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Lutz Edzard and Christian Szyska

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Intercultural Studies in Honor of Stefan Wild
on the Occasion of His 60th Birthday,
March 2, 1997,
Presented by His Pupils in Bonn

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The influence of Šams al-Dīn Šahrazūri (7th/ 13th century) on Ibn Abi Ğumhūr al-Aḥsā'i (d. after 904/1499) - A preliminary note

Sabine Schmidtke

The spiritual and intellectual life in the Eastern lands of Islam during the post-Avicennan period of Islamic philosophy was dominated by the Peripatetic philosophy of Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037), the doctrine of the unity of existence (*waḥdat al-wuġūd*) of Ibn ʿArabī (d. 638/1240) and the teachings of Šihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyā Suhrawardī (549/1154 to 597/1191). The latter was the founder of the Illuminationist method of philosophy (*Ṭarīqat ḥikmat al-išrāq*) and known as the Master of Illumination (*Šayḥ al-išrāq*). The philosophy of Ibn Sīnā was revived in the 7th/13th century through the philosophical works of Našīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274).¹ For the spread of Ibn ʿArabī's ideas in the Eastern lands, the writings of his most important disciple Šadr al-Dīn Qūnawī (d. 673/1273-4) were of primary significance.² Besides these two currents of thought, Suhrawardī's philosophy of illumination soon became one of the dominant schools of Islamic philosophy³ and had a significant impact on the development of Šīʿite theology and philosophy from the 7th/13th century onwards.⁴ In the following centuries these different intellectual perspectives gradually began to interact with traditional *kalām* culminating in the philosophy of Šadr al-Dīn Širāzī (d. 1050/1640) and other representatives of the so-called School of Iṣfahān in the 11th/17th century.⁵

¹Cf. Nasr 1984: 249-50. On Našīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī, see also Dabashi 1996.

²On him, cf. Chittick 1978. For the influence of Ibn ʿArabī's thought on the intellectual life in the East, cf. also Nasr 1983: 38ff; Chittick 1996: 510-23.

³Concerning the doctrines of Suhrawardī, cf. Corbin 1939. Nasr 1964: chp. 2. Nasr 1963: 372-98. Also Ziai 1990a; Walbridge 1992; Ziai 1996a: 434-64. For the spread of his thoughts in the East, cf. Nasr 1970: 111-21. Ziai 1996b: 465-96.

⁴Cf. Nasr 1970: 112-15. However, the extent of the impact of *Išrāqī* philosophy on Imāmī thinkers still needs to be investigated. The present author has shown elsewhere that the attribution of a commentary on the *Ḥikmat al-išrāq* to al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī (d. 726/1325) (cf. for instance Nasr 1970: 112) is doubtful. Cf. Schmidtke 1991: 71. It is equally doubtful whether Illuminationist teachings had any influence on Našīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274). Later authors, such as Šadr al-Dīn Širāzī (d. 1050/1640), maintained that Našīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī was influenced by the Illuminationist concept of divine knowledge in his famous refutation of Ibn Sīnā's view in his commentary on the latter's *Kitāb al-Išārāt wa-l-tanbihāt* as well as regarding other issues. Cf. Rahman 1975: 157, 165, n. 58; Nasr 1970: 112; cf. also *EI*²: 4: 121; Mudarrisī 1335/1956: 167-8. Earlier authors, such as Šams al-Dīn Šahrazūri (*al-Šaġara al-ilāhiyya*: 389v), have equally noted the resemblance between the Illuminationist view on divine knowledge and Našīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī's interpretation of it; however, they did not maintain that the latter was influenced by the Illuminationists in this issue. Rahman (Rahman 1975: 157 ff) points out that the alleged resemblance between the views of Suhrawardī and Našīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī is indeed limited and that the latter was certainly not influenced in this regard by the former's Illuminationist positions. For a summary of Našīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī's interpretation of divine knowledge in his commentary on Ibn Sīnā's *Išārāt*, cf. Marmura 1962: 301, n. 19.

⁵On Šadr al-Dīn Širāzī and the school of Iṣfahān, cf. Nasr 1966a and Nasr 1966b; Corbin 1981; Newman 1986; Dabashi 1996a; Ziai 1996c; Nasr 1996.

Most of the later Šīʿite theologians saw Illuminationist teachings through the eyes of Sams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd Šahrazūrī (d. after 687/1288), who wrote the first commentary of Suhrawardī's *Ḥikmat al-išrāq*⁶ and who was evidently one of the most important figures of post-Avicennan Islamic philosophy propagating and commenting on the teachings of Suhrawardī;⁷ he is well known for his comprehensive history of philosophy, *Nuzhat al-arwāḥ wa-rawḍat al-afrāḥ fi taʾrīḥ al-ḥukamāʾ wa-l-falāsifa*.⁸ His *Šarḥ ḥikmat al-išrāq* and especially his extensive encyclopaedia of philosophy *al-Šağara al-ilāhiyya fi ʿulūm al-ḥaqāʾiq al-rabbāniyya* were of significant importance for later Šīʿite thinkers.⁹ The *Šağara al-ilāhiyya* which was completed in 680/1281 was apparently his last work.¹⁰ Style and content of the work reflect the maturity of its author as an advanced scholar and philosopher.¹¹ In this independent work on philosophy, which is divided into five epistles (*rasāʾil*) - methodology and divisions of metaphysics, logic, practical philosophy, physics, metaphysics¹² - Šahrazūrī discusses thoroughly the different views of various schools on the subjects under discussion, himself usually adhering to and developing the views of Suhrawardī.¹³

The significance of Šahrazūrī's writings for later Imāmī thinkers has already been established. Quṭb al-Dīn Širāzī (d. 710/1311) relied heavily on Šahrazūrī's commentary on the *Ḥikmat al-išrāq* in his own commentary.¹⁴ Moreover, detailed references to the *Šağara al-ilāhiyya* are found in a number of writings of Mīr Dāmād (d. 1040/1631-32) and Šadr al-Dīn Širāzī (d. 1050/1640-41).¹⁵ Among non-Islamic writers, Ibn Kammūna (d. 683/1284-85), another important early commentator on Suhrawardī's writings, was apparently also heavily influenced by Šahrazūrī's works.¹⁶

⁶Šahrazūrī 1993.

⁷Cf. Šahrazūrī 1993: Introduction, xiv ff. Nasr 1970: 111-2.

⁸Ed. Kh. Aḥmad. Hyderabad, 1396/1976. Cf. also GAL Supplement, 1:850-51. This work is one of the rare sources providing some details on the life of Suhrawardī. Its account on the *Šayḥ al-išrāq* has been edited and translated in Spies and Khatak 1935, 90-121 (edition), 94-101 (translation). The text has been reedited by S.H. Nasr in his introduction to Suhrawardī 1970.

⁹On the *Šağara al-ilāhiyya*, cf. Ziai 1990: 14-16, 89-108; Ziai 1996b: 476-84; also Šahrazūrī 1993: Introduction, xiv ff. Ziai described this work on the basis of the Berlin Manuscript Ahlwardt 5063; cf. Ziai 1990: 92-3. I consulted the Manuscript Tübingen 229 which is quoted here. For further copies of the work, cf. GAL 1:469, GAL Supplement, 1:851. For Šahrazūrī's other works, cf. Šahrazūrī 1993: Introduction, xiv.

¹⁰Cf. GAL Supplement, 1:851; Šahrazūrī 1993: Introduction, xv.

¹¹Šahrazūrī 1993: Introduction, xv-xvi.

¹²Cf. Ziai 1990: 93-6 for a detailed table of contents of the work.

¹³Ziai 1990: 15-6, 91-2. The question to which extent Šahrazūrī made original contributions in developing Illuminationist philosophy still awaits thorough examination.

¹⁴Cf. Ziai 1990: 89; Ziai 1996b: 469; Suhrawardī 1986: 59; Suhrawardī 1993: xlvi, lxxii. Walbridge 1992: xvi. It is very likely that a comparison between the commentaries by Šahrazūrī and Quṭb al-Dīn Širāzī would shed new light, as Walbridge himself assumes (p. 162), on the question of Quṭb al-Dīn Širāzī's originality.

¹⁵Cf. Ziai 1990: 15, 90.

¹⁶Cf. Suhrawardī 1993, 1:xlvi, 2:64 (Prolégomènes). On Ibn Kammūna see *Encyclopaedia Judaica* 8:1186-87; GAL 1:431-32; GAL Supplement, 1:768-69; Ziai 1996b: 484-92.

A further work that provides clear evidence of the influence of Šahrazūri on later Šīʿite thinkers is the *Kitāb al-Muğli*, the *magnum opus* of Ibn Abī Ğumhūr al-Aḥsāʿī (d. after 904/1499), an Imāmī Šīʿi scholar from al-Aḥsāʿ in Baḥrayn.¹⁷

The *Kitāb Muğli mirʿāt al-munğī* was a commentary on the author's *Kitāb al-Nūr al-munğī min al-zalām*, which in turn was a commentary on his very concise *Kitāb Maslak* (or *Masālik*) *al-afḥām fi ʿilm al-kalām*. As the title of the basic work indicates, it was essentially a work on theology.¹⁸ However, Ibn Abī Ğumhūr freely combined in this work traditional Muʿtazilite theology with Peripatetic philosophy, Illuminationist philosophy, and the doctrine of the unity of existence (*waḥdat al-wuğūd*) by Ibn ʿArabī, thus creating an apparently unprecedented synthesis of these systems. On this basis he furthermore sought to reconcile opposing doctrines of the Muʿtazilites and the Ašʿarites.¹⁹ All three works were written at a rather late stage of the author's life, the *Kitāb al-Nūr al-munğī* being finished in 893/1487-88²⁰ and the *Kitāb al-Muğli* being finished in 895/1489-90.²¹

In the *Kitāb al-Nūr al-munğī*, Ibn Abī Ğumhūr comments on the text of the *Kitāb al-Maslak* in a comprehensive manner, often expanding on the Gnostic and Illuminationist dimensions of the issues under consideration. By contrast, in the supercommentary, the *Kitāb al-Muğli*, Ibn Abī Ğumhūr in most instances restricts himself to elaborating on specific notions or arguments mentioned in the two other works. He usually considers only those issues worthy to be elaborated on which originate either from the Illuminationist or the Gnostic tradition. On the rare occasions where the basic work and the commentary deal with strictly theological issues with no corresponding concept in Illuminationist philosophy or gnosticism, the supercommentary usually remains silent.²² It is noteworthy that despite his agreement with the major Muʿtazilite positions and his being a

¹⁷*Kitāb al-Muğli*. Tehran 1324/1906 and 1329/1911. Only the edition of 1329/1911 was available to me. On the author see *ELP* Supplement: 380; Madelung 1978: 147-56. Also Cole 1987: 180-82, 197; Cole 1994: 147, n. 6.

¹⁸Cf. *Muğli*: 44:10-12. The work includes the subjects regularly included in expositions on theology: Introduction (*Muğli*: 48ff); divine unicity (*tawḥīd*) (*Muğli*: 109ff), containing elaborations on the affirmative attributes (*Muğli*: 130ff) and the negative attributes (*Muğli*: 147ff); acts of God, corresponding in subject matter to the chapter on divine justice in Muʿtazilite theological works (*Muğli*: 202ff) including discussions on the nature of good and evil, man's action, the nature of God's justice, moral obligation (*taklif*), facilitating favour (*luṭf*), pain and compensation (*alam wa-ʿiwaq*); prophecy (*Muğli*: 234ff); imamate (*Muğli*: 319ff); passing away and resurrection (*fanāʾ wa-iʿādat al-ağsām*) (*Muğli*: 491ff); repentance (*tawba*) (*Muğli*: 512ff); the nature of belief (*imān*) and unbelief (*kufṛ*) (*Muğli*: 516ff). Cf. also Madelung 1978: 145.

¹⁹Cf. Madelung 1978: 149-50. A detailed study on the theology of Ibn Abī Ğumhūr is currently under preparation by the present author.

²⁰*Muğli*: 574:9-10.

²¹*Muğli*: 585:10-11. In his introduction to the *Kitāb al-Muğli* Ibn Abī Ğumhūr further remarks that he composed the *Kitāb Maslak al-afḥām* after having written numerous other works on theology; *Muğli*: 3:18-9; cf. also Madelung 1978: 151.

²²For example *Muğli*: 208-10 where he discusses the Muʿtazilite and Ašʿarite views on the origin and character of the ethical standards for good and evil; *Muğli*: 224-25 where he discusses meaning and conditions of moral obligation (*taklif*).

theologian originally adhering in the majority of cases to the Muʿtazilite views, Ibn Abī Ğumhūr refers both in the commentary and in the supercommentary to the upholders of the Muʿtazilite doctrines as the *ʿadliyya* without ever explicitly associating himself with this group.²³ Moreover, at a number of instances, he refers the reader to his works on theology (*kutubunā al-kalāmiyya*), evidently implying that the present work is not to be counted among his theological works.²⁴

From the evidence of his earlier works on theology, notably the *Kašf al-barāhīn*, a commentary on the author's *Zād al-musāfirīn*, which Ibn Abī Ğumhūr completed in 878/1474,²⁵ as well as the more extensive *Kitāb Maʿīn al-maʿīn fī uṣūl al-dīn*, to which he frequently refers in his *Kašf al-barāhīn*,²⁶ it is known that the author apparently was not yet acquainted with the philosophy of illumination when composing these works.²⁷ In the majority of issues he followed traditional Muʿtazilite theology, usually adopting the positions of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (d. 436/1044) and his followers, freely mixing them with philosophical terminology and concepts whenever they do not contradict traditional Muʿtazilite positions.²⁸ On that basis, he already sought to harmonize Ašʿarite and Muʿtazilite positions - a tendency which he further developed in the *Kitāb al-Muġlī*.²⁹ It is therefore likely that Ibn Abī Ğumhūr got acquainted with the thought of Suhrawardī only after 878/1474. Moreover, from the evidence in the *Kitāb al-Muġlī* it is very likely that it was through the *Šaġara al-ilāhiyya* of Šahrazūrī that he came to know Illuminationist philosophy.

Throughout the *Kitāb al-Muġlī* and the two basic works the influence of Šahrazūrī's *al-Šaġara al-ilāhiyya* is evident. In the commentary *Kitāb Nūr al-munġī min al-zalām* Ibn Abī Ğumhūr at many instances follows Šahrazūrī's line of argumentation in his *Šaġara al-ilāhiyya*.³⁰

²³Cf. e.g. *Muġlī*: 210, 323.

²⁴E.g. *Muġlī*: 225.

²⁵Cf. Loth 1877: 127.

²⁶Cf. *Kašf al-barāhīn*, 288r:10, 291r:36, 292v:23-24, 300r:3, 302r:21; cf. also Loth 1877: 127.

²⁷There are equally no traces of the doctrine of the unity of existence (*waḥdat al-wuġūd*) by Ibn ʿArabī in the *Kašf al-barāhīn*.

²⁸On the teachings of the school of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī and their impact on Šīʿite theology, cf. Ibn al-Malāḥimī 1991: Introduction. Also Schmidtke 1991: 5 ff and passim.

²⁹Cf. for example *Kašf al-barāhīn*, 296v:35 ff, where he argues, quoting the famous statement of Imām Ğaʿfar al-Šādiq "there is neither compulsion nor empowerment, but an intermediary situation" (*lā ġabr wa-lā tafwīd bal amr bayn al-amrayn*), that although man is in principle the author of his acts insofar as he is their direct cause (*ʿilla qarība*), since he acts according to his intention (*qaṣd*), God who provides him with the capability to act is the cause of the cause (*ʿillat al-ʿilla*). Thus despite man being the direct cause of his acts and insofar being a choosing agent he is not the complete cause (*ʿilla tāmma*) for it as his capability to perform the act was created by God. On this basis, he concludes, reconciliation between the positions of the Ašʿarite and the Muʿtazilite positions is reached. In the *Kitāb al-Muġlī*, Ibn Abī Ğumhūr equally upholds this conclusion. However, here he starts his argument from the doctrine of the unity of existence; cf. *Muġlī*: 212ff; also Madelung 1978: 150.

³⁰For instance *Muġlī*: 219:24-220:9 from *Šaġara*, 422r-v; *Muġlī*: 500:8-502:12 from *Šaġara*, 397vff, 401rff, 404rff; *Muġlī*: 569:13-24 from *Šaġara*, 431r:26-431v:9.

Most striking is the influence of the *Šağara al-ilāhiyya* on Ibn Abī Ğumhūr's supercommentary, the *Kitāb al-Muğlī*. Numerous lengthy passages are identical with and obviously directly copied from Šahrazūri's *al-Šağara al-ilāhiyya*.³¹ In his discussions of issues where Ibn Abī Ğumhūr clearly preferred *Išrāqī* views to those of the Muslim Peripatetics or the doctrine of the unity of existence (*waḥdat al-wuğūd*) of Ibn ʿArabī, entire chapters of the *Šağara al-ilāhiyya* can be identified in the *Kitāb al-Muğlī*.³² Given the accuracy of the copied passages it seems most likely that Ibn Abī Ğumhūr did not get to know the work through any intermediary work but rather had a copy of the work at his disposal.

Strangely enough, Ibn Abī Ğumhūr refrains from telling his readers the source of these passages. Neither the name of the author nor the work itself is explicitly referred to anywhere in his work.³³ This is uncommon for Ibn Abī Ğumhūr, who usually mentions his sources in his writings.³⁴ In most cases Ibn Abī Ğumhūr does not even alert his readers when presenting the text which he had obviously copied, thus creating the impression that the subsequent elaborations are his

³¹See Appendix.

³²For instance the chapter on the proof of God's existence (*fi iṭbāt wājib al-wujūd*), *Šağara* 326v-335v; the chapter on the divine names and attributes (*fi l-asmāʾ*) *wa-l-ṣifāt allati li-l-wājib li-dātihi*), *Šağara* 335v-338v; extensive portions of the chapter on the perception of the Necessary by Himself and of the separate intelligent entities and on the knowledge of the souls (*fi idrāk al-wājib li-dātihi wa-l-mufāriqāt al-ʿaqliyya wa-ʿilm al-nufūs*), *Šağara* 381v-397v, as well as the chapter on restoration (*iʿāda*), *Šağara* 401r-419r. However, the reader should beware of drawing the conclusion that Ibn Abī Ğumhūr adopted *Išrāqī* positions whenever copying portions from Šahrazūri's *al-Šağara*. Although Ibn Abī Ğumhūr draws, for instance, heavily on Šahrazūri's *al-Šağara* in his elaborations on the question of man's afterlife (*Muğlī*: 500-8), there is now doubt that he does not share Šahrazūri's views on this issue but holds firm to the traditional theological view asserting bodily resurrection (*al-maʿād al-ğismāni*); cf. *Muğlī*: 492-93.

³³Cf. also Madelung 1978: 155, n. 32.

³⁴Cf. for instance his *Kašf al-barāhīn* where the following authors and works are expressly quoted: al-Zamaḥṣārī: *Kaššāf* (283v:24); al-Šayḥ al-Miqdād (284r:1, 28, 290v:26, 293r:31, 302v:39, 303r:5), *al-Naḥī yawm al-ḥašr fi šarḥ al-bāb al-ḥādī ʿašar* (287v:27), *al-Anwār al-ğalāliyya li-šarḥ al-fuṣūl la-naširiyya* (287v:13); Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (285r:31, 33, 285v:31, 295r:22), *Muḥaṣṣal afkār al-mutaqaddimin wa-l-mutaʾaḥḥirīn* (293r:30, 304r:16-17); Naṣir al-Dīn Ṭūsī: *Naqḍ al-muḥaṣṣal* (285v:3), *al-Fuṣūl fi l-ʿuṣūl* (287v:25); al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī (290r:34, 303r:2-3), *Anwār al-malakūt fi šarḥ al-Yāqūt* (285v:10-11), *Nahğ al-mustaršidin fi uṣūl al-dīn* (285v:32, 288v:15, 316r:16), *al-ʿAlfayn al-fāriq bayn al-šidq wa-l-mayn* (304r:39), *Nahğ al-karāma* (presumably referring to *Minḥāğ al-karāma fi maʿrifat al-imāma*) (304r:39); Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn al-Nawbaḥṭi: *Kitāb al-Yāqūt* (285v:36, 292v:5, 296r:33 - for this work, cf. Schmidtke 1991, 48), *Kitāb al-Ibtihāğ* (292v:5, mentioning only that al-Nawbaḥṭi refers to this work in his *Kitāb al-Yāqūt*). Ibn Abī Ğumhūr states that this work was not available to him); Kamāl al-Dīn Miṭam al-Baḥrānī (302v:37-8), *Qawāʿid al-marām fi ʿilm al-kalām* (287v:31, 38), *Šarḥ nahğ al-balāğ* (304r:28, 304v:31); al-Šayḥ al-Ḥoḍar (303r:1, 5), *Kitāb al-ğurar* (287v:30); al-Šayḥ Yūsuf Ibn Ubayy (290v:28, 294v:15); al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā (293v:16, 316r:1, 24), *Tanzih al-anbiyāʾ* (302r:21), *al-Kāfi* (304r:39); al-Šayḥ al-Mufīd: *Kitāb al-Iršād* (304r:39); *Kitāb Ibn Šahršūb* (presumably referring to his *Manāqib ʿAlī Abī Ṭālib*) (304r:40); al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī (316r:1, 24); [Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad] al-Mašhadī, *Kitāb al-ʿItibār fi iḥṭāl al-iḥṭiyār*; *Kitāb al-Manāqib fi faḍl ʿAlī Abī Ṭālib* (304r:40, cf. also *Muğlī*: 390:18-19); al-Sayyid Hibat Allāh, *Kitāb al-Anwār* (presumably referring to *al-Anwār fi tawārīḥ al-aʿimma al-aḥḥār* by Abū l-Hasan ʿAlī ibn Hibat Allāh ibn ʿUṭmān ibn al-Rāʿiqa al-Mawṣilī, cf. *Darīʿa*: 2:412 (no 1644) (304r:39); Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad* (304v:13, 26, 305r:16, 305v:15).

own. In a number of instances he remarks that what follows or what has been said is the view of others thus indicating that he is quoting from the writings of others.³⁵ Occasionally he introduces the passages stating that this is the view of "some later followers of the illuminationists" (*ba^cd ahl al-iṣrāq min al-muta^aḥḥirīn*),³⁶ "some of the later scholars" (*ba^cd al-muta^aḥḥirīn*),³⁷ "some of the later Muslim philosophers" (*ba^cd al-ḥukamā^a al-islāmiyyīn min al-muta^aḥḥirīn*),³⁸ "some of the later Islamic philosophers" (*ba^cd al-muta^aḥḥirīn min al-ḥukamā^a al-islāmiyyīn*),³⁹ or of "some people of wisdom" (*ba^cd ahl al-ḥikma*).⁴⁰

It is not unusual for Islamic authors of the Middle Ages to draw heavily upon other authors' works without mentioning the source, since the medieval Islamic writers' attitude toward originality and plagiarism differed from the modern concept of plagiarism.⁴¹ Ibn Abī Ğumhūr's purpose in the supercommentary is to expand on specific issues mentioned in the basic work and the commentary. Given the penetrating character of the *Šağara al-ilāhiyya*⁴² which represents Ibn Abī Ğumhūr's foremost if not single source for Illuminationist philosophy it does not appear unnatural for him to copy extensive passages from this work.⁴³ Moreover, in the light of the evidence from the works of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Sīrāzī and Ibn Kammūna, who likewise did not refer to Šahrazūrī's commentary on the *Ḥikmat al-iṣrāq* and the *Talwihāt* as their immediate source,⁴⁴ it might be argued that extensive plagiarism became a more and more common phenomenon in that period.

Given the number of passages quoted from Šahrazūrī's *al-Šağara al-ilāhiyya*, a consultation of the available manuscripts of the latter text will certainly be requi-

³⁵E.g. Muğli: 71:20 (*hādā mā nuqila ʿan ba^cd muḥaqqiqī ahl al-ḥikma min aḥwāl al-zamān*); Muğli: 137:21-3 (*wa-li-ba^cd ahl al-iṣrāq min al-muta^aḥḥirīn ṭariqa ḥasana laṭīfa wa-hiya maḥd al-ḥaqq wa-nafs al-ṣīdq bal hiya min al-ʿilm al-maḥzūn wa-l-sirr al-masūn alladī lā yaḥḥu ʿalayhi illā al-aqallūn ḥaṣṣalahā hādā l-ṣayḥ bi-ṭariq al-iṣrāq wa-l-kašf al-ḍawqī tumma afādahā man ta^aḥḥara ʿanhu ... wa-hiya*). Ibn Abī Ğumhūr refrains from identifying "this Sayḥ" any further; Muğli 143:12 (*qāla ba^cd ahl al-ḥikma*); Muğli 165:14 (*qāla ba^cd al-muta^aḥḥirīn*); Muğli: 505:21-3 (*hādā ḥulāṣatuhū mā ḍakarahu ba^cd al-ḥukamā^a al-islāmiyyīn min al-muta^aḥḥirīn*); Muğli: 507:25-6 (*qāla ba^cd ahl ḥadīthi l-ṭariqa min al-muta^aḥḥirīn*).

³⁶Muğli: 137:21.

³⁷Muğli: 165:14, 507:25-6.

³⁸Muğli: 505:21-2.

³⁹Muğli: 85:4.

⁴⁰Muğli: 143:12, 328:21.

⁴¹For other examples of works whose authors relied heavily on earlier works, cf. Meier 1977: 321-22. The concept of plagiarism (*sariqa*) in Arabic literature was usually applied only to poetry; cf. Grünebaum 1944: 234-53; Heinrichs 1987-1988: 357-68; also Abu Deeb 1990, 351; Peled 1991: 37-46; Marzolph 1992, 1:61-2.

⁴²Cf. Šahrazūrī 1993: Introduction, xv-xvi.

⁴³The only other Illuminationist work he mentions and quotes from in a single instance is the *Šarḥ ḥikmat al-iṣrāq* by Quṭb al-Dīn al-Sīrāzī; cf. Muğli: 566:25ff.

⁴⁴See above. Mīr Dāmād and Šadr al-Dīn Sīrāzī, by contrast, mention Šahrazūrī as their source; cf. Ziai 1990: 104-6 n. 9.

site in the preparation of a critical edition of Ibn Abī Ğumhūr's *Kitāb al-Muġli*.⁴⁵ The same applies to the various commentaries by Ibn Kammūna and Quṭb al-Dīn al-Širāzī on the writings by Suhrawardī most of which are still unpublished.

Appendix

The following passages could be identified to be exact copies from the *Šaġara al-ilāhiyya*. The passages marked with an asterisk are also evidently based on parallel passages of the *Šaġara al-ilāhiyya*. However, they are copied in an abbreviated form.

Muġli 13:4-23 from *Šaġara* 354 v:29-355 r:21;
*Muġli** 27:1-29:15 from *Šaġara* 96r:4-101v:6;
*Muġli** 29:15-33:3 from *Šaġara* 106v:15-110r:7;
*Muġli** 34:23-44:7 from *Šaġara* 110r:8-117r:20;
*Muġli** 46:10-47:1 from *Šaġara* 275v:13-276r:6;
*Muġli** 47:2-5 from *Šaġara* 276r:12-15;
*Muġli** 47:6-10 from *Šaġara* 276r:22-25;
*Muġli** 47:11-48:4 from *Šaġara* 276v:21-277r:16;
*Muġli** 48:4-25 from *Šaġara* 278r:11-278v:29;
*Muġli** 49:27-51:19 from *Šaġara* 386r:6-388v:11;
*Muġli** 70:16-72:20 from *Šaġara* 187v:13-190r:25;
Muġli 75:20-77:17 from *Šaġara* 320 v:1-321 v:3;
*Muġli** 85:5-23 from *Šaġara* 345r:20-345v;
*Muġli** 85:23-87:7 from *Šaġara* 341v:30-343v:1;
*Muġli** 103:10-104:14 from *Šaġara* 311v:17-312r:30;
Muġli 118:13-122:7 from *Šaġara* 326v:30-328v:23;
Muġli 122:8-24 from *Šaġara* 335r:17-335v:3;
Muġli 123:14-128:19 from *Šaġara* 328v:24-331r:24;
Muġli 136:14-137:1 from *Šaġara* 382v:23-383 r:7;
Muġli 137:1-9 from *Šaġara* 383v:17-31;
*Muġli** 137:9-13 from *Šaġara* 384r:9 ff;
Muġli 137:13-18 from *Šaġara* 384v:21-30;
Muġli 137:23-138:12 from *Šaġara* 388v:12-389 r:14;
Muġli 138:15-140:26 from *Šaġara* 389r:25-390r:10;
Muġli 143:12-144:24 from *Šaġara* 423v:31-424v:25;
Muġli 147:22-148:24 from *Šaġara* 333r:27-334r:3;
Muġli 152:15-156:15 from *Šaġara* 331r:24-333r:26;
Muġli 156:15-158:26 from *Šaġara* 334r:3-335r:14;
Muġli 165:10-12 from *Šaġara* 381v:20-23;
Muġli 165:12-14 from *Šaġara* 382r:13-15;
Muġli 165:14-166:16 from *Šaġara* 382r:19-382v:21;

⁴⁵In addition to the manuscripts listed by GAL Supplement, 2:272, the following should be mentioned: Princeton Ms 588, 605, 1029, 1827, which are all incomplete (cf. Mach and Ormsby 1987: 40, no. 763); Chester Beatty 3810 (cf. Arberry 1955-66: 4:18). The latter manuscript is of special significance. Although incomplete (a portion corresponding to 18:15-55:17 of the 1324 edition is missing between fols. 5v and 6r) it is a very early copy which was completed on 8 Rabi' II 896 / 18 February 1491 and which was copied from the author's original copy (327v). The name of the copyist is not given. However, Muḥammad Bāqir al-Isfahānī, the owner of the manuscript from 1324 onwards, assumes that it may have been copied by the author himself (1r). He points out that the *ijāza* at the end of the work (327r-329v) has been written by Ibn Abī Ğumhūr himself (cf. 327v). A systematic search in the manuscript catalogues of Iran would certainly bring to light references to further manuscript copies.

Muğli 183:9-188:21 from *Šağara* 335v:4-338r:15;
Muğli 201:13-202:4 from *Šağara* 338r:16-338v:8;
*Muğli** 205:5-206:13 from *Šağara* 378v:20-381v:8;
Muğli 215:6-218:9 from *Šağara* 419r:23-421r:9;
*Muğli** 219:24-220:9 from *Šağara* 422r-v;
Muğli 239:23-240:5 from *Šağara* 222v:9-20;
Muğli 240:5-253:20 from *Šağara* 223r:3-240v:24;
Muğli 253:20-256:6 from *Šağara* 244r:20-247r:15;
*Muğli** 328:21-332:27 from *Šağara* 117v:12-124v:5;
*Muğli** 333:5-335:11 from *Šağara* 127r:31-130r;
*Muğli** 500:9-502:12 from *Šağara* 397v ff, 401r ff, 404r ff;
Muğli 502:12-505:21 from *Šağara* 415v:20-417v:7;
*Muğli** 505:23-507:14 from *Šağara* 405v ff;
Muğli 507:14-25 from *Šağara* 415r:11-25;
Muğli 507:26-508:18 from *Šağara* 415r:27-415v:20;
*Muğli** 569:13-24 from *Šağara* 431r:26-431v:9.

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