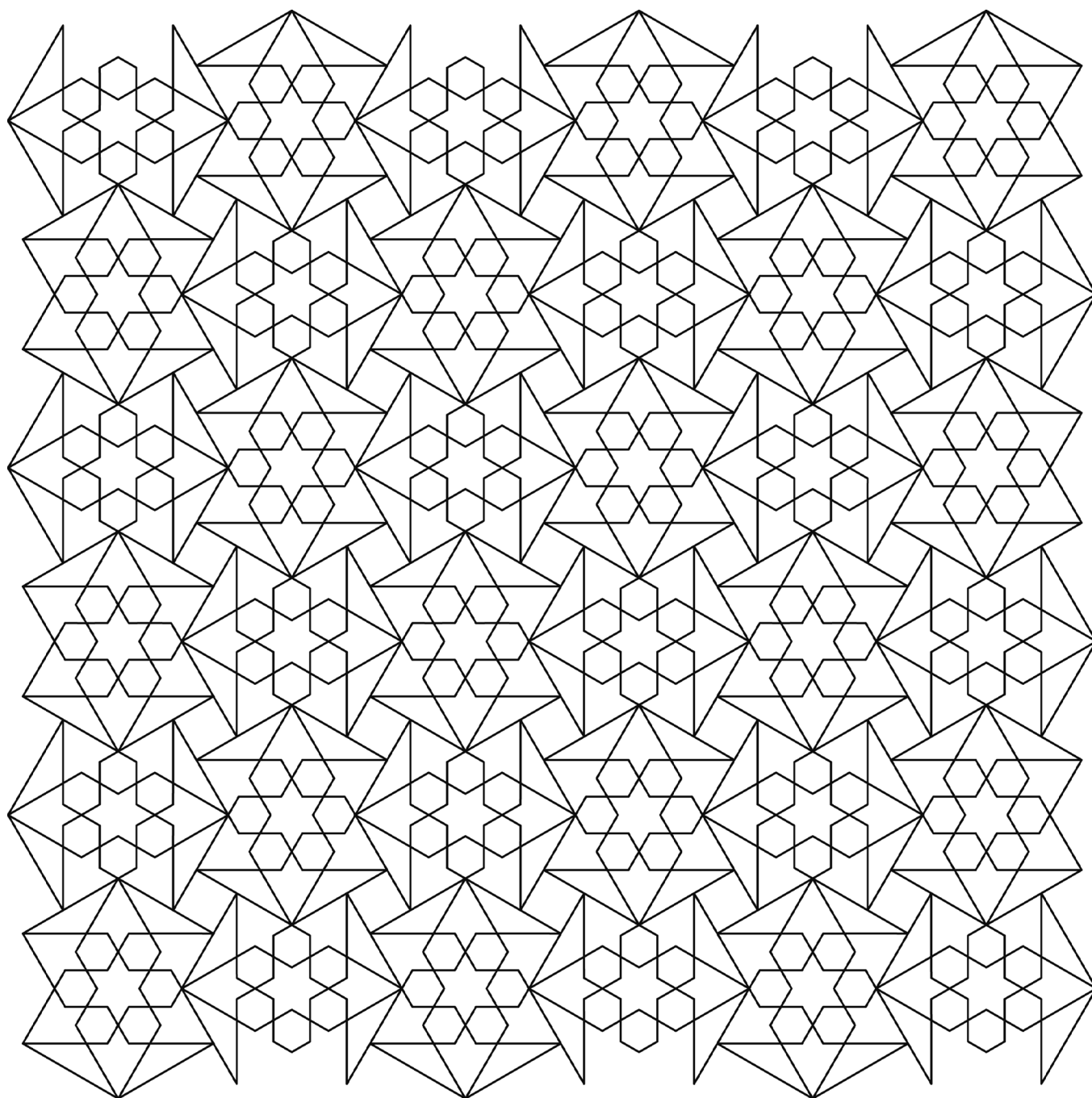


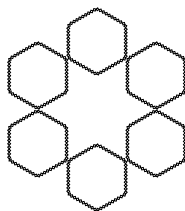


**THREE OTHER WORKS BY THE AUTHOR OF *LATĀ'IF*
AL-ʿLĀM, WRONGLY ATTRIBUTED TO QĀŠĀNĪ**

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Abstract: This article examines three recently discovered works by the author of *Laṭāʾif al-iʿlām*, a well-known treatise on the technical terminology of Sufism, which has been erroneously attributed to Ṣadr al-Dīn Qūnawī, Saʿīd al-Dīn Fargānī and, especially, to ʿAbd al-Razzāq Qāšānī. It analyses what we know of its real author, possibly called Ibn Ṭāhir (a Sufi Sunni thinker of the school of Muḥyī l-Dīn Ibn ʿArabī), his milieu and his life (13th-14th century), by studying the *Laṭāʾif* and these three previously unknown works: *al-Dalāʾil al-qaṭʿiyya*, *al-Durra al-farīda* and *Tadkirat al-fawāʾid*.¹ A new edition of the *Laṭāʾif* (2000) and the edition of several of Qāšānī's short works (2000), both produced by M. Hādīzādeh, as well as a review of my earlier article on the matter by G. Elmore (2000), a second review by N. Pourjavadi in his book *Iṣrāq wa-ʿirfān* (2002), and some considerations by Pierre Lory in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Online – E3 English), are also taken into consideration².



1 After several visits to libraries in Turkey in order to find out information, I finally had the opportunity to write a first article on the subject during my stay, as a Visiting Research Scholar, in the Dept. of South and West Asian Area Studies in the Graduate School of Asian and African Area Studies of Kyoto University. This earlier article was published under the title *An Unknown Akbarian of the Thirteenth-Fourteenth Century: Ibn Ṭāhir, the Author of Laṭāʾif al-iʿlām and his works*, ASAFAS, Kyoto University, 2000. The present article follows on from the previous study and brings it up to date.

2 See the very instructive review by Gerald, *Journal of the Muhyiddin Ibn Arabi Society*, XXVIII (2000), pp. 97-101, and also Nasrollah Pourjavadi, *Iṣrāq wa-ʿirfān* (ISBN: 964-01-1030-2), Markaz Nashr Daneshgāhī, Tehran, 2002, pp. 449-456. Unfortunately, since it lacks due rigour, Pourjavadi's review mainly brings confusion to the matter. Without having done any previous research on the manuscripts mentioned in my previous article, he comments on some of my hypotheses, repeating my own questions as if they were presented as actual facts, and comments on the facts as if they were presented merely as hypotheses. In short, it seems that Pourjavadi did not understand the basic facts: the *Durra*, the *Tadkira* and also the *Dalāʾil* kept at the Sulaymaniyye Library are certainly, without any doubt, by the author of the *Laṭāʾif*. Consequently, it is extraordinary that he persists in attributing the *Laṭāʾif* to Qāšānī: no reference to those four books is found in any of his known works while, on the other hand, no reference to Qāšānī's books is found in the four known works by the author of the *Laṭāʾif*.

I. *LATĀ'IF AL-ʿILĀM*

1. Introduction

Two recent editions of the well-known work on Sufi terminology, entitled *Latāʿif al-ʿilām fī iṣārāt ahl al-ilhām*³ have awoken keen interest among scholars of Sufi thought and especially among those who study the work of the Andalusian writer Muḥyī l-Dīn Ibn ʿArabī and the so-called Akbarian School⁴.

Latāʿif al-ʿilām, a major work on Sufi terminology, reveals a deep familiarity with Sufi literary tradition, in general, and with Akbarian teaching, in particular. Its author conveys Ibn ʿArabī's doctrine in a highly perceptive manner, presenting us with elaborate, mature and methodical thought which is nevertheless founded on inspiration, and is therefore open, dynamic and non-reductive, as is appropriate to a language of symbolic allusion and to sciences deriving from mystical experience.

The author of the *Latāʿif* demonstrates a broad and deep erudition: he offers us the fruits of his personal, intellectual achievement by establishing incessant, intertextual links and inspired correspondences and interrelationships between similar terms or between diverse levels of meaning, and by clarifying concepts and perspectives through thought-provoking classifications which are extremely helpful in the reading of Akbarian texts.

The *Latāʿif* is, therefore, in my opinion, a key reference work for the study and translation of Sufi works and for the history of Sufism in the fourteenth century.

2. Editions of the work

Unfortunately, both existent editions of *Latāʿif al-ʿilām fī iṣārāt ahl al-ilhām* are attributed, under the same title, to ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Qāṣānī.

The first was edited by Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ (Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Cairo, II vols., 512 pp. + 697 pp., 1416/1996). The second has been edited and annotated, in a single volume, by Maḡīd Hādizādeh (Mīrāt-i Maktūb, Tehran, 2000, 832 pp.).

3 The title of the work, “The subtleties of instruction on the symbolic allusions of the Inspired Ones”, is similar to the title of the well-known *tafsīr* by Abū l-Qāsim al-Quṣayrī, *Latāʿif al-iṣārāt*, ed. I. Basyūnī, Cairo, 1971, and that of a brief treatise by Ibn ʿArabī entitled *K. al-ʿilām bi-iṣārāt ahl al-ilhām* (see *Rasāʾil Ibn ʿArabī*, Hyderabad, 1948, I, n^o. 7).

4 This consists, broadly speaking, of those who adhere to the thought and spiritual legacy of Ibn ʿArabī, the Ṣayḥ al-Akbar, have either followed or been inspired by his teachings during the last eight centuries, and have used his characteristic and rich terminology.

The first editor of the *Laṭāʾif*, the Egyptian scholar Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ, claims to have consulted three manuscript copies: two attributed to Qāšānī and one anonymous. However, this rather precipitate edition⁵ is actually based on only one copy, which, like the others, is very late. The edition lacks critical apparatus and contains frequent inaccuracies and misprints⁶. Many of the notes are misleading (e.g. those that refer to the *K. al-ʿAbādīla* by Ibn ʿArabī, instead of the *Kašf al-maʿnāʾ*⁷) and, in general, it is lacking in reliable bio-bibliographical references and any research on sources, which is indispensable for the publication of such an important glossary that could be regarded as a “dictionary of authorities”. Nevertheless, in spite of its deficiencies, the edition is complete, at least *grosso modo*, and may be used with caution. In addition, its indices of verses, people and works cited, are well done and very useful.

Hādīzādeh’s edition, which is more critical than the previous one, uses two other late copies of *Laṭāʾif* also attributed to Qāšānī⁸. Both editors are sadly certain that Qāšānī is the author of the work. Other scholars, however, questioned his authorship since it is also attributed to other authors in different manuscript copies.

Hāğğī Ḥalīfa has already attributed this title both to ʿAbd al-Razzāq Qāšānī and to Saʿīd al-Dīn Fargānī (there is a copy attributed to him in the Suleymaniyye Library in Istanbul),

5 The manuscript copy on which the edition is based (Dār al-kutub al-miṣriyya 3591, section on *taṣawwuf*), is dated 1294 h. See *Laṭāʾif*, pp. 76-77, where the two other copies, from the same library in Cairo, are mentioned.

6 For example, it says *wa-yuhyī bi-ğamālī-hi l-dārayn al-mustagnī ʿani l-tağam[sic] l-ʿaraḍī...* (see *Lat.* II, p. 344) when, according to another quotation of the same passage, it should say *wa-yuhyī bi-ğamālī-hi l-dāt l-mustagnī ʿani l-tağammuli l-ʿaraḍī...* (cf. *Tadkīra*, Chapter 74, fol. 128a).

7 Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ quotes long passages from the *K. al-ʿAbādīla* by Ibn ʿArabī from the edition by ʿAbd al-Qādir Aḥmad ʿAṭāʾ, al-Azhar, Cairo, 1969, in which, incidentally, 21 entire chapters are missing (Chapters 53, 57, 69, 72, 82, 98 and 101-115) of the 117 in the original version by the author (see, for example, the complete copies of the mss. Šehid Ali Paša 2826/6b-61b, 721 H., or Ayasofya 4817/1-69b, 649 H.). In fact, the passages quoted neither clarify nor have any direct relevance to the definitions of the *ʿabādīla* in the *Laṭāʾif* (see *Lat.* II, p. 105, note 1, and ff.). The same is true of other notes, e. g., n^o. 4, on p. 30, where the editor says that *K. al-Bayād wa-l-sawād*, a work only recently edited, appears among the titles which Ibn ʿArabī mentions in his *igāza* to al-Malik al-Muzaffar and he refers to his own deficient edition of the *igāza* (see Ibn Ibn ʿArabī, *Manzil al-manāzil al-fahwāniyya*, Cairo, 1995, pp. 33-65), which adds nothing to previous existing research and where the title in question is not mentioned. See *Lat.* II, p. 30, note 4. See also, further on, the remarks in a note about the authorship of the work (*Lat.* I, p. 63, note 1). On the real author of the *K. al-Bayād wa-l-sawād*, see Sirjānī, ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥasan (d. 1077), *Sufism, black and white: a critical edition of Kūtāb al-Bayād wa-l-Sawād* (ed. Bilal Orfali and Nada Saab), Brill, Leiden, 2012. See also Ibn ʿArabī, *Le secret des Noms de Dieu (K. Kašf al-maʿnāʾ...)*, edition and notes by P. Beneito, Albouraq, Paris/Beirut, 96-3.

8 On the copies ‘R’ and ‘M’ see *Lat.-H*, pp. 43-45 (note 1) and the variant readings shown in pp. 605-786. Note that when Hādīzādeh’s edition is referred to, *Lat.-H* is used, adding the letter *H* to the reference, while *Lat.* by itself refers to the previous edition.

whom he considers to be the real author⁹, whilst Brockelmann mentions copies attributed to Qāšānī¹⁰ and to Qūnawī¹¹.

In order to prove that Qāšānī was the author, Sa‘īd ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ writes in his prologue: “In the text of the book [the *Laṭā‘if*], the author refers to his [other] works which confirms the truth of what we maintain”¹². He then gives as a reference his own edition of the *Rašḥ al-zulāl*¹³, a work whose attribution to Qāšānī I would also question, and which provides no proof of Sa‘īd ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ’s gratuitous claims. In fact, all that the editor says about the two titles which the author of the *Laṭā‘if* attributes to himself, is that he has no knowledge of the existence of any copy of either. He has never seen the two works in question, but he takes it as established that the two works are by Qāšānī, following a process similar to the one he follows in his introduction to the *Rašḥ al-zulāl*, where various assumptions reciprocally prove each other. These two works mentioned by the author of the *Laṭā‘if* will be dealt with at length later.

On the other hand, in his edition of the *Laṭā‘if*, Hādīzādeh does not discuss the question of the work’s authorship at all and assumes that it has been written by Qāšānī as it is stated in the manuscript copies he uses. His commentaries on the authorship of the *Laṭā‘if* and the other two “unknown” works of its author mentioned in the book are found in another work by Hādīzādeh: his compilation, introduction (in Persian) and edition of the minor texts by Qāšānī, *Mağmū‘at rasā‘il wa-muṣannafāt* (Āyene-ye Mirās, Tehran, 2000, 771 pp.). Unfortunately, the editor was unaware of my discovery of the two (in fact three) works in Istanbul¹⁴, so he was unable to offer any new, useful critical information on the question.

9 *Kašf al-zunūn*, ed. Flügel, 1835-58, no 1552. On Sa‘īd al-Dīn Fargānī, a disciple of Šihāb al-Dīn ‘Umar al-Suhrawardī and Šadr al-Dīn Qūnawī, see *Encyclopédie de l’Islam (Nouvelle édition: EI2)*, Leiden, 1960- (s. v.).

10 See *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur (GAL)*, Leiden, 1945-49, *GAL* II: 204 (Leiden 81/2; Indian Off. 663; Köprülü 770) and *GAL* SII: 280 (Cairo VI, 164).

11 See *GALI*: 450 (Berlin 3457/8). See also ms. n.º. 3458 in the catalogue of the Berlin Library which, according to Ahlwardt, contains another copy of the same work.

12 *Laṭ*. I, p. 63, note 1.

13 Attributed to ‘Abd al-Razzāq Qāšānī, *Rašḥ al-zulāl fī šarḥ al-alfāz al-mutadāwala bayna arbāb al-adwāq wa-l-aḥwāl*, introd. and ed. by Sa‘īd ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ, al-Maktaba al-Azhariyya li-l-Turāt, 1995, 178 pp. The editor attributes this brief treatise to Qāšānī in the introduction (see pp. 17-20) without providing any proof of his authorship. In my opinion, the author of the work remains unknown. On the authorship of *Rašḥ al-zulāl*, see my previous article “An Unknown Akbarian...”, pp. 37-39.

14 On *Tadkirat al-fawā‘id*, see Qāšānī, *Mağmū‘at rasā‘il*... (ed. Hādīzādeh), pp. 196-197, and on the *al-Durra al-farīda*, see *Idem*, p. 201. Hādīzādeh merely comments on the references provided by the author of *Laṭā‘if*. On the *Laṭā‘if* itself, see *Mağmū‘at rasā‘il*, pp. 231-241, where he provides more valuable information on five copies of the work and especially the two he used for his edition (pp. 238-240). The editor also provides a section (“Dīwān al-‘arīf al-Kāšānī”, pp. 723-736) where he has collected all the poetry he attributes to Qāšānī. Unfortunately, the poems do not have the technical references and notes one would expect. Of the three long

In short, the two recent editions of the *Latā'if*, since they lack any satisfactory critical study on the matter and any knowledge on the discovered works by its author, require to remind once more the question of the mistaken attribution. To Pierre Lory the matter became clear. In a more recent article on Qāshānī, in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, he writes:

“Similarly, *Latā'if al-i'lām fī ishārāt ahl al-ilhām* (“Subtleties of advice regarding [divine] signs of the people of inspiration”), an alphabetical dictionary of almost 1,650 mystical terms and expressions with definitions of different lengths, was erroneously attributed to our author by its editors, Sa'īd 'Abd al-Fattāh (Cairo 1996) and Majīd Hādīzāda (*Majmū'*), as was demonstrated by Pablo Beneito (An unknown Akbarian of the thirteenth-fourteenth century. Ibn Ṭāhir, the author of *Latā'if al-i'lām*, and his works, *ASAFAS Special Paper 3*, Kyoto 2000.) Beneito also raised doubts regarding the authenticity of the attribution to al-Kāshānī of a shorter *ṣūfī* dictionary, *Rashḥ al-zulāl* (“The filtration of fresh water”), ed. Sa'īd 'Abd al-Fattāh, Cairo 1995, *An unknown Akbarian*, 4”. (Pierre Lory, *Encyclopaedia of Islam III*, Third Edition Online – E3 English, 2007-, p. 12).

The same specialist explains in his review on a recent book by Ismail Lala untitled *Knowing God: Ibn Arabī and Abd al-Razzāq al-Qāshānī's Metaphysics of the Divine*, (Leyde-Boston, Brill, 2019):

“La bibliographie considérable d'al-Qāshānī est énumérée sans détail (p. 25-26), et seuls sont retenus les textes qui portent sur la définition de la divine *huwīyya*: principalement *Latā'if al-i'lām*, *Rashḥ al-zulāl*, *Iṣṭilāḥāt al-ṣūfiyya*, *Ṣarḥ Fuṣūṣ al-hikam* et surtout *Ta'wīlāt al-Qur'ān*. On pourra regretter que le débat sur la thèse de Pablo Beneito selon laquelle les deux premiers titres ne seraient pas d'al-Qāshānī ne soit mentionné que dans une note infrapaginale (pp. 48-49). Le point méritait un développement bien plus conséquent, vu l'importance de ces œuvres dans le corpus analysé” [Pierre Lory, *Arabica* 69 (2022) 1-3, p. 1, doi:10.1163/15700585-12341634].

.....
qaṣā'id starting the section, Hādīzādeh only says that they were written at the beginning of one of the copies by a certain Muḥammad 'Alī, as late as the year 1301 H. See *Maḡmū'at rasā'il*, pp. 725 and 732. After a first reading, I do not think those poems should be attributed to the author of the *Latā'if*, whose very few couplets of verses in the *Latā'if* or the *Tadhkira* are always very simple and do not seem to be the work of a fluent poet. On the other hand, in addition to this, some of the little poems (2 to 7 verses) collected by the editor under the title *al-Mutafarriqāt* (he says nothing of their sources) are in fact by the author of the *Latā'if*, in particular numbers 1 (see *Lat.* vol. 2, p. 136 = 2:136), 2 (*Lat.* 1:226), 4 (2:53), 8 (1:250), 9 (1:253), 10 (2:124), 11 (1:448 and 2:393), 13 (1:447), 14 (2:38) and 15 (1:424 and 2:163). Note also that in some of these cases the author does not affirm his authorship of the poems, while most of the others [num. 3, 6, 7, 12] are just quoted by the author of *al-Risāla al-ʿirfāniyya* (see *Maḡmū'at rasā'il*, pp. 647-654), without saying whether he is the author of the verses (which are introduced by the word *ṣīr* that often precedes quotations) or not.

It is certainly surprising that Ismail Lala did not even consider in such a significant book the important question of the attribution of *Laṭāʾif*. For how long will Qāšānī be studied on the bases of wrong or questionable attributions?

The demonstration Pierre Lory refers to, follows from here.

3. The authorship of *Laṭāʾif al-ʿilām*

When referring to the work in his critical edition of the *K. al-Taḡalliyāt* by Ibn ʿArabī¹⁵, Osman Yahya already pointed out that, due to the mention of Qūnawī in the text and to the title of *šayḥ* which the author gives to Simnānī, the work cannot be attributed to either Qūnawī or Qāšānī.

Qūnawī is ruled out because the author of the *Laṭāʾif* mentions him in the following way: “And Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Rūmī¹⁶, may God sanctify his secret¹⁷, said, when he was asked about ‘the blackness of the face in the two abodes’...”. Then he continues, “and the Šayḥ [Ibn ʿArabī] mentioned in the *Futūḥāt*...¹⁸”. It does not seem to be a direct quotation from a treatise by Qūnawī, since he uses the expression *suʿila* which implies that it may have been taken from an indirect source or received by oral transmission. In either case, it is undoubtedly a reference to Qūnawī¹⁹. The remarks relating to the alleged authorship by Qūnawī may also be applied in the case of Qāšānī, but we will see more relevant proofs to deny Qāšānī’s authorship. In fact, the fundamental, definitive evidence against his authorship is found in the other inter-related works by the author of the *Laṭāʾif*.

It is true that the style of the treatise is not very different from Qāšānī’s and indeed, it bears a certain resemblance to his *Iṣṭilāḥāt al-šūfiyya*²⁰ by which it might have been directly inspired. However, despite the fact that so many copies are attributed to Qāšānī, his authorship becomes questionable when one reads the entry on *al-ʿilm al-ladunī*, where there is a remark which causes reasonable doubt. The text says, “... and I say²¹: we saw on a certain occasion our

15 See the most recent, complete edition, *K. al-Taḡalliyāt*, Tehran, 1988, p. 671. O. Yahya refers to ms. 2355 in Istanbul University, as in his *Histoire et classification de l'oeuvre d'Ibn ʿArabī*, Damascus, 1964.

16 Ṣadr al-Dīn lived in Konya, where his tomb and his private library may be found today. Rūm is, in this context, the oriental name for Anatolia. Perhaps the use of the *nisba* al-Rūmī indicates that the author is from the East.

17 This expression would generally indicate that he was dead when the work was written.

18 On this quotation about ‘the blackness of the face’ see *Kašf* (ref. *infra* in note 39), p. 186, from where the continuation of this passage in the *Laṭāʾif* is also taken.

19 M. Chodkiewicz has been kind enough to confirm that ms. Berlin 3457 makes the same reference.

20 See, for example, the edition by Dr. A. Ḥ. Maḥmūd, Cairo, 1984.

21 There is a clear emphasis on the first person. The author maintains the reality of inspired knowledge and exemplifies it here with a story from his personal experience. It is well known that the term *ʿilm ladunī* derives

ṣayḥ ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla al-Simnānī²², may God have mercy on him (*raḥima-hu Llāh*), who was performing the sunset prayer (*ṣalāt al-magrib*). Then he sat down in his *mihṛāb* and between the end of this prayer and the beginning of the night prayer (*ṣalāt al-ʿiṣāʾ*), knowledges were revealed to him about the meanings of the letter *bāʾ*²³, with which the formula *bismi-Llāh* begins, that could only be gathered together and set down in writing during the course of many months. And whoever has seen something like that, from one of the followers (*baʿḍ al-tābiʿīn*)²⁴, understands the meaning of what ʿAlī, may God honour his face, said [concerning the meanings contained in the *Fātiḥa*] ...²⁵.

Qāšānī was not a disciple of Simnānī's and, in fact, he strongly disagreed with him²⁶. This might be why the author of *Laṭāʾif* omitted his name from his writings, despite the fact that he knew and paraphrased at least one of his works (his *Iṣṭilāḥāt*)²⁷. Besides, Qāšānī (d. *muḥarram* 736 H. / July-August 1335, as the last probable date)²⁸ died before Simnānī (22nd *raġab* 736 / March 1336), so the formula *raḥima-hu Llāh*, which generally indicates that the person mentioned has died, would be meaningless. The same thing applies in the case of Qūnawī (d. 673/1274) and Fargānī (d. c. 695/1296), who died long before the plausible composition of the work. In any case, this formula informs us that the work, certainly the copy which these later copies were made from, was written after the month of *raġab*, 736 H. / March 1336.

from a Quranic expression (see Q. 18:65). The passage is associated with the person who is traditionally identified as Khidr.

22 On the life and doctrine of Simnānī see, for example, Jamal J. Elias, *The Throne Carriers of God: The Life and Thought of ʿAlāʾ ad-Dawla as-Simnānī*, SUNY, Albany, 1995.

23 The first letter of the Quran, which has the numerical value of 2.

24 This normally refers to someone who belongs to the generations following the contemporaries of the Prophet, but it alludes here to Simnānī's spiritual rank as an authentic 'successor' and transmitter of spiritual realization.

25 Cf. *Laṭ.* II, p. 157. The same passage also appears in Hādizādeh's edition, in the Berlin ms., according to M. Chodkiewicz, and in the Istanbul University ms., according to O. Yahya.

26 The exchange of letters during the argument about *waḥdat al-wuġūd*, which Qāšānī defends from the attacks by Simnānī, have been edited in Arabic by Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ in his introduction to the *Laṭāʾif* (I, pp. 42-60), from the extracts that Ġāmī quotes in his *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, without any observation being made by the author about the difficulty of explaining the reference to Simnānī in the *Laṭāʾif*.

On this correspondence see the analysis by H. Landolt in his article "Der Briefwechsel zwischen Kāshānī und Simnānī über *Waḥdat al-Wuġūd*", *DER ISLAM*, L, 1, 1973, pp. 29-81, and in his introduction to Nūrūddīn Isfarāyīnī, *Le Révélateur des mystères (Traité de Soufisme)*, Verdier, Paris, 1980.

27 However, see *Throne*, pp. 97-98, referred to *infra* in the section VII entitled "Was Simnānī opposed to Ibn ʿArabī?"

28 See *Laṭ.* I, p. 42. From the information given in the letter sent from Qāšānī to Simnānī to demonstrate the "orthodoxy" of Ibn ʿArabī's doctrine, noted by Ġāmī in his *Nafaḥāt al-uns* (ed. Mahdī Tawḥīdī, Tehran, 1958), P. Lory believes that the only accurate date of Qāšānī's death would be 730/1329. See P. Lory, *Les Commentaires ésotériques du Coran d'après ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Qāshānī*, Les Deux Océans, Paris, 1980, p. 25. See also the article by D. B. Macdonald, "ʿAbd al-Razzāk...", *EI2* (s. v.).

What is the relationship of the author of the *Laṭāʾif* with Simnānī? Like Qāṣānī, the author of the *Laṭāʾif* strongly defends Akbarian teaching on *tawḥīd* and completely adheres, as his writings make clear, to the so-called school of *waḥdat al-wuḡūd*. However he calls Simnānī, who is opposed in principle to the Akbarian formulations on the Unicity of Being, ‘our Ṣayḥ’ and considers him with deep respect as a living example of inspired knowledge (*ʿilm ladunī*).

When the author of the *Laṭāʾif* says, in the paragraph quoted, that Simnānī sat down in his *miḥrāb*, he seems to mean, by the pronoun ‘his’ (*fī miḥrābi-hi*), that Simnānī was leading the sunset prayer as the *imām* among his disciples, in *his* own *ḥānaqā* in Baghdad, between 720 and 736 H., having received permission to teach on his return from the Ḥiḡāz²⁹. If, in fact, Simnānī was teaching there at that time, it is quite possible that the author of the *Laṭāʾif* heard his *tafsīr* on the letter *bāʾ* in Baghdad. Was he at that time a follower of *Simnānī*, affiliated to the *ṭarīqa kubrawiyya*, or only a respectful learning visitor?

Perhaps he only calls Simnānī *Ṣayḥu-nā* out of respect, in which case *Ṣayḥ* could simply mean ‘venerable master of the way’, but not necessarily ‘my personal guide’³⁰. In any case, it seems possible that he moved in Simnānī’s circle after the initiatic relationship which, as we shall see, he mentions in the introduction to his *al-Durra al-farīda*, one of his previous works. As we know, a certain number of different spiritual affiliations would not be a problem. I am inclined to think that the Akbarian doctrinal adscription which seems to be constantly evident predominates over any circumstantial link with Simnānī, although the scope of Simnānī’s influence on the author of the *Laṭāʾif* has not yet been examined.

I have already pointed out that the date of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Fargānī’s death (d. c. 695/1296) is not consistent with the posthumous mention of Simnānī. Nevertheless, I have found echoes of Fargānī’s work in the *Laṭāʾif* and I consider it probable that, although the author does not explicitly mention either his name or his works, Fargānī, in particular his commentary on the *Tāʾiyya* of Ibn al-Fāriḍ, was one of his sources during the time he was writing the *Laṭāʾif*³¹ where Ibn al-Fāriḍ is often quoted.

In any case, simply pointing out that the *Laṭāʾif* does not contain, as far as I know, any evidence or indication that either of the titles which the author of the *Laṭāʾif* attributes to himself -*al-Durra al-farīda* and *Tadkīrat al-fawāʾid*- is the work of Fargānī, Qāṣānī or Qūnawī, is sufficient to call into question who the real author of the *Laṭāʾif* is. It seems strange that the

29 Lit. ‘permission to ascend’ (*iḡāzat al-irtiqāʾ*). See the Arabic version of the passage from *Nafahāt al-uns* which collects together these facts (*Laṭ.* I, p. 59).

30 Just as Qāṣānī himself calls him *Mawlā-nā l-ʿzam Ṣayḥ al-islām... qudwat arbāb al-ṭarīqa...*, etc., using grand, honorific titles characteristic of the etiquette of the time, in a polemical letter addressed to him (see *Laṭ.* I, pp. 46-47).

31 Compare, for example, the section on the *iḡṣāʾ al-asmāʾ* (*taʿalluq, taḥaqquq, taḥalluq*) in *Laṭ.* I, pp. 173-175, with the *K. Muntahā l-madārik (ṣarḥ al-qaṣīda al-tāʾiyya)* by Fargānī, ed. 1293 H., pp. 27-28 of the introduction.

author should mention two of his works, neither of which is known as a work by the presumed authors and yet there is no mention in the *Laṭāʾif* of any known work by Qāṣānī or Fargānī, whose influence on the *Laṭāʾif* (and on its author's other works as far as I know) is never made explicit. For this reason, it occurred to me that the only way to resolve the question of authorship was to find copies of these two other works.

4. Other works by the author of the *Laṭāʾif*

The author of the *Laṭāʾif* says: “We have already dealt with the adoption of the qualities of the Divine Names and their realization (...) in the *K. Tadkīrat al-fawāʾid...*”³².

The editors found no reference³³ to this work: its whereabouts and the identity of its author should therefore have remained uncertain as far as they were concerned. In this work, as the author explains, there is a chapter (entitled *fāʾida*), comprising 100 pages (*ṣafha*)³⁴, devoted to a commentary on the meanings of the Names and the perfectibility of Man by means of them, both in theory and in practice³⁵. There is another mention of the *Tadkīra* in the entry on *al-farq bayna l-ṣarīf wa-l-kāmil*, where the author mentions another of his works, *al-Durra al-farīda*³⁶, to which the editors also found no reference.

In the following passage from the *Laṭāʾif*, the author shows that the three works are complementary: “... and I have already dealt with this theme extensively in the *Tadkīrat al-fawāʾid* and in the *K. al-Durra al-farīda*. It is therefore important for you to consider as a whole what I have explained there and what I have just explained here, and to examine the relationship they have to each other, so that you may discover the truth of this question which scholars have argued about so much”³⁷.

Before dealing with the discovery of these two works, allow me to make some additional remarks about the *Laṭāʾif*.

32 See *Laṭ.* I, p. 317; *Laṭ.-H.*, p. 162.

33 *Ibid.*, note 3.

34 This would be the case in an original copy which has not been found.

35 Cf. *Laṭ.* I, p. 317.

36 In the Cairo edition it says *al-Durar al-farīda*, but Hādīzādeh's edition correctly reads *al-Durra al-farīda* (see *Laṭ.-H.*, p. 456). Thus, Pourjavadi's doubts about the correspondence of this title (just because he presumes that *Durar* is the correct reading) with the manuscript I describe later (see his *Isrāq...*, pp. 451-452) are not justified.

37 See *Laṭ.* II, p. 208, and notes 1 and 2; *Laṭ.-H.*, p. 456.

5. Two works by Ibn ʿArabī mentioned in the *Latāʾif*: *al-ʿAbādila* and *al-Malābis*

Neither the author of the Cairo edition nor the author of the Tehran edition made use of the opportunity to compare the definitions given in the *Latāʾif* with the texts by Ibn ʿArabī and other main authors of his “School”, on which the majority of them are based. A study of these correspondences would prove extremely revealing, although a systematic comparison would, of course, entail a great deal of additional research given the size of the work. What I shall now put forward in this section will serve as an example of this.

Ibn ʿArabī is mentioned explicitly in the *Latāʾif*, usually antonomastically as the Master (*Šayḥ*), on about 60 occasions (54 are entered in the index of the first edition). Only three other names are mentioned frequently: ʿUmar Ibn al-Fāriḍ (34 entries), Abū Ismāʿīl al-Anṣārī (20) and ʿAlī Ibn Abī Ṭālib (11).

Among the works by Ibn ʿArabī mentioned in the *Latāʾif* there is one which both editors, due to the variants of the titles, have not identified correctly: the title *K. al-ʿAbādila*³⁸ refers here, in fact, to Ibn ʿArabī’s *Kašf al-maʿnā*³⁹, and not to the real book entitled *K. al-ʿAbādila*, also by Ibn ʿArabī himself. A second work, not identified in the first edition, has been identified in the second since it was identified in my previous article on the matter: the title *al-Malābis*⁴⁰ refers to the *Nasab al-ḥirqa*. The third and fourth definitions of the entry on *ḥirqat al-taṣawwuf*⁴¹, for example, are a gloss on *Nasab al-ḥirqa*⁴² using literal quotations which are not, however, noted nor is there any mention of the author or the work. In order to illustrate the expediency of locating sources of reference, I shall refer to some of the passages which have either been taken literally from *Kašf al-maʿnā* or have been inspired by it.

I considered that the author of the *Latāʾif* may have been familiar with *Kašf al-maʿnā*, since I have shown that he commented extensively on the ideas of *taʿalluq*, *taḥaqquq* and *taḥalluq* - terms which Ibn ʿArabī uses in this work in a systematic way for the first time in the tradition of the commentary on the ninety-nine most beautiful Names of God. In fact, on reading the entry on *al-taḥaqquq bi-l-asmāʾ al-ilāhiyya*⁴³ we find, first of all, the definition which Ibn

38 See *Lat.-H.*, p. 390. See Ibn ʿArabī, “K. al-ʿAbādila” (ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Sulṭān al-Manṣūb), in *Rasāʾil Ibn al-ʿArabī*, Cairo, 2018, vol. I, pp. 113-349.

39 See Ibn ʿArabī, *El secreto de los nombres de Dios (Kašf al-maʿnā ʿan sirr asmāʾ Allāh al-ḥusnā)*, edition, annotated translation and study by P. Beneito, ERM, Murcia, December 1996, pp. viii, 393 (Spanish) and 213 (Arabic); 2nd revised ed. ERM, December 1997; reprint of the Arabic text, *Kašf al-maʿnā ʿan sirr asmāʾ Allāh al-ḥusnā*, Qom (Iran), 1999, 200 pp.

40 See *Lat.* I:445, and *Lat.-H.*, p. 260, note 2.

41 *Lat.* I, p. 442, lss. 18-23, and 443, lss. 1 and ff.

42 See *Nasab* (ref. *infra*, note 71), pp. 168-176.

43 See *Lat.* I, p. 316.

ʿArabī gives to those three terms, taken word for word from the *Muqaddima* of the *Kaṣf*⁴⁴, but without mentioning either the work or the author. Next, he gives an example of *taḥalluq* which is inspired by the corresponding section on the *taḥalluq* of the Name *al-Wālī* in the *Kaṣf*⁴⁵. Then, a hadith is quoted which is also quoted in the *Kaṣf* and, further on, he provides the information already mentioned which has enabled us to collect together the works by the author of the *Laṭāʾif*. Here, the author refers to the chapter devoted to the ʿ*abādila* “which deals with the human perfections (*kamālāt insāniyya*) related to the Divine Names...”⁴⁶.

Further on, in the introduction to this large section devoted to the ʿ*abādila*⁴⁷, the author of the *Laṭāʾif* comments, in reference to Ibn ʿArabī: “The Ṣayḥ has written a book, that he entitled the *K. al-ʿAbādila*, which contains inestimable secrets concerning the ninety-nine Names and the sciences of those who, from among the people of God, have realized them...”.

The editors have tried in vain to find a direct influence from Ibn ʿArabī’s *K. al-ʿAbādila* in this text, since the author of the *Laṭāʾif* was mistaken about the title of the work, which is, in fact, no other than *Kaṣf al-maʿnā*, whose list of ninety-nine Names he follows rigorously in his commentary⁴⁸. In fact, by comparing the texts I have been able to verify that a large number (about forty) of the commentaries on the ʿ*abādila* in the *Laṭāʾif* are based wholly or partially on the commentaries in the corresponding chapters⁴⁹ of the *Kaṣf*-in general those devoted to the adoptions (*taḥalluqāt*); thus, for example, ʿ*Abd al-Raḥmān*⁵⁰, ʿ*Abd al-Raḥīm*, ʿ*Abd al-Malik*, ʿ*Abd al-Muʾmin*, ʿ*Abd al-Muḥaymin*, etc.

However, I have only found one case, which is to be found in the commentary on ʿ*Abd al-Muntaqim* (p. 139), where a phrase which has been quoted is put into the mouth of the Ṣayḥ, although without mentioning him explicitly, by using the revealing expression: “Concerning this he said... (*li-hādā qāla...*)”⁵¹.

44 See p. 11 (and notes 38 and 39). The quotation from the *Laṭāʾif* corresponds to the texts of mss. C and F.

45 Where he distinguishes between the *mutaḥalliq*, who attains through effort, and the *mutaḥaqqiq*, who realizes without any inclination of his own that would separate him from the Real (*mayl can al-Ḥaqq*). See *Lat.* I, p. 316.

46 See *Lat.* I, p. 317.

47 *Lat.* II, pp. 104-146; *Lat.-H.*, pp. 390 (note 1) and ff.

48 Except that in n^o. 90 “*Abd al-Muṭṭī al-Mānic*”, the Name *al-Muṭṭī* (which brings the total to 100 names) has been added, even though it does not appear in the *Kaṣf*.

49 Or, occasionally, on other ones. See for example “*Abd al-Malik*” which uses expressions from the *taḥalluq* in the chapter on *al-Qawī*, or “*Abd al-ʿAzīz*”, where a poem is quoted which is also quoted in the *Kaṣf*, but in the chapter on *al-Ġalīl*.

50 It seems to contain a misprint or mistaken reading of the *Kaṣf*, since it should say *li-allā* or *min ḡayr an* instead of *li-an* (p. 107). Subsequently a quotation mentioned in the *Kaṣf* is completed.

51 The lack of manuscripts used is evident in the edition. The quotation is in fact taken from the *Kaṣf* 79:1.

It is clear, therefore, that the group of passages in the *Laṭāʾif* which relate to *Kašf al-maʿnā* form a sort of commentary on this Akbarian treatise, which seems to have been the source of inspiration for later treatises of the genre of the *ʿabādila*.

As I have already pointed out in the introduction to my critical edition of the work⁵², the copy of *Kašf al-maʿnā* by Ibn ʿArabī, dated 981 H., which appears under the title *Šarḥ asmāʾ Allāh al-ḥusnā* in ms. Esad Ef. 1448/fols. 9a-23a, contains copious notes in the margin. In these notes, a few extracts from the *Futūḥāt makkīyya*⁵³ are quoted, and the commentaries on the *ʿabādila* relating to the corresponding Divine Names⁵⁴, from the work *Iṣṭilāḥāt al-ṣūfiyya* by Qāšānī, are collected together. The annotator has also included several other commentaries taken from *Laṭāʾif al-ʿilām*⁵⁵ in this copy, in order to contrast them. The importance of these marginal notes lies in the fact that they reveal a clear awareness of the genre of *ʿabādila*⁵⁶.

II. AL-DURRA AL-FARĪDA FĪ TAŠḤĪḤ AL-ʿAQĪDA

1. The manuscript

As I have already mentioned, the author of the *Laṭāʾif* refers to one of his own works, entitled *al-Durra al-farīda*, which does not appear in the general catalogues. After consulting various existing works which share the same title, I finally found a copy of this work -the only one discovered as yet.

In the Suleymāniyye Library in Istanbul, it is listed as a work attributed to a certain Ibn Ṭāhir, under the title *al-Durra al-farīda fī tašḥīḤ al-ʿaqīda*, in ms. Šehid Ali Paša 1627/1a-158a⁵⁷,

52 See *Kašf*, p. xxiv.

53 Ibn ʿArabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-makkīyya*, Cairo, 1911, IV vols.; Dār Šādir, Beirut, IV vols. (reprinted, undated).

54 See fols. 15b-20b, where the *cabādila* from Qāšānī (from ʿAbd al-Šakūr to ʿAbd al-Muʾaḥḥir) are duplicated, indicated by the abbreviation *qāf*.

55 E.g. ʿAbd al-Muḥyī, ʿAbd al-Mumīt (where the title is taken from the *Laṭāʾif*), ʿAbd al-Ḥayy (with a double abbreviation: >q< / >l<), in fol. 19a; ʿAbd al-Qādir, ʿAbd al-Muqtadir, ʿAbd al-Muqaddim al-Muʾaḥḥir, in fol. 20a. When the source is the *Laṭāʾif* this is indicated by the abbreviation *lām*, which seems to indicate that the copyist, in 981 H., was also unaware of its authorship, given that in the quotations from *Iṣṭilāḥāt al-ṣūfiyya*, the abbreviation *qāf* relates to the name of the author rather than to the title of the work.

56 See our article “Psychosophy in Akbarian Thought: Application of the Science of the Names”, in the volume *Uluslararası Davud el-Kayserî sempozyumu* (Proceedings of the International Conference on ‘Islamic thought in Anatolia in the 13th and 14th Centuries and Dāʿūd al-Qayṣarī’), Kayseri Metropolitan Municipality, edited by Turan Koç, Ankara, 1998, pp. 183-192, together with a translation into Turkish by Turan Koç, “Ekberî düşüncede psikosofi”, *op. cit.*, pp. 173-182.

57 Each page (240x152, 167x90) contains about 21 lines. The cursive writing, in ink which has now turned

copied by ʿAbd al-Muḥsin b. al-Šayḥ Ibrāhīm b. al-Šayḥ Muḥammad al-Bagdādī⁵⁸. Two titles are given on the general title page (fol. -1b): that of this work, along with a list of *fuṣūl* and *maqāṣid*, and that of a second work which completes the volume, entitled *K. [al]-Dalāʾil al-qaṭʿiyya ʿalā ummuhāt [al]-muhimmāt al-dīniyya*, followed by the name of the author, the so-called Ibn Ṭāhir, after which it adds *raḥima-hu Llāhu*, a formula generally equivalent to ‘may he rest in peace’, which in principle indicates that the author had just died at the time when the general title page was written.

On the first title page (fol. 0a) the title and the name of the author of the work are written⁵⁹: *Kiṭāb al-Durra al-farīda fī taṣḥīḥ al-ʿaqīda taṣnīf Ibn Ṭāhir ʿafā Allāhu ʿan-hu*. A note just below says: *istaṣhaba-hu l-faqīr ʿĀrif*...⁶⁰.

On this page there are two other marginal notes which give details of two successive acquisitions of the book with the figures 681 (H.) and 700 (H.).

The first says: *waṣala ilā salk milkī -al-ḥaqīr Aḥmad- bi-l-širāʾi l-šarʿī fī 681*.

The second says: *waṣala ilā salk milk šayḥi bi-l-širāʾi l-šarʿī wa-l-ḥamdu li-Llāhi awwalan wa-aḥīran: [sana] 700*.

Below it says: *min kutub aḥwaḡ ḥalq Allāh ilay-hi Ṭāʾhāʾ al-Kurdī al-Ġandī*⁶¹.

This is, therefore, the only available copy of a work by the author with the name of the copyist and dates of acquisition next to the date of writing, which makes its attribution to this so far unknown Ibn Ṭāhir very reliable.

The beginning of *Durra farīda* in fol. 0b: [After the *basmala*...] *al-ḥamdu li-Llāhi lladī waffaqa-nā li-qawli l-ḥaqī wa-fī-li-hi wa-ṣtafā-nā min bayna sāriri bariyyati-hi li-l-īmāni bi-ḡamrī malāʾikati-hi wa-kutubi-hi wa-rusuli-hi fa-ḡaʿala-nā ḥayra ummatin...*

.....
brown, is difficult to read: the text is not vocalized and tends to dispense with diacritical marks. There is no information which would allow one to date the volume apart from the dates of acquisition which appear on the title page and which we will deal with later.

58 As his genealogy shows, this copyist from Bagdad belongs to a line of masters and was probably connected with the corresponding *ṭarīqa*. See *infra* the section II.5.2: “The possible relationship between Ṣadr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm and the copyist of the *Durra*...”.

59 Above it also says: *al-Šayḥ Abū Ishāq al-...rawī qaddasa Allāhu sirra-hu*.

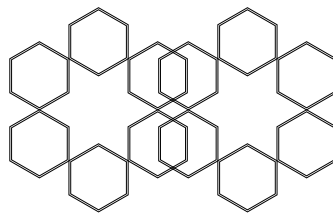
60 I.e., “the *faqīr ʿĀrif* took him as companion”, which seems to be a reference to the relationship between Ibn Ṭāhir and the *šayḥ* who invested him with the *ḥirqa ḥamawiyya*. See *infra* the section II.5.3, “Muḥammad al-ʿĀrif...”.

61 I have not been able to locate this person. The vocalization of his name is provisional.

Purpose of the work (fol. 0b): “When I saw, O brother in faith, that you were of those whom God has favoured... and since you had asked me to dictate⁶² to you a book, dealing with the main questions relating to the fundamental normative principles of the Sunnis, and that it should set out... the themes such that the different opinions... of the divergent schools of law of the People of the Truth are contrasted -and especially in relation to the Sunnis in order to distinguish and clarify the correct doctrines from the rest...- I asked God to help me with this objective... (*wa-ba’d fa-innī lammā ra’aytu-ka ayyuhā l-aḥ fī l-dīn mim-man qad an’am Allāhu ‘alay-hi... wa-kunta qad iltamasta minnī an umlī ‘alay-ka kitāban muštamilan ‘alā l-maṭālibi l-muhimmati llatī yanbagī ‘alay-hā qawā’idu uṣūli ahli l-sunna wa-an adkura... min dālika ‘alā waḡhin yakšifu ‘an ... l-madāhibi l-muḥālifa li-ahli l-ḥaqqi bi-ṣay’ayni min dālik: iḥtiṣāṣu ahli l-sunnati wa-l-ḡama’ati bi-stihlāṣi ṣaḥīḥi l-‘aqa’idi min bayna sā’iri l-ḥalq...*)”.

Methodology: In fols. 0b and 1a, the author shows that, when dealing with the various questions, he has interwoven the methods and technical terminology of rational, speculative thought and traditional, exoteric sciences (*al-mabāḥiṭ al-naẓariyya wa-l-‘ulūm al-rasmiyya / ‘aql-naql*), with the exposition of esoteric sciences (*ma’ārif ḥafiyya*), characteristic of the inspired knowledge of Sufi masters (*ṣuyūḥ al-ṣūfiyya*) which results from direct experience through taste.

Ending and colophon of the book (fol. 159a): ... *wa-as’alu-hu an yuṣallī ‘alā akmal bariyyati-hi Muḥammad al-mab’ūt bi-risālati-hi [...] wa-an yaḡ’ala-nā mimman [...] ‘amala li-l-baqā’ lā li-l-fanā’ [...] bi-l-iḥlāṣ anna-hu huwa l-ḡawwādu l-waḥḥāb wa-hādā āḥiru mā aradnā dikra-hu fī ha-dā l-kitāb / Tamma kitābu l-Durrati bi-‘awni l-karīmi l-waḥḥāb ‘alā yadi l-‘abdi l-da‘if afqar [al-ḥalā’iq] ilā raḥmati Llāhi ta’ālā cAbd al-Muḥsin b. [al-]ṣayḥ Ibrāhīm b. [al-]ṣayḥ Muḥammad al-Baḡdādī ḥāmidan li-Llāhi ‘alā sawāniḥ na’mā’i-hi wa-muṣalliyan ‘alā nabiyi-hi ‘alay-hi l-salām.*



62 Although the dedication in the second person is often merely rhetorical, perhaps the work is addressed to the copyist himself whom we shall deal with, in more detail, later.

2. Triple investiture with the Sufi *ḥirqa*

The author explains and legitimises his choice of methodology by stating that God has granted him the favour of being dressed in the mantle of the Sufis (*id kān Allāhu qad waffaqa-nā... li-libsī ḥirqati-him...*, fol. 1a).

He then adds, “I have been invested with it in several ways... (*wa-kāna libsī bi-hā min ṭuruqin ṣattā*)”.

In fol. 1a the author says of his *ḥirqa*-s:

1. “I was invested with the *ḥirqa* of Ṣayḥ ... Sa°d al-Dīn b. Muḥammad b. al-Mu'ayyid al-Ḥamawī -may God sanctify his spirit...- by the mediation of Ṣayḥ Muḥammad known as al-°Arif, ‘the Gnostic’ (*labistu l-ḥirqati l-mansūba ilā l-Ṣayḥi l-kāmili l-muḥaqqiq Sa°d al-Dīn b. Muḥammad b. al-Mu'ayyid al-Ḥamawī -qaddas Allāhu rūḥa-hu wa-nawwara darīḥahu- bi-wāsiṭati l-Ṣayḥ Muḥammad al-ma°rūf bi-l-°Arif*)”.

2. “I have also been invested with the *ḥirqa* of Ṣayḥ Abū l-Nağīb al-Suhrawardī⁶³... (*wa-labistu aydan al-ḥirqat al-mansūba ilā l-Ṣayḥ Abī l-Nağīb al-Suhrawardī qaddas Allāhu sirra-hu l-°azīz*)”.

3. “... and before that I was instructed in the [spiritual] manners (*wa-qad ta'addabtu qabla dālika bi-ādāb*⁶⁴ ...) of the perfect master and spiritual heir (*al-ṣayḥ al-kāmil al-wāriṭ*) Abū °Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. °Alī Ibn al-°Arabī -may God sanctify his spirit- and I kept company with his companion/s (*ṣaḥabtu man ṣaḥaba-hu*)⁶⁵ [1] and he [Ibn °Arabī] -may God be satisfied with him (*raḍiya Llāhu °an-hu*)- was the companion of Khidr -peace upon him-, he learnt from him and received from him [first (1.a)] without any intermediary (*bi-lā wāsiṭa*) and [then (1.b)] also through the mediation of the perfect

63 He expressly mentions Abū Nağīb but not Abū Ḥafṣ °Umar al-Suhrawardī, the direct teacher of Zakariyyā° al-Multānī, °Arif's father, who invested him with the *ḥirqa ḥamawīyya*. See *infra* the section entitled, “Sa°d al-Dīn al-Ḥamawī”, where the relationship between Ḥamawī and Abū Nağīb by means of Kubrā is also alluded to. Our author is therefore *suhrawardī* on two counts.

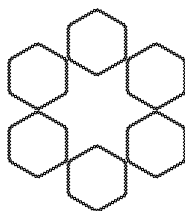
64 The grammatical emphasis on the past tense indicates, in my opinion, that the author regards the Akbarian teaching as a first initiation, giving it precedence over other teachings, as is then made clear.

65 In the ms. there is a note which is difficult to read but which could prove very significant: *qāla l-mu'allif ... wa-... ṣaḥabtu l-... man ṣayḥu-hu ṣayḥ al-ṣuyūḥ Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī -qaddas Allāhu sirra-hu-*. This version is provisional.

However, the note is an addition and the ambiguity of the comment, “I was the companion of his companion”, together with the immediacy of the reference to the relationship between Ibn °Arabī and Khidr (“and he was Khidr's companion”, *wa-ṣaḥaba l-Ḥidr*), seems to suggest that the author is, in a subtle and cautious way, declaring himself to be a “companion”, that is, a direct disciple of Khidr, who represents inspired knowledge (°ilm ladunī).

Šayḥ Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ğāmiʿ, may God be pleased with him,⁶⁶, who had received the *ḥirqa* directly from the hand of Khidr, peace upon him, and then he invested (*albasa-hā*) Šayḥ Muḥyī l-Dīn [Ibn ʿArabī] with it in the same place that Khidr had invested him.”

Next, the author devotes two pages (fols. 1b and 2a) to giving details of the *silsila* or ‘initiativ chain of transmission’ of two other *ḥirqa*-s of Ibn ʿArabī’s⁶⁷: [2] “... and Šayḥ Muḥyī l-Dīn received the *ḥirqa* from the hand of Abū⁶⁸ ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Tamīmī⁶⁹..., etc.”, [3] “and Šayḥ Muḥyī l-Dīn... was also invested with the *ḥirqa* by Šayḥ Ğamāl⁷⁰ al-Dīn Yūnus b. Yaḥyā of the line of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās... who was invested by the hand of the Master of the time ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Ġīlī...”. Although there are some variations, omissions or errors, and it appears in inverse order and without mention of the source, these two pages, in fact, duplicate the genealogies of initiatic lineage which are to be found in the brief *risāla* by Ibn ʿArabī entitled *Nasab al-ḥirqa*⁷¹.



66 See *Nasab* (ed. Gurāb, ref. *infra*, note 71), p. 176. In *Nasab*, the reference to ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ğāmiʿ appears first. Then Ibn ʿArabī says: “... and I was also a companion (*ṣaḥabtu*) of Khidr... and I was instructed by him (*taʿaddabtu bi-hi*) and I received from him (*aḥadtu ʿan-hu*)...”, which are the same terms that the author of the *Durra* uses, adding here “without intermediary”.

67 This detailed explanation seems to suggest, in this context, that the author considered himself in some way linked to the *silsila* of Ibn ʿArabī.

68 The ms. says *Aḥī* instead of *Abī*.

69 A transmitter of Prophetic traditions from Fez, whom Ibn ʿArabī mentions in the *Futūḥāt* on at least six occasions. See *Nasab*, p. 175 and note 2. See *infra* note 71.

70 In the ms. it says *Kamāl*. On Ğamāl al-Dīn Yūnus b. Abī l-Ḥasan al-ʿAbbāsī, see *Nasab*, p. 174, note 3, where the editor refers to 8 mentions of Yūnus b. Yaḥyā in various works by the Šayḥ al-Akbar.

71 See the edition by Maḥmūd al-Gurāb, “Risālat nasab al-ḥirqa wa-ilbāsu-hū li-l-Šayḥ al-Akbar”, *al-Ṭarīq ilā Allāh taʿālā: al-šayḥ wa-l-murīd*, Damascus, 1987, pp. 168-176 [see no. 3, on p. 174; no. 2, on p. 175, and numbers 1.b and 1.a, on p. 176, in inverse order]. Lamentably, this is not a critical edition and is based on only one manuscript. However, in 1999 two wonderful studies of the *risāla* appeared: C. Addas, “Le livre de la filiation spirituelle”, *ʿAyn al-Ḥayāt*, 5, 1999, pp. 5-44; and G. Elmore, “Ibn al-ʿArabī’s Testament on the Mantle of Initiation”, *Journal of the Muhyiddin Ibn ʿArabi Society (JMIAS)*, XXVI, 1999, pp. 1-33.

On the spiritual genealogy of Ibn ʿArabī, see also C. Addas, *Ibn ʿArabī ou la quête du Soufre Rouge*, Gallimard, Paris, 1989, pp. 371-376.

3. End of the introduction and structure of the *Durra*

After this exposition, the author briefly deals with the *libās al-taqwā* and concludes the introduction by saying, of those who are invested with this ‘garment of the fear of God’:

“By means of them the divine sciences and prophetic manners (*ādāb nabawīyya*) are known. In my book I have included those of his sayings and opinions⁷² that seemed to be the easiest to understand (*mā yatayassara lī min aqwāli-him*) and for that reason I have called it *al-Durra al-farīda fī taṣṣīḥ al-‘aqīda*”.

Then the author explains the structure of the work⁷³: “And I have arranged the book in two parts. The first gathers together the *Muqaddimāt* and the second the *Maqāṣid*. The *Muqaddimāt* (“premises”) comprise seven chapters (*abwāb*)”⁷⁴. Later, we shall see that the part devoted to the *Maqāṣid* (“aims” or “objectives”) is also divided into seven *maqṣid*⁷⁵.

4. References to other works by the author in the *Durra*

On fol. 42a of the *Durra*, the *K. Taḍkīrat al-fawā'id* is mentioned directly, with explicit reference to the chapter on the Divine Names⁷⁶: ... *wa-staqṣay-nā l-qawl ‘alā kayfiyyati hādā l-taḥalluq ‘inda l-kalām ‘alā l-taḥalluq bi-l-asmā’i l-ilāhiyya ‘ilman wa-‘amalan*... It is described here just as it appears in the manuscript of the *Taḍkira* we have.

On fol. 76b, the *Tafsīr muškilāt Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* is referred to as though it were an independent work, which seems to suggest that this *Tafsīr muškilāt*..., previously a separate work, was added later, as a final chapter, to the first volume of the *Taḍkira*.

These cross references (we shall see that the *Durra* is also mentioned in the *Taḍkira*) confirm unequivocally the common authorship of the *Durra* and the *Taḍkira*, at the same time as they complicate the dating of one in relation to the other. At least one of the two works, and perhaps even both of them, has been the object of a second redaction in which references to the other, originally later, work have been included. Although it is also possible that they were written simultaneously, I am inclined to think that the *Durra* was written or completed previously. We shall return to this matter later.

72 I. e., of the Sufis in particular and of the pious experts on the *Sunna* in general.

73 See “An Unknown Akbarian” (‘General Index of the *Durra*’, section VIII.1), pp. 50-53.

74 See *Durra*, fol. 2b.

75 See *Durra*, fol. 27a.

76 I.e. the *Fā’ida* 58, fols. 73a-105a. See below the section IV.2: “The commentary on the Names of God in the *Taḍkira*...”.

5. On the people mentioned in the *Durra* in relation to the transmission of the *ḥirqa ḥamawīyya* and its circle

5. 1. Saʿd al-Dīn al-Ḥamawī

The famous ṣayḥ Saʿd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Muʿayyad al-Ḥamawī (d. c. 650/1253), known in the history of Sufism as a disciple of Naḡm al-Dīn Kubrā (d. 618/1221), who wrote an *iḡāza* for him, seems to have been affiliated to the nascent *Kubrawīyya*. However, some sources indicate that, before meeting Kubrā, he received his formal initiation into Sufism through his paternal uncle, Ṣayḥ al-ṣuyūḥ Ṣadr al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad⁷⁷, in Damascus, after which he met Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234)⁷⁸ in Mecca.

According to Ḥaydar ʿAmulī⁷⁹, the same Saʿd al-Dīn’s spiritual descent went back to Muḥammad b. Ḥamūya (d. 530/1135-6), as much by direct spiritual association, like that of Ibn Ḥamūya himself with Khidr, as by transmission of the *ḥirqa* through the genealogical line of the Syrian branch of his family (i.e. by means of the aforementioned Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad).

Basing his information on the *Maṣāriq al-darārī* by Fargānī, Landolt points out that “during one of his stays in Damascus, he was undoubtedly in touch with Ibn ʿArabī (d. 638/1240) and his circle, although it would appear that his real contact was with the disciple Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī (d. 673/1274) rather than the master himself”⁸⁰. According to Sibṭ Ibn al-Ġawzī, after having lived with his followers on Mount Qāsiyūn in Damascus, he later lived in Khorasan, where ʿAzīz-i Nasafī (d. c. 700/1300) became his disciple⁸¹. Ḥamawī’s spirituality is, therefore, historically linked to the line of his ancestor, Muḥammad b. Ḥamūya, to ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī, Naḡm al-Dīn Kubrā and Ibn ʿArabī/Qūnawī.

In his commentary on the information about Saʿd al-Dīn Ibn Ḥamawayh (or Ḥamawī), in the *Risāla* by Ṣafī l-Dīn⁸², Denis Gril remarks that Sibṭ Ibn al-Ġawzī called him ‘*ṣayḥ al-ṣuyūḥ* of Khorasan’. Gril says of Saʿd al-Dīn: «Disciple de Naḡm al-Dīn Kubrā, il se rattachait par celui-ci à Abū l-Naḡīb al-Suhrawardī et donc à Aḥmad al-Gazālī [...]. C’est vraisemblablement sous l’influence de Naḡm al-Dīn Kubrā qu’il retourna au Ḥurāsān. La *Risāla* est la seule source qui nous parle de son travail de conversion des Mongols en Iran,

77 For more information on this person, see the study by D. Gril, *La Risāla de Ṣafī l-Dīn Ibn Abī l-Manṣūr Ibn Zāfir* (Biographies des maîtres spirituels connus par un cheikh égyptien du VIIe/XIIIe siècle), IFAO, Cairo, 1986, p. 234.

78 Cf. *EI2* (s. v.).

79 See *K. Naṣṣ al-nuṣūṣ*, Paris, 1975, 220-1. Cf. *EI2* (‘Saʿd al-Dīn’, s. v.).

80 See *EI2*, s.v.

81 Cf. *EI2*, s.v.

82 See Gril, *La Risāla de Ṣafī l-Dīn...*, pp. 187-188.

mais c'est à son fils Şadr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm (640-722) que Gāzān Ḥān fit appel pour se convertir à l'Islam en 694 H.»⁸³.

5. 2. The possible relationship between Şadr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm [b. Muḥammad] and the copyist of the *Durra*: °Abd al-Muḥsin b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad

Sa'd al-Dīn Muhammad al-Ḥamawī was, then, the father of Şadr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm [b. Muḥammad] (644-722/1247-1322). His son may have been, in turn, the father of the copyist of the *Durra* and the *Dalā'il*, °Abd al-Muḥsin b. [al-]şayḥ Ibrāhīm b. [al-]şayḥ Muḥammad al-Bagdādī.

The acquisition of the copy is dated firstly 681, and later 700, so the copy is prior to 681. This could lead one to believe that a young son of Şadr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm's called °Abd al-Muḥsin, who was born or resident in Baghdad and who, perhaps, was given a certain position in the *ḥamawīyya* by his father, copied the works of another *ḥamawī*, the author of the *Durra*, Ibn Ṭāhir⁸⁴, who seems, because of the abbreviation of his name, to have been well-known at the time. Let us use the name Ibn Ṭāhir for the author of these works in the following pages without forgetting it may be provisional.

The copyist seems in fact to have known him personally, because in the note to folio 1a he writes: *qāla l-mu'allif...* The fact that the copyist is from Baghdad and the reference to Simnānī's *mihṙāb* in *Latā'if* are some of the indications which suggest that the author himself may have belonged at some point to the Sufi circles of Baghdad.

5. 3. Muḥammad al-°Ārif and the transmission of the *ḥirqa ḥamawīyya*

As we have seen, the first *ḥirqa* Ibn Ṭāhir mentions, of those he received, is the one that originated from Ḥamawī:

83 "A disciple of Nağm al-Dīn Kubrā, he became attached through the latter to Abū l-Nağīb al-Suhrawardī and so to Aḥmad al-Gazālī [...]. It was probably through Nağm al-Dīn Kubrā's influence that he returned to Khorasan. The *Risāla* is the only source which tells us of his work in converting the Mongols in Iran, but it was his son, Şadr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm (640-722), that Gāzān Ḥān called on in order to convert to Islam in 694 H.". Cf. Gril, *op. cit.*, pp. 233-234. On the ambiance in Baghdad, the kubrawis and the conversion of the Khan in 1295 under the auspices of Sa'd al-Dīn's son, see also *Révélateur*, p. 31.

On the *Kubrawīyya* in Central Asia see Muhammad Isa Waley, "Najm al-Dīn Kubrā and the Central Asian School of Sufism", *Islamic Spirituality: Manifestations*, ed. S. H. Nasr, World of Spirituality, vol. XX, Cross Roads, New York, 1991, pp. 80-104.

See also Sa'd al-Dīn Ḥamawī, *al-Miṣbāḥ fī l-taṣawwuf*, ed. N. M. Hirawī, Intiṣārāt-i Mawlā, Tehran, 1983.

84 The fact that the copies of two works by him give no other information about the author when referring to him may suggest that he was well-known by his *şuhra*.

“I have been invested with the *ḥirqā* of Šayḥ Saʿd al-Dīn b. Muḥammad b. al-Muʿayyad al-Ḥamawī... by the mediation of Šayḥ Muḥammad known as al-ʿĀrif (‘the Gnostic’)”⁸⁵.

One might emphasize, firstly, the exceptional position which is attributed to Ḥamawī by considering him as the point of reference and eponym of this *ḥirqā*, since he does not mention here his ancestor Muḥammad b. Ḥamūya, but Saʿd al-Dīn himself. Ibn Ṭāhir declares, then, that he received this *ḥirqā ḥamawīyya* by the mediation of this Muḥammad al-ʿĀrif.

The only Muḥammad ʿĀrif of the time which I could find appears in hagiographical sources as Šadr al-Dīn ʿĀrif, Abū l-Magānim Muḥammad (d. 684/1286). Thanks to these sources, we know that he was the son of Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zakariyyāʾ al-Multānī (d. 661/1262). From Multānī we know that he was a *qurašī* whose grandfather left Mecca for Hwārazm and settled in Multān. Zakariyyāʾ, a learned *ḥanafī* scholar, who seemed to live a very open way of life, was perhaps the most effective diffuser of the *suhrawardīyya*.

He travelled from Multān to Khorasan and, after several years of study in Bukhara, he journeyed to Mecca, lived in Medina, visited Jerusalem and then began the return journey by passing through Baghdad where he had a warm meeting with ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī, from whom he received, only 17 days later, the *ḥirqat al-ḥilāfa*. Suhrawardī then conferred on him the position of spiritual leader, urging him to settle in Multān, where he married and established good relations. He was also in contact with members of the *suhrawardīyya* in Sind and in the Punjab⁸⁶.

Among the disciples of Zakariyyāʾ who demonstrated the scope of his influence were Sayyid Ġalāl al-Dīn Buḥārī (d. 690/1291), Ḥusayn-i Ḥusaynī-i Sādāt (d. 718/1318) and the well-known poet, who was so deeply inspired by Ibn ʿArabī, Faḥr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm-i ʿIrāqī (d. 688/1289)⁸⁷.

85 I have already mentioned that the cover of *Durra farīda* has a note in the margin which says: *istaṣḥaba-hu l-faqīr ʿĀrif...* (see *supra* note 60).

86 Cf. Richard Gramlich, *Die Gaben der Erkenntnisse des ʿUmar as-Suhrawardī (ʿAwārif al-maʿārif)*, Wiesbaden, 1978, p. 6. “The Slaves period has a special significance for metaphysics and mysticism. The two famous Sufi orders, Chishtīyyah and Suhrawardīyyah, reached India during this period [...]. Shaykh Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zakariyyāʾ Suhrawardī, founder of the Suhrawardī order in India, and his famous disciple Ḥamīd al-Dīn Nāgūrī, came to India in the early seventh/thirteenth century and established the order there”. See Hafiz A. Ghaffar Khan, “India”, *History of Islamic Philosophy* (edited by Seyyed Hossein Nasr and Oliver Leaman), II, p. 1056. For information concerning the activity of Bahāʾ al-Dīn in India, Ghaffar Khan refers to Y. Ḥusayn, *Glimpses of Medieval Indian Culture*, Bombay, London and New York, 1962, pp. 34-37.

87 See Gramlich, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

It is possible that ʿĀrif was born subsequent to the aforementioned marriage in Multān. His full name would then be: Ṣadr al-Dīn-i ʿĀrif, Abū l-Magānim Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Quraṣī al-Multānī. ʿĀrif received the *ḥirqa suhrawardiyya* from his father, took on from him the management of the centres in his care and passed on the *ḥirqa* and the responsibility of leadership to his son, Abū l-Faṭḥ Rukn al-Dīn [b. Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ...] (d. 735/1335)⁸⁸. Let us assume provisionally that this one is the Muḥammad ʿĀrif mentioned by Ibn Ṭāhir. Due to the dates of their respective deaths, it is likely that the transmission from Ḥamawī to ʿĀrif was direct. In any case, why did Ibn Ṭāhir give so much importance to this *ḥirqa*, mentioning it first before the *ḥirqa suhrawardiyya*?

The question of the identity of the Muḥammad al-ʿĀrif mentioned in the *Durra* becomes more complex if we bear in mind that Ṣadr al-Dīn ʿĀrif, according to other sources, transmitted the *ḥirqa suhrawardiyya*, yet al-ʿĀrif is only mentioned in this passage of the *Durra* in relation to the *ḥirqa ḥamawīyya* and, subsequently, his name is omitted when the *suhrawardiyya* is mentioned.

This declaration by the author of the *Durra* seems to be a definite expression of adherence to the *ḥamawī-kubrawī* teaching and spirituality. It is possible that Ibn Ṭāhir considered himself to be the heir and direct representative of this *ḥirqa* in a more profound, and perhaps exclusive, way than in the case of the *ḥirqa suhrawardiyya*.

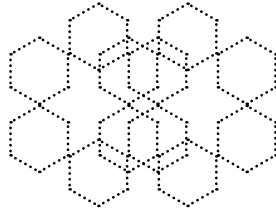
Why then does Ibn Ṭāhir only quote Ḥamawī explicitly in his writings on two occasions⁸⁹? Did Ḥamawī inaugurate an initiatic lineage by virtue of a synthesis of the teachings of Suhrawardī, Kubrā and Ibn ʿArabī-Qūnawī? Did Ibn Ṭāhir consider him an Akbarian, given that Ḥamawī met Ibn ʿArabī and, especially, Qūnawī, in Damascus?

One may ask why no source that I am aware of, apart from *al-Durra al-farīda*, mentions ʿĀrif's relationship to Ḥamawī. However, we know that not all of Ḥamawī's contemporaries

88 Cf. Gramlich, *op. cit.*, p. 6. Neither *Tārīḥ-i Firišta* nor the other sources mentioned clarify anything about the later development of this line. I have not been able to consult the work by Faḥl Allāh Māḡāwī, *Fatāwā l-ṣūfiyya*, Ms. Oxford, Bodleian Uri 321, written c. 1350, which J. Baldick refers to in his *Mystical Islam*, London, 1989, pp. 96-97, concerning the *suhrawardiyya* brotherhood in Multan, which perhaps contains some information which would be of interest. On Muḥammad ʿĀrif, see Dārāšukūh, Muḥammad, *Safīnat al-awliyāʾ*, Cawnpore, 1884, p. 116; Firišta, Muḥammad Qāsim Hindūšāh Astarābādī, *Tārīḥ Firišta*, Bombay, 1831-2, vol. II, pp. 769-772; S. Gulām Sarwar-i Lāhawrī, *Ḥazīnat al-aṣfiyāʾ*, Lucknow, 1290 H., vol. II, pp. 28-32 (of which there is also an edition in Urdu).

89 Apart from the mention of Ḥamawī in relation to the *ḥirqa*, I have only found one other mention which is taken -although the source is not cited and there are variations- from the *K. al-Fukūk* by Qūnawī (see ed. Muḥammad Ḥawāḡāwī, Tehran, 1413 H., 9:25, p. 234): "The Ṣayḥ Ṣadr al-Dīn said: 'I have been able to establish that the perfect ṣayḥ Saʿd al-Dīn al-Ḥamawī -God have mercy on him- could see beings (*kawāʾin*) in the Imaginal World..." (see *Tadhkira*, fol. 404a).

held him in such high esteem⁹⁰. Nevertheless, the doubt remains: is this ‘Ārif mention in the *Durra* the one we are referring to here or somebody else? I hope later studies will clarify the question.



III. THE *KITĀB AL-DALĀ’IL AL-QAṬ’IYYA*

1. The manuscript copy

The *Kitāb [al-]Dalā’il al-qaṭ’iyya ‘alā ummahāt [al-]muhimmāt al-dīniyya*, attributed on the title-page to the same Ibn Ṭāhir, occupies fols. 160b-184b of the same ms. of the *Durra* and is signed by the same copyist. It contains twelve *masā’il* and the *ḥātimat al-kitāb*.

Beginning (fol. 160b): *Basmala - al-ḥamdu li-Llāhi l-mutawahḥidi bi-wuḡūbi wuḡūdi-hi ‘ammā siwā-hu min al-ḥaqā’iqi l-munfaridi bi-kamāli ḡūdi-hi ‘alā man bara’a-hu min al-ḥalā’iq...*

Aim (fol. 160b): ... *fa-hādā kitābun muštamilun ‘alā mā yuḥtāḡu ilay-hi mina-l-maṭālibi l-muhimmati llatī tatabannā ‘alay-hā ‘aqīdatu ahli l-sunna iqtaṣartu fī-hi ‘alā dikri ummahāti l-masā’ili bi-dalā’ili-hā l-qaṭ’iyyati dūna mā siwā-hā min bāqiya l-dalā’il...*

Confirmation of the title (fol. 160b): ... *wa-li-hādā sammaytu-hu bi-kitāb [al-]dalā’il al-qaṭ’iyya ‘alā ummahāt [al-]muhimmāt al-dīniyya...*

Ending (fol. 184a): ... *fa-tarā mā warā’a-hu min al-asrāri llatī lā yufḥimu-hā illā l-‘iyān wa-lā yakšifu l-maqāl min-hā illā l-ḥayāl li-anna-hā warā’ al-‘ibāra wa-l-nuṭq li-taḡarrudi-hā ‘an dālīka.*

Colophon of the book (fol. 184a): *Tamma kitāb al-Dalā’il bi-‘awn Allāh ta‘ālā ‘alā yad al-ḍa‘īf ‘Abd al-Muḥsin b. [al-]ṣayḥ Ibrāhīm b. [al-]ṣayḥ Muḥammad al-Baḡdādī.*

90 See Landolt, *Révélateur...*, pp. 22-23. Perhaps the followers of the *Suhrawardīyya* were divided in their appreciation of Ḥamawī, so that some preferred not to mention him.

2. The mention of a new work by the author, the *K. al-Da'ā'im*, and two references to *K. al-Durra* in the *Dalā'il*

The author of *Dalā'il* (fol. 175b) says, at the end of *mas'ala* 8 on prophecy (*fī l-nubuwwa*), in reference to the 'miracles' of Muḥammad, "... and other kinds of miracles which we have dealt with briefly in the *Kitāb al-Durra al-farīda*⁹¹ and at length in the *Kitāb al-Da'ā'im* (... *ilā gayr dālīka min mu'ğazāti-hi llatī awda'a-nā min-hā ṭarfan fī Kitāb al-Durra al-farīda fī taṣḥīḥ al-^caqīda wa-asbagnā l-qawl fī-hā fī Kitāb al-Da'ā'im al-fāḥira li-man arāda l-rīḥ fī biḥār al-āḥira*)".

If this mention of the *K. al-Durra*, together with the mention in the following *mas'ala* on the *ma'ād*⁹², confirms the attribution of the *Dalā'il* to the same author as *al-Durra al-farīda*, the mention of another book by the author broadens our knowledge of the whole extent of his work. Until now I have found no reference to any existent copy, so we only know the title of the work: *The book of magnificent masts for those who wish (to benefit from the favourable) wind on the seas of the life to come*. We know that at least one chapter amply develops the subject of the various kinds of miracles of the prophets and one may deduce that, like other works by the author, this one also deals with the firm supports (*da'ā'im fāḥira*), or fundamental doctrines, of Islam which offer the spiritual navigator a favourable destiny in the after-life. The maritime imagery -which evokes an *imaginal* journey-, the mention of the life to come (*al-āḥira*) and the fact that the work is referred to in this section on the return (*ma'ād*) and the resurrection after physical death, all suggest that this work may primarily deal with the scriptural bases of Islamic eschatology.

This is, therefore, the fifth known work by the author and the only one of which, at present, we have no copy. When outlining a possible chronology for his works, it may be assumed that the writing of the *Da'ā'im* was prior to that of the *Durra*, which is why the author can summarize in the latter what he developed in the former. The *Durra* must have been written just before the *Dalā'il*, in which the other two (*Durra* and *Da'ā'im*) are mentioned as already written and which appears, as though it were a second part, in the same volume and following on from the *Durra*, to whose structure it is related, as one can appreciate simply by comparing the indices of both works, where the similarities are clear.

3. The 'Conclusion' (*ḥātīmat al-kitāb*)

The final section of *Dalā'il*, entitled *ḥātīmat al-kitāb* (fols. 180a-184a), begins with the words, "Here ends the discourse concerning what we intended to deal with... (*qad intahā bi-nā l-kalām*

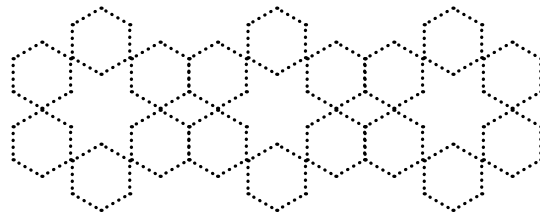
91 See *Durra* 2/4:1, *fī itbāt al-nubuwwa*, fol. 111a and ff.

92 See *Dalā'il*, *Mas'ala* 9, *fī l-ma'ād*, fol. 176a. Cf. *Durra* 2/5:1-4, fols. 120b-133b.



fī taḥarrur mā qaṣadnā ...). The ‘conclusion’ is not, therefore, an integral part of the structure of the twelve *masāʾil* which make up the work, but it is, as we shall see, an added appendix, intended to set out, subsequent to the theoretical proofs, the rudiments of the psychology and contemplative practices of the Sufis.

By way of appendices, the section entitled *ḥātima* establishes a connection between the definitions and explanations of a theoretical/practical nature which deal with the different kinds of wisdom (*ḥikma*), the powers of the soul and their respective compulsions and, as the culmination of this “first part”, the idea of ‘correct equilibrium’ (*ʿadāla*). Next, the various states are classified, distinguishing those that depend on human initiative from those that do not. Finally, the last pages of this section deal with two fundamental aids used in the practice of Sufism: remembrance and retreat. The description given of the methods involved in *dīkr* and *ḥalwa* provides us with valuable information about the spiritual *praxis* of the author and his relationship to his teachers and possible disciples. I am inclined to think that Ibn Ṭāhir was, in due course, transmitting the *ḥirqa*-s with which he had been invested as a *ṣayḥ* himself. These final pages of the *Dalāʾil* seem to form a concise record of the practical teaching that Ibn Ṭāhir may have given as a spiritual teacher.



IV. *TADKIRAT AL-FAWĀ'ID*

1. The manuscript

I also had the good fortune to find, once more in the Suleymaniyye Library in Istanbul, a manuscript copy of *Tadkirat al-fawā'id*, Carullah Ef. 992/1a-404b. This work does not appear in the general bibliographical catalogues, either, and the index in the library attributes it, as a result of a fortuitous association of words, to Ibn al-Rašīd [Ibn al-Ruṣayd] Muḥammad ʿUmar al-Fihri. It is written in Arabic *nashī* with very few diacritical marks. The entire volume is devoted to this one treatise and is in the same handwriting, although the notes in the margin (especially those relating to the commentary on the *Fuṣūṣ*) are by different readers. Some are signed Walī l-Dīn. Others could have been original additions by the author himself. Only one volume is listed, which is in fact, the first part of the work, as the final colophon indicates by announcing a second volume⁹³. The copy is difficult to read due to the cursive nature of the script and due to the fact that there are a lot of patches in the text, as a result of the deterioration and subsequent restoration of the volume, which makes it impossible to read many passages, especially from fol. 1 to fol. 70 (*Fā'ida* 54) and from fol. 319b (*Fā'ida* 203) to the end. Only the discovery of another complete copy would allow a full, critical edition of the work to be carried out.

In its present state, fol. 1a of the copy begins with *Fā'ida* n° 4, which explains the divergence in the present numbering (the end is on fol. 404) and the number indicated on the last folio, where in addition to 404 the number 413 is written. This was probably as a result of counting all the folios of the complete copy, from which one can assume that the first three missing chapters, together with a probable introduction, would occupy nine folios. Two significant comments are written⁹⁴ on the title page of the volume:

a) First comment: *al-muḡallad al-awwal min Kitāb Tadkirat al-fawā'id mallaka-hu Allāh ta'ālā li-ʿabdi-hi Walī l-Dīn al-Rūmī tumma al-Madanī fī Bagdād Dār al-Salām*⁹⁵, *ṣawāl sana 1111* [March-

93 This had already been announced previously in a marginal note at the end of the commentary on *Faṣṣ* 15 (fol. 381b), in which the first person is used (...*an-nī*...), which seems to indicate that this and many other notes in this handwriting, which is different from that of the copyist, were added by the author. The note finishes with the formula *in šā' Allāh*: "... and this will appear in the second volume, God willing".

94 A third note refers to three chapters which deal with the Akbarian doctrine on the priority of the object of knowledge: *Mas'alat "al-ilm tābī li-l-mā'lūm" fī fā'ida 115 wa-fī fā'ida 176 wa-fī fā'ida 83*.

95 "The first volume of the *Kitāb Tadkirat al-fawā'id*, the possession of which God Most High has granted to His servant Walī l-Dīn al-Rūmī and then to al-Madanī, in Baghdad, Dār al-Salām".

This could refer to the well-known Ottoman *muftī* whose library -Veliyuddin's legacy- is now basically kept in the Beyazid Library in Istanbul. Walī l-Dīn was appointed kadi of Aleppo in 1142/1729-30 and then served consequently as kadi of Cairo and Medina before he became *kadiasker* of Anatolia. Later, he held the position of chief mufti and died in 1182/1768. See the biographical dictionary by Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmani*,

April 1700]. In 1700, therefore, the copy was located in Baghdad and perhaps, having acquired it there, the owner himself took it with him later to Istanbul.

The mention of Baghdad in this note on the cover is relevant because it is yet another vague indication of the intellectual milieu in which the work circulated and of the presumably oriental provenance of the author. With regard to this particular copy of the work, which is the only one I am aware of, we know that the original author has been unknown since at least 1700. One might deduce that the first few pages of the volume, including the name of the author, were already missing at that time. Since no second volume is announced on the cover improvised by Walī l-Dīn, I suppose that he acquired this first volume separately, without having had access to a second volume which might have clarified the authorship and the length of the complete work. For my part, bearing in mind the length of the other works by the author, I am inclined to think that we need only to look for the second volume announced at the end of the first. Besides, the passages from the *Tadkīra* which the author refers to in the *Laṭāʾif* are already included in this first volume. Nothing leads one to believe that a third volume exists. Certainly, to find the second volume of these *fawāʾid* would be very useful in order to know more about its author.

b) Second comment: *Fawāʾid al-riḥla li-Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ ʿUtmān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣahrazūrī muštamila ʿalā fawāʾid garība min anwāʿ al-ʿulūm faʿala-hā fī riḥlati-hi ilā Hurāsān [sic]. [After one separating line it continues:] Fawāʾid al-riḥla li-Ibn Rušayd Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Fihrī al-Sabtī al-mutawaffā sana 721. Sitta muḡalladāt atā fī-hā bi-ʿaḡab al-ʿaḡāʾib / nuqila min asāmī l-kutub li-kātib ʿalī / wa-laʿalla Kitāb Tadkīrat al-fawāʾid huwa hādīhi wa-lam ara man yaʿlimu-hu / Walī l-Dīn.*

The volume's new owner, the learned Walī l-Dīn, signs this note in which he considers that the book might correspond to those books written by Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ and Ibn Rušayd which are also entitled *Fawāʾid*⁹⁶. Both these attributions are based exclusively on the similarity of

.....
Tarih Vakfi, Istanbul, 1996, vol. V, pp. 1660-1.

In the text there are two main types of marginal notes: those signed by Walī l-Dīn (e. g., fols. 183b or 184b) and others, in different handwriting, which finish with the letter *hāʾ* which only indicates the end of the note. In the note on fol. 184b, Walī l-Dīn explains that he had the opportunity of meeting Shiʿites during the time he lived in Mecca.

96 In *GAL* there are two references to Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. Muḥammad al-Sabtī Muḥibb al-Dīn Ibn Rušayd al-Fihrī al-Andalusī, (657-1259 Ceuta, d. 721-1321, perhaps in Fez). See *GAL* II: 245-6 and *GAL*, SII: 344. Ibn Rušayd died before Simnānī therefore, and to judge by the titles of works attributed to him, nothing indicates that he could possibly be the author of the *Tadkīra*.

On the mss. of the works by Taqī l-Dīn Abū ʿAmr ʿUtmān (b. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn) b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ṣalāḥ al-Ṣahrazūrī (577-643/1181-1243), see *GAL* I: 358 and 424, and *GAL* SI: 265, 610, 752 y 768.

The *Durra*, the *Tadkīra*, the *Dalāʾil* and the *Dāʾim* are not mentioned at all in the *Kašf al-zunūn* by Ḥāḡḡī Ḥalīfa, nor in *GAL*, nor in the catalogue by Ismāʿīl Pāšā, who does mention a *Tadkīra fī l-fawāʾid al-nādīra* by al-Sayyid ʿAlīḥān b. Nizām al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Šīrāzī known as Ibn Maʿsūm (See *Īdāḥ al-maknūn*, Istanbul, 1947,

the respective titles which employ the term *Fawā'id* and I only include them here for your information and to explain the cataloguing of the work, since obviously *Tadkirat al-fawā'id* is not at all a *riḥla* and has no relation with any of those books.

Three blank folios follow, from a later binding previous to the present restoration of the text. The copy is written with black ink, but titles are in red. The volume is bound in leather.

End of the volume: ... “*fā-kāna bi-lā kawn li-anna-ka kunta-hu*” *tamma l-kalām ‘alā muškilāt kitāb al-Fuṣūṣ wa-bi-hi tammāt al-muḡallada al-ūlā min Kitāb Tadkirat al-fawā'id tattlū-hu l-muḡallada al-tāniya Fā'ida: istiḥāl(a) ‘alā l-a'rād wa... al-ifti'āl (?)*. The title of the first *fā'ida* of the second volume is mentioned here, which could facilitate its future identification.

2. The commentary on the Names of God in the *Tadkira* and the *Kaṣf al-ma'nā* by Ibn 'Arabī

Section 58 (fols. 73a-105a) of this volume corresponds to the chapter on the Names which the author announced in the *Laṭā'if*. It includes an introduction, dealing with the vision of the Lord during the ascension (*mi'rāğ*), the Perfect Man (*al-insān al-kāmil*) and the original theomorphism of Man (*sūra ādamīyya*), and 99 sections corresponding to the 99 Divine Names in the same order as that followed in the *Kaṣf al-ma'nā* by Ibn 'Arabī, which is that of Walī's traditional list. Even though it is not presented as such, it is, in fact, a full, detailed commentary on the Names from the point of view of *taḥaqquq* -here (*taḥaqquq al-'abd*) *min ġihat al-'ilm-* and *taḥalluq* -here (*al-taḥalluq*) *min ġihat al-'amal-* which is so directly inspired by the corresponding sections of the *Kaṣf al-ma'nā* that it could, in short, be considered as a commentary on the treatise by the Šayḥ al-Akbar.

Unlike the previous chapters, this one is complete and can be read in its entirety.

Beginning of the section: *qāla ma'nā qawli-hi -šl'm- ‘ra'aytu rabbī laylat al-mi'rāğ fī aḥsan sūra...’...* (fol. 73a).

End of the section: *wa-'alā hādā l-hadd min al-taḥalluq bi-l-asmā'i l-ilāhiyya wa-l-taḥaqquq bi-hā yakūnu ḥāl man ḥalaqa-hu Llāhu 'alā šurati hādīhi l-ḥadarāti l-šarīfati l-mu'abbir la-hu 'an-hā bi-šurati l-Raḥmān 'alā l-wağḥi lladī 'arafta* (fol. 107a).

Ibn 'Arabī is only mentioned in the text on two occasions. In fol. 74a he is called Šayḥ al-šuyūḥ Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥyī l-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn al-'Arabī. In fol. 78a-bis, which was left out when the numbering of the pages was done, the author says, when commenting on the Name *al-Ḥāliq*: *qāla Šāḥib al-Futūḥāt...*

This commentary on the Names constitutes one more unequivocal piece of evidence that this is the *Tadkirat al-fawā'id* which the author of *Laṭā'if al-īlām* attributes to himself. Although it has a definite relationship with the preceding chapters⁹⁷, by its length, its structure and thematic unity, this *Fā'ida* 58 could, in fact, be considered as a separate work.

3. The commentary on the *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*

The last *fā'ida* (no. 205) of this first volume is a commentary on the *Fuṣūṣ* entitled *Fā'ida muṣṭamila 'alā mā yatayassar bayānu-hu min muṣkilāt al-masā'il allatī yataḍammanu-hā Kitāb Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam (muqaddīma*⁹⁸ and a commentary on each of the 27 chapters of the *Fuṣūṣ*). On the last folio (413) it says *Tamma l-kalām 'alā muṣkilāt kitāb al-fuṣūṣ*⁹⁹. It has already been pointed out¹⁰⁰ that this *Tafsīr muṣkilāt Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* could have originally been conceived and written as an independent work which was later added to the *Tadkira*.

Among the sources used by the author in this commentary is the *K. Muḥtaṣar al-fuṣūṣ*, also by Ibn 'Arabī, which is quoted on several occasions using this title¹⁰¹. Although it is complete in length, the text has several gaps which make the reading of many passages difficult.

97 For example, the previous chapter (*Fā'ida* 57, fols. 73a-74a), entitled *fī l-šāhid wa-l-maṣhūd wa-mā waqa'a 'alay-hi iṣṭilāḥu l-qawm fī ma'nā l-šahīd wa-l-muṣāhada*, is related, as a sort of prelude, to the introduction to the chapter on the Names, which deals with the vision of the Lord.

98... *wa-la-nuqaddīma 'alā dālika muqaddīma...* (v. fols. 323b-329a)... *hiya anna ma'rifat al-Haqq subhāna-hu tataqassamu ilā mā huwa fiṭrī markūz fī l-nufūs wa-ilā mā huwa gayr fiṭrī bal muktasab la-hā...* (fol. 323b).

99 Osman Yahya mentions the *Muṣkilāt al-fuṣūṣ* by Bālī Ḥalīfa al-Šūfiyawī (d. 960/1553) which can be found in Turkish libraries. See *Histoire et classification...*, II, p. 253, n° 62. It would be interesting to compare them. Also in *Kaṣf al-zunūn*, II, 1261, a commentary on the *Fuṣūṣ* is mentioned, without a title and attributed to Sa'īd al-Dīn Fargānī. It has apparently been lost.

100 See *supra* the section II.4: "References to other works by the author in *Durra*".

101 See, e. g., fol. 392b. See, e. g., the two copies of the *Muḥtaṣar Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* contained in the Manisa ms. 1183, fols. 8b-14a and fols. 39a-46a (on fol. 46a it is made clear that the work has been copied from the original autograph of the author: *nuqila min aṣl bi-ḥaṭṭi sayyidi-nā... Muḥyī l-Dīn*), 650 H. (See fols. 38b and 103b). It does not appear with this title in *Histoire et classification*. It is, in fact, the *Naqṣ al-fuṣūṣ* (RG 528) by Ibn 'Arabī, in which the author "summarizes" the fundamental themes of the *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*. See the English translation by W. Chittick, "Ibn 'Arabī's own summary of the *Fuṣūṣ*", *JMIAS*, I, 1982, pp. 30-93, and the critical edition of 'Abd al-Raḥmān Gāmī's *Naqḍ al-nuṣūṣ fī ṣarḥ naqṣ al-fuṣūṣ* by W. C. Chittick, Tehran, 1977. See also the less reliable edition of the treatise in *Rasā'il Ibn 'Arabī*, Hyderabad, 1948.

Qāšānī, for his part, refers to this work by the title *Naqṣ al-Fuṣūṣ* (See *Ṣarḥ Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, Maktaba Muṣṭafā al-Bābī l-Ḥalabī, Cairo, 1987 (3rd ed.), Chapter I, p. 11.

4. The heralding visions (*mubašširāt*) of Ibn Ṭāhir: Translation and analysis of *Fāʾida* 128 of the *Tadkirat al-fawāʾid*

We still know almost nothing about Ibn Ṭāhir's life. It therefore seems relevant to include here a translation of section 128 of the *Tadkira*, the complete text of which is legible. It gives an account of two dreams that the author clearly feels are very important, which is why he calls them *mubašširāt*, 'heralding visions', a term which gives them a special status, for these are inspired and revelatory dreams.

After reading all the available works by the author, I have only discovered the following information about the author's life (apart from the aforementioned references to his own works in various passages): (1) the commentary on 'Alā' al-Dawla which appears in the *Laṭāʾif*, (2) the information about the initiatic *ḥirqa*-s which appears in the *Durra* (3) some verses of his own¹⁰² which allude in some cases¹⁰³ to the spiritual stations experienced by him, but which do not provide any truly biographical information and (4) the account of these dreams. So, this section on the dreams, however brief and modest they may be, at present constitutes the sole accessible testimony to the private life of the author.

Both experiences may have taken place during the author's youth. Of course, if he had regarded them as ordinary dreams, they would not occupy an entire section of these *fawāʾid*. We are therefore dealing with efficacious, visionary experiences: that is, visionary experiences which bring with them some spiritual benefit (*fāʾida*) and which contain a transformative power. Significantly, the second account begins by making reference to the providential signs (*āyāt*) of the second *mubaššira*.

4.1. The meaning of veracity (*ṣidq*) and closeness to God

The first is one of Ibn Ṭāhir's own dreams which reveals to us his private vocation. He appears in his vision as the learned scholar he is, addressing the people who have come together in the large mosque, probably the congregation at the Friday prayer. He seems to be acting as *ḥaṭīb*.

102 See *Tadkira*: (1) *Fāʾida* 102, fol. 155a. 5 verses, *ṭawīl*. (2) *Fāʾida* 205 (*Šarḥ al-Fuṣūṣ*), section 5 (*al-Faṣṣ al-ibrāhīmī*), fol. 339a. 2 verses, *basīṭ*. See also the same verses in *Laṭ. I*, p. 447. (3) *Ibid.*, fol. 339a. Only 1 verse, *ṭawīl*.

See *Laṭāʾif*: (1) *Laṭ. I*, p. 250. 2 verses, *kāmil*. (2) *Laṭ. I*, p. 253. 2 verses, *basīṭ*. (3) *Laṭ. I*, p. 424. Only 1 verse. (4) *Laṭ. II*, p. 38. 2 verses, *sarīc*. (5) *Laṭ. II*, p. 53. 5 verses, *ṭawīl*. (6) *Laṭ. II*, p. 124. 2 verses, *ḥafīf*. (7) *Laṭ. II*, p. 136. 2 verses, *ḥafīf*.

103 See *Laṭāʾif*, numbers 5, 6 and 7, in the previous note.

What good news does the *mubaššira* bring? Does it announce that the author has reached, or is going to reach, the station of veracity (*sidq*)¹⁰⁴? Does it, perhaps, announce that, once this station has been reached, he must undertake the spiritual guidance of his fellow Moslems?

This simple dream might be a discreet declaration of intention: Ibn Ṭāhir is offering himself as a leader (*imām*) in the realization of truth. The text is written in the first person and commences without any preamble:

“I saw in a heralding vision something similar to what I am about to relate (*mā taqarraba hikāyatu-hu min...*). [In the dream] I was addressing¹⁰⁵ the people in the large mosque [where the Friday prayer is conducted] (*li-anām al-masğid al-ğāmiʿ*) and I was saying: ‘The servant must continue to train his soul and fight Satan until he has become realized in veracity (*sidq*). When he realizes it, God becomes his protecting friend (*walī*) and no veil remains between them’.

Then, when I was awake (*fī l-yaqāza*), I received the inspiration (*waqaʿa lī*)¹⁰⁶ that the secret of this resides in the fact that veracity (*sidq*) can only occur in someone who combines the three following qualities: correct speech (*qawl al-ṣawāb*), right action (*ʿamal al-ʿadl*) and true belief (*ʿitiqād al-ḥaqq*). Such a servant becomes, thereby, pleasing to God, who accepts his friendship (*walāya*) and removes His veil from him”¹⁰⁷.

The account of the first experience ends with this significant mention of *walāya*: if this dream was announcing the entry of the author, in due time, into the station of veracity (since, in principle, only someone who has knowledge of something can talk about it in a magisterial way, as in the dream) and given that, according to the last passage, God accepts the friendship of whoever reaches it “and removes His veil from him”, it is possible to understand from this passage that the author has received through this vision the good news of his status as *walī* or ‘friend of God’.

4.2. The sun of Islam and conformity to the exterior of the Book

The second account does not refer to one of his own dreams, but to an oneiric vision seen by a friend’s mother. This dream of someone else’s, which was sent to a pious person whose

104 Significantly, the following *Fāʿida*, no 129, is entitled: *Ġumhūr al-muslimīn ʿalā anna Abā Bakr [al-Ṣiddīq]... huwa raʿs al-ṣiddīqīn...*

105 In both cases, when introducing the accounts of the two dreams included here, the author uses the expression *ka-annī*, ‘it was as if I...’.

106 In a different context, this could be translated as “it occurred to me that...”, but here the expression seems to underline the inspired nature of the experience and its interpretation.

107 *Ibid.*, fol. 196b.

face the author had not seen and was then interpreted by another person, is presented, in my opinion, as external confirmation (from outside, from otherness) of the message encoded in the previous vision. Implicitly possessing the above-mentioned attributes of veracity (correct speech, right action and true belief), the author appears in this account as a providential guide: the hand, which represents, according to Akbarian hermeneutics, his power of action, corresponds here to the light of the sun which comes out of it and symbolizes Islam. Ibn Ṭāhir receives external confirmation of his position as a veracious guide to the true doctrine, referred to here as “adherence to the literality of the Book (*tamassuk bi-zāhir al-kitāb*)”. This vocation of Ibn Ṭāhir’s is demonstrated, for example, in his choice of title for his work *al-Durra al-farīda fī taṣḥīḥ al-‘aqīda*.

Immediately following the passage which has just been quoted, the author continues by saying:

“The signs (*āyāt*) of [this] other heralding vision invite one to adhere to the literality of the Quran¹⁰⁸ and what has been handed on in the *Sunna*:

It so happens that I had a friend with whom I used to study (*baḥṭ*) and whom I used to criticize on account of his excessive penchant for the opinions of the philosophers concerning [eschatological subjects, such as] the return, Heaven and Hell, and for his tendency towards the [rationalistic, reductive] interpretations (*ta’wīlāt*)¹⁰⁹ of the meanings of whatever appears in the Book of God and in the Sunna of the Prophet, which [the philosophers] diffuse in their books. [The more] the face of the truth in this matter [was hidden from him], the more critical was my attitude¹¹⁰.

He had a pious (*ṣāliḥa*) mother, whose face I had never set eyes on¹¹¹ and who knew nothing of what had happened between us¹¹². One night, she saw [what follows, in a dream]: I¹¹³ had just seen her son who was with a group of people. When I called to him [to come with me], he refused to reply. I then made the sun itself (*‘ayn al-šams*) appear out of my hand in front of him [End of the vision].

108 Lit. ‘the exterior of the Book (*zāhir al-kitāb*)’.

109 Here, *ta’wīl* is not used as a technical Sufi term but in order to criticize the method of interpretation of speculative thinkers like the Mu‘tazilites.

110 In fact only the following words are legible: “... to him the face of God in that, so that it increased [the criticism] on my part (*wa-... la-hu wağh Allāh fī dālika ḥattā kabura dālika minnī*)”.

111 One understands from this that she was always veiled in his presence which means that she never made herself familiar with the author.

112 I.e., she had not heard of the divergence of their opinions in religious matters.

113 Lit. ‘It was as though I... (*ka-annī*)’.

[On hearing of his mother's vision] we consulted an expert in the science of interpreting dreams (*‘ilm al-ta‘bīr*)¹¹⁴, who was famous in our district, who knew neither the mother nor her son, nor did he have any knowledge of what had happened between us. So, [the interpreter] said: “Whoever made the sun appear from the palm of his hand was calling [the other] to the religion of Islam (*dīn al-islām*) which is the illuminating sun”. And he revealed other secrets to us like this one, which I shall not disclose.

I gave much thanks to God for having endorsed me and for helping me in that with which he had favoured me (the fulfilment of His religion and conformity to the Law revealed to His Prophet), by means of this proof (*burhān*), of whose veracity I have no doubt, [and for having granted that] my heart would never cease from clinging to the firm support of safety (*al-‘urwa al-wuṭqā*)¹¹⁵, so as not to stray towards any of the worthless interpretations (*ta’wīlāt bāṭila*) [of those who speculate]”.

This revelatory dream and the signs which accompanied it were to the author, therefore, proof (*burhān*) of the guidance of Divine Providence. Ibn Ṭāhir presents himself as a faithful follower, a representative and firm defender of the literalness of revelation and the prophetic tradition. We should not be surprised at this attitude in a Sufi. The author is adhering to the manifest fervour of Ibn ‘Arabī in his respect for the literality of revealed texts.

114 This interpreter was probably a ṣayḥ belonging to the Sufi circle of the author. In any case, it seems that only the author knew him personally since, according to the text, the interpreter did not know the mother or his son (at least, not before the consultation).

The mystical interpretation of dreams was very much in fashion among the Sufis of the *Kubrawiyya* and among other Sufi ways of the spiritual climate of the time. Qāṣṣānī relates, in his correspondence with ‘Alā’ al-Dawla, that he heard Nūr al-Dīn al-Isfarāyīnī, Simnānī’s master, say: “God has granted me knowledge of the interpretation of spiritual occurrences (*waqā’i’*) and of the original meaning of dreams (*ta’wīl al-manāmāt*)...” (Cf. *Laṭ.* I, p. 50).

Isfarāyīnī himself may have been the interpreter whose advice the author of the *Tadkīra* and his friend sought. On the interpretation that Isfarāyīnī gives of other symbolic visions -one of them also about a vision of the sun-, see Landolt, *Révéléateur*, pp. 37 and 65-67.

On the mystical interpretation of dreams in this context, see J. J. Elias, “A Kubrawī Treatise on Mystical Visions: The *Risāla-yi nūriyya* of ‘Alā’ ad-Dawla as-Simnānī”, *Muslim World* 83, 1993, pp. 68-80.

115 I.e., the literalness of revealed texts, the scriptural basis of beliefs. This is a Quranic expression, see C. 2:256 and 31:22.

V. IBN ṬĀHIR AND HIS WORKS

1. The redaction of Ibn Ṭāhir's works: a possible order of composition

This section presents a provisional proposal for the order of composition of the works by Ibn Ṭāhir, based on the approximate dates that we can deduce from certain passages and on a critical reading of the texts which will allow us to gain some idea of the successive periods in the author's style, once it has been established that the common authorship of *Durra*, *Dalāʾil*, *Tadkīra* and *Laṭāʾif* is beyond doubt.

As I have already pointed out in the section on *Dalāʾil*, the unknown *Daʿāʾim* was probably written before the *Durra*, which in turn would have been written -I suppose- immediately before the *Dalāʾil*, in which the two other works are mentioned as already composed. In addition, both the *Durra* and the *Tadkīra* are mentioned -with explicit reference to their content- in the *Laṭāʾif*. This shows that, in principle, they were written previously. Besides, there are no cross-references in the opposite order: *Laṭāʾif* is not mentioned either in the *Tadkīra* nor in the *Durra*, and the *Dalāʾil* is not mentioned in the *Durra*. That the *Daʿāʾim* comes before *Durra* is a supposition based on the textual reasons already put forward which lead one to believe that the *Dalāʾil* could have been written fairly soon after the *Durra*.

Failing the appearance of other copies which might provide us with more information, we provisionally propose the following order of redaction of the works by Ibn Ṭāhir: 1. *Daʿāʾim* 2. *Durra* 3. *Dalāʾil* [4. *Tafsīr muškilāt Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*¹¹⁶] 5. *Tadkīra* [2b. A possible second redaction of *Durra* which adds references to the *Tafsīr* and the *Tadkīra*] 6. *Laṭāʾif*.

When the author of the *Laṭāʾif* refers to his previous “works in the language of *kalām*”¹¹⁷, he means, I presume, the *Daʿāʾim*, the *Durra* and the *Dalāʾil*. The *Tadkīra* would not be referred to merely as a book on *kalām*.

Of course, there is no reason to believe that these five or six works represent the entirety of his writings. The discovery of a copy of the *Daʿāʾim* or of the possible second volume of the *Tadkīra* might perhaps reveal other titles by the same author.

2. Dates and facts which situate Ibn Ṭāhir and his works

If we assume provisionally that the name Muḥammad al-ʿĀrif refers in the *Durra* to the Sufi Ṣadr al-Dīn-i ʿĀrif mentioned before, then we would consider that the author of the *Durra*

116 Which could also be earlier than those already mentioned or have been written merely as a chapter of the *Tadkīra*.

117 He says in the section on the spirit (*rūḥ*): “... *wa-qad ašbaʿ-ṅā l-qawla fī barāhīn tağarrudi-hā wa-l-ağwiba ʿan šubah man yarā dālika fī kutubi-ṅā l-kalāmiyya...*” (*Laṭ.* I, p. 499).

knew ṣadr al-Dīn-i ʿĀrif before his death in 684/1286 and he was therefore contemporary with his son Abū l-Faṭḥ Rukn al-Dīn [b. Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʿ...] (d. 735/1335)¹¹⁸ and other disciples of ʿĀrif's father, Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā' al-Multānī (d. 661/1262), among whom were Sayyid Ġalāl al-Dīn Buhārī (d. 690/1291), Ḥusayn-i Ḥusaynī-i Sādāt (d. 718/1318) and Faḥr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm-i ʿIrāqī (d. 688/1289).

The date of acquisition of the copy of the *Durra* is first given as 681/1282, which means that the work was written during ʿĀrif's lifetime. In fact, there is no *postmortem* formula after ʿĀrif's name in the *Durra* and, yet the formula *qaddas Allāh rūḥa-hu* is used after Ḥamawī is mentioned: the *Durra* must have been written, therefore, between Ḥamawī's death (d. c. 650/1253) and the date of acquisition of the copy, 681/1282 and, in any case, before the death of ʿĀrif in 684/1286.

From the formulas used in *Laṭāʿif*, we know that ʿAlā' al-Dawla Simnānī (*Dū l-ḥiġġa* 659-*Raġab* 736 / Nov. 1262-Mar.1336) had already died¹¹⁹. Therefore the work was written, in principle, after the month of *raġab* in 736 / March 1336. There would, therefore, have been a long gap, of at least 54 years, between the redaction of the *Durra* (before 681/1282) and the redaction of the *Laṭāʿif* we know (after 736/1336).

Accordingly, the *Laṭāʿif* would be -at least in his final form- a mature work and the *Durra* an early one. However, the interval seems rather long when we observe that the *Durra* reflects considerable intellectual maturity. Although this attempt at dating the works should be regarded with most caution, it is possible that the *Tadkira* was written during the intermediate period and that the *Durra*, as well as the *Tadkira* or the *Laṭāʿif*, could have been rewritten several times which would explain the cross-references in the *Durra* and the *Tadkira* and the very late redaction of the *Laṭāʿif*.

Thanks to my colleague Ryad Atlagh, I have been made aware of a reference to an Ibn al-Ṭāhir, perhaps our Ibn Ṭāhir, which may prove fundamental to the identification of the author. In connection with the *igāzāt* obtained by the ṣayḥ Ismāʿīl al-Ġabartī (d. 806/1403), a work entitled *al-Karāmāt al-ġabartiyya* by Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Aṣkal, includes the following words: “[and he obtained the *igāza*¹²⁰] from Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Šāfiʿī known as Ibn al-Ṭāhir”¹²¹.

118 The famous North-African traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (d. c. 1370) reports that Rukn al-Dīn, the leader of the branch of the *Suhrawardiyya* brotherhood in Multan, enjoyed “very close relations” with the Sultan of Delhi. See H. A. R. Gibb, *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, vol. III, Cambridge, 1971, pp. 655 and 702-4. Cf. J. Baldick, *Mystical Islam*, London, 1989, pp. 96-97.

119 The author says *raḥima-hu Llāh* (See *Laṭ.*, II, p. 157, *al-ʿilm al-ladunī*).

120 I.e. the certificate of competence in reading his works and the licence to pass them on.

121 Cf. Ms. Dār al-kutub, Taymūr, Tārīḥ 1520, see fol. 135.

We know that Ğabartī was born in 722/1322 and died in 806/1403. Al-Aṣkal met him for the first time in 789 H./1387. The presumed meeting between the author of the *Laṭāʾif* and Ğabartī may have occurred before 789. Unfortunately, al-Aṣkal says nothing more about Ibn al-Ṭāhir in his treatise on the charismas of Ğabartī.

Could this Ibn al-Ṭāhir, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Šāfiʿī, be the author whose works we have collected together? A possible *šāfiʿī* connection would be compatible with his attachment to Ḥamawī who, like the rest of his family, belonged to the *madḥab šāfiʿī*¹²².

Let us consider the following possibility: the meeting between Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn al-Ṭāhir -perhaps the author of the *Laṭāʾif*- and Ğabartī, during which the latter obtained the *igāza* from Ibn al-Ṭāhir, could have happened during Ğabartī's youth. Let us make an approximate calculation. If we add about 25 years to Ğabartī's date of birth, we come to 747. Eleven years have passed since Simnānī's death. If we add these 11 years to the 54 which separate the *Durra* and the *Laṭāʾif* and to some 25 years of education and maturation which would allow the author of the *Durra* to write his work, we can calculate -as a rough guide- that Ibn Ṭāhir -supposing that the author of *Laṭāʾif* is the same person who authorized the transmission of his works to Ğabartī- lived for about 90 years between 656/1258 and 747/1346 approximately, in the second half of the thirteenth century and the first half of the fourteenth century. It is certainly a long life for that time.

If this relationship between Ğabartī and the author of *Laṭāʾif* indeed existed, it would reveal one of the sources of transmission of the Akbarian doctrine into which Ğabartī would have been initiated. The relationship between Ibn Ṭāhir and Ğabartī would therefore provide another important link in understanding the flourishing of Akbarian thought in the Yemen in Ğabartī's time¹²³.

One can, in any case, state with greater certainty, that our Ibn Ṭāhir lived between 684/1286, the date of ʿĀrif's death and 736/1336, when Simnānī died.

122 See "Sa'd al-Dīn al-Ḥammā'ī", *EI2*, s.v. I could not find any reference to Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn Ṭāhir in the *Ṭabaqāt al-šāfiʿiyya* by Ibn Hidāyat Allāh al-Ḥusaynī, known as al-Muṣannif (d. 1014 H.), edited with the *Ṭabaqāt al-fuqahā'*... by Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī Širāzī. Abū l-Qāsim Ğunayd Širāzī do not mention him either in his *Šadd al-izār fī ḥaṭṭ al-awzār ʿan zuwwār al-mazār*, ed. Muḥammad Qazwīnī, Tehran, 1328 H./1949.

C. Brockelmann mentions in his *GAL* a certain Muḥammad... Ibn Ṭāhir (e. g., Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh Ibn al-Ṭāhir al-Nisābūrī), to whom a work untitled *Laṭāʾif al-maʿārif* is attributed, whose existent copies in Cairo and Istanbul should be compared with *Laṭāʾif al-iʿlām*.

123 See A. Knysh, "Ibn ʿArabī in the Yemen: His Admirers and Detractors", *JMIAS*, XI, Oxford, 1992, pp. 38-63. Perhaps other biographical sources concerned with Ğabartī (*Ibid.*, p. 59, note 35), which I have not been able to consult yet, could clarify this matter.

3. Style and inclinations of the author

Now that a possible order of writing has been established for the known works of the author, let us look at the first phase (*Da‘ā‘im / Durra / Dalā‘il*) which shows a marked interest in defining and specifying Islamic doctrine from a Sunni perspective and in matters relating to the life to come. It is a question of clarifying the doctrine, using the language of *kalām* and the Sunni *madāhib*, in order to eradicate possible deviations. Although the author’s Sufi connections are already made clear in the *Durra*, in these first works *‘aql* still prevails over *naql* -the scriptural foundations tend to be juxtaposed with speculation like *a posteriori* evidential quotations, as in *Dalā‘il*- and over *kašf*, which only appears as a background to eminently speculative discourse. However, Sufis are not quoted as profusely as they are later in the *Tadkira* and especially in the *Latā‘if*. Ibn Ṭāhir is fundamentally concerned, therefore, with replying to theoretical questions (*masā‘il*) in terms belonging to a *mutakallim*. Occasionally he adopts the discourse and methods of the *falāsifa* but he always tries to adapt philosophical ways of dealing with questions to those of a Sufism which is already showing itself to be Akbarian.

After this youthful period, the *Tadkira* marks a definite transition to a second phase where Ibn Ṭāhir develops and brings together his many facets: On the one hand, he gives more space to poetic illustration and the first verses of his own appear. On the other hand, the scriptural foundation often takes preference over a theoretical approach, an attitude explained by his own visionary experiences. The author demonstrates his position as *mufassir* -as much of the Quran as of the *Sunna*- and as *‘ālim* in theoretical matters but never as a *faqīh* or a *qāḍī* dealing with practical applications. Nor is he a *muḥaddīth*: he quotes from well-known sources -basically from the collections by Muslim and Buḥārī- and he does not concern himself with *isnād*.

Moreover, the references and ways of dealing with issues which are directly inherited from the Sufi tradition, in particular Akbarian Sufism, increase: adherence to Ibn ‘Arabī’s teachings becomes more evident, as, for example, in the commentary on the *Fuṣūṣ*.

Philosophical discussions, in which references to the *Šayḥ al-ra‘īs* Ibn Sīnā predominate, tend to be rounded off with an exposition of the *ḥaqīqa* of the subject in question, containing the teaching of the *Šayḥ par excellence*, Ibn ‘Arabī, whose *‘aqīda* Ibn Ṭāhir adheres to without reservation¹²⁴.

The *Tadkira* contains numerous sections devoted to discussing interdoctrinal matters: the doctrines -relating to the Trinity, the Incarnation and other matters- of various Christian

124 See *Durra*, 1/7.

sects (Jacobites, Melchites, Nestorians, etc.)¹²⁵, and also the doctrines and philosophical positions of various Shiʿite tendencies (Twelvers, Ismailis, Zaydis...), etc. This makes the *Tadkira* into an important reference work for the study of comparative religion.

The attention given to the philosophical views of Suhrawardī, Šayḥ al-Išrāq -generally referred to in *Laṭāʾif* as *Šāḥib al-Talwīḥāt* (author of the *Book of Elucidations*)-, the Asharites, the Muʿtazilites, the various *madāhib* and other tendencies, also increases.

Thanks to this work we have discovered that the author knew Persian, perhaps his mother tongue. In *Fāʾida* 72, fol. 127a, a saying by a certain Mawlānā Aršad al-Balḥī is quoted in Persian¹²⁶. Although Ibn Ṭāhir -as far as we know- only wrote in Arabic, it is very possible that he was bilingual, given that those who were of his circle, Simnānī and ʿArif in particular, also spoke Persian. The frequent discussions on Shiʿite subjects and his familiarity with Shiʿite authors, the quotations by ʿAlī taken from the *Nahḡ al-balāga*, the interfaith dialogue, the insistence on the Sunni nature of his doctrine and the necessity to clarify it, seem to suggest that the author lived in a mixed Arabic-Persian cultural environment, in which the coexistence of Sunni and Shiʿite population, probably including Christian minorities, required dialogue and clarification. As a provisional hypothesis, I am inclined to think that fourteenth century Baghdad -the *kubrawiyya* Baghdad of Simnānī- was his place of residence for a while and, perhaps, for most of his life.

I believe that the author, who writes copiously and magisterially on the *futuwwa*, both in the *Tadkira* (Ch. 103) and in *Laṭāʾif*, sees himself as a ‘spiritual knight’ (*fatā*) and, probably, as a *malāmatī* in the line of Ibn ʿArabī since, like the latter, he believes that “the great ones from among the people of God are the *malāmatīyya*”¹²⁷. To judge by the authoritative tone that he uses when he is dealing with initiatic categories and hierarchies, one would say that Ibn Ṭāhir -in spite of contrasting expressions of modesty and humility- considered himself to be an integral member of the spiritual elite, the *ḥāṣṣat al-ḥāṣṣa* of his time.

When writing *Laṭāʾif* the author leaves aside his other tendencies of thought and concentrates on the terminology and doctrines of Sufism. The *Laṭāʾif* is a plainly Akbarian work and an eloquent example of the reception of the thought of Ibn ʿArabī and his School in the fourteenth century.

125 See, for example, Chapters 40 and 167. See also *Durra*, 2/2. Perhaps a detailed study would reveal Simnānī’s influence in the way these matters are dealt with.

126 I have not identified the person. The sentence says as follows: *Nāʿmat-i zāhir-i suḥanī-yi del padār ast, nāʿmat-i bāṭin-i delī-yi suḥan padār ast*. It means: “The exterior blessing is the word that satisfies the heart, while the interior blessing is a heart which is receptive to the word”. I thank N. Pourjavadi who corrected my previous reading of this saying. See his *Išrāq...*, p. 454. Pourjavadi also considers that *Laṭāʾif* refers to Persian sources such as *Kašf al-maḥḡūb* by Huḡwīrī or *Asrār al-tawḥīd* by Ibn al-Munawwar. See *Išrāq*, p. 455, note 11 (reference to *Lat.* I: 323-4). Those would not be anyway direct explicit mentions or quotations.

127 *Tadkira* 164, fol. 238a.

WAS SIMNĀNĪ OPPOSED TO IBN ʿARABĪ?

1. Simnānī and his appreciation of Ibn ʿArabī

The correspondence between ʿAbd al-Razzāq Qāšānī and ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Simnānī certainly established a lively polemic, in which polite terms alternated with inflamed criticism. How is it then that Ibn Ṭāhir, a manifest partisan of the thought of Ibn ʿArabī and the school of *waḥdat al-wuḡūd*, calls Simnānī *šayḥu-nā* in the last of his known works?

I have already pointed out that this expression does not necessarily imply a spiritual affiliation. However, I would now like to show that, even if the relationship between Simnānī and Ibn Ṭāhir were that of master and disciple, the double Kubrawī-Akbarian relationship does not imply any contradiction.

To see Simnānī as “a great *Kubrawī* adversary of Ibn ʿArabī” seems to be an exaggeration. In many instances, the controversy between authors and schools of thought in Sufism should be understood, in my opinion, as a rich critical dialogue based on mutual respect. Should we regard ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Ġīlī as an adversary or opponent of Ibn ʿArabī simply because he disagrees with the Šayḥ’s views on certain points? One often observes an excessive tendency among scholars to overestimate the extent of possible rivalries between different Sufi currents of thought and to interpret them, sometimes, as a sort of “war of dogmas” which are most often, and almost exclusively provoked by political motives.

Can one speak of a *kubrawī-akbarī* “opposition” represented by Simnānī? I believe it would be more correct to speak simply of a debate between close co-religionist who follow similar practices and are doubly related, by Islam and by their Sufi methods and traditions.

Simnānī seems to be punctiliously critical -as a result of a particular incident, the meeting between his disciple and Qāšānī-, in connection with the idea of *waḥdat al-wuḡūd* which is misinterpreted as ‘Absolute Unity’, but this does not imply at all a general rejection of Akbarian thought. One may consider other possible factors in the controversy: intellectual prestige, teaching and influence in a specific area... Nevertheless, Simnānī himself had studied and admired Ibn ʿArabī before the controversy and, according to J. Elias, again showed his esteem towards the Šayḥ al-Akbar after it. Concerning this positive appreciation of Ibn ʿArabī in Simnānī¹²⁸ he says: “Existing scholarship has made much of Simnānī’s opposition towards Ibn al-ʿArabī. It is clear that Simnānī’s criticism was less vitriolic and more specific in its intellectual focus than is sometimes implied. Simnānī did not accuse Ibn

128 In order to go into this matter more deeply, one would need to analyse Simnānī’s *Šarḥ fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*. It seems that only one, fragmentary copy of it remains, which includes an anonymous commentary by a disciple of Qāšānī and Qaysarī: Ms. 11: 2350, Kitāb ḥāna-yi dānišgāh, Tehran. Cf. *Throne*, p. 193, no. 55.

al-[°]Arabī of heresy or antinomianism. On the contrary, he referred to him with respect [...]. His early critiques of Ibn al-[°]Arabī and his followers must be seen in this context [opposition to the antinomian Sufi Ḥājji-yi Āmulī, etc.]. After his lengthy correspondence with Qāšānī (and possibly further reading of Ibn al-[°]Arabī's thought), Simnānī appears to have developed a greater appreciation for Ibn al-[°]Arabī and lauded his intentions, if not his methods"¹²⁹.

2. [°]Alī Hamadānī, Simnānī's Akbarian disciple, and his commentary on the Divine Names, the *Ḥaqā'iq al-asmā'*

Amīr Sayyid [°]Alī b. Šihāb al-Dīn Hamadānī (714-86 H./1314-85 d. C.), the eponym of the *tarīqa hamadāniyya*, a disciple of Simnānī's and perhaps the major diffusor of the *kubrawiyya* in the East, is in turn profoundly connected with Akbarian teaching.

As we know, a commentary on the *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*¹³⁰ is also attributed to him, but the extent of the Akbarian impact on his works has still not, in fact, been studied in depth. Elias points out that both [°]Alī Hamadānī and Ašraf Ġahāngīr disagreed with Simnānī on the question of *waḥdat al-šuhūd*, "and were more inclined towards the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd*"¹³¹.

I have already pointed out¹³² that *Ḥaqā'iq al-asmā'*, a work attributed to Qūnawī in many manuscripts and in most of the articles about the author which enumerate his works¹³³ is,

129 Elias, *Throne*, pp. 97-98.

130 Entitled *Hall-i fuṣūṣ* with variants. See the list of works by Hamadānī compiled by J. K. Teufel, *Eine lebensbeschreibung des scheidhs 'Alī-i Hamadānī*, Brill, Leiden, 1962, pp. 43-60, no. 15. See note *infra*. Teufel does not mention the *Ḥaqā'iq al-asmā'* which I shall refer to presently.

131 See *Throne*, p. 56. Due to the teachings of [°]Alī Hamadānī and Ašraf Simnānī, the Hamadānī-Kubrawī line was established and developed in Central Asia, where seemed to promote an atmosphere of mutual respect and co-operation with the *Naqšbandiyya* (cf. *Ibid.*, p. 57).

See also Hamid Algar, "Reflections of Ibn [°]Arabī in Early Naqshbandī Tradition", *JMIAS*, X, 1991, pp. 45-66 (on the commentary on the *Fuṣūṣ* attributed to both Hamadānī and Pārsā, and published under the name of the latter, see p. 49; see also p. 60 where Algar remarks that "not only [°]Alī Hamadānī but numerous other Kubrawīs were devoted to the study of his works [Ibn [°]Arabī's]").

132 See, for example, *Kašf*, 2nd ed., p. xlvi.

133 See, for example, *EI2* (s. v.). The work is very often attributed to Qūnawī. See, for example, the following copies: Ašir Ef. 431/fols. 21-113, Laleli 1585/ 56 fols., Laleli 172/170b-209b, Šehid Ali Paša 425/0b-86b, Šehid Ali Paša 1366/1a-26b, all with the title *Šarḥ asmā' Allāh al-ḥusnā*. It has been also attributed to Ibn [°]Arabī. See, for example, the Carullah manuscript 1001 in the Suleymaniyye.

On fol. 0b (before 1a) of ms. Šehid Ali Paša 425 it says, in fact, *Šarḥ al-asmā' al-ḥusnā* li-l-Sayyid [°]Alī al-Hamadānī, in cursive script, in a different ink and handwriting to that of the text and on paper more recently used for binding. Immediately following, but in different ink (which is also dark) and in an even more cursive and modern hand, the following is added: *wa-yazharu min qirā'ati awwalī-hi anna-hu li-Šadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī*.

Fortunately, the ms. Šehid [°]Alī Paša 424/1b-97a (copyist: Hibat Allāh b. Maḥmūd, 901 H., title: *Ḥaqā'iq al-asmā'*), has been listed under [°]Alī Hamadānī's name. On the cover, it says: *Šarḥ al-asmā' al-ḥusnā* li-l-Sayyid

in fact, the work which Hamadānī devoted to the commentary on the Divine Names. So, although neither the Šayḥ, nor any of his contemporary authors, are mentioned at all¹³⁴, the principal sources of inspiration for the work are the *Kāṣf al-maʿnā* and *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya* by Ibn ʿArabī, copious extracts of which Hamadānī incessantly paraphrases or quotes word for word¹³⁵.

This case serves as one more piece of evidence of the permeation of Sufism and its streams of diffusion. Akbarian thought impregnates, determines and shapes even the work of possibly the principal disciple of Simnānī, who is the supposed adversary of Ibn ʿArabī. However institutionalized the Sufi brotherhoods became, this fruitful permeability, which is often hidden, has to be very much borne in mind in order to understand the changes of orientation which can appear in the life of an author or in the development of a particular community.

In Hamadānī, as in our Ibn Ṭāhir, there is a creative synthesis between the Kubrawī-Simnānī and the Akbarian teachings. This is nothing unusual: it is the result of the communicative permeability of Sufism and the extraordinary diffusion of the teaching of Ibn ʿArabī in the Islamic world¹³⁶.

ʿAlī al-Hamadānī. However, the name of the author is also crossed out as in ms. Šehid Ali Paša 425 from the same collection and, in my opinion, by the same hand. Next, *li-l-Šadr al-Dīn Qūnawī* is added and, in different ink, under the title, *al-musammā bi-Ḥaqāʾiq al-asmāʾ*.

After comparing copies and studying the work, I can confirm that the author is, without any doubt, ʿAlī Hamadānī. I intend, shortly, to publish a detailed study on the *Ḥaqāʾiq* and its sources -the Akbarian ones especially (Ibn ʿArabī's *Futūḥāt makkiyya* and Ğandī's *Šarḥ Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, in particular).

See the reference to the copy of *Ḥaqāʾiq* made by the author's own son -the earliest known copy, 781 H., whose actual location I have not been able to find out- in the article by M. Molé, "Professions de foi de deux kubrawis: ʿAlī-i Hamadānī et Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh", *BULLETIN D'ÉTUDES ORIENTALES DE L'INSTITUT FRANÇAIS DE DAMAS*, XVIII, 1961-2, pp. 133-204 (see p. 134).

See also the references to other copies in the recent catalogue compiled by Muḥammad Riyāḍ, *Aḥwāl wa-ātār wa-ašcār Mīr Sayyid ʿAlī Hamadānī*, Markaz-i Taḥqīqāt-i Farsī Īrān wa-Pakistān, Islamabad, 1405/1985, p. 181 (no. 1, *Šarḥ [al-]asmāʾ al-ḥusnā*).

This work should not be confused with that entitled the *Risāla fī šarḥ asmāʾ Allāh al-ḥusnā*, ms. Laleli 3745/104b-113a, attributed to Hamadānī, which is a text -in my opinion, apocryphal- of invocations and prayers (*duʿāʾ*) with the Divine Names, but not a commentary on the Names as such.

134 The same is true of his recently published *Asrār al-nuqta*, Intiṣārāt-i Mawlā, Tehran, 1418 H./1999, 112 pp.

135 Compare, for example, the introduction to Chapter 558 of the *Futūḥāt* with the introduction to *Ḥaqāʾiq* where long passages are duplicated.

136 On this subject, see the illuminating study by M. Chodkiewicz, *Un océan sans rivage*, Paris, 1992.