالِ عَدَمِهِ وَالْأَوَّلُ بَاطِلٌ لِأَنَّ الشَّيْءَ حَالِ بَقَائِهِ مَوْجُودٌ فَلَوْ افْتَقَرَ  
 حَالِ بَقَائِهِ | إِلَى الْمَوْجِدِ لَافْتَقَرَ الْمَوْجُودُ حَالِ وُجُودِهِ إِلَى مَنْ يَجْعَلُهُ مَوْجُودًا فَيَكُونُ | ذَلِكَ  
 تَحْصِيلَ الْحَاصِلِ وَهُوَ مَحَالٌ فَتَبَيَّنَ أَنَّهُ مَحْتَاجٌ إِلَى الْمُؤَثِّرِ أَمَّا حَالِ حَدُوثِهِ | أَوْ حَالِ عَدَمِهِ وَعَلَى  
 التَّقْدِيرِينِ فَانَّهُ يَلْزِمُ الْقَطْعُ بِأَنَّ كُلَّ مُمْكِنٍ مُحَدَّثٍ فَتَبَيَّنَ أَنَّ مَا عَدَا الْمَوْجُودَ الْوَاحِدَ مُحَدَّثٍ  
 وَهَذَا بَرَهَانٌ خَصَّنَا اللَّهُ تَعَالَى بِهِ | وَلَمْ يَتَّهَيْأْ مِثْلَهُ لِأَحَدٍ | مِمَّنْ قَبْلُنَا إِلَّا أَنَّ دَلِيلَهُمُ الْمُبْنَى عَلَى  
 الْحَرَكَةِ وَالسَّكُونِ لَمْ يَتَنَاوَلَ إِلَّا الْأَجْسَامَ وَالْأَعْرَاضَ | وَلَمْ يَثْبُتْ بِهِ أَنَّ مَا سِوَى اللَّهِ تَعَالَى  
 فَهُوَ مُحَدَّثٌ

We say that every contingent thing is originated only because every contingent thing stands in need of the cause.<sup>14</sup> Now, its standing in need of the cause occurs either during its persistence or during its non-existence. The first is false, because the thing, during its persistence, is [already] existent. If it required the existentiator during its persistence, the existing thing would stand in need of that which renders it existent when it was [already] existing. This is sheer superfluity, which is absurd. Thus, it is established that [the contingent thing] stands in need of the cause, either during its origination or during its non-existence. Based on these two

<sup>13</sup> This passage appears in the last chapter (*faṣl* 6) of Treatise I on the theoretical principles of astral magic. The chapter is entitled, "On showing the weakness of that which we have related of these Philosophers (*ḥalāsifā*) and Sabians (*al-Ṣābi'ā*) and explaining the soundness (*ṣiḥḥa*) of the religion of Islam." It is dedicated mainly to refuting the doctrine of the eternity of the world. The argument is not a categorical rejection of Sabian teachings on celestial mediation; it refutes a specific metaphysical doctrine.

<sup>14</sup> This is the major premiss of the following argument: Since all things other than God are contingent (*mumkin*), and every contingent thing is originated (*muḥdath*), then all things other than God are originated. The world therefore is originated. Fakhr al-Dīn's justification for the major premiss attempts to show that anything that is contingent must necessarily be originated by the mere conception of these terms.

assumptions, we may decisively determine that every contingent thing is originated. Thus, it is established that whatever is other than the One Existent is originated. God has bestowed this proof specifically to us, and none among our predecessors has conceived anything like it, as their proof, which depends on the [factors of] motion and rest, comprehends only bodies and accidents. As a result, they were not [able] to establish that everything other than God Most High is contingent.

2.2 *Text 3. MS Tehran: Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Millī 6853, f. 170<sup>v</sup> line 2–171<sup>r</sup> line 1<sup>15</sup>*

اعلم ان هؤلاء الصابئة لما اعتقدوا هذه الجملة التي | شرحناها بنوا على هذه القواعد دينهم فرموا  
ان هذه الكواكب هي الآلهة القريبة | لهذا العالم فلا جرم وجب على اهل العالم الأسفل ان  
يشغولوا بعبادتها والتضرع | اليها بالدخن والقربانات ولما علموا ان هذه الكواكب قد يغيب عن  
الأبصار ولا جرم | اتخذوا لها تماثيل واصنام واشتغلوا بعبادتها تعظيماً لتلك الكواكب فهذا  
هو دين عبدة الأوثان واعلم ان هذا المذهب باطل <ولا يمكن ابطاله بأخبار الأنبياء><sup>16</sup> عليهم  
السلام عن ابطال ذلك لأن حجة النبوة متفرقة على ان المعجز فعل الله تعالى وانما ثبت ذلك |  
اذا بطل كون الكواكب مديرة لهذا العالم فلو ابطلنا هذه المذهب بقول الأنبياء عليه السلام |  
وقع الدور وانه باطل بل انما يبطل هذا المذهب بما اتانا نعيم الدلالة على ان العالم محدث | فيكون  
المؤثر فيه قادراً واذا كان قادراً وجب ان يكون قادراً على كل الممكنات | واذا كان قادراً  
على كل الممكنات وجب ان يكون الخالق لكل الممكنات | وعند هذا يبطل كون الكواكب  
آله مديرة لهذا العالم ولكن لما اعتقد ان حركاتها | واتصالاتها أسباب لحدوث الحوادث في  
هذا العالم يجرى العادة لم يكن ذلك | كفراً ولا ضلالاً ولكن يجب الاستقراء فان رأينا ان

15 This passage appears in the beginning of Treatise IV on the invocation of the stars, where Fakhr al-Din enumerates the metaphysical principles underpinning this form of magic.

16 Reading with MSS Istanbul Damad Ibrahim Paşa 845, f. 77<sup>v</sup>; Berlin Petermann 1. 207, f. 92<sup>v</sup>; Paris Arabe 2645, f. 190<sup>v</sup>; Istanbul Laleli 1548, f. 232<sup>r</sup>. I have omitted the word "illā" prior to "bi-l-akhbār" as recorded in MS Tehran Majlis 6853: *بأخبار الأنبياء*. As seen in the translation below, Fakhr al-Din is trying to show that refuting the divinity of the stars by appealing to the teachings of the prophets begs the question, because the reality of prophecy ultimately depends on refuting the divinity of the stars. Rather, it should appeal to arguments based on independent reason. The *illā* clause undermines this crucial point, rendering the entire argument futile. In my view, therefore, it cannot be the correct reading.

الأمر كذلك صدقناه على هذا الوجه | وألا كذبناه<sup>17</sup> مع القطع بأن ذلك الكذب ليس من باب الكفر

Know that since these Sabians give credence to what we have just explained, they base their religion on these principles.<sup>18</sup> They claim that these stars are the proximate deities of this world. Thus, it is incumbent upon the denizens of this lower world to worship and supplicate them by performing suffumigation and ritual sacrifice. However, since they know that these stars are hidden from sight, they adopt representations and statues in their place and [in this way] undertake their worship and glorification. This is the religion of the idolaters. Know that this doctrine is false. However, it cannot be refuted by the reports of the prophets, peace be upon them, [reports] which relate the falsity of this doctrine. This is because the proof for prophecy derives from affirming that miracles are God's act. But this is established only when the stars' governance of the world is refuted. Thus, if we were to reject this doctrine through the statement of the prophets, peace be upon them, we would be appealing to circular reasoning, and this is incorrect. Rather, this doctrine is rejected only with what we had established, by proving that the world is originated, and that, as a result, its causal principle must be that which possesses [autonomous] power. Now, if it possesses this power, it must exert power over all contingent things. If it exerts power over all contingent things, it is necessary that it is the creator of all contingent things.<sup>19</sup> Based on this, the status of the stars as divinities governing this world must be rejected as false. However, if it were held that the movement and conjunctions [of the stars] are causes for the origination of the originated things of this world by way of habit, then this is not unbelief, nor is it misguided. Rather, induction is necessitated. Since we recognize this to be the

<sup>17</sup> Read: *wa-an lā kadhabnāhu*. Leiden Or. 986, f. 189<sup>v</sup>, transmits: لا كذبناه

<sup>18</sup> Here Fakhr al-Dīn is referring to his previous discussion on the characteristics of celestial spirits as held by the practitioners of astral magic. These characteristics are that they are alive and rational, that they have universal and particular knowledge and will, that they perceive invocations directed at them, and that the celestial bodies they inhabit function like the organs of an animal. Given these characteristics, the Sabians came to hold that the celestial spirits are deities deserving of worship, and this became the basis of their religion.

<sup>19</sup> Fakhr al-Dīn is assuming the premiss discussed above that the *mumkin* ("the contingent") is necessarily *muhdath* ("the originated") and that the cause (*al-mu'aththir*) of the *muhdath* can be referred to as *al-khāliq* ("the creator").

case, we affirm its correctness based on this perspective. We do not categorically reject [their doctrine] since this falsehood does not fall under unbelief.

2.3 *Text 4. Ms Tehran: Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Millī 6853, f. 134<sup>v</sup> line 13–135<sup>v</sup> line 8<sup>20</sup>*

إنّ العقول | والشرائع متطابقة على أنّ المتولي لتدبير كلّ نوع آخر من أنواع حوادث هذا العالم روح | سماوي على حدّة وهذه الأرواح هي المسماة في لسان الشرع بالملائكة وأما قلنا أنّ الأمر | كذلك بحسب العقول لانه لما ثبت بالدلائل العقلية أنّ مدبر العالم الأسفل هو أرواح | العالم الأعلى ثمّ ثبت أنّ المبدأ الواحد لا يكون مصدرًا لآثار مختلفة وجب اسناد | كلّ واحد من هذه الآثار الى روح فلنكي | أما عند من يقول الواحد لا يصدر عنه الآ الواحد | فظاهر وأما عند من لا يقول بذلك فلا شكّ انه ينكر كون المبدأ الواحد مبدأ لأفعال | متضادة من السعادة والنحوسة والذكورة والأنوثة والحرّ والبرد وأما قلنا | أنّ الأمر كذلك بحسب الشرائع فلأنه ورد في القرآن التنبيه على ذلك في قوله عزّ وجلّ | «وَالَّذِينَ رَبَّتْ ذُرُوعًا فَالْحَمَلَاتِ وَقُرْآءُ»<sup>21</sup> الى قوله تعالى «فَالْمَسْمُوتِ أَمْرًا»<sup>22</sup> وقوله «وَالنَّزْعَاتِ | غَرْقًا وَالنَّشِطَاتِ نَشْطًا»<sup>23</sup> وقوله تعالى «وَالصَّفَاتِ صَفًا فَالزَّجْرَاتِ زَجْرًا فَالتَّالِيَاتِ ذِكْرًا»<sup>24</sup> وكان بعض اصحابنا يقول «الصَّفَاتِ صَفًا» هم ملائكة فلك زحل | لبياته وبطو حركته «فَالزَّجْرَاتِ زَجْرًا» هم ملائكة فلك المريخ | لكثرة طيش المريخ | وجمعهما لكونهما نحسين ثم قال «فَالتَّالِيَاتِ ذِكْرًا» هي ملائكة فلك المشتري | وقوله عزّ وجلّ «عَلَيْهَا مَلَائِكَةٌ غُلَاظٌ شِدَادٌ»<sup>25</sup> وقوله «نَزَلَ بِهِ الرُّوحُ الْأَمِينُ عَلَى قَلْبِكَ»<sup>26</sup> وقوله «فَأرْسَلْنَا إِلَيْهَا رُوحَنَا فَتَمَثَّلَ لَهَا بَشَرًا سَوِيًّا»<sup>27</sup> وقوله عزّ وجلّ «فَقَبَضْتُ

20 This passage appears in the last chapter (*faṣḥ* 4) of Treatise III on constellation talismans. Fakhr al-Din is transitioning to Treatise IV on the invocation of the stars and decides to introduce one of the major theoretical principles involved in the art, namely, the doctrine of celestial-sublunary correspondences.

21 Q 51:1–2.

22 Q 51:4.

23 Q 79:1–2.

24 Q 37:1–3.

25 Q 66:6.

26 Q 26:193–194.

27 Q 19:17.

قَبِيضَةً | «مَنْ أَثَرُ الرَّسُولِ»<sup>28</sup> وقوله «تَوَفَّتْهُ رُسُلُنَا»<sup>29</sup> وقال سليمان عليه السلام «عَلَيْنَا مَنْطِقُ  
الطَّيْرِ»<sup>30</sup> | فقال بعض اصحابنا المراد اتصال روحه بروح عطارد لأن عطارد يتعلق بالطير  
وتواترت الأخبار على أن الموكل بالسحاب والرعد والبرق ملك والموكل بالأرزاق ملك  
والموكل بالجبال والبحار ملك الى غير ذلك من الأحوال وإذا ثبت هذا فقد صارت هذه  
المسئلة مسألة وفاق بين الأنبياء عليه السلام والحكماء وإذا كان الأمر كذلك | كان لكل واحد  
منهم أسماء معينة وعند هذا لا يمتنع أن الإنسان اذا دعاها بأسمائها | واستعان بها وتضرع اليها  
ويقسم عليها بأسماء رؤسائها والمستولين عليها ان يجيب<sup>31</sup> | الإنسان ويفعل ما يلتمس الإنسان  
منها ثم أن أصحاب السحر طولوا على انفسهم | في شرح هذا النوع من السحر ونحن نذكر ذلك  
في المقالة التي تبلى هذه المقالة بعون الله وحسن توفيقه

Know that the speculations of reason and the divine laws agree that what governs the [different] types of originated entities of this world are the celestial spirits, each of which [governs] a specific type [thereof]. These spirits are named in the language of the Law as "angels." We [may] affirm this solely through rational considerations, for it was established by rational proofs that what governs the lower world are the spirits of the higher world and that a single principle cannot be the source of many differentiated effects. Thus, it is necessary that each [species of effect] depend on a single celestial spirit. For those who hold that only one proceeds from the one, this is evident. As for those who do not adhere to this, no doubt they will [also] deny that a single principle can be the source of contrary actions, [e.g.,] of happiness and wretchedness, of the male and female, and of the hot and cold.<sup>32</sup> However, we claim this to be the case [only]

<sup>28</sup> Q 20:96.

<sup>29</sup> Q 6:31.

<sup>30</sup> Q 27:16.

<sup>31</sup> The MS transmits the masculine personal prefix to the subjunctive verb, where one might expect the feminine personal prefix in agreement with the repeated use of feminine singular pronouns "hā" referring to angelic entities. However, the masculine personal prefix, attested in other manuscripts (Berlin: Petermann I. 207 f. 89; Leiden: Or. 986, f. 183; Istanbul: Manisa il Halk 6284, f. 88<sup>r</sup>) can be accepted as it can be taken to refer to the noun "kull" in the phrase "li-kulli wāhid minhum," also referring to the angels. Some MSS left the personal prefix without diacritic points: MSS Istanbul Carullah 1481, f. 116<sup>r</sup>; Damad Ibrahim Paşa 845, f. 74<sup>r</sup>. The same applies to the next subjunctive verb, "yaʿfala."

<sup>32</sup> The principle "that a single principle cannot be the source of many differentiated effects" is a major Avicennian metaphysical doctrine and is often referred to as *qā'idat al-wāhid*, the Rule of One. Consistent with his exploratory approach in the *Sirr*, Fakhr al-Dīn argues

according to the Divine laws. For God directed [our] attention to this, as evinced in the Quran when He the Glorified and Sublime says, "By those that winnow with a winnowing; And those that bear the burden (of the rain)" (Q 51:1-2), until His words, "And those who distribute (blessings) by command" (Q 51:4),<sup>33</sup> and He says, "By those that wrest violently; by those that draw out quickly" (Q 79:1-2).<sup>34</sup> He [also] says, "By those ranged in ranks; and the drivers driving; and the reciters of a reminder" (Q 37:1-3).<sup>35</sup> Some of our colleagues have said that "those ranged in ranks" are the angels of the sphere of Saturn who fix [its position] and delay its motion. As for "the drivers driving," these are angels of the sphere of Mars, who are responsible for the many wandering [motions] of Mars. [God] joined [the angels of Saturn and the angels of Mars in this verse], because they are both inauspicious. [Our colleagues] also say that "the reciters of a reminder" are the angels of the sphere of Jupiter. [Consider also] the word of the Glorified and Sublime: "[Men and stones] over which are angels, stern and severe" (Q 66:6); "[a revelation of the Lord of the worlds] brought down by the Trustworthy Spirit upon thine heart" (Q 26:192-193); "We sent unto her Our Spirit, and it assumed for her the likeness of a perfect man" (Q 19:17); "So I took a handful [of dust] from the footsteps of the messenger" (Q 20:96); "Our messengers take him [who has died]" (Q 6:61); Solomon, peace be upon him, said, "We have been taught the language of the birds" (Q 27:16).<sup>36</sup> Some of our colleagues have said that the meaning [here] is the connection of [Solomon's] spirit with the spirit of Mercury, because Mercury is connected to birds. Reports also widely circulate about [how] the guardian of clouds, thunder, and lightning is a single angel; the guardian of sustenance is another angel; the guardian of mountains and seas is another angel; and so on regarding

that the principle can be justified both on philosophical grounds, as a necessary metaphysical principle, and on religious grounds, as a conventional theory of causality sustained by Divine habit (*al-āda*). Fakhr al-Dīn canonical position, however, is to deny the Rule of One as a necessary metaphysical doctrine, as seen in all his philosophical and theological works. To my knowledge, only in the *Sīr*, and specifically *this* passage, does he affirm it as an acceptable model of causality within an Ash'arite theological framework. For a recent discussion on Fakhr al-Dīn's criticism of the Rule of One, see Attar, *Avicenna and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī on the cosmic system*. Refer specifically to pp. 245-250, where the passage above is analyzed.

33 Trans. Marmaduke Pickthall, *The Qur'ān*, ed J.D. McAuliffe, New York: W.W. Norton & Co. 2017.

34 Trans. in Nasr, Seyyed Hossein et al. (eds.), *The study Quran*, New York: HarperOne, 2015.

35 Trans. in Nasr et al. (eds.), *The study Quran*.

36 Trans. in Nasr et al. (eds.), *The study Quran*.

other states. If this is established, this issue is one in which there is agreement between the prophets—upon whom be peace—and the philosophers. If such is the case, then each one of [these celestial spirits may] have specific names. On this basis, it is not impossible that if the human being invokes them by their names, asks assistance from them, entreats them, and conjures them by the names of their rulers and overlords (i.e., the angels or celestial spirits), [the one invoked] shall answer the human being and do what is asked of it. Thus, the practitioners of magic extend themselves in explaining this kind of magic, which we will turn to in the following treatise with the help of God and the excellence of his guidance.

2.4 *Text 5. Ms Tehran: Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Millī 6853, f. 14<sup>r</sup> line 9–14<sup>v</sup>  
line 10<sup>37</sup>*

نقول أنّ قوة النفس على الإتيان بالفعل الخارق للعادة قد تكون فطرية | وقد تكون كسبية أما  
القطرية فتقرير القول بها موقوف على مقدّمة وهي | أنّ النفس هل هي جوهر قائم بالنفس او  
هي عبارة عن هذا المزاج المخصوص | فقط فان قلنا بالأوّل فلا يمتنع ان تكون نفس الإنسان  
مخالفة بالماهية | لسائر النفوس ثم أنّها لكونها تلك الماهية المخصوصة تكون موصوفة بقدره | غير  
حاصلة في سائر النفوس فلا جرم تكون تلك النفس قادرة على أفعال | يعجز عنها غيرها هذا  
إذا قلنا أنّ النفوس البشرية مختلفة بالماهية وهو الحقّ أما إذا قلنا أنّها متحدّة بالماهية فلا شكّ  
أنّها مختلفة بسبب | الآلات البدنية وبسبب الأعراض النفسانية فلا يبعد أن يختصّ بعض  
الأنفس بمزاج مخصوص | يكون آله في الأفعال الخارقة للعادة او تكون بعض الأعراض  
النفسانية | المختصّة بها تقويها على تلك الخوارق فانه إذا تجلّى لتلك النفس نور عالم الغيب |  
قويت على ما لم يقو عليه سائر النفوس وهو المراد من قوله امام الأئمة وخليفة الله | على خلقه  
امير المؤمنين علي بن ابي طالب عليه السلام «والله ما قلعت باب خير | بقوة جسمانية ولكن  
بقوة آلهية» فأما إذا قلنا بأنّ النفس ليست الآ المزاج | المخصوص فلا شكّ أنّ الأمزجة مختلفة  
فلا يبعد وجود مزاج عجيب يقوي | صاحبه على ما يعجز عنه غيره فثبت بما ذكرنا انه لا استبعاد

37 This passage appears in Chapter 4 of Treatise 1, where Fakhr al-Dīn discusses the theoretical principles behind magic (*sihr*), which seems to refer broadly to any action achieved at a distance. See Noble's discussion of this section of the *Sirr* in *Philosophising the occult* 138–168.

في ذلك أما الجزم بوقوعه فعمّا لا يعرف إلا بالمشاهدة هذا كلّه إذا كانت قوة النفس أعلى فعل  
هذه الخوارق فطرية

We say that the capacity of the soul in performing actions that transgress the customary course of events may occur either through innate or acquired dispositions. In the case of innate disposition, the argument depends on the premiss that the soul is a substance that is self-subsistent, or that it designates a specific mixture, nothing more. If we affirm the first, it is not impossible that the human soul is essentially distinct from each other, in which case the soul can be ascribed with a power that does not occur in other souls, being thereby capable of performing acts that others could not perform. This [is the case] if we hold that the human souls differ in essence—which is the truth.<sup>38</sup> Now, if we hold [the position] that [human souls] are one in essence, then without doubt they [may still] differ on account of the bodily organs and the psychic accidents. Thus, it is not impossible that several souls are specified by a particular mixture that produces an organ capable of performing acts that transgress the customary course of events, or that [this mixture] produces certain psychic accidents that makes them capable of performing these transgressive acts. Thus, when the light of the unseen world is disclosed to these souls, they are empowered to perform that which other souls are incapable of doing. This is what is intended by the statement of the Imam of the Imams, the vicegerent of God to His creation, and the commander of the believers, ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, upon whom be peace, “By God, I removed the doors of Khaybar not by bodily powers, but divine powers.” Now, should we affirm that the soul is nothing more than the unique mixture, then clearly the mixtures are distinct, in which case it is not impossible that a wondrous mixture exists and that the person in possession [of such a mixture] has power over that which others are incapable [of affecting]. Thus, based on what we have outlined, it is established that this [i.e., the existence of exceptional souls capable of transgressing the customary course of events] is not inconceivable. However, decisive knowledge of its occurrence can be obtained only through direct witnessing (*mushā-*

38 For an analysis of this passages and other passages in the *Sirr* that discusses the thaumaturgical powers of the human being as the function of a uniquely constituted soul, see Attar, *Avicenna and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī on the cosmic system* 251–260. Here, I discuss the radical difference between Fakhr al-Dīn’s model of psychic powers, including the occult, as compared to Ibn Sīnā’s. The passage above is cited and discussed on p. 255.

*hada*). All this pertains [to the case] where the soul's capacity to perform these transgressive acts is innate.

2:5

Text 6. *Ms Tehran: Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Milli* 6853, f. 137<sup>v</sup> line 2–138<sup>r</sup> line 2<sup>39</sup>

فنعول أنّ هذه النفوس | الإنسانية كثرة بالعدد وهي أيضاً قد تكون مختلفة بالماهية فإنّ في النفوس | ما يكون شريراً بالطبع ومنها ما يكون خيراً بالطبع وكذا القول في الذكاء والفضة | والحريّة والنذالة ولا بدّ لكلّ نوع منها من علّة على حدّة لما ذكرنا أنّ العلّة يشابه | المعلول والشيء الواحد لا يشابه شيئين مختلفين فلعلّ طائفة من هذه النفوس | البشرية نفس سماوية وهي علّة لها وموجدة لها فالنفوس البشرية التي | يكون معلولات واحدة يكون منها من المحبّة والمودّة ما لا يكون بينها وبين غيرها | فإنها يكون كالإخوة وتلك النفوس السماوية كالآب لها وتلك النفوس السماوية | يتولّى امرها في تقويتها ونصرتها والذب عنها وهذا هو الذي يسميه المتقدمون | بالطباع التامّ واليه الإشارة بقول صلى الله عليه وآله «الأرواح جنود مجنّدة | فما تعارف منها ائتلف وما تناكر منها اختلف»<sup>40</sup> ويكون تلك النفوس الفلكية | في شفقها على هذه النفوس البشرية مثل الأب الرؤوف في شفقتها على أولاده | وهو الذي يرشد الإنسان في منامه الى مصلحته وفي يقظته عند فكرته الى | مطلوبه وهو ياتي في قلب الإنسان الخواطر النافعة وأما سمّوه بالطباع التامّ | لأننا بينّا أنّ العلّة لا بدّ ان يكون على طبع المعلول الآ انه لا بدّ وان يكون في ذلك الطبيعة | التامّ واعلى واقوى

We say that human souls are many in number and differentiated in essence. For among them are those who are evil in nature and others who are good in nature. Such is [also] the case regarding [the qualities of] intelligence, acumen, nobility, and depravity. It is necessary that for each type [of human soul] is [posited] a distinct cause, for we have mentioned that the effect resembles the cause, and that a single thing does not resem-

<sup>39</sup> This passage appears in the beginning of Treatise IV on the invocation of the stars, where Fakhr al-Din enumerates the theoretical principles of the art, especially the various characteristics (*ṣifāt*) of the celestial spirits that would make them responsive to human speech. Here he is discussing a subset of such spirits that function as human archetypes and why these are called Perfect Natures.

<sup>40</sup> Report of this *ḥadīth* is attributed to either Abū Ḥurayra or ʿĀ'isha and is recorded in the *Ṣaḥīḥs* of Bukhārī and Muslim, and the *Sunan* of Abū Dāwūd.

ble two different things.<sup>41</sup> Consequently, for each class of human souls is [posited] a distinct celestial soul that acts as their cause and existentiator. Thus, the human souls that are the effects of a single [cause] share a bond of love and mutual support that do not occur between them and another group [of souls]. Thus, they are like brothers while these celestial spirits are like their fathers. These celestial souls attend to their affairs by strengthening them, giving succour, and defending them. This is what the Ancients have called the Perfect Nature. The Prophet, may peace be upon him, has alluded to this when he said, "Spirits are troops in marshalled hosts; those who are familiar with each other will be friendly, while those who are opposed to one another will disagree." These celestial souls are mindful of human souls as a merciful father is toward his children. [The Perfect Nature] guides the human being in his sleep towards his wellbeing and in his waking state when he reflects upon that which he desires. [The Perfect Nature] places beneficial thoughts in the heart of the human being. They call him the Perfect Nature, because, as we have explained, the cause must be of the effect's nature, but more complete, higher, and stronger.

2.6 *Text 7. Ms Tehran: Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Milli 6853, f. 20<sup>v</sup> line 15-21<sup>v</sup> line 2<sup>42</sup>*

اصحاب الطلسمات اتفقوا على ان كل صورة في هذا العالم فلها مثال في الفلك وزعموا ان الصور السفلية مطيعة للصور العلوية | الحيات للتنين والعقارب للعقارب والسباع للأسد وغيرها وهذه المقدمة صححت ببراهين منطقية ولنشير الى ما هو النكتة فنقول ان هذه الصور التي نتخيلها كإنسان له الف رأس وياقوتة على طول | فرسخ اما ان يقال انه معدوم محض أوله وجود والأول باطل لأن خيالنا | يشير اليها ويشاهد مقدارها وطولها وعرضها ومساحتها والنفي | المحض ليس كذلك فثبت أنها موجودة فهي اما ان يكون موجودة فينا | او في الخارج منا والأول باطل

41 This is a restatement of the Rule of One as discussed in Text 4, which justifies the principle on both philosophical and religious grounds.

42 This passage appears in Chapter 5 of Treatise I on the theoretical principles of astral magic. It discusses components of the astral magic ritual that contribute to its effectiveness, like knowing the precise networks of cosmic sympathies between sublunary substances and their celestial archetypes, the images associated with certain spirits, the material of parchments used in rituals, optimal methods of suffumigation, and the construction of magical knots.

لأنها أما موجودة في (نفسنا)<sup>43</sup> | التي هي جوهر مجرد أو في قوة جسمانية حالة في قلب أو دماغ والآول | باطل لأن الجوهر المجرد غير منقسم <فالحال><sup>44</sup> فيه لا يتميز جانب منه عن جانب | وهذه الصورة المتخيلة ليست هي كذلك والثاني أيضا باطل لأن جملة | ابداننا بالنسبة الى هذه الصورة المتخيلة صغير بالنسبة الى كبير والمقدار | الكبير يتمتع حلوله في الحقل الصغير فثبت ان هذه الصورة موجودة في الخارج | عنها فهي أما ان يكون موجودة في العالم الأسفل وهو باطل والآ لراها كل | من كان حاضرا معنا فتعين أنها موجودة في العالم الأعلى

The practitioners of talismanic magic agree that every form of this world has an archetype in the heavens. They claim that the lower forms obey the higher forms, [like] snakes with respect to Draco, scorpions with respect to Scorpio, and lions with respect to Leo, and others. This premiss is admissible by means of several logical demonstrations. But let us indicate the main point. We say that when we imagine these forms, such as a human being with a thousand heads and rubies the length of a single *parasang*,<sup>45</sup> [these things] are either sheer privation or they have existence. The first is false, because our imagination directs its attention to them and observes their quantity, length, width, and surface. Sheer negation is not like this. Thus, it is established that these [fantastical forms] exist, in which case they either exist in us or external to us. The first is false, because either they exist in our soul, which is a separate substance, or in the corporeal faculty that inheres in the heart or the brain. The first is false

43 Reading with MSS Paris: Arabe 2645, f. 26<sup>r</sup> and Berlin: Petermann 1. 207, f. 12<sup>v</sup>. By contrast, the MS Majlis 6853 transmits *في نفسها*, using the feminine pronominal suffix, a reading that is also attested in MSS Istanbul: Carullah 1482, f. 19<sup>r</sup>; Carullah 1481, f. 17<sup>r</sup>; Damad Ibrahim Paşa 845, f. 12<sup>v</sup>; Manisa il Halk 6284, f. 11<sup>v</sup>; and Leiden: Or. 986, f. 25<sup>v</sup>. However, the reading, *في نفسنا*, referring to "our soul," is preferred because it reflects Fakhr al-Din's intention in this passage. He is explaining the first term of a disjunction that the fantastical object of perception must either exist "in us (*jīnā*) or external to us (*khārij minnā*).<sup>44</sup> If it exists "in us" it would either exist "in our soul (*jī nafsīnā*), which is a separate substance," or it would exist in the faculty that inheres in the brain or the heart. Since this is an exhaustive division, and since both options fail, given the absurdities each of them entails, the first disjunct must be rejected in favour of the second, which is that fantastical forms exist "externally to us." Reading "*jī nafsīhā*" instead of "*jī nafsīnā*" will render this argument incoherent.

44 Reading with MSS Istanbul: Damad Ibrahim Paşa 845, f. 12<sup>r</sup> Paris: Arabe 2645, f. 26<sup>r</sup>; Berlin: Petermann 1. 207, f. 12<sup>v</sup>. By contrast, the MS Majlis 6853 transmits *في الحال*, "in the moment" or "in actuality," which is also transmitted in MSS Istanbul: Carullah 1482, f. 19<sup>r</sup>; Carullah 1481, f. 17<sup>r</sup>; Manisa il Halk 6284, f. 11<sup>v</sup>; and Leiden: Or. 986, f. 25<sup>v</sup>. I thank Francesco Zamboni for suggesting this emendation and for helping me with the translation of this passage.

45 A single *parasang* or *faraskh* roughly corresponding to a single league, or 3–3.5 miles.

because the separate substance is indivisible. Thus, whatever inheres in it should possess no side that is distinct from the other. But this imagined form is not like this [and so it cannot inhere in the separate substance]. The second [in the corporeal faculty] is also false, because the total aggregate of our bodily parts in relation to this imagined [fantastical] form is something small in relation to something great. What is great in quantity cannot possibly inhere in a small substrate. Thus, it is established that this form exists externally from us. Now [this form] may exist in the lower world, but this is false, because anyone present with us should be able to see it. Thus, the sole option is that it exists in the upper world.<sup>46</sup>

2.7 *Text 8. Ms Tehran: Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Millī 6853, f. 95<sup>r</sup> lines 11–15<sup>47</sup>*

واعلم أنّ هذه الوجوه الخمسة قد تمسك بكلّ واحد منها جمع من قدماء المنجمين | ولا شك أنّ ذلك لا يفيد آلا الظنّ الغالب فاذا ضمّ بعضها الى البعض | وشهد كلّ واحد منها بمدلول الآخر  
تأكد الظنّ وقوي جداً فاذا انضافت | التجارب الكثيرة من الزمان الأقدم والعهد الأطول  
اليها وافقت الأمم | على هذا الترتيب حصل اعتقاد يقارب الجزم في هذا الباب

Know that a group of the ancient astrologers adhere to each one of these five aspects.<sup>48</sup> Of course these produce only preponderating opinion. However, when [these five aspects] are combined with each other, and each one of them corroborates what is indicated by the other, the opinion is further reinforced and becomes very strong. If many [instances] of methodical observations and experimentations from earlier times and long epochs are added to [the consideration] of these [five aspects], and if the community of practitioners agree to this arrangement, then a

46 The question of how we perceive fantastical images is a recurring subject in Fakhr al-Dīn's early philosophical works. In these works, he writes that these images are engraved in celestial bodies. The argument he uses to substantiate this theory is the same as the passage above: by refuting a representationalist model of perception. Fakhr al-Dīn also uses this argument to establish the existence of Platonic forms, though in this case, the objects under scrutiny are not fantastical forms but the essences of things. See *Mulakhkhas* i, 497; ii, 987; and *Sharḥ al-Ishārāt* ii, 226, 236.

47 This passage appears in Chapter 12 of Treatise 11 on the astrological principles involved in astral magic.

48 Fakhr al-Dīn outlines five "methods" (*turuq*) through which the ancient astrologers determine the houses of the planets, such as why Cancer is made the house of the Moon, or Leo the house of the Sun.

conviction approximating decisive knowledge will be attained regarding this matter.

2.8 *Text 9. MS Tehran: Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Milli 6853, f. 11<sup>r</sup> line 1–11<sup>v</sup> line 6<sup>49</sup>*

فثبت بهذه الوجوه | الستة تعذر الوقوف على طبائع القوى العالية الفعالة وأما المواد السفلية | فالوقوف التام أيضاً على طبائعها متعذر لأنّ القبول التام لا يحصل إلا مع شرائط مخصوصة من الكيف والكم والوضع وسائر المقولات والمواد السفلية غير | ثابتة على حالة واحدة بل هي أبداً في الإستحالة والتغيير وكان قد لا يظهر ذلك | في الحسّ فقد ظهر بما ذكرنا أنّ الوقوف التام على احوال القوى الفعالة السماوية | والقوى المنفعلة الأرضية غير حاصل للبشر ولو حصل ذلك لأحد لوجب | ان يكون ذلك الشخص عالماً بجملة التفاصيل الحاصلة والماضية والآتية | وان يكون متمكناً من احداث امور عجيبة فهذا البحث مما يؤنس العقل عن التمكن | من هذه الصناعة إلا انه نعم ما قيل من أنّ ما لا يدرك كلّ لا يترك كلّ فالعقول | البشرية وان كانت قاصرة عن اكتناه القوى العالية الفعالة والمنفعلة السافلة | ولكن يمكنها الإطلاع على بعض احوالها أما بحسب التجارب المتطاولة والإلهامات | الصادقة وذلك القدر وان كان تافهاً حقيراً بالنسبة الى ما في الوجود لكنه عظيم | بالنسبة الى قدرة الإنسان وقوته وليس يلزمنا انّا لما عجزنا عن الإحاطة بالكلّ | ان لا ينتفع بما احطنا به ولا يلزمنا من عدم البرهان وعدم العلم لأنّ العلم البرهاني | اخص من العلم ولا يلزم من عدم الأخص عدم الأعم فعرفة طبائع الأغنية والأدوية | حاصلة مع أنّ تلك المعارف غير برهانية بل هذه الصناعة اولى بالرعاية من صناعة | الطب لأنها بعد الإشتراك في عدم البراهين المنطقية امتازت هذه الصناعة | عن الطب بأنها إما ان ينفع وإما ان لا يضر وأما الطب فمحتمل ان ينفع وان يضر | فان الدواء المتناول يحتمل ان يضر كما يحتمل ان ينفع فيثبت ان هذه الصناعة واجبة الرعاية

Thus, from these six aspects it is established that understanding the natures of the active powers of the upper [world] is practically unfeasible.<sup>50</sup> Complete understanding of the natures of the material substances

<sup>49</sup> This passage appears in Chapter 2 of Treatise I on the theoretical principles of astral magic. The chapter discusses whether it is possible to gain adequate knowledge of the nature of the celestial bodies and how these affect sublunary phenomena.

<sup>50</sup> Under Chapter 2 of Treatise II, Fakhr al-Din discusses six difficulties in attaining knowledge of celestial phenomena relevant for astrological and astral magic operations. In this

of the lower [world] is also practically unfeasible, because complete reception [of the heavenly powers] occurs only with specific conditions of quality, quantity, space, and other categories. The material substances of this world are not fixed in a single state. Rather, they are always in a state of transformation and change [in a manner] that is not always apparent to the senses. Thus, it is clear based on what we have mentioned that complete understanding of the states of the active powers of the celestial [realm] and the passive powers of the terrestrial [realm] is not within the reach of the human being. If this were achievable by someone, such a person would necessarily have knowledge of all particular things that occur in the present, past, or future. He would also be capable of bringing about wondrous events. The present investigation, however, is among that which will reassure the mind of its capacity to master this craft. Wonderful indeed is the saying that whatever is not perceived in its entirety is not abandoned in its entirety. Even when human intellects fall short from thoroughly grasping the celestial active powers and the terrestrial passive powers, it is [still] possible to be informed of some of their states by means of extended period of methodic observation and experimentation and veridical intuitions. Although this is small and paltry in relation to what [occurs] in existence, it is tremendous in relation to the power and capacity of the human being. It does not follow from our inability to grasp [something] in its totality that we do not extract benefit from what we do comprehend. Also, it does not follow that the absence of demonstration implies the absence of knowledge, because demonstrative knowledge is more specific than knowledge, and the absence of the more specific does not imply the absence of the more general. Thus, the knowledge of the natures of food and medicine still obtains even though knowledge of them is not demonstrative. In fact, this craft (i.e., astrology) is more deserving of cultivation than the craft of medicine. While they share in the absence of logical demonstrations, this craft differs from medicine in that it does not inflict harm when it fails to benefit. As for medicine, it can produce benefit and inflict harm. The medicine that is taken has the potential to inflict harm and the potential to benefit. Thus, it is established that this craft (i.e., astrology) must be cultivated.

---

passage he is turning to the difficulties involved in attaining knowledge of sublunary phenomena.

## Bibliography

- Altaş, Eşref, "Fahreddin er-Rāzī'nin Eserlerinin Kronolojisi," in Ömer Türker (ed.), *İslām Düşüncesinin Dönüşüm Çağında Fahreddin er-Rāzī*, Istanbul: ISAM Yayınları, 2013, 91–164.
- Attar, Muhammad Fariduddin, *Avicenna and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī on the cosmic system: The rule of One, efficient causality, and celestial mediation*, Montreal (PhD Diss.): McGill University, 2023.
- Burnett, Charles, "Aristoteles/Hermes Liber Antimaquis," in Paolo Lucentini and Vittoria Perrone Compagni (eds.), *Hermes Trismegisti: Astrologica et Divinatoria*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2001, 175–221.
- Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Sharḥ 'Uyūn al-ḥikma*, ed. Aḥmad Hījāzī al-Saqqā, Tehran: Mu'asasat al-Şādiq li-l-Ṭibā'a wa-l-Nashr, 1989.
- Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Mafātiḥ al-ghayb; al-Tafsīr al-kabīr*, 32 vols., Beirut: Dār Ihyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī, 1999.
- Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Jāmi' al-'ulūm: Sittīnī*, ed. 'Alī Āl Dāwūd, Tehran: Bunyād-i Mawqūfāt-i Duktur Maḥmūd Afshār, 2003.
- Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-'Arba'in fi uşul al-dīn*, ed. Aḥmad Hījāzī Aḥmad al-Saqqā, Beirut: Dār al-Jil, 2004.
- Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Sharḥ al-Ishārāt wa-l-tanbihāt: al-ṭabī'yyāt wa-l-ilāhiyyāt*, ed. Alireza Najafzāda, 2 vols., Tehran: Society for the Appreciation of Cultural Works and Dignitaries, 2005.
- Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *al-Mulakhkhaş fi al-ḥikma wa-l-mantiq*, ed. 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ismā'il, Aḥmad Şābir Muşţafā, and Rājiḥ Hilāl, 3 vols., Cairo: Markaz Ihyā' li-l-Buḥūth wa-l-Dirāsa, 2021.
- Fawda, Sa'īd, "Introduction," in Sa'īd Fawda, *Nihāyat al-'uqūl fi dirāyat al-uşul*, i, Beirut: Dār al-Dhakhā'in, 2014, 5–86.
- Griffel, Frank, "Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī," in Ulrich Rudolph, and Peter Adamson (eds.), *Philosophy in the Islamic world. 11.1. 11th–12th centuries central and eastern regions*, trans. Gwendolin Goldbloom, Leiden: Brill, 2023, 593–635.
- Jacobsen Ben Hamed, Nora, "As drops in their sea: Angelology through ontology in Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *al-Maṭālib al-'ālīya*," in *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy* 29.2 (2019), 185–206.
- Janos, Damien and Muhammad Fariduddin Attar, *A comprehensive, annotated, and indexed bibliography of the modern scholarship on Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (544/1150–606/1210)*, Leiden: Brill, 2023.
- al-Nāblusī, 'Uthmān, *Mawqif al-imām Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī min al-siḥr wa-da'wat al-kawākib wa-radd takharuṣāt al-Taymiyya*, Jordan: al-Aşlayn li-l-Dirāsāt wa-l-Nashr, 2018.
- Nasr, Seyyed Hossein, *Islamic studies: Essays on law and society, the sciences, philosophy and Sufism*, Beirut: Librarie du Liban, 1967.

- Nasr, Seyyed Hossein, "The meaning and role of 'philosophy' in Islam," in *SI* 37:37 (1973), 57–80.
- Nasr, Seyyed Hossein, *Islamic philosophy from its origin to the present: Philosophy in the land of prophecy*, Albany: SUNY Press, 2006.
- Nasr, Seyyed Hossein et al. (eds.), *The study Quran*, New York: HarperOne, 2015.
- Noble, Michael, *Philosophising the occult: Avicennan psychology and "The Hidden Secret" of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020.
- Noble, Michael, "Sabian astral magic as soteriology in Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *al-Sirr al-maktūm*," in Liana Saif et al. (eds.), *Islamicate occult sciences in theory and practice*, Leiden: Brill, 2020, 207–229.
- Noble, Michael, "The entanglement of philosophy, politics and the occult: The hidden secret of early post-Avicennan thought in the Islamic East," in *Entangled Religions* 14:3 (2023).
- Obuchi, Hisashi, "Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī and occult science as philosophy: An aspect of the philosophical theology of Islam at the beginning of the thirteenth century," in *Annals of Japan Association for Middle East Studies* 34.1 (2018), 1–33.
- Piątak, Łukasz, *Between philosophy, mysticism and magic: A critical edition of occult writings of and attributed to Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī (1156–1191)*, Warsaw (PhD Diss.): University of Warsaw, 2018.
- Pickthall, Marmaduke, trans., *The Qur'ān*, ed. Jane Dammen McAuliffe, New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2017.
- Saif, Liana, "A preliminary study of the pseudo-Aristotelian *Hermetica*: Texts, context, and doctrines," in *al-'Uṣūr al-Wuṣṭā* 29 (2021), 20–80.
- Shihadeh, Ayman, "On the final days of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī: A study, edition and translation of an anonymous obituary," in *Oriens* 52.3–4 (2025), 181–208.
- van Bladel, Kevin Thomas, *The Arabic Hermes: From pagan sage to prophet of science*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Vesel, Živa, "Review of Michael-Sebastian Noble, *Philosophising the occult: Avicennan psychology and the 'Hidden Secret' of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī*," in *Abstracta Iranica* 44 (2022), 1–2.