

QUṬB AL-DĪN AL-SHĪRĀZĪ'S (634/1236 – 710/1311)  
DURRAT AL-TAJ AND ITS SOURCES  
(STUDIES ON QUṬB AL-DĪN AL-SHĪRĀZĪ I)

BY

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Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (634/1236 — 710/1311), one of the highly esteemed figures of the intellectual life of the Eastern lands of Islam during the late 7th/13th and early 8th/14th century<sup>1</sup>, authored two major works in the field of philosophy that soon became popular — a commentary on Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī's (executed 587/1191) *Ḥikmat al-ishrāq*, that is written in Arabic, dedicated to the vizier Jamāl al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Dastjirdānī and completed in 694/1295, and an independent work written in Persian, *Durrat al-tāj li-ghurrat al-dubāj* that was completed between 693/1294 and 705/1306. *Durrat al-tāj* consists of a *fātiḥa*, five chapters (*jumla*) and a *khātima* of four sections

<sup>1</sup> Cf. e.g. E. Wiedemann: „Quṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī.“ In: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. New Edition. Vol. 5, pp. 547-548; Mujtabā Minuvī: „Mullā Quṭb Shīrāzī.“ In: *Yādnāma-ye Irāni-ye Minorsky*. Eds. Mojtaba Minovi & Iraj Afshar. Tehran 1348sh/1969, pp. 165-205; Seyyed Hossein Nasr: „Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī.“ In: *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*. Vol. xi. Ed. C. Gillespie. New York 1976, pp. 247-253 [reprinted in: S.H. Nasr: *The Islamic Intellectual Tradition in Persia*. Ed. Mehdi Amin Razavi. Richmond 1996, pp. 216-227]; Živa Vesel: *Les encyclopédies persanes. Essai de typologie et de classification des sciences*. Paris 1986, pp. 13-15; B.A. Rosenfeld & E. Ihsaneġla: *Mathematicians, Astronomers and other Scholars of Islamic civilisation and their works (7th-19th c.)*. Istanbul 2003, pp. 233-235. — John Walbridge's monograph on Quṭb al-Dīn as an Illuminationist philosopher (*The Science of Mystic Lights. Quṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī and the Illuminationist Tradition in Islamic Philosophy*. Cambridge, Mass. 1992, a revised version of his PhD dissertation (*The Philosophy of Quṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī. A Study in the Integration of Islamic Philosophy*. Diss. Harvard 1983) requires significant revision in view of the findings presented here. This also applies to Osman Bakar who relies heavily on the study of Walbridge (*Classification of Knowledge in Islam. A Study in Islamic Philosophies of Science*. Cambridge 1998, pp. 227-262 [Part II. Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī]).

(*quṭb*) dealing with theology (*uṣūl-i dīn*), law (*furūʿ-i dīn*), practical philosophy (*ḥikmat-i ʿamalī*) and Sufi practice.

Whereas the *Sharḥ Ḥikmat al-ishrāq* has been published at least twice<sup>2</sup>, no complete edition of the very extensive *Durrat al-tāj* is available so far<sup>3</sup>. Between 1317-1320sh/1938-1941 Sayyid Muḥammad Mishkāt published five portions of the work, namely *fātiḥa*, *jumla 1*: logic (*manṭiq*), *jumla 2*: first philosophy (*falsafa-yi ūlā*), *jumla 3*: physics (*ʿilm-i ṭabīʿī*), and *jumla 5*: metaphysics (*ʿilm-i ilāhī*)<sup>4</sup>. Sayyid Ḥasan Mishkān Ṭabasī in 1324sh/1945 published portions of *jumla 4* on mathematics (*ʿilm-i riyāḍī*). In 1369sh/1991, Māhduktbānū Humāʿī published sections three and four of the *khātima*<sup>5</sup>.

Although a systematic comparison of the two texts still needs to be done, it has already been established that in his commentary on *Ḥikmat al-ishrāq*, Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī depended heavily on the *Sharḥ Ḥikmat al-ishrāq* by his contemporary Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Shahrazūrī (d. after 687/1288), although Quṭb al-Dīn refrains from making this explicit throughout the text<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Lithograph edition by Asad Allāh Harāṭī. Tehran 1313-1315sh/1895-1897, containing also Mullā Ṣadrā's (d. 1050/1640) glosses on Quṭb al-Dīn's commentary [recently reprinted without place and date]. Critical edition by ʿAbd Allāh Nūrānī & Mahdī Muḥaqqiq. Tehran 1380sh/2001 (Wisdom of Persia; 50). The English introduction by Hermann Landolt, which is announced on the cover of the volume, is not included in the book. In the following, we will refer to the critical edition only. Hans Daiber mentions another edition by Ibrāhīm Ṭabāṭabāʿī (Tehran 1934) that was not available to us (*Bibliography of Islamic Philosophy* 1-2. Leiden 1999, vol. 1, p. 751 no. 7316).

<sup>3</sup> For a description of important manuscripts of the work, see Mīnūvī: „Mullā Quṭb Shīrāzī,“ pp. 188-190.

<sup>4</sup> The third edition that was at our disposal (Tehran 1369sh/1990) has the original pagination for each separate volume, as well as consecutive pagination for the editor's introduction and all five volumes; in the following both paginations will be indicated, the consecutive pagination in square brackets, respectively.

<sup>5</sup> Thus, her edition does not, as suggested by Hans Daiber (*Bibliography*, vol. 1, p. 751 no. 7315), replace the edition by Sayyid Muḥammad Mishkāt.

<sup>6</sup> This was first pointed out by Ḍiyāʿ al-Dīn Durri Iṣfahānī in the introduction to his Persian translation of Shahrazūrī's *Nuzhat al-arwāḥ*, *Kanz al-ḥikma* (Tehran 1316sh/1937, p. 12). See also Suhrawardī: *Opera metaphysica et mystica II*. Ed. Henry Corbin. Tehran 1952, Prolégomènes II, pp. 64-71. Shams al-Dīn al-Shahrazūrī: *Sharḥ Ḥikmat al-ishrāq. Commentary of the Philosophy of Illumination*. Critical Edition of the 13th c. Arabic Text, Introduction and Notes by Hossein Ziai. Tehran 1372sh/1993, Persian introduction, pp. 56, 83. Suhrawardī: *The Philosophy of Illumination. A New Critical Edition of*

As for *Durrat al-tāj*, Sayyid Muḥammad Mishkāt has shown Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī's heavy dependence in major parts of the work on earlier sources which he had translated verbatim into Persian<sup>7</sup>. The main part of the *fātiḥa* is in fact a translation of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's (d. 606/1209) *Asrār al-tanzīl*, and the remaining portions of the *fātiḥa* are translated partly from Ghazālī's (d. 555/1111) *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* and partly from *Taqāsīm al-ḥikma* of Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037); some quotations are moreover taken from Zamakhsharī's (d. 538/1144) *al-Qisṭās fī l-'arūḍ*. Mishkāt also discusses Quṭb al-Dīn's sources for those parts of the book that were not included in his edition. He remarks that the first section of *jumla* 4 (mathematics) is a translation of *Taḥrīr-i Uqlīdiss* by Quṭb al-Dīn's contemporary Muḥyī al-Milla wa l-Dīn Ya'qūb b. Muḥammad al-Maghribī al-Andalusī al-Qurṭubī (d. between 680/1281 and 690/1291) into Persian<sup>8</sup>, whereas the second section of this *jumla* is a translation of *Talkhīṣ-i Majīṣī* by 'Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad al-Shīrāzī (d. ca 596/1200), as Quṭb al-Dīn himself mentions. The fourth section of *jumla* 4 (on music) is taken from the *Risāla al-Sharafīyya fī l-nasab al-talīfīyya* by Quṭb al-Dīn's contemporary Ṣafī al-Dīn al-

*the Text of Ḥikmat al-ishrāq with English Translation, Notes, Commentary, and Introduction* by John Walbridge & Hossein Ziai. Provo, Utah 1999, p. xxii. — It is not obvious to us why John Walbridge, who dedicated an entire monograph to Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī as an Illuminationist philosopher, did not check Quṭb al-Dīn's dependence on Shahrazūrī systematically — particularly since Corbin had already pointed out that the two commentaries are quite different in their respective nature, despite Quṭb al-Dīn's dependence on Shahrazūrī — but seems to be satisfied with the following remark (*Science*, p. 162): „Another set of problems that I did not pursue relates to the originality of Quṭb al-Dīn's *Commentary on the 'Philosophy of Illumination'*. I am aware that this work consists in part of verbatim quotations from the earlier commentary of Shahrazūrī. Presumably some of the ideas I have attributed to Quṭb al-Dīn are originally Shahrazūrī's. There cannot be much doubt that comparing Quṭb al-Dīn's commentary with Shahrazūrī's would shed light on the nature of Quṭb al-Dīn's distinctive views.“

<sup>7</sup> See *Durrat al-tāj*. Ed. Mishkāt, introduction, [pp. 69-71] and vol. 1, pp. 132-133 n. 2 [212-213].

<sup>8</sup> This has been contested by a number of Russian scholars who argue that Shīrāzī's source rather was a lost text by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī on Euclid; see „Kutb ad-Dīn ash-Shirazi: Kommentarii k ‚Traktatu o dvizhenii katcheniya i otnoshenii mezhdu ploskim u krivim.“ In: *Nauchnoye nasledstvo*. Vol. 6: Iz istorii fizikomatematicheskikh nauk na srednevekovom vostokey. Traktaty al-Khazini, al-Biruni, Ibn al-Khusayna, ash-Shirazi. Ed. G.P. Matvievskaia. Moscow 1983, pp. 175-228; A.K. Kubesov: „Infinitesimal'nye metody Nasireddina Tusi.“ In: *Izvestija AN AzSSR, Seriya fiz.-mat. i tekhn. nauk* (1963), pp. 147-52.

Urmawī (d. 693/1294)<sup>9</sup> with some additional material taken from Fārābī's (d. 339/950) *al-Mūsīqī al-kabīr* and Ibn Sīnā's chapter on music in *al-Shifā'*. Two works by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *al-Arba'in fī uṣūl al-dīn* and *Asrār al-tanzīl*, were the main sources for section one (*uṣūl-i dīn*) of the *khātima*. He assumed that the last section of the *khātima* on Ṣūfī practice was probably taken from Sa'īd al-Dīn al-Farghānī's (d. 695/1296) *Manāhij al-'ibād ilā l-ma'ād*<sup>10</sup>. Māhduktbānū Humā'ī, in her introduction to the partial edition of 1991, shows that the section on practical philosophy of the *khātima* is taken from *Laṭā'if al-ḥikma* of Sirāj al-Dīn al-Urmawī (d. 682/1283-84), with the exception of one portion which is a translation from Fārābī's *Fuṣūl al-madanī* and some small additions from Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *Kitāb al-Arba'in*<sup>11</sup>.

As for the portions on logic, first philosophy, physics and metaphysics (*jumla* 1, 2, 3, and 5), Mishkāt assumed at the time that these likewise did not originate with Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī but rather consisted of quotations from or translations of earlier sources. Mishkāt states that he was unable to identify those sources, yet given the Illuminationist character of those chapters he suggests that Quṭb al-Dīn's sources were either one or several texts by Suhrawardī or Shahrazūrī's *Shajara al-ilāhiyya*<sup>12</sup>. Mishkāt's educated guess was repeated by later scholars, though at times

<sup>9</sup> See also E. Neubauer: „Sa'īd al-Dīn al-Urmawī.“ In: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. New Edition, vol. 8, p. 807.

<sup>10</sup> Following a hint by William C. Chittick, but without mentioning that this has already been established by Sayyid Muḥammad Mishkāt, John Walbridge has recently argued again that the section of Ṣūfī practice is taken completely from Sa'īd al-Dīn al-Farghānī's *Manāhij al-'ibād ilā l-ma'ād*. See John T. Walbridge: „A Sufi Scientist of the Thirteenth Century: The Mystical Ideas and Practices of Quṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī.“ In: *The Heritage of Sufism. Volume II. The Legacy of Medieval Persian Sufism (1150-1500)*. Ed. Leonard Lewisohn. Oxford 1999, pp. 323-340. The degree of Quṭb al-Dīn's dependence on this work, however, was not established by Walbridge who writes (p. 326-327): „Though I have not seen the *Manāhij*, the identity of the *Manāhij* with the chapters on *fiqh* and mysticism in the *Pearly Crown* can be established by two proofs. First, the section headings of the first and the second parts of the *Manāhij* are identical with those of the *Pearly Crown*. Second, Quṭb al-Dīn himself says that the mysticism chapter was written by someone else, and Jāmī in his biography of Farghānī quotes several passages from the *Manāhij* which agree word for word with the corresponding passages of the *Pearly Crown*.“

<sup>11</sup> Ed. Humā'ī, introduction, pp. 33-51, 227-232.

<sup>12</sup> Ed. Mishkāt, introduction, [p. 69].

in a less than precise manner and often without credit being given to him<sup>13</sup>.

Among the Illuminationists of his time, Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī was of course closely familiar with Shahrazūrī's *Sharḥ Hikmat al-ishrāq*. However, there are no indications that he also knew the latter's *Shajara al-ilāhiyya* (dated 680/1282); on the contrary, the *Shajara* seems to have become popular only during the 9th/15th century<sup>14</sup>. The earliest philosopher aware of Shahrazūrī's *Shajara* was apparently Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī (d. 908/1502) who refers to a *Thamara* of the *Shajara* — presumably some kind of summary or extract of the *Shajara*, about which nothing further is known at the moment<sup>15</sup>. The first thinker who exten-

<sup>13</sup> Walbridge (*Science*, p. 82) seems to prefer to ignore Mishkāt's guess when he writes: „Nevertheless, none of the philosophically important chapters, with the exception of parts of the practical philosophy and the mysticism, were direct translations.“ However, later on he writes (*Science*, p. 176): „The sections that are genuinely Quṭb al-Dīn's were popular in that they avoided the more arcane areas of mystical philosophy.... Other important sources include Avicenna's *Book of Healing*, Suhrawardī's *Paths and Havens* and *Philosophy of Illumination*, and Shahrazūrī's *Divine Tree* for the philosophical sections; ...“ See also *Science*, pp. 160-161 where he writes: „I have based this work on the assumption that Suhrawardī was the most important influence on Quṭb al-Dīn. His best-known philosophical work, after all, was a commentary on *The Philosophy of Illumination*; and the influences of Suhrawardī on *The Pearly Crown* are plain.... Based on my very unsystematic investigation of *The Book of Paths and Havens*, I suspect that *The Pearly Crown*'s relation to Suhrawardī's thought would be much clearer in its light.“ — Nowhere throughout his study does Walbridge define which sections of the work he considers to be „genuinely Quṭb al-Dīn's“ nor does he indicate where exactly he found Quṭb al-Dīn to be dependent on the mentioned writings of Suhrawardī and Shahrazūrī. — Baker (*Classification*, p. 241) writes: „Apart from the introduction, the encyclopaedia consists of five books dealing with logic, metaphysics, natural philosophy, mathematics and theodicy, as well as a four-part conclusion on religion and mysticism. The materials for each book are drawn from the works of various authors. Viewed as a metaphysical treatise, it was mainly influenced by the writings of Ibn Sīnā and Suhrawardī.“

<sup>14</sup> N. Görgün has edited the *Shajara* in an unpublished PhD thesis (*Eṣ-Şeceretü 'l-ilāhiyye fī ulūmi 'l-hakā'iki 'r-rabbāniyye*. Ph.D. thesis Istanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi, İlahiyat Fakültesi, 1996) which was recently published (Istanbul 2004). Another edition of the work is currently being prepared by Najaf Qulī Ḥabībī that will be published by the Iranian Institute of Philosophy (Tehran).

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī: „Unmūdhaj al-'ulūm.“ In: Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī: *Thalāth rasā'il*. Ed. Sayyid Aḥmad Tūysirkānī. Mashhad 1411/1990-91, p. 302. For al-Dawānī, see the bibliographical study by Reza Pourjavady: „Kitābshināsi-yi āthār-i Jalāl al-Dīn Dawānī.“ In: *Ma'ārif* 15 i/ii (1377sh/1998), pp. 81-138.

sively used the *Shajara* as a source was apparently Ibn Abī Jumhūr al-Aḥsāʾī (d. after 906/1501) who was introduced to Illuminationist philosophy, as it seems, by a student of Dawānī, Sharaf al-Dīn Ḥasan al-Fattāl al-Najafī (alive in 870/1465-66)<sup>16</sup>. Extensive use of the *Shajara* was also made by Maḥmūd al-Nayrizī (d. after 932/1526) in his commentary on *Alwāḥ al-ʿimādiyya* of Suhrawardī<sup>17</sup>. In the 11th/17th century, the work was well known among and frequently quoted from by the representatives of the so-called School of Iṣfahān<sup>18</sup>.

Quṭb al-Dīn was equally, if not more, familiar with the writings of his older contemporary Saʿd b. Maṣṣūr Ibn Kammūna (d. 683/1284) whose work seems to have been much more popular at the time than the writings of Shahrazūrī<sup>19</sup>. In his detailed description of Illuminationist manuscripts in the libraries of Istanbul, Hellmut Ritter lists four copies of Shahrazūrī's commentary on Suhrawardī's *Talwīḥāt*, among them the autograph and another copy written during the third decade of the 8th/14th century; for the remaining two, he does not give any dates. Of Ibn Kammūna's commentary on the same work, he lists seventeen copies, ten of which are dated between the years 684/1286 and 766/1364-65, and four of which were copied during the lifetime of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī. Ritter further describes two codices, each containing at least two writings by Ibn Kammūna, respectively<sup>20</sup>. Another indicator that Shah-

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Sabine Schmidtke: „The Influence of Šams ad-Dīn Šahrazūrī (7th/13th century) on Ibn Abī Ğumhūr al-Aḥsāʾī (d. after 904/1499). A preliminary note.“ In: *Encounters of Words and Texts: Intercultural Studies in Honor of Stefan Wild on the Occasion of His 60th Birthday*. Eds. Lutz Edzard & Christian Szyska. Hildesheim 1997, pp. 23-32; eadem: *Theologie, Philosophie und Mystik im zwölfterschiitischen Islam des 9./15. Jahrhunderts. Die Gedankenwelten des Ibn Abī Ğumhūr al-Aḥsāʾī (um 838/1434-35 — nach 906/1501)*. Leiden 2000, p. 17 and *passim*.

<sup>17</sup> A comprehensive study of Maḥmūd al-Nayrizī is currently being prepared by Reza Pourjavady.

<sup>18</sup> See Hossein Ziai: „The Manuscript of al-Shajara al-Ilāhiyya. A Philosophical Encyclopaedia by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Shahrazūrī.“ In: *Iranshenasi* 2 i (1990), pp. 14-16, 89-108.

<sup>19</sup> For Ibn Kammūna, see Sabine Schmidtke: „Studies on Saʿd b. Maṣṣūr Ibn Kammūna (d. 683/1284): Beginnings, Achievements, and Perspectives.“ In: *Persica* 19 (2003), pp. 105-121. — In their respective studies both John Walbridge and Osman Bakar ignore Ibn Kammūna as a contemporary of Quṭb al-Dīn and as a significant interpreter of Suhrawardī.

<sup>20</sup> See Hellmut Ritter: „Philologika ix. Die vier Suhrawardī. Ihre Werke in Stambuler Handschriften.“ In: *Der Islam* 24 (1937), pp. 273-275; 25 (1939), pp. 58, 61.

razūrī's work was not popular during his lifetime or shortly after his death is the absence of information about his biography<sup>21</sup>.

It has also been pointed out by Henry Corbin that Quṭb al-Dīn had in his possession a precious copy of Ibn Kammūna's *Sharḥ al-talwihāt*, which in 692/1292-93 he gave as a present to one of the sons of the *amīr*<sup>22</sup>. Moreover, a codex containing numerous writings by Ibn Kammūna that was copied by a student of Quṭb al-Dīn, Tāj al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-Sharīf al-Kirmānī, is extant<sup>23</sup>. This indicates the popularity of Ibn Kammūna's writings also among students of Quṭb al-Dīn and suggests that perhaps Quṭb al-Dīn was reading Ibn Kammūna's writings with Tāj al-Dīn al-Kirmānī and possibly also with other students of his<sup>24</sup>. It is, moreover, likely that Quṭb al-Dīn may have met Ibn Kammūna personally some time between 665/1266 and 667/1268 when he is known to have been in Baghdad<sup>25</sup>, which seems to have been Ibn Kammūna's permanent place of residence.

As was recently shown by Sayyid Ḥusayn Sayyid Mūsawī, Quṭb al-Dīn quotes from the writings of Ibn Kammūna in *Sharḥ Ḥikmat al-ishrāq*<sup>26</sup>; as a rule, Quṭb al-Dīn refers to him as *ba'd al-afāḍil min al-mu'āshirīn* or *al-mu'āshirūn min al-afāḍil*. Mūsawī mentions Ibn Kammūna's specific view on three issues and notes that on the first two Quṭb al-Dīn followed, but on the third criticized Ibn Kammūna. The first was Ibn Kammūna's notion that *taṣḍīq* was a subdivision of *taṣawwuf*<sup>27</sup>. The

<sup>21</sup> See Daniele Mascitelli: *L'identità di Šams al-Dīn Šahrazūrī filosofo ishrāqī: un caso aperto*. In: *Rivista degli studi orientali* 69 (1995), pp. 219-227; Pierre Lory: "al-Shahrazūrī." In: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. New Edition, vol. 9, pp. 219-220.

<sup>22</sup> Suhrawardī: *Opera metaphysica and mystica I*. Ed. Henry Corbin. Istanbul 1945, Prolegomènes, pp. lxiv-lxvi; cf. also Ritter: „Philologika ix,“ p. 274.

<sup>23</sup> Fātiḥ 3141. For Tāj al-Dīn al-Kirmānī, see Mīnuvī: „Mullā Quṭb Shīrāzī,“ p. 192.

<sup>24</sup> The manuscript of the *ijāza* issued by Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī to Tāj al-Dīn al-Kirmānī (dated 696/1296-97; ms Yūsuf Agha (Konya) 6624, fol. 281) that might contain more information on what al-Kirmānī studied with Quṭb al-Dīn was unavailable to us.

<sup>25</sup> See *Durrat al-tāj*. Ed. Mishkāt, p. [45]; Bakar: *Classification*, p. 233.

<sup>26</sup> Sayyid Ḥusayn Sayyid Mūsawī: „Mullā Šadrā wa Ibn Kammūna.“ In: *Mullā Šadrā wa muṭāla'āt-i taḥbīqī. Majmū'a-yi maqālāt-i hamāyish-i jahānī-yi ḥakīm Mullā Šadrā*. Vol. 5. Tehran 1381sh/2002, pp. 46-53.

<sup>27</sup> In his glosses to *Sharḥ Ḥikmat al-ishrāq* (p. 41), Mullā Šadrā points out that this specific notion in fact originated with Ibn Kammūna, not with Quṭb al-Dīn. See also Mūsawī: „Mullā Šadrā wa Ibn Kammūna,“ pp. 46-48.

second was the issue of the preeternity of the soul<sup>28</sup>. The third was the notion that the simple cannot emanate from the composed (*lā yajūzu ṣudūr al-basīṭ min al-murakkab*)<sup>29</sup>. A further issue — which Mūsawī does not point out — in which Quṭb al-Dīn sides with Ibn Kammūna is in the field of modal logic, where Ibn Kammūna states that „no Bs are necessarily Js“ equals „no Bs are always Js“. This issue was first discussed in Ibn Kammūna’s correspondence with Kātibī (d. 675/1276) and was later reflected in his *Kāshif*<sup>30</sup>. Quṭb al-Dīn was aware of the discussion between Ibn Kammūna and Kātibī and, being on the side of Ibn Kammūna, he criticized the argument of Kātibī whom he refers to as *ba’d al-akābir al-fuḍalā’ min al-muta’akhhirīn*<sup>31</sup>.

The most extensive independent work by Ibn Kammūna on philosophy was a book arranged in seven chapters (*abwāb*)<sup>32</sup>, each containing seven *fuṣūl*, composed for Dawlat Shāh b. *al-amīr* Sayf al-Dīn Sanjar al-Šāhibī<sup>33</sup>, that he completed on 19 Dhū l-Qa’da 676/13 April 1278 and that later circulated under the titles *al-Kāshif* or *al-Jadīd fī l-ḥikma* and other similar titles (hereafter: *Kāshif*)<sup>34</sup>. A systematic comparison

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Mūsawī: „Mullā Šadrā wa Ibn Kammūna,“ pp. 51-53. Quṭb al-Dīn partly quotes and partly summarizes (*Sharḥ Ḥikmat al-isḥrāq*, p. 431:12-432:7) a section from Ibn Kammūna’s *Maqāla fī ithbāt abadiyyat naḥs al-insān* (In: Ansīyah Barkhāh: *Taṣḥīḥ-i Risāla-yi Azaliyyat al-naḥs wa baqā’ihā ta’līf-i Ibn Kammūna*. MA thesis: Dānīshgāh-i Tīhrān 1379sh/2000, pp. 91-92).

<sup>29</sup> *Sharḥ Ḥikmat al-isḥrāq*, pp. 249:10-250:5; cf. Mūsawī: „Mullā Šadrā wa Ibn Kammūna,“ pp. 48-51. We were unable so far to find the exact quote in Ibn Kammūna’s writings; however, similar argumentations and wordings are to be found in his *Kāshif* (p. 249), in his *Maqāla fī ithbāt abadiyyat naḥs al-insān* (p. 97) and in his *Maqāla fī anna l-naḥs laysat bi-mizāj al-badan wa lā kā’ina ‘an mizāj al-badan* (In: Barkhāh: *Taṣḥīḥ-i Risāla-yi Azaliyyat al-naḥs*, pp. 138-139). — Another quotation that is without doubt taken from a writing of Ibn Kammūna — either from his correspondence with Kātibī (d. 675/1276) or from *Kāshif* — is to be found in *Sharḥ Ḥikmat al-isḥrāq*, pp. 90:1-91:4.

<sup>30</sup> *Kāshif* (as n. 34), pp. 203-205.

<sup>31</sup> *Sharḥ Ḥikmat al-isḥrāq*, pp. 90:1-91:4.

<sup>32</sup> Namely *bāb 1: fī ālat al-naẓar al-musammā bi-l-mantiq; bāb 2: al-umūr al-‘amma li-l-maḥmūmāt kullihā; bāb 3: aqsām al-a’rāq al-wujūdiyya wa l-i’tibāriyya; bāb 4: fī l-ajsām al-ṭabī’iyya; bāb 5: fī l-nuḥs wa ṣifātihā wa āthārihā; bāb 6: fī l-‘uqūl; bāb 7: fī wājib al-wujūd*.

<sup>33</sup> On him, see Ibn al-Fuwaṭī: *Majma’ al-ādāb fī mu’jam al-aḥqāb*. Ed. Muḥammad Kāzim. Tehran 1416/1995-96, vol. 1, pp. 182-183 (no. 185).

<sup>34</sup> Edited with introduction by Ḥamīd Mar’id al-Kabīsī (Baghdad 1403/1982). On the basis of this edition an MA thesis was written on the text under the guidance of Hans



between this work and Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī's *Durrat al-tāj* shows that the latter's portions on first philosophy, physics and metaphysics (*jumla* 2, 3, and 5) are in fact translations of chapters (*abwāb*) 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 of Ibn Kammūna's *Kāshif*. Apart from very minor differences, most of which seem to be the result of corruptions of the printed text of the *Kāshif* (or at times possibly also of the manuscript Quṭb al-Dīn used, as distinct from the manuscripts used by the modern editor), there are no differences to be observed between the text of Ibn Kammūna and Quṭb al-Dīn's translation. He even kept editorial statements by Ibn Kammūna that disagree in fact with the context of *Durrat al-tāj*. In the section on first philosophy, for example, Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī translated Ibn Kammūna's statement that the discussion on *al-kayfiyyāt bi-l-kamm al-munfaṣil* belonged to arithmetics and is therefore beyond the purpose of this book, i.e. the *Kāshif* (p. 281-282), although Quṭb al-Dīn treats arithmetics at length in *jumla* 4. Of course, Quṭb al-Dīn also translated everything Ibn Kammūna himself took from earlier sources, such as Suhrawardī's *Maqāmāt al-Ṣūfiyya*<sup>35</sup>.

The text of *jumla* 1 of *Durrat al-tāj* dealing with logic is much less dependent on the *Kāshif* than is the case with the text of *jumla* 2, 3, and 5. In particular the first three chapters (*maqālat*) of this *jumla* are not dependent on the *Kāshif*, although Quṭb al-Dīn was clearly inspired by Ibn Kammūna's *Kāshif*; the number of chapters and the respective chapter headings correspond exactly with the *Kāshif*. In those three chapters Quṭb al-Dīn used several other sources, some of which are indicated, namely Ibn Sīnā, his *Shifā'* and *Ishārāt wa l-tanbihāt*, Fārābī, Suhrawardī's *Muṭārahāt*, *Awsaṭ-i Jurjānī*, *al-Mulakhkhaṣ fī l-ḥikma wa l-mantiq* by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, Buqrāt's (Hippokrates') *Fuṣūl*; he further refers to *ustādh khāṭam-i ḥukamā'*, *ba'dī az muḥaqqiqān* and to

Daiber (Christine Fink: *Ibn Kammuna über die Grundbegriffe der Philosophie. Analyse eines Kapitels aus seinem Werk 'Das Neue in der Philosophie'*. MA thesis Frankfurt/Main 1997).

<sup>35</sup> This work is also known under the title *Kalimat al-taṣawwuf. Kāshif*, p. 459 (= *Durrat al-tāj*, vol. 4, pp. 116-117 [736-737]) is taken from *Kalimat al-taṣawwuf* (In: Suhrawardī: *Œuvres philosophiques et mystiques*. Tome iv. Textes édités avec Prologomènes en Persan par Dr. Najafqoli Habibi. Tehran 2001, p. 133); *Kāshif*, p. 471 (= *Durrat al-tāj*, vol. 4, pp. 126-127 [746-747]) is taken from *Kalimat al-taṣawwuf*, pp. 129-131.

*muta'akhhirān*, whose respective identity still needs to be clarified. Chapters 4, 5, and 7 of the section on logic are clearly dependent on Ibn Kammūna's work; Quṭb al-Dīn translated here with very minor exceptions the complete text of the corresponding chapters of *Kāshif*, supplementing them with numerous commenting, exemplifying or otherwise supplementary additions. In some cases Quṭb al-Dīn further adds critical remarks, directed against *ba'ḍī muta'akhhirān* or *ba'ḍī (az) muta'akhhirān*, whose identity, again, still needs to be clarified<sup>36</sup>. Throughout chapters 4, 5, and 7, moreover, he makes a number of editorial changes. He further subdivides the material presented in each chapter (*maqālat*) of the logic section into several *ta'līm*, even when he takes material from Ibn Kammūna. Chapter (*maqālat*) six is a verbatim translation of the corresponding chapter (*faṣl*) six of the *Kāshif*. (See appendix)

Quṭb al-Dīn states in the introduction to *Durrat al-tāj* that he was commissioned by *amīr* Dubāj b. Fīlshāh, the ruler of Gīlān<sup>37</sup>, to compose a comprehensive book on philosophy containing logic, physics, metaphysics and mathematics in Persian<sup>38</sup>. It can safely be assumed that Quṭb al-Dīn was paid for the work<sup>39</sup>; it is likely that in order to get the job done, he generally selected those writings of earlier and particularly contemporary scholars that he regarded as the best in the respective discipline and translated them. His procedure in the section on logic suggests that he initially intended to use the *Kāshif* merely as a guideline for the philosophical section; he did not continue with this procedure during the later sections, possibly for lack of time or other practical reasons<sup>40</sup>.

The fact that, with the exception of portions of the section on logic, no part of the philosophical sections of *Durrat al-tāj* was originally written by Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī, suggests that his significance as a philosopher should be reconsidered. A fair evaluation of his originality in this disci-

<sup>36</sup> Cf. *Durrat al-tāj*, vol. 2, pp. 139 [431]:17-140 [432]:5; vol. 3, p. 132 [424]:5-18.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. *Durrat al-tāj*, vol. 1, p. 9 [89].

<sup>38</sup> Cf. *Durrat al-tāj*, vol. 1, p. 21 [101].

<sup>39</sup> Cf. *Durrat al-tāj*, vol. 1, pp. 21-22 [101-102].

<sup>40</sup> Cf. *Durrat al-tāj*, vol. 1, p. 21 [101], where Quṭb al-Dīn states that he was very busy at the time.

pline requires a careful study of his commentary on *Ḥikmat al-ishrāq*. From the descriptions Corbin gives of this work<sup>41</sup>, as well as from the few references to quotations taken from Ibn Kammūna's writings presented above, it appears that Quṭb al-Dīn's own philosophical views are clearly discernible in the *Sharḥ*. By contrast, given its heavy dependence on Ibn Kammūna's *Kāshif*, *Durrat al-tāj* can hardly serve as a source for the study of Quṭb al-Dīn's philosophical views<sup>42</sup>. This does not apply, however, to the field of logic; his composition of the first three chapters in this section and his commentaries on and supplements to the text of Ibn Kammūna's *Kāshif* in the remaining four chapters of this *jumla*, make this an important source for the study of his views in this discipline — if, indeed, this section was written by Quṭb al-Dīn himself and not similarly taken from another, so far unidentified source. Moreover, since Quṭb al-Dīn follows Ibn Kammūna in the arrangement of his material, not only in the sections on philosophical issues, but also on logic — as can be seen from the identical chapter headings in this section — Quṭb al-Dīn can probably not be credited with a partly new, original classification of the sciences as suggested by Osman Bakar<sup>43</sup>. His originality in this regard can only be claimed when the entire, encyclopaedic character of *Durrat al-tāj* is taken into consideration, including the *fātiḥa*, *jumla* 4 and the *khātima*.

For the further study of Ibn Kammūna it would be highly desirable to have a new critical edition of his *Kāshif*. This must take into account the translation of this work by Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī in his *Durrat al-tāj*. Since Quṭb al-Dīn translated the text some thirty years after Ibn Kammūna completed the *Kāshif*, he must have done so on the basis of a very early copy — possibly even an autograph — of the work. Moreover, a careful examination of the extant manuscripts of Ibn Kammūna's *Kāshif* would also be useful to establish an improved edition of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī's *Durrat al-tāj*.

<sup>41</sup> See Suhrawardī: *Opera metaphysica et mystica II*, Prolégomènes II, pp. 64-71.

<sup>42</sup> See also Vesel: *Les encyclopédies persanes*, p. 14.

<sup>43</sup> Bakar: *Classification*, pp. 249-262 (Chp. 11: Quṭb al-Dīn's Classification of the Sciences).

## APPENDIX

Ibn Kammūna's *Kāshif* and Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī's translation of  
this work into Persian, contained in his *Durrat al-tāj*

- Ibn Kammūna: *al-Jadīd fī l-ḥikma* [=*Kāshif*]. Ed. Ḥamīd Marʿid al-Kabīsī. Baghdad 1403/1982
- Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī: *Durrat al-tāj* 1-5. Ed. Sayyid Muḥammad Mishkāt. Tehran 1317-1320sh/1938-1941
- al-Bāb 1: fī ālāt al-naẓar al-musammāt bi-l-mantiq (pp. 149ff)
- Jumla 1: dar mantiq (vol. 2, pp. 1ff [293ff])
- al-Faṣl 1: fī māhiyyat al-mantiq wa manfaʿatihi wa umūr yantafiʿu bihā tawṭiʿa (pp. 151-156)
- maqālat 1: dar bayān-i māhiyyat-i mantiq wa manfaʿat-i ān — dar bayān mawḍūʿi mantiq — dar bayān-i umūrī ki taqdīm-i ān wājib ast tawṭiʿa rā (vol. 2, pp. 1-43 [293-335])
- Further divided into 3 sections (taʿlīm): dar bayān-i māhiyyat-i mantiq wa manfaʿat-i ān (p. 1 [293]), dar bayān-i mawḍūʿi mantiq (p. 8 [300]), dar bayān-i umūrī ki taqdīm-i ān wājib ast tawṭiʿa rā wa īn mushtamal ast bar muqaddima wa siḥ faṣl (p. 13 [305])
- Apart from the chapter heading and the introductory paragraphs (*Kāshif* 151:4-13/ *Durrat al-tāj* vol. 2, p. 1 [293]:10-21), Quṭb al-Dīn has not directly translated any text from the *Kāshif*. Instead, he used several other sources some of which are mentioned: Ibn Sīnā: *Dānishnāma-yi ʿalāʿī* (p. 2 [294]); Ibn Sīnā: *Shifāʿ*, pp. 2 [294], 4 [296], 10 [302], 23 [315]; „Mutaʿak-khīrān“, pp. 3 [295], 13 [305], 28 [320], 35 [327], 41 [333]
- al-Faṣl 2: fī iktisāb al-taṣawwūrāt (pp. 157-160)
- maqālat 2: dar iktisāb-i taṣawwūrāt (vol. 2, pp. 44-50 [336-342])
- Further divided into 2 sections (taʿlīm): dar aqsām wa aḥkām-i maʿrifat ki ān rā aqwāl-i shāriḥa khwānand (p. 44 [336]),

- dar aghlāt-i aqwāl-i shāriḥa (p. 48 [340])  
 Apart from the chapter heading, Quṭb al-Dīn has not translated any text from the *Kāshif*.
- al-Faṣl 3: fī l-qaḍāyā wa-aqsāmihā (pp. 161-168)  
 maqālat 3: dar qaḍāyā wa aqsām wa aḥkām-i ān (vol. 2, pp. 50-97 [342-389])  
 Further divided into 7 sections (ta'lim):  
 dar ta'rif wa taqīm-i qaḍiyya (p. 51 [343]);  
 dar ajzā'-i ḥamliyya (p. 54 [346]);  
 dar khuṣūṣ wa ḥaṣr wa ihmāl-i qaḍāyā (p. 56 [348]);  
 dar taḥqīq-i maḥṣūrāt (p. 61 [353]);  
 dar 'udūl wa taḥṣīl (p. 79 [371]);  
 dar jihāt (p. 83 [375]);  
 dar qaḍāyā-yi shartī (p. 87 [379])  
 Apart from the chapter heading, Quṭb al-Dīn has not translated any text from the *Kāshif*. Instead, he used several other sources some of which are mentioned: Ibn Sīnā (pp. 54 [346], 62 [354], 67 [359], 76 [368], 78 [370]); Ibn Sīnā: *al-Shifā'* (pp. 57 [349], 58 [350], 66 [358], 68 [360], 70 [362], 110 [402]); Ibn Sīnā: *Mantiq-i Shifā'* (p. 75 [367]); Ibn Sīnā: *al-Ishārāt* (pp. 57 [349], 58 [350], 70 [362], 71 [363]); Fārābī (pp. 63 [355], 73 [365]); *al-Muṭāraḥāt* (Suhrawardī) (p. 70 [362]); *al-Awsaṭ*-i Jur-jānī (p. 70 [362]); *al-Mulakhkhaṣ* (Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī) (p. 70 [362]); Buqrāt: *al-Fuṣūl* (p. 70 [362]); “ustādh-i khātām-i ḥukamā” (p. 58 [350]); “muta'akkkhirān” (pp. 69 [361], 71 [363], 72 [364]); “ba'dī az muḥaqqiqān” (p. 78 [370]).
- al-Faṣl 4: fī lawāzīm al-qaḍiyya 'inda infirādihā (pp. 169-176)  
 maqālat 4: dar lawāzīm-i qaḍāyā 'inda l-infirād (vol. 2, pp. 97-122 [389-414])  
 Further divided into 4 sections (ta'lim):  
 dar talāzum wa ta'ānud-i shartīyyāt-i basīṭ wa mukhtaliṭ (p. 98 [390]);  
 dar tanāquḍ (p. 112 [404]);  
 dar 'aks-i mustawī (p. 118 [410]);  
 dar 'aks-i naqīḍ (p. 121 [413])

- Commenting additions: pp. 116 [408]:7-11, 117 [409]:13-16 & chart, 119 [411]:5-7, 121 [413]:8-9
- Supplementary additions: pp. 97 [389]:11-113 [405]:2, 120 [412]:17-121 [413]:6
- Variations: *Kāshif* pp. 169:1-171:6 ≠ *Durrat al-tāj* pp. 113 [405]:2-115 [407]:20; *Kāshif* p.175 ≠ *Durrat al-tāj* p. 122 [414]:12-13
- al-Faṣl 5: fi l-qiyās al-basīṭ (pp. 177-187) maqālat 5: dar ḥujjat (vol. 2, pp. 123-144 [415-436])
- Further divided into a muqaddima and 3 sections (ta'lim): dar ta'rīf-i ḥujjat wa qiyās wa taqṣīm-i īshān (p. 123 [415]); dar qiyās-i iqtirānī... az dū ḥamlī (p. 125 [417]); dar qiyās-i iqtirānī-yi sharṭī (p. 139 [431]); dar qiyās-i istithnā'ī (p. 142 [434])
- Change in the order of the arrangement of the text: pp. 124 [416]:12-125 [417]:9
- Commenting additions: pp. 130 [422]:18, 20, 22-23, 131 [423]:1-2, 12-13, 131 [423]:22-132 [424]:3, 134 [426]:4, 6, 20-21, 22, 135 [426]:11-2, 3-4, 137 [429]:11, 13, 15-16, 17-18, 19-20
- Critical additions: pp. 132 [424]:5-18 (directed against ba'ḍī muta'akhhirān), 139 [431]:17-140 [432]:5 (directed against ba'ḍī az muta'akhhirān), 141 [433]:14-21
- Exemplifying additions: pp. 131 [423]:14-17, 134 [426]:6-19
- Supplementary additions: pp. 125 [417]:18-126 [418]:19, 129 [421]:11-130 [422]:17, 131 [423]:6-12, 131 [423]:18-19, 133 [425]:10-134 [426]:3, 136 [428]:6-137 [429]:10
- Variations: The introductory paragraphs in *Kāshif* (p. 177:4-7) and *Durrat al-tāj* (pp. 123 [415]:5-124 [416]:11) constitute different texts, respectively. The following

al-Faṣl 6: fī tawābī' al-aqyisa wa-lawā-  
ḥiqhā (pp. 189-193)

al-Faṣl 7: fī l-ṣanā'ī' al-khams allatī huwa  
al-burhān wa l-jadal wa l-khiṭāba wa l-  
shi'r wa l-mughālaṭa (pp. 195-207)

texts are also not related to each other:  
*Kāshif* p. 182:10-15 ≠ *Durrat al-tāj*  
pp. 135 [427]:8-136 [428]:3; *Kāshif*  
pp. 182:22-183:2 ≠ *Durrat al-tāj* pp. 137  
[429]:21-138 [430]:1

maqālat 6: dar tawābī'-i aqyisa wa lawā-  
ḥiq-i ān (vol. 2, pp. 144-152 [436-444])  
Further divided into 10 sections (ta'lim):  
dar qiyās murakkab (p. 145 [437]); dar  
qiyās-i khulf (p. 145 [437]); dar qiyās-i  
muqassam (p. 147 [439]); dar takthūr-i  
qiyās (p. 147 [439]); dar qiyās-i ḍamīr  
(p. 147 [439]); dar qiyās-i 'aks (p. 148  
[440]); dar qiyās-i dūr (p. 148 [440]); dar  
istiqrār-i natā'ij wa natā'ij-i ṣādiqa az  
muqaddimāt-i kādhiba (p. 149 [441]); dar  
iktisāb-i qiyās (p. 150 [442]); dar taḥlīl-i  
qiyās (p. 151 [443])

Commenting additions to the text: pp. 148  
[440]:12-13, 20-22, 149 [441]:20-22, 150  
[442]:6-7

Exemplifying additions to the text: pp.  
149 [441]:5-7, 8, 8-9, 10, 11-12, 13, 14-19  
maqālat 7: dar ṣinā'āt panjānāt-i ki burhān,  
wa jadal, wa khiṭābat, wa shi'r, wa mughā-  
laṭa ast (vol. 2, pp. 153-177 [445-469])

Further divided into 5 (ta'lim): dar burhān  
(p. 153 [445]), dar jadal (p. 156 [448]), dar  
khiṭābat (p. 158 [450]), dar shi'r (p. 159  
[451]), dar mughālaṭa (p. 160 [452])

Commenting additions to the text: pp. 160  
[452]:13-16, 16-18, 161 [453]:15-17, 162  
[454]:5-13, 163 [455]:12-22, 124 [456]:2-  
4, 5-13, 177 [469]:13-16

Supplementary additions to the text: pp.  
170 [462]:4-177 [469]:8

P. 177 [469]:8-13 is again identical with  
*Kāshif* p. 207:3-5. Quṭb al-Dīn omitted,  
though, Ibn Kammūna's last two lines

- al-Bāb 2: fī l-umūr al-ʿamma li-l-mafhū-māt kullihā (pp. 209ff)
- al-Faṣl 1: fī l-wujūd wa l-ʿadam wa aḥkā-mihā wa aqsāmihā (pp. 211-218)
- al-Faṣl 2: fī l-māhiyya wa tashakkkhuṣihā wa mā tanqasimu ilayhi (pp. 219-225)
- al-Faṣl 3: fī l-waḥda wa l-kathra wa lawā-ḥiqihimā (pp. 227-232)
- al-Faṣl 4: fī l-wujūd wa l-imkān wa l-imtinaʿ wa mā yataʿallāqu bihā (pp. 233-237)
- al-Faṣl 5: fī l-qidam wa l-ḥudūth (pp. 238-241)
- al-Faṣl 6: fī l-ʿilla wa l-maʿlūl wa mabā-ḥithihimā (pp. 243-254)
- al-Faṣl 7: fī l-jawhar wa l-ʿaraḍ wa aḥwāl-ihimā al-kulliyya (pp. 255-262)
- al-Bāb 3: fī aqsām al-aʿrāḍ al-wujūdiyya wa l-iʿtibāriyya (pp. 263ff)
- al-Faṣl 1: fī l-maqādir wa l-aʿdād allatī yaʿummuhā kawnahā jamīʿuhā qārra al-dhāt (pp. 265-270)
- al-Faṣl 2: fī l-kammiyya ḡhayr al-qārra wa hiya al-zamān (pp. 271-277)
- al-Faṣl 3: fī mā lā yuʿtabaru fihi min al-kayfiyyāt (pp. 279-283)
- (*Kāshif* 207:6-7) where the latter explains that he did not bring any examples, for Quṭb al-Dīn had in fact added such with his text.
- Jumla 2: falsafa-yi ūlā  
fann 1: dar umūr-i ʿamma jumla-yi mafhū-māt rā (vol. 3, pp. 1ff [479ff])
- maqālat 1: dar wujūd wa ʿadam wa aḥkā-m wa aqsām-i īshān (vol. 3, pp. 1-10 [479-488])
- maqālat 2: dar māhiyyat wa tashakkkhuṣ-i ān wa ānja bi ān munqasim shūd (vol. 3, pp. 10-18 [488-496])
- maqālat 3: dar waḥdat wa kathrat wa lawāḥiq-i īshān (vol. 3, pp. 18-24 [496-502])
- maqālat 4: dar wujūb wa imkān wa imtināʿ wa ānja bi inhā taʿalluq dārad (vol. 3, pp. 24-29 [502-507])
- maqālat 5: dar qidam wa ḥudūth bi-har dū maʿnā aʿnī zamānī wa dhātī (vol. 3, pp. 29-33 [507-511])
- maqālat 6: dar ʿillat wa maʿlūl wa mabā-ḥith-i īshān (vol. 3 pp. 33-46 [511-524])
- maqālat 7: dar jawhar wa ʿaraḍ wa aḥwāl-i kullī-yi īshān (vol. 3, pp. 46-52 [524-530])
- fann 2: dar aqsām-i aʿrāḍ-i wujūdī wa iʿtibārī (vol. 3, pp. 53ff [531ff])
- maqālat 1: dar maqādir [wa] aʿdād ki kam-miyyat-i qarr al-dhāt shāmil-i īshān bāshad (vol. 3, pp. 53-58 [531-536])
- maqālat 2: dar kammiyyat-i ḡhayr qārrah wa ān zamān ast (vol. 3, pp. 58-64 [536-542])
- maqālat 3: dar ānja iʿtibār nakonand darū az kayfiyyāt ki ū kamāl-i jawharīst (vol. 3, pp. 65-68 [543-546])



- al-Faṣl 4: fī l-kayfiyyāt al-maḥsūsa (pp. 285-294)
- al-Faṣl 5: fīmā laysa min sha'nihī an yaḥissa bi-l-ḥiss al-zāhir min anwā' al-kayf (pp. 295-310)
- al-Faṣl 6: fī l-iḍāfa (pp. 311-315)
- al-Faṣl 7: fī l-ḥaraka (pp. 317-330)
- al-Bāb 4: fī l-ajsām al-ṭabī'iyya wa-muqawwamātihā wa-aḥkāmihā (pp. 331ff)
- al-Faṣl 1: fī muqawwamāt al-jism al-ṭabī'ī wa aḥkāmihī al-'amma (pp. 333-346)
- al-Faṣl 2: fī l-'anāšir wa aḥwālihā bi-'tibār al-infirād (pp. 347-357)
- al-Faṣl 3: fī ḥālat hadhihi l-'anāšir 'inda imtizājihā wa tarakkubihā (pp. 359-362)
- al-Faṣl 4: fī l-kā'ināt allatī ḥudūthuhā min al-'anāšir bi-ghayr tarkīb (pp. 363-371)
- al-Faṣl 5: fī mā yatakawwanu 'an al-'anāšir bi-tarkīb minhā (pp. 373-379)
- al-Faṣl 6: fī ithbāt al-muḥaddid li-l-jihāt wa dhikr lawāzimihī (pp. 381-390)
- al-Faṣl 7: fī sā'ir al-aflāk wa l-kawākib (pp. 391-405)
- al-Bāb 5: fī l-nufūs wa šifātihā wa āthārihā (pp. 407ff)
- maqālat 4: dar kayfiyyāt-i maḥsūsa bi-ḥawāss-i zāhir (vol. 3, pp. 68-78 [546-556])
- maqālat 5: dar anwā'-i kayf ki īshān rā bi ḥiss-i zāhir dar natawān yāft (vol. 3, pp. 79-94 [557-572])
- maqālat 6: dar iḍāfat (vol. 3, pp. 94-98 [572-576])
- maqālat 7: dar ḥaraka (vol. 3, pp. 98-111 [576-589])
- Jumla 3: dar 'ilm-i asfal ki 'ilm-i ṭabī'ī ast fann 1: dar ajsām-i ṭabī'ī (vol. 4, pp. 1ff [621ff])
- maqālat 1: dar muqawwamāt-i [jism-i] ṭabī'ī wa aḥkām-i 'amma-i ān na aḥkām-i khāṣṣ bi-har jismī (vol. 4, pp. 1-14 [621-634])
- maqālat 2: dar 'anāšir wa aḥwāl-i ān bi i'tibār-i infirād (vol. 4, pp. 14-26 [634-646])
- maqālat 3: dar aḥwāl-i īn 'anāšir bi i'tibār-i imtizāj wa tarkīb-i īshān (vol. 4, pp. 26-30 [646-650])
- maqālat 4: dar kā'inātī ki ḥudūth-i īshān az 'anāšir na bi tarkīb ast (vol. 4, pp. 30-38 [650-658])
- maqālat 5: dar ānja mutakawwin mīshavad az 'anāšir bi-tarkīb wa ān mawālīd-i thalāthah ast: ma'dan wa nabāt wa ḥayawān (vol. 4, pp. 38-45 [658-665])
- maqālat 6: dar ithbāt-i muḥaddid-i jihāt wa dhikr-i lawāzim-i ān (vol. 4, pp. 45-55 [665-675])
- maqālat 7: dar sā'ir-i aflāk wa kawākib wa dhikr-i jumla az aḥwāl-i īshān (vol. 4, pp. 55-69 [675-689])
- fann 2: dar nufūs wa šifāt wa āthār-i ān (vol. 4, pp. 70ff [690ff])

- al-Faṣl 1: fī ithbāt wujūd al-nafs (pp. 409-417)      maqālat 1: dar ithbāt-i wujūd-i nafs wa ānki ma'qūlāt-i ū mumkin nabāshad ki dar [ālatī-yi] badanī [hāṣil shūd wa-ānki ū dar ta'aqqul ki kamāl] dhātī ūst az badan mustaghniṣt (vol. 4, pp. 70-78 [690-698])
- al-Faṣl 2: fī mā yazharu 'an al-nafs min al-quwā al-nabātiyya (pp. 419-424)      maqālat 2: dar quwā-yi nabātī ki az nafs-i zāhir mīshavad wa shakk namīkunīm ki insān wa ḥayawān-i a'jam wa nabāt dar ān mushtarikand (vol. 4, pp. 79-84 [699-704])
- al-Faṣl 3: fī quwā al-ḥiss wa l-ḥaraka al-irādiyya (pp. 425-437)<sup>44</sup>      maqālat 3: dar quwā-yi ḥiss wa ḥarakat-i irādī ki az nafs-i insān ṣādir mīshavad wa shakk namīkunīm dar ān ki bāqī-yi ḥayawān rā ḥāṣil ast (vol. 4, pp. 85-97 [705-717])
- al-Faṣl 4: fī l-quwā allatī lā na'lamuhā ḥāṣila li-ghayr al-insān min al-ḥaywanāt al-ākhar (pp. 439-444)      maqālat 4: dar quwatī-yi jand ki namīdānīm ki ghayr-i insān rā ḥāṣil ast az ḥaywānāt (vol. 4, pp. 97-103 [717-723])<sup>45</sup>
- al-Faṣl 5: fī l-manāmāt wa l-waḥy wa l-ilhām wa l-mu'jizāt wa l-karāmāt wa l-āthār al-gharība al-ṣādira 'an al-nafs wa darajāt al-'arīfīn wa maqāmātihim wa kayfiyyat irtiyāḍihim (pp. 445-462)      maqālat 5: dar manāmāt wa waḥy wa ilhām wa mu'jizāt wa karāmāt wa āthār-i gharīb ki az nafs ṣādir shūd wa darajāt-i 'arīfān wa maqāmāt wa kayfiyyat-i riyāḍat-i īshān (vol. 4, pp. 103-118 [723-738])
- al-Faṣl 6: fī abadiyyat al-nafs wa aḥwālīhā ba'da kharāb al-badan (pp. 463-474)      maqālat 6: dar abadiyyat-i nafs wa aḥwāl-ū ba'd az kharāb-i badan (vol. 4, pp. 119-130 [739-750])
- al-Faṣl 7: fī ithbāt al-nufūs al-samā'iyya (pp. 475-478)<sup>46</sup>      maqālat 7: dar ithbāt-i nufūs-i samāwī wa kayfiyyat-i taṣawwurat-i īshān wa taḥarrukāt-i īshān (vol. 4, pp. 131-135 [751-755])

<sup>44</sup> Due to a corruption of the print of the *Kāshif*, the section corresponding to *Durrat al-tāj*, vol. 4, p. 97 [717]:8-14, which according to the order of the text should appear on p. 437 following line 7, is mistakenly printed on p. 440 lines 7-12.

<sup>45</sup> *Durrat al-tāj*, vol. 4, p. 100 [720]:10-11 is incomplete and corrupt. For the correct and complete passage, see *Kāshif* p. 441 lines 19-22.

<sup>46</sup> The print of the *Kāshif* is corrupt on p. 475, where approximately three lines are missing at the end of the page; on p. 476 lines 20-25 are also corrupt.

al-Bāb 6: fī l-ʿuqūl wa āthārihā fī al-ʿalamayn al-jismānī wa l-rūḥānī (pp. 479ff)

al-Faṣl 1: fī anna l-ʿaql huwa maṣdar wujūd al-nufūs kullihā (pp. 481-485)

al-Faṣl 2: fī annahu law lā al-ʿaql la-mā kharajat al-nufūs fī taʿaqqulātihā min al-quwwa ilā l-fiʿl (pp. 487-492)

al-Faṣl 3: fī bayān asnād mā lā yatanāhā min al-ḥarakāt wa l-ḥawādith ilā l-ʿaql (pp. 493-499)

al-Faṣl 4: fī kayfiyyat kawn al-ʿaql maṣdaran li-l-ajsām (pp. 501-506)

al-Faṣl 5: fī anna l-tashabbuh bi-l-ʿaql huwa ghāyat al-ḥarakāt al-samāwiyya (pp. 507-511)<sup>47</sup>

al-Faṣl 6: fī bayān anna l-ʿaql yajib an yakūna ḥayyan mudrikan li-dhātihi wa li-ghayrihi (pp. 513-518)

al-Faṣl 7: fī bayān kathrat al-ʿuqūl (pp. 519-524)

al-Bāb 7: fī wājib al-wujūd wa waḥdāniyyatihi wa nuʿūt jalālihi wa kayfiyyat fiʿlihi wa ʿināyatihi (pp. 525ff)

al-Faṣl 1: fī ithbāt wājib al-wujūd li-dhātihi (pp. 527-533)

Jumla 5: dar ʿilm-i aʿlā ki ʿilm-i ilahī ast fann 1: dar ʿuqūl wa āthār-i ān dar [ʿālam-i] jismānī wa rūḥānī (vol. 5, pp. 1ff [763ff])

maqālat 1: dar ānki ʿaql maṣdar-i wujūd-i jumla-yi nufūs ast (vol. 5, pp. 1-6 [763-768])

maqālat 2: dar ānki agar ʿaql nabūdī nufūs dar taʿaqqulāt-i khīsh az quwat bi fiʿl nayāmadi wa ānki mustanid-i kamāl-i dhātī nafs ʿaql ast (vol. 5, pp. 7-13 [769-775])

maqālat 3: dar bayān-i istinād-i mā lā yatanāhī az ḥarakāt wa-ḥawādith bi ʿaql (vol. 5, pp. 13-21 [775-783])

maqālat 4: dar kayfiyyat-i ānki ʿaql maṣdar-i ajsām ast (vol. 5, pp. 22-28 [784-790])

maqālat 5: dar ānki tashabbuh bi ʿaql ghāyat-i ḥarakāt-i samāwī ast (vol. 5, pp. 28-34 [790-796])

maqālat 6: dar bayān-i ānki wājib ast ki ʿaql ḥayy bāshad wa mudrik-i dhāt-i khud wa ghayr khud [wa] dar jagūnagī-yi ān idrāk (vol. 5, pp. 34-39 [796-801])

maqālat 7: dar [bayān-i] kathrat-i ʿuqūl wa jumla az aḥkām ki mutaʿallaq ast bi ān (vol. 5, pp. 40-45 [802-807])

fann 2: dar wājib al-wujūd [wa] waḥdāniyyat-i ū wa nuʿūt-i jalāl-i ū wa kayfiyyat-i fiʿl wa ʿināyat-i ū (vol. 5, pp. 46ff [808ff])

maqālat 1: dar ithbāt-i wājib al-wujūd li-dhātihi (vol. 5, pp. 46-53 [808-815])

<sup>47</sup> At the end of faṣl 5 of the *Kāshif*, the last paragraph (= *Durrat al-tāj*, vol. 5, pp. 33:12-34:4 [795:12-796:4]) is missing; it is to be found at the end of faṣl 6 (*Kāshif*, p. 518:1-9).

- al-Faṣl 2: fī wājib al-wujūd wāhid (pp. 535-542)<sup>48</sup> maqālat 2: dar ānki wājib al-wujūd yakī ast wa ū rā bar hij kathratī bi wajhī az wujūh ḥaml natawān kard (vol. 5, pp. 53-62 [815-824])
- al-Faṣl 3: fī tanzīh wājib al-wujūd (pp. 543-547) maqālat 3: dar tanzīh-i wājib al-wujūd az ānji tanzīh[-ū] az ān wājib bāshad (vol. 5, pp. 62-67 [824-829])
- al-Faṣl 4: fī mā yanʿatu bihi wājib al-wujūd min nuʿūt al-jalāl wa l-ikrām (pp. 549-555) maqālat 4: dar ānji wājib al-wujūd rā bi ān waṣf kunand az ṣifāt-i jalāl wa ikrām (vol. 5, pp. 67-75 [829-837])
- al-Faṣl 5: fī tabyīn kaww ṣifāt al-wājib li-dhātihī lā tūjibu kathra (pp. 557-561) maqālat 5: dar bayān ānki ṣifāt-i wājib al-wujūd li-dhātihī mūjib-i kathratī nīstand na bi-ḥasab-i taqawwum-i dhāt-i ū wa na bi-ḥasab-i ānji darū mutaqqarrar shūd baʿd az taqawwum-i dhāt-i ū (vol. 5, pp. 75-80 [837-842])
- al-Faṣl 6: fī kayfiyyat fiʿl wājib al-wujūd wa tartīb al-mumkināt ʿanhu (pp. 563-579) maqālat 6: dar kayfiyyat-i fiʿl-i wājib al-wujūd wa tartīb-i mumkināt az ū (vol. 5, pp. 80-99 [842-861])
- al-Faṣl 7: fī ʿināyat wājib al-wujūd bi-makhlūqātihī wa raḥmatihī lahum wa ḥikmatihī fī tjadīhim (pp. 581-598)<sup>49</sup> maqālat 7: dar ʿināyat-i wājib al-wujūd bi-makhlūqāt ū wa raḥmat-i ū īshān rā wa ḥikmat-i ū dar tjad-i īshān (vol. 5, pp. 99-119 [861-881])

<sup>48</sup> The printed text of the *Kāshif* is corrupt on p. 538:10-13, where p. 538:5-9 is repeated by mistake; *Kāshif* p. 538:7-9 is a misplaced and corrupt repetition of p. 538:2-4. A comparison of the text with the corresponding passage in *Durrat al-tāj* shows that something is missing here.

<sup>49</sup> The respective formulations of the concluding *ḥamdala* are different in *Kāshif* (p. 598:15-16) and in *Durrat al-tāj* (vol. 5, p. 119 [881]:6-8)