

Is it Possible to Speak of an Illuminationist Circle in the Ottoman Scholarly World?

An Analysis of the Ottoman Scholarly Conception of Illuminationism*

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Abstract: This article seeks to answer the questions of how Ottoman scholars perceived Illuminationist thought and Illuminationism and whether a milieu favorably disposed to Illuminationism existed. It first questions how and through which works the debates on the nature of Illuminationism, which is foremost a pursuit of truth, reached the Ottoman scholarly milieus. It then traces over their works how the Ottoman scholars defined Illuminationism, who they viewed as being within this circle, and what sort of a relation they had with it. Since the Illuminationist philosophy is discussed in the literature together with theology, mysticism, and the Peripatetic philosophy, it is regarded as an alternative system. However, the exchange between Illuminationist philosophy and the aforementioned systems of thought, as well as their subsets, was present from the very beginning and continued from the fourteenth century onward in Iran and the Near East. As such, one may argue that the Illuminationist perspective and interpretation during the Ottoman era that constitutes the subject of study at hand is interwoven with other thought systems, as opposed to having an independent standing, meaning that it moved along methodical convergences.

Keywords: Philosophy, theology (*kalām*), mysticism (*taṣawwuf*), Peripatetics, Illuminationists, Illuminationism, Ottoman thought, Ottoman scholars, Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī al-Maqtūl, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, Sayyid Sharif al-Jurjāni, Mollā Luṭfī, Ṭāshkubrızāda.

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*Each word of mine is trading the holy word,
I'm the declaration of the radiant wisdom of Platonic ways*

*Having learned of the radiant wisdom from Plato right,
Beholding the true mystery in one chalice, bespoke
Şafi*

I. Introduction: Truth and Illumination

The concept of truth, which is at the center of the most fundamental theories of knowledge and being in Islamic thought, was discussed, together with its origin and derivatives, from language to the issues of jurisprudence and theology, during the first two centuries AH. The transmission of right, truth, verification (*taḥqīq*), realization (*taḥaqquq*), the exact sciences (*al-'ulūm al-ḥaqīqiyya*), and similar concepts to the philosophical literature, however, first took place via translations. By the third century AH, this conceptual set was circulating in all fields. The concept of truth was subject to probing analysis by classical philosophers like al-Farābī (d. 339/950) and regarded as the basic principle of philosophy, as can be inferred by their notions of philosophy (*ḥikma*, lit. wisdom). The knowability of the “facts of the matter” (*ḥaqā'iq al-ashyā'*), which is taken for granted as a postulate in theology (*kalām*) and dogmatics (*'aqā'id*), was discussed alongside the concept of truth.

After the fifth/eleventh century, when al-Ghazzālī (d. 505/1111) brought to attention comprehensively the enthusiasts (*ṭālibīn*) pursuing truth in diverse ways in his *al-Munqidh min al-dalāl*, the exact sciences and aforementioned concepts gained new meanings and, in due course, turned into terms that were redefined by philosophers, theologians, and mystics based on their conceptions of being and knowledge. Next to al-Ghazzālī, Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī's (d. 587/1191) pursuit of truth, known as the “wisdom of illumination” (*ḥikmat al-ishrāq*), enjoyed a high profile entry among these circles. It proposed the unification of two main strands, namely, the theoretical/demonstrative method credited to theologians and the Peripatetics, and the visionary/empirical method ascribed to the mystics. In his opinion, divine sages (*al-ḥukamā' al-muta'allihūn*) or pilgrims of the truth who walk the path trod by the pillars of the history of wisdom (*asāṭīn al-ḥikma*) and that he, so to speak, renovated, should not be satisfied with a single path.

However, this philosophy was only taken up directly and without interlocutors, thanks to its first commentators, after a century of being sidelined partly due to al-Suhrawardī's personal end. Nevertheless, it is hard to say that any consensus has been reached about the nature of the Illuminationist method since the first

commentators of al-Suhrawardī. It may be suggested that this has to do with the Illuminationist philosophy's claim of reaching truth by means of both demonstrative proof as well as asceticism and vision. Yet paradoxically, later centuries witnessed the functionality of this philosophy in unlocking different doors. Thus, different syntheses emerged out of the relations between the Illuminationist and Avicennian philosophies, the gnosis of the Akbariyya and Mawlawiyya, Ash'arite theology, and even Shiite theology. Many elements of this philosophy came to be part of different pursuits and models of setup and makeup (*talfiq*). For example, a Sunnite theologian used terms that he borrowed from Illuminationist philosophy within his own system of thought without compromising its basic assumptions, while another scholar wrote commentaries on both the *Mathnawī* and *Hayākīl al-nūr*.

After these observations, one can conclude that pursuing the trail of Illuminationist philosophy over the centuries is a tough research topic. Already, studies on its history largely delimit the subject to al-Suhrawardī's seventh-/thirteenth-century commentators, probably as a token of this hardship. Besides, one should take into account that the major works of this literature became topical only recently. On the other hand, one may suggest that the trajectory of Illuminationism in Iran beyond this time period is better studied in the secondary literature.¹ However, the justifiability and comprehensiveness of this effort in the Illuminationist context notwithstanding, its initial presence in the Ottoman lands was limited to a few scholarly treatments.² The discourses of decline in Islamic philosophy and sciences after a certain date proved highly influential in omitting the Ottoman philosophical legacy, including the trail of Illuminationist philosophy. A more intricate reason is how some researchers who assert the post-Averroes (d. 595/1198) survival of philosophy advance the argument by bracketing certain geographical zones. For instance, the argument for the silence of philosophy outside

- 1 For example, see Henry Corbin, *History of Islamic Philosophy*, trans. Liadain Sherrard (London: Kegan Paul International, 1993), 218-20, 327-31; Hossein Ziai, "The Illuminationist Tradition," in *History of Islamic Philosophy*, ed. Seyyed Hossein Nasr and Oliver Leaman (London & New York: Routledge, 2001), 465-96.
- 2 Two examples may be cited. While Süleyman Uludağ considers a significant number of Ottoman scholars and intellectuals to be Illuminationists, among them Dāvud al-Qayṣarī (d. 751/1350), Mollā Fanārī (d. 834/1431), Ibn Kamāl (d. 940/1534), Qinalizāda 'Alī Efendi (d. 979/1572), 'Abd Allāh Bosnawī (d. 1054/1644), Kātib Chalabī (d. 1067/1657), Ismā'il Ḥaqqī Bursawī (d. 1137/1725), and Shaykh Ghālīb (d. 1214/1799), he provides no argument to justify his claim. (Idem, "İşrākiyye: Tasavvuf," *DİA*, 23:438). Therefore, it is hard to determine the extent of their involvement with Illuminationism, based on Uludağ's suggestion. On the other hand, İhsan Fazlhoğlu provides a draft list of scholars who can be regarded as the representatives of Illuminationism after al-Suhrawardī, with explicit mention of incompleteness. See İhsan Fazlhoğlu, "Türk Felsefe-Bilim Tarihinin Seyir Defteri (Bir Önsöz)," *Divân İlmî Araştırmalar* X/18 (2005/1): 48, 53.

Iran during the lifetime of Mullā Şadrā (d. 1050/1641)³ and many similar discourses place philosophical innovation in different intellectual enclaves, including that of the Ottomans, in a historical blind spot. Even though it is not the main theme of this article, I would like to note the lack of sound bases in similar interpretations.

Given the very recent impetus that historical studies of Ottoman science and thought have gained, it may be quite bold to present an expository account of Illuminationism's history in the Ottoman world. However, this study makes no such claim, for my intention is to observe how Ottoman scholars perceived Illuminationist philosophy and Illuminationism (i.e., "what gives" concerning the latter) and to open a discussion of whether a circle of an Illuminationist bent actually existed, instead of making any general assessments on their history in the Ottoman world. I planned this article over two issues with the said goal in mind:

- i. First, it is proper to inquire how and through which texts the debates on the nature of Illuminationist philosophy as a pursuit of truth were conveyed to the Ottoman scholarly milieu. Even though al-Suhrawardī and the texts penned by his commentators played a pivotal role in,⁴ this study takes its cues from those works that recount the current disputes about the paths to knowledge of truth and the wayfarers of those paths. What lies at the heart of this account is how Illuminationism, which entered the ranks of the said paths over time, became part of that pursuit and the historical course that led to Sayyid Sharif al-Jurjānī's (d. 816/1413) scheme. As will be stated below, this scheme is the main organizing device for the debate in the primary sources.
- ii. Second, and more specifically, I went through the works composed by the Ottoman scholars and looked further into how they defined Illuminationism, who they considered as belonging to this circle, and whether they had any affinity or affiliation with Illuminationism.

What is meant by the Ottoman scholarly world in the title and below is the string of names reckoned by Ṭāshkubrīzāda's *al-Shaqā'iq al-nu'māniyya* and the scholars that penned addenda to this work.

3 Corbin, *History of Islamic Philosophy*, 342.

4 I dealt with this issue in the paper "Osmanlı Düşüncesinin Felsefi Kaynakları I: Sühreverdî ve Şârihlerinin Eserleri ve Osmanlı İlim Dünyasına Girişi" [The Philosophical Sources of Ottoman Thought I: The Works of al-Suhrawardî and His Commentators, Their Entry into the Ottoman Scholarly World] presented in Osmanlı Düşüncesi: Kaynakları ve Tartışma Konuları Sempozyumu [The Ottoman Thought Symposium: Sources and Themes of Debate] held in 2017 (currently in press).

II. The Relay of Illuminationist Debates to the Ottoman Scholarly Interest

A. al-Rāzī, al-Suhrawardī, and Afterwards

Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210) and al-Suhrawardī mark turning points for the debate of paths in the human pursuit of truth from al-Ghazzālī to al-Jurjānī. The first work I would like to turn to is by al-Rāzī, a contemporary of al-Suhrawardī, whose commentary on Avicenna's *al-Ishārāt* chronologically⁵ precedes *Ḥikmat al-ishrāq*.

In the section entitled “Maqāmāt al-‘arīfin” [stations of the gnostics] of *Sharḥ al-Ishārāt*, al-Rāzī classifies people into four groups:

- i. Those who study esoteric gnosis with minute insight and deep reflection (*bi-l-anzār al-daқиqā wa-l-afkār al-‘amiqā*), who make an effort to obtain and become well-versed in them. Their distinguished endeavor in this matter leads them to such a regimen.
- ii. Those who are inclined to that station by the merit of their natural constitution and substance without any schooling or discursive and mental exercise (*min ghayr an yata‘allamū ‘ilman aw mārasū baḥthan wa naẓaran*).
- iii. Souls endowed with both features. If striving for the station of sublimity is due to their natural constitution, then this desire is distinguished with divine learning and truthful investigation (*bi-l-ma‘ālim al-ilāhiyya wa-l-mabāḥith al-ḥaқиqīyya*).
- iv. Souls deprived of both properties.

Al-Rāzī plays up the third group which is endowed with both features among them. His metaphorical recounting of this group with reference to the “Light verse” (Quran 24:35) is quite striking. As this verse states, the wayfarers of truth in this group are dignified, distinguished, and blessed souls “whose oil would almost glow even if untouched by fire.” Thus, he considered the souls who melded the two paths to metaphysical truths in themselves (*al-nafs al-mustajmi‘a*) as the most esteemed and distinguished (*al-nafs al-sharīfat al-kāmilat al-quḍīyya*).⁶

- 5 Al-Rāzī composed *Sharḥ al-Ishārāt* in 576/1180, and al-Suhrawardī states that he wrote *Ḥikmat al-ishrāq* in 582/1186. Eşref Altaş, “Fahreddin er-Rāzī'nin Eserlerinin Kronolojisi,” in *İslām Düşüncesinin Dönüşüm Çağında Fahreddin er-Rāzī*, ed. Ömer Türker and Osman Demir (İstanbul: İSAM Yayınları, 2013), 115; al-Suhrawardī, *The Philosophy of Illumination: Ḥikmat al-Ishrāq*, ed. John Walbridge and Hossein Ziai (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1999), 162. For a chronology of al-Suhrawardī's works, see John Walbridge, “al-Suhrawardī's (d. 1191) *Intimations of the Tablet and the Throne: The Relationship of Illuminationism and the Peripatetic Philosophy*,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Islamic Philosophy*, ed. Khaled El-Rouayheb and Sabine Schmidtke (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 257-58. Given the rapid entry of al-Rāzī's works into circulation and their wide reach into many metropolises of the Islamic lands, it is possible that his scheme may not have influenced al-Suhrawardī.
- 6 Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Sharḥ al-Ishārāt wa-l-tanbihāt*, ed. ‘Alī Riḍā Najafzāda (Tehran: Anjuman-i Aşār va Mafakhir-i Farhangī, 1383), 2:603-04; İbn Sīnā, *Arifler ve Olağanüstü Hadiselerin Sırları*, commentary by Fahreddin er-Rāzī, trans. Ömer Türker (İstanbul: Hayy Kitap, 2010), 29-30, 32.

But in his later work *al-Maṭālib al-‘āliya*,⁷ he advances the view that human beings cannot obtain certain and verified knowledge, with all of its specifics, in either theology and theological matters, for humans can acquire only a limited knowledge of them. In his opinion, there are basically two paths to these sublime truths: the method of those who are versed in introspection and demonstration (*aṣḥāb al-naẓar wa-l-istidlāl*) and the method of those who have mastered asceticism and regimen (*aṣḥāb al-riyāḍa wa-l-mujādala*).⁸

In this work, which postdates *Sharḥ al-Ishārāt*, he commended no suggestion of the unification of both paths, in contrast to his earlier view. Nonetheless, “it is noteworthy for the history of mysticism that al-Rāzī [particularly in *al-Maṭālib al-‘āliya*] both mentioned the second group’s masters among the Muslim groups and sects and counted them among the masters of holistic knowledge with respect to the investigation of being and the attainment of truth. However, al-Rāzī’s affirmative testimony about the mystics and their method of abstinence and struggle notwithstanding, references to him in the gnostic-mystic literature are usually negative.”⁹

This bias is also evident in major Illuminationist texts. Having cross-checked the method he employed in his oeuvre with the citations he made, it seems that al-Rāzī was counted among the pioneers of those versed in insight and demonstration and was even criticized for not going beyond it (*huwa wa amthāluhū min al-muqtaṣirīn ‘alā al-baḥṭh al-ṣarf*).¹⁰ For instance, as in his depiction of al-Rāzī in his biographical dictionary *Nuzhat al-arwāḥ*, Shams al-Dīn al-Shahrazūri (d. post-687/1288) supposes the impossibility of attaining the truth via al-Rāzī’s method of discursive wisdom and speculative theology and criticizes him severely from an Illuminationist vista.¹¹

One cannot read this position without having recourse to Mawlawī’s critique of al-Rāzī, for the criticisms raised by al-Rūmī (d. 672/1273) against al-Rāzī at two

7 This work’s date of composition is held to be 603-605/1207-1209. See Altaş, “Fahreddin er-Rāzī’nin Eserlerinin Kronolojisi,” 138.

8 Al-Rāzī, *al-Maṭālib al-‘āliya min al-‘ilm al-ilāhī*, ed. A. Hıjāzī Saqqā (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-‘Arabī, 1987), 1:41-59.

9 Eşref Altaş, “Fahreddin er-Rāzī: Külli Perspektifler Arasında,” in *İslām Felsefesi: Tarih ve Problemler*, ed. M. Cüneyt Kaya, 5th printing (İstanbul: İSAM Yayınları, 2017), 441-42.

10 Al-Shahrazūri, *Bilgelerin Tarihi ve Özdeyişleri: Nüzhetü’l-Ervāḥ*, ed. Eşref Altaş (İstanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı, 2015), 914-15.

11 For an analysis of al-Rāzī’s biography in *Nuzhat al-arwāḥ*, see Eşref Altaş, “Şemseddin eş-Şehrezūri ve Nüzhetü’l-ervāḥ ve ravdātü’l-efrāḥ Adlı Eseri,” in *Felsefe, Tıp ve Tarih: Tabakat Literatürü Üzerine Bir İnceleme*, ed. Mustakim Arıcı (İstanbul: Klasik, 2014), 337-39.

places of the *Mathnawī* made him a target in the literature.¹² In contrast, following the seventh volume's praises for al-Rāzī, which is a point of contention,¹³ Ismā'īl Rusūkhī Anqarawī (d. 1098/1687) suggests that the critique in the *Mathnawī* has to be regarded as praise for the accomplished use of the demonstration method and that the real criticism is derived from his sidestepping attestation as a means of attaining religious truth.¹⁴ As in the works cited above, al-Rāzī was subjected to critical attack for preferring demonstrative reflection only and being quite exemplary in this preference, even if he was cognizant of different paths to truth.

We can move on to al-Suhrawardī after al-Rāzī. The classification of the pursuers of truth found in the introduction of *Ḥikmat al-ishrāq*, when read against al-Rāzī's statements, especially in *Sharḥ al-Ishārāt*, in effect paved the way to al-Jurjānī for the most of it, as will be taken up in the next section.

In al-Suhrawardī's opinion, there are eight circles to attaining the goal of truth, five of which are philosophers at different degrees and three are for disciples.

[Text 1] "The ranks of philosophers are many, and they fall into these classes: (i) a divine philosopher proficient in intuitive philosophy, but lacking discursive philosophy; (ii) a discursive philosopher lacking intuitive philosophy; (iii) a divine philosopher proficient in both intuitive philosophy and discursive philosophy; (iv) a divine philosopher proficient in intuitive philosophy but of middle ability or weak in discursive philosophy; (v) a philosopher proficient in discursive philosophy but of middle ability or weak in intuitive philosophy; (vi) a student of both intuitive philosophy and discursive philosophy; (vii) a student of only intuitive philosophy; (viii) a student of only discursive philosophy.

و المراتب كثيرة وهم على طبقات وهي هذه؛ [١] حكيم إلهي متوغل في التأله عديم البحث، [٢] حكيم بحت عديم التأله، [٣] حكيم إلهي متوغل في التأله والبحث، [٤] حكيم إلهي متوغل في التأله متوسط في البحث أو ضعيفه، [٥] حكيم متوغل في البحث متوسط في التأله أو ضعيفه، [٦] طالب للتأله والبحث، [٧] طالب للتأله فحسب، [٨] طالب للبحث فحسب.¹⁵

12 For a critique and analysis, see Hayri Kaplan, "Bahâ Veled, Şems ve Mevlânâ'nın Râzî'ye Yönelik Eleştirileri ve Râzî'nin Süfîlere/Tasavvufa Bakışı," *Tasavvuf: İlmî ve Akademik Araştırma Dergisi* 6, no. 14 (2005): 296-300.

13 For disputes on the existence, content, and style of this volume, see Semih Ceyhan, "İsmail Ankaravî ve Mesnevî Şerhi" (Unpublished PhD diss., Uludağ University, 2005), 321-68.

14 Ceyhan, "İsmail Ankaravî ve Mesnevî Şerhi," 363.

15 al-Suhrawardī, *Ḥikmat al-Ishrāq*, 3.

In this paragraph, he clearly presents the person who conjoins wisdom based on the demonstrative method and wisdom based on vision as the model sage. In those cases where one method is absent, he prioritizes those who practice the method of vision.¹⁶ As noticed in the paragraph's first, third, and fourth points, the attribution of divination or deification (i.e., the sage's resemblance to God or the enactment of divine ethos) relies on his connection with asceticism and vision only and shows the superiority of asceticism and vision as a path to truth. Nevertheless, this perspective signifies only that the wisdom based on vision prevails over the one based on demonstration, not that the latter is excluded.¹⁷ According to al-Shahrazūrī, a commentator on al-Suhrawardī, "the first [of the enumerated eight circles] is the saints and mystic sheikhs aloof from demonstration and speculation (*'adīm al-baḥth*) like Sahl al-Tustarī and Abū Yazīd al-Biṣṭāmī, who are called lords of vision and leisure (*dhawq*); the second is the Peripatetics, who follow Aristotle and successors from the ancients, and al-Fārābī and Avicenna from the contemporaries. There is no representative from the ancients for the third, and it is only al-Suhrawardī from the contemporaries."¹⁸ While this statement elevates al-Suhrawardī, it also implies that his ideas had not coalesced into a school of thought even after the passage of roughly a century. Al-Shahrazūrī, who agreed with the critiques of al-Suhrawardī in his youth, suggests in *Nuzhat al-arwāḥ* that the latter's critics do not appreciate him properly, which is just another way of saying¹⁹ that the proponents of Illuminationism had been unable to form a school until then.

Other personages, among whom Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī (d. 673/1274) holds an exceptional place, took up the issue after al-Rāzī and al-Suhrawardī. In fact, it would not be far-fetched to suggest that the pursuit of truth is central to al-Qūnawī's thought and that the method debate, as a means to that end, is subsequent to it. By attributing new senses to the concepts of right, exact science, verification, and researcher (*muḥaqqiq*), he compares two methods as a means to

16 In *al-Talwihāt*, which al-Suhrawardī penned before *Ḥikmat al-ishrāq*, he exalts the parties of visionary wisdom. In a passage of this work that narrates his conversation with Aristotle in a dream, he puts into Aristotle's mouth the words of Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 283/896), Abū Yazīd al-Biṣṭāmī (d. 234/848?), and the like – "those are the real philosophers and sages" (*ulā'ika hum al-falāsifa wa-l-ḥukamā' ḥaqqan*) – for they are not confined within apparent knowledge, but rather allowed for the knowledge available for attestation (*mā waqafū 'ind al-'ilm al-rasmī, bal jāwazū ilā al-'ilm al-ḥuḍūrī al-ittiṣālī al-shuhūdī*) See al-Suhrawardī, "Kitāb al-Talwihāt al-lawḥiyya," in *Majmū'a-i Muṣannafāt-i Shaykh-i Ishrāq*, ed. Henry Corbin, 2nd printing (Tehran: Pizhūhishgāh-i 'Ulūm-i Insāni wa Muṭāla'āt-i Farhangī, 1993), 1:74.

17 İlhan Kutluer, *İslām'ın Klasik Çağında Felsefe Tasavvuru* (İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık, 1996), 110.

18 Al-Shahrazūrī, *Sharḥ Ḥikmat al-ishrāq*, ed. Husayn Diyā'i (Tehran: Mu'assasa-i Muṭāla'āt va Taḥqīqāt-i Farhangī, 1993), 11-12, 28-29; for similar statements, see Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shirāzī, *Sharḥ Ḥikmat al-ishrāq*, ed. 'Abd Allāh Nūrāni and Mahdi Muḥaqqiq (Tehran: Mu'assasa-i Muṭāla'āt-i Islāmī, 2001), 21.

19 Şehrezūrī, *Bilgelerin Tarihi ve Özdeyişleri*, 866-67.

truth.²⁰ In his opinion, the method of inference and demonstration, the heart of which is deduction (*istidlāl*), makes up the philosophical method. Identifying the philosophers as “masters of speculation” (*ahl al-nazar*), he introduces Avicenna as their chief and leader (*al-ra'is Ibn Sīnā alladhī huwa ustādh ahl al-naẓar*) and Aristotle as the pioneer of the path.²¹ The mystical style that turns highly evocative in his works is a holistic and universal pursuit of truth, even though it builds on the basis of purifying the inward in classical mysticism. What makes it metaphysical is the method he employed.²²

On the other hand, it is important for the discussion below to note that al-Qūnawī mentioned that the philosophers (*awā'il al-ḥukamā'*) before Aristotle, even if he did not call them Illuminationists, acted according to the principles of seclusion, asceticism, and the paths they adhered to. This interpretation, which can be read as a non-Islamic Illuminationism and mysticism,²³ is a possible inspiration for al-Jurjānī. It is also important to note the similarity of this distinction and the utilized concepts with the classification and terminology in al-Rāzī's *al-Maṭālib*. On the other hand, the meanings that al-Qūnawī attributed to the concept of “light” can be an example for the point of resemblance with al-Suhrawardī.²⁴ His method and the signification he attributed to mysticism or the science of verification later on led to his being juxtaposed with the Illuminationists. Indeed, as we will see, Ibn al-Akfānī (d. 749/1348) and Ṭāshkubrīzādā's interpretations and suppositions of him are situated within just such a framework.

Having presented the question's origin, we shall now move on to those who are chronologically closer to al-Jurjānī. The first one is Shams al-Dīn al-Samarqandī (d. 722/1322), who, as al-Jurjānī attested to, also had two aspects of the matter: the matter of method that attains knowledge of truth, and the principles upon which

20 Şadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī, *al-Murāsālāt bayn Şadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī wa Nāşir al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī*, ed. Gudrun Schubert (Beirut: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1995), 24-25.

21 Şadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī, *I'jāz al-bayān fī ta'wīl umm al-Qur'ān*, ed. 'Abd al-Qādir Aḥmad 'Aṭā (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Ḥadītha, 1969), 113, 121-22, 126.

22 Ekrem Demirli, “Tasavvuf Araştırmalarında Dönemlendirme Sorunu: Din Bilimleri ile Metafizik Arasında Tasavvufun İlim Olma Mücadelesi,” *Nazarıyat: İslâm Felsefe ve Bilim Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi* 4 (2016): 24.

23 Al-Qūnawī, *I'jāz al-bayān*, 112. Mullā Şadrā's comment in his annotation of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī's commentary on *Ḥikmat al-ishrāq* reminds one of al-Qūnawī: “While the ancient philosophers erred less on basic principles and most significant issues, for their makeup was on a footing with with the prophets' conduct and path (*qudamā'hum li-kawnihim 'alā sirat al-anbiyā wa ṭarīqihim*), the followers of the Peripatetics committed greater errors.” See Mullā Şadrā, *Ḥikmat al-ishrāq-i Suhrawardī bā-Sharḥ Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī va Ta'liqāt-i Şadr al-muta'allihīn Mullā Şadrā*, ed. Ḥusayn Dīyā'i (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Bunyād-i Ḥikmat-i Islāmī-i Şadrā, 2013), 2:5.

24 For instance, see al-Qūnawī, *I'jāz al-bayān*, 122.

the method depends. For the first part, a good point of reference would be his *‘Ilm al-āfāq wa-l-anfus*. The author states that there are three paths to the cognizance of God: the message of the prophets (*qawl al-ṣādiq*); the cognizance of the truth of the matter (*ma’rifat al-ashyā’*) by means of demonstration, which is praised in the holy books and employed by the prophets; and the purging of earthly dirt and refinement of the soul. The name of this third path, which al-Samarqandi explained with reference to the Light verse and Illuminationist terms, is *gnosis* (*‘irfān*).

As he likens the image of God’s work in creatures to the reflection of Sun’s light on the mirror, he provides examples to go from here to the paths of infusion (*ḥulūl*) and union (*ittiḥād*), as the theophanic utterances (*shaṭḥiyya*) of Bāyazīd al-Biṣṭāmī (d. 234/848 [?]) and Maṣṣūr al-Ḥallāj (d. 309/922) illustrate. In his opinion, the person gifted by God in these three paths is the supreme human being of his time. Yet, putting himself in the second path, that of speculation, is particularly remarkable.²⁵ As a follow-up comes the question of what he considered to be the mainstay of the adopted method, for how to distinguish between followers of the same method is a significant concern, as we may see in al-Jurjānī. For example, if we speak of philosophers and theologians, all of whom committed themselves to the speculative method, what makes the distinction possible becomes a marked question.

At this juncture, al-Samarqandi’s preference to introduce theology as a discipline adhering to the law of Islam (*‘alā qānūn al-Islām*) in *al-Ṣaḥā’if al-ilāhiyya* and its commentary *al-Ma’ārif* became a landmark in the literature. Thus, he proposes how theology is to be distinguished from the Peripatetic philosophy, which employs the same method. Theology is involved with such subjects as God’s nature, attributes, and names; the state of His creatures (e.g., angels, prophets, and saints); the situation of the obedient and rebel souls on Earth and in the afterlife; heaven and hell; and other pertinent issues. These are also of interest to philosophers, provided that they adhere to philosophy’s basic teachings like “one begets one only,” “one cannot be simultaneously active and receptacle,” and the like, whereas theology depends on law of Islam.

Al-Samarqandi explicates this apparently ambiguous expression as follows: The “law of Islam” is that which finds its basic principles in the Qur’an, the traditions, consensus, and analogy (*wa-l-ma’qūl*) that does not contradict the other tenets.²⁶

25 Shams al-Dīn al-Samarqandi, *‘Ilm al-āfāq wa-l-anfus*, ed. Gholamreza Dadkhah (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 2014), 95, 98.

26 Idem, *al-Ma’ārif fi sharḥ al-Ṣaḥā’if*, ed. ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh Ismā’īl and Naẓīr Muḥammad al-Naẓīr ‘Ayyād (Cairo: al-Maktabat al-Azhariyya, 2015), 351-55.

This expression, which cannot be traced to earlier than the thirteenth century as far as we can tell, would be frequently used after al-Samarqandī. The most prominent figure in this regard may be ‘Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī (d. 756/1355), on whom al-Jurjānī wrote a commentary:

[Text 2] And it is said: It [the subject of theology] is being qua being. It is distinguished from the divinity in this respect: that the investigation herein is according to the law of Islam.

وقيل: هو الموجود بما هو موجود، ويمتاز عن الإلهي باعتبار، وهو أن البحث ههنا على قانون الإسلام.²⁷

As a matter of fact, al-Ījī deals with this discourse in a critical tone in *al-Mawāqif*, where he takes up al-Ghazzālī’s view that theology’s subject matter is being and finds it problematic in two respects: (1) Being does not include things like the non-existent as discussed in theology or the theoretical discourses that would require theology’s dependence on another disciplinē and (2) he appears to be criticizing al-Samarqandī, without mentioning him by name, when he discusses the expression “adherence to law of Islam” employed as a measure to distinguish theology’s subject matter from that of metaphysics. Nevertheless, even if al-Ījī and al-Jurjānī regarded a definition based on this clause as problematic, it became a point of consensus and a theological principle.

Referring to this scheme in a more comprehensive manner and suggesting vision and inspiration in addition to speculation as a means to metaphysical truths, Akmal al-Dīn al-Bābartī (d. 786/1384) emphasizes “adherence to law of Islam” by following the speculative method of theology in his *al-Maqṣad fī ‘ilm al-kalām*.²⁸ He thus unites the two respects in one go. As in al-Samarqandī, this expression is an important register of the differentiation between theology and philosophy. Bearing in mind that al-Jurjānī stayed in Cairo for a while and al-Bābartī,²⁹ the latter’s views accordingly are significant. Indeed, al-Jurjānī’s definition of theology in *al-Ta’rīfāt* is compatible with both that of al-Samarqandī and his teacher. Al-

27 Īcī, “el-Mevākif,” *Şerhu’l-Mevākif*, trans. Ömer Türker (İstanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı Yayınları, 2015), 1:142-43.

28 Galip Türcan, “Bābertī’nin el-Maksād fī İlmi’l-Kelām Başlıklı Risalesi: Tanıtım ve Tahkik,” *Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 17 (2006): 150. During our conversation, Ömer Mahir Alper brought to my attention both the work and his perspective in a nutshell. I would like to thank him herein.

29 Taşköprizâde, *eş-Şekâiku’n-nu’mâniyye fī ulemâi’d-devleti’l-Osmâniyye*, nşr. Ahmed Subhi Furat (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1985), 15; Josef van Ess, *Die Träume der Schulweisheit: Leben und Werk des ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ġurġanī (gest. 816/1413)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2013), 22.

Jurjānī's supposition that this emphasis is made just to dismiss the philosophers' metaphysics can be regarded as evidence that reveals the intention of his classification, which will be taken up shortly.

This supposition is already inherent in the notion of "the ones who reason with dogmas (*milliyyūn*)" intended for the theologians in the theological and philosophical works composed in previous centuries. However, as in al-Samarqandī and al-Bābartī, such an intention required explication in more explicit expressions. This might be the result of the theologians' drive to maintain their discipline's identity in the face of a great overlap not only in the theoretical sections of theological works or in the physical and metaphysical sections of philosophical works, but also as regards their proximity and even similarity of method. In fact, the expression "the masters of speculation and demonstration," as in al-Rāzī, puts both philosophers and theologians under the same rubric, which blurs the distinctions. Therefore, it is hard to see this point as a simple shift in definition or an insignificant detail at a conceptual level. This definition was had consequences for the following period, and defining theology as "reasoning with adherence to law of Islam" made a deep impact on the later definitions of theology.

The last person to be mentioned on the way to al-Jurjānī is the fourteenth-century Egyptian scholar Ibn al-Akfānī. I contend that certain expressions in his *Irshād al-qāṣid ilā asnā al-maqāṣid*, which deals with sciences, was influential on the extract from al-Jurjānī below. He basically mentions two schools in quest for truth and a third path that unifies them in its section on metaphysics (*al-ʿilm al-ilāhī*): (i) Those following the way of demonstration and speculation are philosophers, and their dean is Aristotle. In his opinion, the major works of this school are Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, al-Fārābī's *Gharaḥ al-ḥakīm* (penned as a clarification of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*), pseudo-Aristotle's *Theology*, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *al-Mabāḥith al-mashriqiyya*, and Averroes's *Faṣl al-maqāl*; (ii) Those who pursue the knowledge of truth by means of asceticism based on refining the soul are called Sufis in case they are "adherents of our confession" (*nussāk millatinā*). He counts Ibn al-Akfānī, Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (d. 386/996); al-Qushayrī (d. 465/1072); Abū Ḥafṣ Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234), the author of *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif*; and Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240) among them³⁰; and (iii) While he thus embraces the Sufis, he did not discriminate against the third group mentioned in the following passage; rather, he praised them as well for uniting the two methods. This means that Ibn al-Akfānī

30 Ibn al-Akfānī, *Irshād al-qāṣid ilā asnā al-maqāṣid*, ed. Jan Just Witkam (Leiden: Ter Lugt Pers, 1989), 435.

adopted the Illuminationist path's characteristic, suggested by al-Suhrawardī, as being the sea into which the two streams of perspectives flowed. As he views the line of Socrates, Plato, and al-Suhrawardī as a path that unites demonstration and vision, he also adds al-Qūnawī to it. He lists al-Suhrawardī's *Ḥikmat al-ishrāq*, along with al-Qūnawī's *Miftāḥ al-ghayb* and *I'jāz al-bayān*, as examples of this literature and thus presents a new interpretation of Illuminationism:

[Text 3] And [a group] from the [ranks of] zealots started with demonstration and speculation and finished with the abstraction and refinement of the soul; so they gathered the two virtues and got both of the finest. The instance of this state is attributed to Socrates, Plato, and al-Suhrawardī. The book *Ḥikmat al-ishrāq* is issued in this station, via a code more secret than the mystery in the bosom that keeps [it]. Whoever opens it with the book *al-Miftāḥ* by Sheikh Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī and passes from this gate to the exegesis of the opening chapter of the Quran is guided to straight path and attains the garden of Eden.

ومن المجتهدين من ابتداء أمره بالبحث والنظر، وانتهى إلى التجريد وتصفية النفس؛ فجمع بين الفضيلتين وحاز كلتا الحسنين. وينسب مثل هذا الحال إلى سقراط وأفلاطون والسهروردي. وكتاب حكمة الإشراق له صادر عن هذا المقام برمز أخفى من السر في صدر كاتم. ومن فتح له كتاب المفتاح للشيخ صدرالدين القونوي، ودخل إلى تفسير فاتحة الكتاب العزيز من الباب المذكور هُديَ إلى صراط مستقيم، وفاز بجنة نعيم.³¹

It might be controversial that Ibn al-Akfānī considers al-Qūnawī in an Illuminationist line, and yet some Ottoman scholars agree this opinion, as will be indicated below. However, let's note that whether there is a link between the Akbarī school à la the Saljukids and the Ottomans and the Illuminationist thought, and what it is, remains an unanswered question.³²

B. al-Jurjānī's Lead Intervention

This backdrop is invaluable to understanding al-Jurjānī, those who joined the debate thereafter, and certainly the Ottoman scholars who contributed to it. I suggest that he is inspired by al-Rāzī and al-Suhrawardī on the matter of pursuers of truth, by al-Ījī and his mentor al-Bābartī on the determination of the place of

31 Ibn al-Akfānī, *Irshād al-qāṣid*, 435-36.

32 As far as we can tell, one of the people pursuing this issue is Iraj Bashiri, who seeks traces of Illuminationist philosophy in the works of al-Rūmī. For the relevant work, see Iraj Bashiri, *The Ishraqi Philosophy of Jalal al-Din Rumi* (Dushanbe: The Institute of Philosophy, The Academy of Sciences of Tajikistan, 2008).

theology and its definition, and tentatively (at least for now) by al-Samarqandi on unraveling the standpoints of Sufis as regards their methods, and by Ibn al-Akfānī on the identity of the Illuminationists. However, as will be laid out below, his perspective in *Hāshiya 'alā Lawāmi' al-asrār*, *al-Ta'rifāt*, and *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif* goes beyond it and becomes influential in both the point of divergence between theology and the philosophical method, as well as the debates of Illuminationism.

Let's first turn to relevant extracts from two of his works:

[Text 4] Overall, it is eschatological knowledge, and the path to it has two facets. First: the path of the masters of contemplation and demonstration. Second: the path of the masters of asceticism and regimen. The followers of the first path: If they adhere to a confession among faiths of prophets, may peace be upon them, they are theologians; if not, they are Peripatetic philosophers. The followers of the second path: If they conform to the legal rulings in their abstinence, they are Sufis; if not, they are Illuminationist sages. So, there are two groups for each path.

وبالجملة، معرفة المبدأ والمعاد والطريق إلى هذه المعرفة من وجهين: أحدهما: طريقة أهل النظر والاستدلال. وثانيهما: طريقة أهل الرياضة والمجاهدات. والسالكون للطريقة الأولى: إن التزموا ملة من ملل الأنبياء عليهم السلام فهم المتكلمون، وإلا فهم الحكماء المشائون. والسالكون إلى الطريقة الثانية: إن وافقوا في رياضتهم أحكام الشرع فهم الصوفية، وإلا فهم الحكماء الإشراقيون، فلكل طريقة طائفتان.³³

[Text 5] Illuminationist sages: their dean is Plato. Peripatetic philosophers: their dean is Aristotle.

الحكماء الإشراقيون: رئيسهم أفلاطون. الحكماء المشاؤون: رئيسهم أرسطو.³⁴

Even if there is an appreciation of the Peripatetic and Illuminationist vistas in the epistemic processes as regards eschatological insight in *Hāshiya 'alā Lawāmi' al-asrār*, the relevant passage is quite accommodating of a discriminatory reading: They are neither confessional nor appreciated. Thus, we should not prematurely dismiss that this would be one of al-Jurjānī's goals. Hence, such a reading reached a degree of considerable refinement, as will be gathered from the examples provided in the next section.

Based on the categorization of those who benefit from others (*mustafid*) and those who are subject to their own views (*mustabidd*), which al-Shahrastānī

33 Al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī, *Hāshiya 'alā Lawāmi' al-asrār: Sharḥ Maṭāli' al-anwār* (Istanbul: Bosnalı Hācī Muḥarrem Maṭba'ası, 1885), 16-17.

34 Idem, *al-Ta'rifāt* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1983), 92.

(d. 548/1153) made in *al-Milal*,³⁵ al-Jurjānī introduces a finer distinction and reconstructs it in a more intricate idiom: Philosophers are counted among the autonomous and arbitrary folk. Eventually, he stressed that the Peripatetic and Illuminationist methods do not fully conform to Islamic law, or, in a stricter sense, that they fall outside of it. Furthermore, mentioning Illuminationism in the same camp with mysticism vis-à-vis method in the first quotation and as a Platonic school of thought in the second indicates its hybrid disposition, a characterization with which it will be stuck thereafter. Having drawn a line between the Peripatetic path and the theological method with these statements, al-Jurjānī also tries to erect a wall between the Illuminationist path and the mystical method. Thus, he relocates the issue of the means to truth, which had been discussed in a certain line of argument since al-Rāzī, in a new framework that is identified with himself. This refitting became highly influential in the Iranian and Near Eastern intellectual milieux.

The Ottoman scholars' participation in the debate a short while after this work entered the Ottoman scholarly milieu is an indication of this. In fact, it would be no exaggeration to say that lines from *Hāshiya 'alā Lawāmi' al-asrār* take the lead, having noted the contexts of reference to Illuminationism.³⁶ Besides, the presence of all the glosses of this work in Ottoman libraries since the very beginning testify to al-Jurjānī's influence.³⁷ The second group of extracts comes from *al-Ta'rifāt* and *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif*. In these lines, where he touches upon the subject matter of theology, he makes the effort to distinguish theology from the philosophers' metaphysics more clearly and to provide some justification for doing so.

[Text 6] Theology is a discipline that studies God's nature, attributes, and states of temporal beings according to the law of Islam. The last register – according to the law of Islam – is in order to exclude philosophers' metaphysics.

الكلام علم يبحث فيه عن ذات الله وصفاته وأحوال الممكنات من المبدأ والمعاد على قانون الإسلام، والقييد الأخير - على قانون الإسلام - لإخراج العلم الإلهي للفلاسفة.³⁸

35 Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Karīm al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal wa-l-nihāl*, ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir al-Fāḍilī (Beirut: al-Maktabat al-'Aṣriyya, 2006), 29-30.

36 The extent of al-Jurjānī's role in the Ottoman case is beyond doubt, as it relies on certain statements in the primary sources. Moreover, copies of *Hāshiya 'alā Lawāmi' al-asrār* dating from 1430 onward document the fact of the matter. See MS Afyon Gedik Ahmet Paşa 18159/2, 209b: copy date 839/1430. Moreover, MS Milli Kütüphane 506 was copied in 849/1444 and the back page is adorned with a bedecked note that it was presented to Meḥmed II for his perusal. See MS Milli Kütüphane 506, 1a, 142a.

37 For example, both al-Abiwardī (d. 816/1413[?]) and Qāḍizāde al-Rūmī's (d. post-844/1440) glosses on this work were present in Ottoman libraries.

38 Al-Jurjānī, "al-Kalām," in *al-Ta'rifāt*, 185. In the article "discipline of theology," he defines theology as

[Text 7] It is said that: The subject of theology is being qua being that is being per se without registering to anything. This view was advanced by a group of theologians among which is Ḥujjat al-Islām al-Ghazzālī. Theology, taking its subject matter as being-in-itself in common with metaphysics, is **distinguished from metaphysics in this respect: In contrast to metaphysical investigation, demonstration in theology is carried out according to law of Islam.** Whether consistent with Islam or not, it is carried out in metaphysics according to *law of metaphysical philosophers' intellects*. (...)

Sometimes, this criticism is countered in this way: What is meant by demonstration according to law of Islam is that the issues are picked up from Quran and traditions, and the things in relation with these two. Therefore, such demonstration includes all of those views. But someone can reply: The vista of demonstration according to law of Islam is to distinguish the sciences would not be based on distinguishing subjects, if the subject is unregistered. This is however false, due to the explanations made before. If the subject is registered, this objection will be raised: The aforementioned point of view has no effect on relation of predicates to their subjects compared to an explanation in cognitum's aspect.

وقيل: هو أي موضوع الكلام الموجود بما هو موجود أي من حيث هو غير مقيد بشيء، والقائل به طائفة من حجة الإسلام. ويمتاز الكلام عن الإلهي المشارك له في أن موضوعه أيضا هو الموجود مطلقاً باعتبار؛ وهو أن البحث ههنا أي في الكلام على قانون الإسلام بخلاف البحث في الإلهي فإنه على قانون عقولهم وافق الإسلام أو خالفه.

وقد يجاب عنه بأنه المراد بكون البحث على قانون الإسلام أن تلك المسائل مأخوذة من الكتاب والسنة، وما يناسب إليهما فيتناول الكل. ولقائل أن يقول: إن لم تجعل حيثية كون البحث على قانون الإسلام قيدها للموضوع لم يتوقف تمايز العلوم على تمايز الموضوعات وهو باطل لما مر، وإن جعلت قيدها له اتجه أن تلك الحيثية لا تدخل لها في عروض المحمولات لموضوعاتها على قياس ما مر في حيثية المعلوم.³⁹

Even if the similarity of the first paragraph's last sentence quoted from *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif* with al-Samarqandī is striking, al-Jurjānī diverges from him in the rest by stating that theology's single defining feature is its non-adherence to the law of Islam. Nonetheless, concurrent with him, al-Jurjānī supposes that despite the

"the science that studies the essential accidents of being on the grounds of Islam" (*alā qā'idat al-islām*). Al-Jurjānī, *al-Ta'rifāt*, 156. Also, one can consult with the following words of Muḥammad al-Taḥānawī:

وقال الجرجاني أنه: «علم يبحث فيه عن ذات الله وصفاته وأحوال الممكنات من المبدأ والمعاد على قانون الإسلام»، ثم قال: «والقيده الأخير - على قانون الإسلام - لإخراج العلم الإلهي للفلاسفة». ويمتاز الكلام عن الإلهي باعتبار أن البحث فيه على قانون الإسلام لا على قانون العقل، وافق الإسلام أو لا، كما في الإلهي. وفيه أيضا بحث؛ إذ قانون الإسلام ما هو الحق من هذه المسائل الكلامية؛ إذ المسائل الباطلة خارجة عن قانون الإسلام قطعاً، مع أن المخطبيء من أرباب علم الكلام ومسائله من مسائل الكلام.

See, Muḥammad 'Alī al-Taḥānawī, *Mawsū'at Kashshāf iṣṭilāḥāt al-funūn wa-l-'ulūm*, ed. Rafiq al-'Ajam and 'Alī Farīd Dahrūj (Beirut: Maktabat Lubnān, 1996), 1:30.

39 Al-Jurjānī, *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif*, 1:142-43, 144-45 (The lines in bold belong to al-Ījī).

consistence of some metaphysical truths that philosophers arrived at with Islam, this only signals the latter's subscription to the intellect or their own laws, as is the case with any theory not underpinned by dogma.⁴⁰

For the greater part, the classification in al-Jurjānī's *Ḥāshiya 'alā Lawāmi' al-asrār* is repeated ad verbatim in later works. And yet there are some divergences in play. Therefore, this interpretation was received in various ways over time or was subjected to the efforts of those who tried to rephrase it properly via certain elaborations and explications. This was due to the fact that the definitions, perceptions, and interpretations of Illuminationism do not lie on a single line of thought for scholars, among them Muşannifak (d. 875/1470), 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Jāmī (d. 898/1492), Ḥusām al-Dīn 'Alī al-Bidlīsī (d. 909/1504), Ḥafid al-Taftāzānī (d. 916/1510), Fuzūlī (d. 963/1556), Ṭāshkubrīzāda, Şadruddīnzāda Meḥmed Emīn Shirwānī (d. 1036/1627), Ismā'īl Rusūkhī Anqarawī (d. 1041/1631), Kātib Chalabī (d. 1067/1657), Shihāb al-Dīn al-Khafājī (d. 1069/1659), Munajjimbāshī Aḥmed Dede (d. 1113/1702), Ismā'īl Ḥaqqī Būrsawī (d. 1137/1725), Aḳkirmānī (d. 1174/1760), Ismā'īl Mufid İstānbūlī (d. 1217/1802), Kaşşābbāshīzāda İbrāhīm (d. 1236/1820), Ketkhudāzāda 'Ārif Efendi (d. 1265/1849), and İzmirli Ismā'īl Ḥaqqī (1869-1946). In addition to the scholars we cannot mention here due to space limitations, it should be noted that there are others who we could not get ahold of.

III. The Ottoman Scholarly Conception of Illuminationism

The major sources for catching lines, descriptions, debates, and definitions concerning Illuminationism during the Ottoman period are some glosses on philosophical and theological works, occasionally moral and mystical works, classificatory and model works of science, and certain biographical and bibliographical works. In addition, sometimes there are references to Illuminationism and Illuminationist themes in exegetical and jurisprudential works, even works of literature. These works deal with Illuminationism's stand on certain philosophical questions, its thesis with regard to them in contradistinction with other schools of thought, and the terms of analysis. Another topic that needs attention is the presence of

40 The intellect, when paired with "traditional" or "according to the law of Islam" should not be conceived as the intellect of individual human beings or human species, but as the "active intellect." Thus it would be more appropriate to say that the metaphysical truths acquired by Peripatetic philosophers are elicited via contact with the active intellect. Otherwise, the theology that is traditional and depends on the law of Islam would be irrational. For such an assessment of the concepts of "intellect" and "rational," see İhsan Fazlıoğlu, "Ek 2: el- Ulūm el-akliyye: Kimin Aklı?," in *İşk İmiş Her Ne Var Âlemde İlim Bir Kıl ü Kâl İmiş Ancak: Fuzulî Ne Demek İstedî?*, 3rd printing (Istanbul: Klasik, 2011), 123-28.

certain Illuminationist elements in the titles, section headlines, or expressions in the introductions of several works. Consequently, Illuminationism is discussed in the literature and regarded as a school of thought. Therefore, its character as a school of thought, as well as its method, extent, and representatives, are taken as subjects. Now, let's turn to the subheadings of this section that took an extensive treatment in this article.

A. Points of Divergence in Illuminationist Thought

This is a matter of concern, for the earliest commentators on al-Suhrawardī expressed various views on Illuminationist methods, teachings, and issues. The most fundamental issue was the question of method. Rashid al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh al-Hamadānī (d. 718/1318)⁴¹ makes one of the first references in this regard. The said references are more frequent from the fourteenth century onward. Al-Tahānawī's *Mawsū'at Kashshāf işlāhāt al-funūn wa-l-'ulūm*, is one of the best such works, contains approximately twenty references to Illuminationists and Illuminationism.⁴²

Certainly, the number is higher among the commentators on al-Suhrawardī. One of them is Şadr al-Dīn al-Dashtakī's (d. 949/1542) commentary on *Hayākil al-nūr*. In numerous cases, al-Dashtakī clarifies thsee questions over which the Illuminationists differ from the Peripatetics, theologians, and mystics, such as the theory of sight and the conception of object. Although he occasionally restricts the Illuminationists to Antiquity, he sometimes counts al-Suhrawardī and his followers among them (*al-muşannif wa man tabi'ahū min al-Ishrāqiyyīn*).⁴³ It is a commonplace that the Ottoman scholars note al-Suhrawardī's or his followers' difference of opinion on a philosophical question.

Also noteworthy is its observance since Dāwud al-Qayşarī (d. 751/1350). For example, al-Qayşarī discusses the views of al-Suhrawardī, whom he calls "sheikh," arguing that there is more and less in quantities, and the views of those who argue against it, in the relevant section of the physics chapter of his *al-Ithāf al-Sulaymānī fī al-'ahd al-Urkhānī*.⁴⁴ The references of 'Alī al-Qūshjī (d. 879/1474) and Faṭḥ Allāh al-

41 Rashid al-Din Faḍl Allah, *Bayān al-ḥaqā'iq*, ed. Judith Pfeiffer (İstanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı Yayınları, 2016), 131a.

42 For examples, see al-Tahānawī, *Mawsū'at Kashshāf*, 1:48, 322, 456, 567, 685, 702; 2:1101, 1282, 1426, 1634, 1652, 1732, 1747.

43 Ghiyāth al-Dīn Maṣṣūr al-Dashtakī, *Ishrāq Hayākil al-nūr li-kashf zulumāt shawākil al-gharūr*, ed. 'Alī Awjabi (Tehran: Mirās-i Maktūb, 2003), 57, 60, 84, 200, 241.

44 İhsan Fazhoğlu, "İznik'te Ne Oldu? Osmanlı İlmî Hayatının Teşekkülü ve Dāvūd Kayseri," *Nazariyat: İslām Felsefe ve Bilim Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi* 4, no. 1 (2017): 37.

Shirwānī (d. 891/1486) to the Illuminist school in the field of optics,⁴⁵ as well as Ṭashkubrīzādā's exclusive discussion of its view of objects, are other examples that come to mind from the fields of mathematics and physics.⁴⁶ Moreover, it may be suggested that Illuminism's metaphysics of light and natural philosophy is one of the basic sources of Ottoman speculative thought.⁴⁷

Munajjimbāshī and Ismā'il Mufid Istanbūlī, two commentators on al-Ījī's *al-Akhlāq al-'aḍudiyya*, occupy an important place among the Ottoman scholars who touch upon this school's teachings. It is noteworthy that Munajjimbāshī, a polymath himself, gives examples from the distinctive Illuminist perspective in logic, epistemology, ethics, and politics in his *Sharḥ al-Akhlāq al-'aḍudiyya*, as if Illuminism constitutes a full-fledged philosophical school active in all branches. For example, he opines that Illuminists differ from Peripatetics and theologians in terms of their view of theory's inability to perfection of the soul:

[Text 8] This is the persuasion of Peripatetic philosophers whose dean is Aristotle. Theologians from the people of faith are close to them in demonstrating the use of true speculation at the realization of intended scientific objectives in themselves. The Illuminists disagree with them and say: In fact, speculation is of no avail to the soul's perfection via the knowledge intended by metaphysics and the perception of facts of the matter as such. In order for that [to occur], it is rather realized by soul gradually when approaching the luminous worlds. It goes on until it has arrived at the light of lights and makes use of it unmediated.

هذا هو معتقد الحكماء المشائين التابعين لرئيسهم أرسطو، ويقرب منهم المتكلمون من أهل الشرع في إثبات الفائدة للنظر الصحيح في حصول المطالب العلمية المقصودة بذاتها. وخالفهم الإشرافيون وقالوا: إن النظر لا يُجدي نفعاً في تكميل النفس بالمعارف المطلوبة من الإلهيات، ويادراكات حقائق الأشياء على ما هي عليه؛ لأن هذا المطلوب إنما يحصل للنفس إذا إتصلت بعوالم الأنوار متدرجة حتى يصل إلى حضرة نور الأنوار، ويستفيض منه بلا واسطة.⁴⁸

In Munajjimbāshī's opinion, the Illuminists' divergent approaches reverberated in fields like political philosophy. A good example of this would be his presentation of the ruler's charismatic leadership retold, as in the Zoroastrian tradition, on behalf of the Illuminists. From the excerpt below, it can be inferred that Munajjimbāshī is a keen reader of al-Suhrawardī, for he provides an

45 Idem, "İlm-i Menâzir: Osmanlılarda," *DİA* 22:131-32.

46 Ṭashkubrīzādā, *al-Ma'ālim fī 'ilm al-Kalām*, ed. Ahmet Süruri, "Taşkoprīzādā'nin el-Me'ālim'i ve Kelami Görüşleri" (Unpublished PhD diss., Marmara University, 2011), 257.

47 İhsan Fazlıoğlu, "Osmanlılar: Düşünce Hayatı ve Bilim," *DİA*, 33:550-51.

48 Munajjimbāshī, *Sharḥ al-Akhlāq al-'aḍudiyya*, MS Esad Efendi 1868, 4a.

exceptional interpretation of the term “royal splendor” (*kayān khurāh*),⁴⁹ which is one of the political concepts of Illuminationist philosophy that al-Suhrawardī employed in *al-Alwāḥ al-‘imādiyya*. This term, used for Fereyduṅ and Kay Khosrow (mythical kings of ancient Iran) is an important concept in Illuminationist political thought: The ruler’s influence over the people originates from an ontological difference, for the “sublime ruler” secures the people’s obedience by the effluence of the Light of lights. In *Sharḥ al-Akhlāq al-‘aḍudiyya*, Munajjimbāshī grasps this concept astutely and discusses it in an appropriate context:

[Text 9] The government, according to the masters of Islamic law, is called leadership and successorship. Hence, they theologians made the treatment of leadership part of theology’s transmitted traditions. According to the philosophers, it is called the rule, the reign, the common law, and the kingship. Then, the Illuminationists said: “Verily, the kings are of a special light to them, [one] that overflows from the light of lights. Owing to this light, the people obey them, revere them, and fear them.” It is called in their terminology “royal splendor” (*kayān khurāh*). Thus the word “*khurāh*” is [written] with a dotted “h” followed by the vowel “u,” then an unread “w,” and an undotted “r” followed by the vowel “a,” and a silent “h,” the word for “light” in their language. “*Kayān*” is the plural of word “*kay*” with “k” followed with the vowel “a,” and a silent “y” as the last letter, and it is in the meaning of the sultan of great glory. Then they constructed from the originals in conjunction and made a compound noun for his special light. They claim that this light appeared in the shape of a small sphere on some ancient kings, emerging and shining sometimes on their heads and sometimes on their hands, in a manner attested to it by him and others who were present.

وتسمى الحكومة عند أهل الشرع بالإمامة والخلافة. ولذلك جعل المتكلمون بحث الإمامة جزءاً من سمعيات علم الكلام. ويسمى عند الحكماء: الحكومة والملك والناموس الأوسط والسلطنة. وقال الإشرافيون: إن للملوك نورا مخصوصا بهم يفيض عليهم من نور الأنوار، وبذلك النور يطيعهم الناس، ويهابونهم، ويخافون عنهم. ويقال لذلك النور في اصطلاحهم «كَيَّانُ خُورَاهُ»؛ لأن كلمة «خوراه» -بضم الخاء المعجمة، ثم واو رسمي لا يقرأ، ثم راء مهملة مفتوحة، ثم هاء السكت- اسم للنور في لغتهم. و«كيان» جمع لكلمة «كَيَّ» -بفتح الكاف العربي وسكون الياء آخر الحروف-، وهي بمعنى السلطان العظيم الشأن. ثم ركبوهما على أصلهم في التركيب، فجعلوا المركب اسما لذلك النور المخصوص بهم. ويزعمون أن بعض الملوك المتقدمين قد تمثل له ذلك النور في شكل كرة صغيرة كانت تطلع وتلمع تارة في رأسه، وتارة في يده، بحيث يشاهده هو وغيره من الحاضرين.⁵⁰

49 al-Suhrawardī, “al-Alwāḥ al-‘imādiyya,” in *Majmū‘a-i Muṣannafāt-i Shaykh-i Ishrāqī*, ed. Najafquli Ḥabībī (Tehran: Pizhūhishgāh-i ‘Ulūm-i Insānī va Muṭāla‘āt-i Farhangī, 2001), 4:91-93. For a separate study that analyzes the concept with “*sakīna*,” its counterpart in Arabic, see Nasrollah Pourjavady, *The Light of Sakīna in al-Suhrawardī’s Philosophy of Illumination* (Binghamton, NY: Global Publications, 1998).

50 Munajjimbāshī, *Sharḥ al-Akhlāq al-‘aḍudiyya*, MS Esad Efendi 1868, 117b-118a.

Istānbūlī, another commentator on *al-Akhlāq al-‘aḍudiyya*, consults Illuminationist views on matters of ethics and politics time and again.⁵¹ In addition, the reference to Illuminationist views and noting their divergent opinions can also be attested to in works of the religious sciences. For example, while at the very introduction of his Quran exegesis Ismā‘il Ḥaqqī Bursawī, a chief of Jalwatiyya order, notes the terminological difference between the Illuminationists and the Peripatetics in a philosophical narrative, he contrasts the views of the former and the Sufis on the subject of ways to divine gnosis (*ma‘rifat Allāh*) in the chapter of Abraham (Quran 14:4):

[Text 10] Abstract beings – i.e. the non-extended beings, and those that do not subsist in extended beings – are either sublime [beings] sanctified from [obeying rules] governing objects, and they are the archangels, called “intellects” by the Peripatetics, and “incandescent lights” by the Illuminationists; or related to their governing, [called] “celestial souls” by the Peripatetics, and “governing lights” by the Illuminationists.

المجردات – أعني الموجودات الغير المتميزة، ولا الحالة في المتميز – إما عالية مقدسة عن تدبير الأجسام، وهم الملائكة المقربون، ويسمى المشائون عقولا، والإشراقون أنوارا عالية قاهرة؛ أو متعلقة بتدبيرها، ويسمى المشائون نفوسا سماوية، والإشراقون أنوارا مدبرة.⁵²

[Text 11] Some seniors say that correct vision leads to knowledge of the truth, and this is by means of carrying over learning to learning until [doing so] results in truth. However, the way of reflection and idea and its fellows could not be delivered from self-centeredness and dualism. Yet there is no such transmission in vision, and their way consists of utterances [of God’s name].

Don’t you catch on his [the Prophet’s] exalted word? “Those who recall Allah standing, sitting, and lying on their sides, and reflect on the creation of the heavens and Earth” [Quran 3:191] How did he prioritize the word over the idea? The first way is the path of the Illuminationists, and the second is that of the probing Sufis.

قال بعض الكبار النظر الصحيح يؤدي إلى معرفة الحق، وذلك بالانتقال من معلوم إلى معلوم إلى أن ينتهي إلى الحق؛ لكن طريق التصور والفكر وأهله لا يتخلص من الأناية والإثنية. وأما المكاشفة فليس فيها الانتقال المذكور، وطريقها الذكر؛ ألا ترى إلى قوله تعالى: ﴿الَّذِينَ يَذْكُرُونَ اللَّهَ قِيَامًا وَقُعُودًا وَعَلَىٰ جُنُوبِهِمْ وَيَتَفَكَّرُونَ فِي خَلْقِ السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ﴾ [آل عمران، 3/ 191] كيف قدم الذكر على الفكر؟ فالطريقة الأولى طريقة الإشراقيين، والثانية طريقة الصوفية المحققين.⁵³

51 Ismā‘il Mufid Istānbūlī, *Şerhu'l-Ahlākī'l-Adudiyye: Ahlāk-ı Adudiyye Şerhi*, trans. and ed. Selime Çınar (İstanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı Yayınları, 2014), 22-23, 46-47, 54-55, 128-29, 188-89.

52 This text is from the work’s introduction. See Ismā‘il Ḥaqqī Brüsevi, *Rūḥ al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Qur‘ān* (İstanbul: Maktaba Athar, 1969), 1:4.

53 Bursawī, *Rūḥ al-bayān*, 4:397.

Another scholar who delivers a genuine reading of Illuminationism in the literature of the Ottoman period is Şadrüddinzâda Meĥmed Emin Shirwânî, who enjoyed great favor at court and became a professor at Şahn, Selîmiye of Edirne, and Süleymâniye Dârülĥadişi, as well as judge of Aleppo and, finally, a professor at Sulţanaĥmed Dârülĥadişi, respectively.⁵⁴ This scholar applies al-Jurĥânî's scheme of four metaphysical paths to the classification of sciences in *al-Fawâ'id al-kĥâqâniyya*.⁵⁵ Moreover, he remains true to the original scheme of treating theology and mysticism within the religious sciences, and Peripatetic physics and metaphysics, along with Illuminationist philosophy, within philosophical sciences.

While Shirwânî examines theology in terms of those matters related to its definition, subject, and questions along the lines of *Sharĥ al-Mawâqif*, it is worth noting that he expounds on mysticism, a religious science, by way of the chapter "Stations of the gnostics" in his *al-Ishârât*.⁵⁶ However, let's not digress, as the article's subject actually presents his view of Illuminationist philosophy. Significantly, he treats its basic questions under a separate heading, "the science of Illuminationist knowledge," in the part reserved for philosophical sciences; envisages this philosophy as a discipline; and begins the philosophical sciences with it. I suggest that this is an original position that Shirwânî uses to justify Illuminationism as a science besides a method and a circle, and thus reserves a separate place for it in the classification of sciences. In his opinion, the philosophy of Illuminationism is among the philosophical sciences (*al-'ulûm al-falsaftiyya*) and a counterpart to mysticism in the Islamic sciences (*al-'ulûm al-Islâmiyya*). The same relation is found between physics-metaphysics and theology among the Islamic sciences.

Distinguishing Illuminationist philosophy from physics and metaphysics, here Shirwânî examined this philosophy's basic questions in eleven points within the framework of al-Suhrawardî's oeuvre and reserved a relatively greater space for this topic, given the scale of the work. Shirwânî makes a valiant effort to convey the Illuminationists' views on questions like heavenly movement, relation of God and the world, proof and unity of God, and proof of prophecy by paraphrasing al-Suhrawardî's works and, by the same token, displaying how this philosophy differs from that of the Peripatetics in general.⁵⁷

54 Mustakim Arıcı, "Sadreddinzâde Şirvânî," in *Osmanlı Felsefesi: Seçme Metinler*, ed. Ömer Mahir Alper (İstanbul: Klasik, 2015), 341-42.

55 Şirvânî, "İşrâk Felsefesi İlmî," trans. Mustakim Arıcı, in *Osmanlı Felsefesi: Seçme Metinler*, ed. Ömer Mahir Alper (İstanbul: Klasik, 2015), 343-44.

56 İlhan Kutluer, "Alternatif Metafizikler: Bir Osmanlı Klasiğinde Kelâm, Felsefe ve Tasavvuf," in *Osmanlı'da Felsefe, Tasavvuf ve Bilim*, ed. Fuat Aydın and M. Bedizel Aydın (İstanbul: Mahya Yayıncılık, 2016), 30-33, 37-46.

57 Şirvânî, "İşrâk Felsefesi İlmî", 343-57.

B. Covert Illuminationist Messages: Book Titles, Chapter Headings, and Introductions

After al-Suhrawardī, scholars and philosophers of different persuasions frequently used certain concepts of Illuminationist philosophy, among them light(s) (*nūr*, pl. *anwār*), breaking and dawning (*ṭāliʿ*, pl. *ṭawāliʿ*), cusp and ascendant (*maṭlaʿ*, p. *maṭāliʿ*), and shining and glitter (*lāmiʿ*, pl. *lawāmiʿ*) in their titles, introductions, and section headings. One can suggest that doing so was a conscious choice. However, sounder results in this regard can be obtained by scanning the texts penned since the thirteenth century. A good example is al-Dawwānī's *Lawāmiʿ al-ishrāq fī makārim al-akhlāq*, which will become renowned as *Akhlāq-i Jalālī* later on. Its title and chapter headings, called "shine" (*lāmiʿ*), reflect his Illuminationist and mystical point of view. Indeed, he explicitly mentions that he will use Illuminationist philosophers in the work's introduction, where he presents his sources.⁵⁸

Similarly, many Ottoman scholars also turn to Illuminationism when choosing their titles and headings or composing introductions, such as Ṭashkubrīzāda and Kātib Chalabī, whose cases are illustrative. I suppose it is not coincidental that Kātib Chalabī selects the concept "glitters of light" (*lawāmiʿ al-nūr*), which is frequently used in Illuminationist philosophy, to render the title of his translation of Gerhard Mercator's (d. 1598) *Atlas Minor* in Latin as *Lawāmiʿ al-nūr fī zulmat Aṭlas mīnūr*. Similarly, Ṭashkubrīzāda's reference to key words of Illuminationist philosophy, in addition to the theologians and Peripatetics, at the very beginning of a theological text like *al-Maʿālim* leads us to leave room for encounters with the Illuminationist perspective in unexpected places. This example in particular can be taken as a sign of utilizing various metaphysical interpretations where appropriate.

[Text 12] حمدًا لقديم تعالی شواهی عزّه الأحمی عن أن یجلی عنها المتكلمون بعدّبات اللسان،
 علیم جلّ معاهد أحدیة الأسنی عن ارتیاك أفهام المشائیین فی ریاض الحكمة بمیزان البرهان، کریم
 أشرقّت أنوار سُبُحات وجهه الأسمى علی صفحات الأزمان وهیاكل الأكوان، قدیر قد انهلت
 سحائب جوده الأضفی، فسألّت منها أودیة علی سَكّان بقعة الإمكان.⁵⁹

58 Harun Anay, "Celāleddīn Devvānī, Hayatı, Eserleri, Ahlak ve Siyaset Düşüncesi" (Unpublished PhD diss., Istanbul University, 1994), 229, 234.

59 Ṭashkubrīzāda, *al-Maʿālim*, 132. The passage here, which includes the first lines of *al-Maʿālim*, is quoted for the key concepts it contained. Thinking that its literary virtuosity would be lost in translation, it is deliberately left untranslated.

C. Illuminism as a School of Thought

al-Suhrawardī's works contain many elements indicating that he considered Illuminism to be a particular form of philosophy. Even mentioning the terms tinged with the concept of illumination would be quite stimulating. Some of them have an Illuminist sensation or sensibility (*madhāq*), principle, intuition, and mystery. al-Suhrawardī's commentators⁶⁰ are the first to contend that Illuminism, or more commonly "Illuminists" (*al-Ishrāqiyyūn*), is an ancient school of thought that extends from Hermes Trismegistus to Plato and al-Suhrawardī and continued thereafter by the commentators. This view remains steady for the greater part of the Ottoman period. Those who make such references usually emphasized that its adherents' have an original vision of metaphysics and physics and, more rarely, of ethics, all of which contrasted with those held by the Peripatetics.

However, the treatment of Illuminism sometimes comprises opposite elements. For example, despite its definition as a philosophical school, its adherents are also seen as having mystical propensities for relying on the method of "vision and observance." Furthermore, although Ibn al-Akfānī's interpretation is less frequently encountered, it can be presented as an alternative reading that was present among some scholars like Ṭāshkubrīzāda, who understood it as a unity of truth acquired by different methods. Under this heading, I would like to consider the perception of Illuminism and where it was situated.

1. Is Illuminism a Philosophical School or a Mystical Path?

Although al-Suhrawardī's account of Illuminism's origins, provided at the beginning of his *Hikmat al-ishrāq*, served as a basis for later works, differences of perception arose in the literature about its historical course. Among them, Plato is usually presented as the pioneer of Illuminist philosophy and al-Suhrawardī as the continuation of this line during the Islamic period.

For instance, such a reading is familiar from al-Shahrazūrī's *Nuzhat al-arwāḥ* onward.⁶¹ Illuminism's history and origins were also mentioned by

60 Henry Corbin claims that Ibn Waḥshiyya (d. 291/914) had made such a reading before al-Suhrawardī. See, Corbin, *History of Islamic Philosophy*, 206.

61 Also see Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn As'ad al-Dawwānī, *Tahliyya: Sharḥ-i Lā ilāh illā Allāh*, ed. Firishta Farīdūni Furūzanda (Tehran: Sāzmān-i Intishārāt-i Kayhān, 1994), 48. In a classification found in *al-Asfār al-arba'a*, Mullā Ṣadrā (d. 1050/1641) also lists al-Fārābī, Avicenna, Bahmanyār (d. 458/1066),

Ottoman scholars where appropriate. Insofar as surveyed, these scholars were commonly inclined to view it as a school of thought, as can be seen by their using it as the proximate citation for “philosophy” and “philosopher” (*hikma*, pl. *hukamā*) with references to Illuminationism, in addition to calling the this path “sensational wisdom” (*al-hikmat al-dhawqiyya*) and its adherents “theosophical philosophers” (*al-hukamā’ al-muta’allihün*). For instance, Muşannifak, who traveled from Iran to Istanbul, envisaged Plato and al-Suhrawardī as Illuminationists in his *Ḥall al-rumüz fi kashf al-kunüz* – an input inherited from earlier scholars.⁶² Kaşşabbāshizāde İbrāhīm Efendi’s brief epistle, the *Risāla fi aḥwāl al-ishrāqiyyin*, traces Illuminationism’s history back to Hermes and Pythagoras before Plato, as can be seen in many works. And yet he points out the Illuminationists’ utilization of gnostic means of knowledge.

[Text 13] This treatise is on the Illuminationists’ state of affairs, [namely,] that they got in touch with the first principles and celestial souls via their rational souls, like Plato, Hermes, Pythagoras, and others, and benefited from the contact with esoteric knowledge and the occult sciences. Thus, it is imparted from Plato, Hermes, and Pythagoras that the heavens and the stars give off a smell. When in contact with them, we smell scents more fragrant than musk and gray amber; in fact, what is herein does not compare to them.

هذه رسالة تتعلق بأحوال الإشراقين. إنهم اتصلوا بنفوسهم الناطقة بالمبادئ العالية والنفوس الفلكية: كأفلاطون والهرمس والفيثاغورس وغيرهم، فانفعوا بالاتصال على معارف غريبة وعلوم عجيبة، حتى نقل عن أفلاطون والهرمس والفيثاغورس أن للأفلاك والكواكب لها شم وفيها روائح شم عند اتصالنا إليها أطيّب من المسك والعنبر؛ بل لا نسبة لما عندنا إلى ما هناك.⁶³

Even though he is not an Ottoman scholar, we see the same interpretation, but made in a slightly different idiom, in Bahā’ al-Dīn al-‘Āmili’s (d. 1031/1622) *al-Kashkūl*. Even if I could not pin down his source, I can say that the interpretation cited below preceded him, for one can suggest that this perspective was present

and al-Lawkarī (d. 503-517/1109-1123 [?]) among the followers of the Peripatetics. Interestingly, Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī, Naşir al-Dīn Ṭūsī, Ibn Kammūna, Quṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī and al-Shahrazūrī are classified as followers of the Stoics. See Mullā Şadr al-Dīn Shīrāzī, *al-Ḥikmat al-muta’āliyya fi al-asfār al-‘aqliyyat al-arba’a: al-Asfār al-arba’a*, ed. Aḥmad Aḥmadi (Tehran: Bunyād-i Ḥikmat-i Islāmi-i Şadrā, 2002) 6:170-71.

62 Muşannifak, *Ḥall al-rumüz wa kashf al-kunüz*, Istanbul Metropolitan Library, MS Osman Ergin 513/1, 148a-b. Sometimes Plato is regarded as both the founder of Illuminationist philosophy as well as a prophet, too. See İsmail Erdoğan, “Kethüdāzāde Ārif Efendi ve Felsefi Görüşleri,” *Fırat Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 15, no. 1 (2005): 179.

63 Kaşşabbāshizāde İbrāhīm, *Risāla fi aḥwāl al-Ishrāqiyyin*, Beyazıt State Library, MS Beyazıt 3941, 152b.

in the glosses of al-Jurjānī's *Ḥāshiya 'alā Lawāmi'al-asrār*. In al-Āmili's retelling, Illuminationism is a Platonic school that abstracts the mind from the world of generation and corruption and becomes illuminated by philosophical glitters – a method of pursuing truth that distinguishes them from the other Platonic schools (i.e., Stoicism and Peripatetic).

[Text 14] The disciples of Plato were of three parties: the Illuminationists, the Stoics, and the Peripatetics. The Illuminationists are the ones who abstracted their mental slates from the worldly markings, and the brilliant lights of wisdom from the Platonic soul's slate shone on them without mediation of the expressions and permeation of the indications. The Stoics are the ones who were sitting on the porch of his home, educating wisdom from his expressions and indications. The Peripatetics are the ones who were walking in his company, apprehending pearls of wisdom from him in this state, and Aristotle was among them. Perhaps it may be said that the Peripatetics are the ones who were walking in the company of Aristotle, not Plato.

كان تلامذة أفلاطون ثلاث فرق: وهم الإشراقيون، والرواقيون، والمشائيون. فالإشراقيون: هم الذين جردوا ألواح عقولهم عن النقوش الكونية، فأشرفت عليهم لمعات أنوار الحكمة من لوح النفس الأفلاطونية من غير توسط العبارات وتخلل الإشارات. والرواقيون: هم الذين كانوا يجلسون في رواق بيته، ويقتبسون الحكمة من عباراته وإشاراته. والمشائيون: هم الذين كانوا يمشون في ركابه، ويتلقون منه فرائد الحكمة في تلك الحالة، وكان أرسطو من هؤلاء. وربما يقال: إن المشائيين هم الذين كانوا يمشون في ركاب أرسطو؛ لا في ركاب أفلاطون.⁶⁴

Izmirlı İsmā'il Ḥaqqı Bey's inclination to consider Illuminationism a philosophical school can be seen in his article "İslām'da Felsefe Cereyanları" [Philosophical currents in Islam], published in installments at the *Darülfünun İlahiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası*. However, he also notes its close relation to mysticism, as will be expanded below. Listing al-Kindi, al-Fārābī, Avicenna, and Averroes among the Peripatetics, he counts, besides al-Suhrawardī, Avempace (d. 533/1139) and Avetophail (d. 581/1185) as Illuminationists.⁶⁵

Composing a gloss of Qāḍi al-Bayḍāwī's *Anwār al-tanzil wa asrār al-ta'wīl*, a classic reading in college (*madrassa*) curriculum, Shihāb al-Dīn al-Khafājī refers to "Muslim Illuminationist sages" together with mystics in the context of his interpretation of al-Bayḍāwī's employment of the ethical and mystical term "*ḥāl*" (state, station) in his exegesis of Quran 2:8, in his gloss *Ḥāshiyat al-Shihāb 'alā Tafṣīr al-Bayḍāwī*:

64 Bahā' al-Dīn al-Āmili, *al-Kashkūl* (Cairo: al-Maṭba'at al-Kubrā' al-Ibrāhimiyya, 1872), 1:153.

65 İzmirlı İsmail Hakki, "İslām'da Felsefe Cereyanları 2," *Darülfünun İlahiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 13 (1929), 30.

[Text 15] His saying: “If one who is right for the stations of the will claims the stations of affection, then God takes away from him what shone on him from the lights of the will.” This is a drop of the depths of Quran, caught along the route of Muslim Illuminationist sages and fellow travelers of mysticism.⁶⁶ The stations, in their terminology, are fruits of the labor among the radiant gifts from God the exalted.

قوله: (ومن صح له أحوال الإرادة فادعى أحوال المحبة فأذهب الله عنه ما أشرق عليه من أنوار الإرادة) هذا من بعض البطون القرآنية على نهج حكماء الإسلام الإشرافيين، وأرباب السلوك من المتصوفة. والأحوال في اصطلاحهم هي ميراث العمل من المواهب الفاتضة من الله تعالى.⁶⁷

It is not unusual to come across views of Illuminationism as a mystical conduct rather than a philosophical school. For example, al-Suhrawardī's own practice of abstinence; his references to Muslim gnostics like Dhū-l-Nūn al-Miṣrī, Sahl al-Tustarī, and al-Biṣṭāmī in *Ḥikmat al-ishrāq* and *al-Talwīḥāt*; the idiom in his works like *Kalimat al-taṣawwūf*; and his epistles of recitation and prayer allow his successors to make such a reading. Moreover, the mystical outlook of his Illuminationist philosophy appeals to mystics due to the possibilities it contained as a whole, so much so that it appears in the works of many mystics dealing with theory or terminology.⁶⁸ Moreover, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jāmī’s listing of al-Suhrawardī among the saints in his *Nafahāt al-uns* is an indisputable indicator of his reception as a Sufi.⁶⁹ In parallel with his classifying Illuminationist wisdom as one of the philosophical sciences, Kātib Chalabī also compares its status to mysticism among the Islamic sciences:

[Text 16] Rather, the Illuminationist philosophy is of a standing among the philosophical sciences as to mysticism among the Islamic sciences, as that is for [Peripatetic] physics and metaphysics as to the theology.

وأما حكمة الإشراف: فهي من العلوم الفلسفية بمنزلة التصوف من العلوم الإسلامية، كما أن الحكمة الطبيعية والإلهية منها بمنزلة الكلام.⁷⁰

66 Al-Bayḍāwī provides this exegesis as an explication of “[W]hen it illuminated what was around him [Moses], Allah took away their light and left them [the Israelites] in darkness [so] they could not see.” (Quran 2:17) While the verse indicates the status of hypocrites, al-Bayḍāwī attributes it to a person of this status.

67 Shihāb al-Dīn al-Khafāji, *Ḥashiyat al-Shihāb ‘alā Tafṣir al-Bayḍāwī: ‘Ināyat al-qāḍi wa kifāyat al-Rāḍi* (Diyarbakır: al-Maktabat al-Islāmiyya, nd.), 1:378.

68 For example, Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shādhilī’s (d. 800/1397) work is quite interesting, especially with respect to the references in its introduction. See, idem, *Qawānīn ḥikam al-ishrāq ilā kāffat al-ṣūfiyya bi-jamī‘ al-āfāq* (Cairo: al-Maktabat al-Azhariyya li-l-Turāth, 1999).

69 ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jāmī, *Nafahāt al-uns min ḥaḍarāt al-quḍs*, ed. Mahdī Tavḥīdipūr (Tehran: Kitābfurūshī-i Maḥmūdī, 1958), 587-88.

70 Kātib Chalabī, *Kashf al-zunūn ‘an asāmi al-kutub wa-l-funūn*, ed. M. Şerefettin Yaltkaya and Kilisli Rifat Bilge (Ankara: Milli Eğiṭim Bakanlıđı, 1941), 1:677.

The followers of Illuminationism, which is situated in the way of vision and observance in al-Jurjānī's classification, practice an asceticism not based on prophecy. Afterwards, they were discussed generally as neither adhering to Islamic law nor being a part of the Muslim community. At this point, in order to understand the reception of Illuminationism, we come across the reiteration of al-Jurjānī's interpretation in three representative works: Ḥafīd al-Taftāzānī's *al-Durr al-naḍīd*, Kātib Chalabī's *Kashf al-zunūn*, and Aḳkirmānī's *Iklīl al-tarājīm*.⁷¹

We pointed out above a variety of hues in the treatment of al-Jurjānī's scheme, for instance, the conversion of his point into a discriminatory idiom in a rather unlikely place: Fuḫūlī's *Maṭla' al-i'tiqād fī ma'rīfat al-mabda' wa-l-ma'ād*. After classifying the pursuers of truth at the beginning of said work, the great poet divides the first group into theologians and Peripatetics like al-Jurjānī and the second group into those masters of observance who believe that the shades will be raised with the soul's refinement and that truth will be upheld. The intellect's authority is discarded at the relevant stage because its demonstrative processes are a waste of time.⁷²

According to Fuḫūlī, those who follow this method are Sufis if they are Muslims and Illuminationists if they are not (*fa min al-kafara*). Thus, he calls all non-Muslim mystic groups Illuminationists without mentioning names and, going a step beyond al-Jurjānī, alludes to them as infidels:

[Text 17] [A group] among them said: "In fact, this path is exertion of the soul and refinement of the inside, because the soul is spiritual. It is eo ipso perceptive, and what is concealed from him is only so by corporeal shrouds and bodily shackles. When these shrouds are lifted with abstinence, and turning to the gracious Lord is realized, it becomes ready to receive the effluence from its source unmediated. They enlist in the path of asceticism, absolutely deny the rule of reason in learning, and are the masters of vision. The ones from the ranks of infidels are the Illuminationists, and among the Muslims they are the Sufis."

ومنهم من قال: إنما الطريق رياضة النفس وتصفية الباطن؛ لأن النفس روحانية. وهي مدركة بالذات، وما احتجبت عنها إلا بالغواشي الجسمانية والعوارض البدنية. فإذا ارتفعت تلك الحجب بالرياضات، وحصل التوجه إلى جناب القدس استعدت لقبول الفيض من المبدأ من غير واسطة. فسلك طريق الرياضة، ونفى حكم العقل عن المعارف مطلقاً، وهم الانكشافيون؛ فمن الكفرة الإشرافيون، ومن المسلمين الصوفيون.⁷³

71 Ḥafīd al-Taftāzānī, *al-Durr al-naḍīd* (Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Taqaḍḍum, 1904), 12; Kātib Chalabī, *Kashf al-zunūn*, 1:626. Muḫammad ibn Muṣṭafā Aḳkirmānī, *Kāḍī Mir Metni Hidāya Tercemesi: Iklīl al-tarājīm* (Istanbul: Maṭba'a-i 'Oṣmāniye, 1898), 3-4.

72 Fazhoḡlu, *Fuḫūlī Ne Demek İstedi?*, 29-30.

73 Fuḫūlī, *Maṭla' al-i'tiqād fī ma'rīfat al-mabda' wa-l-ma'ād*, ed. and trans. Kemal Işık and M. Esad Coşan (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Yayınları, 1962), 11-12.

One of the last examples of al-Jurjānī's line is İzmīrlī İsmā'īl Ḥaqqī Bey, whose statements on the relation between mystics and Illuminationists converge on the views of al-Qūnawī, al-Jurjānī, Anqarawī, and similar scholars.

[Text 18] Before the rise of Islam, Greek and Indian philosophers followed the way of refinement. Sages that mastered refinement are one group, Sufis and mytics that emerged in the midst of Islam are another. Sufis stand by the law of Islam in their verbal and practical exercise of refinement and alignment with the Quran and the traditions. In terms of refinement, the Indian sages and Neoplatonics do as they will.⁷⁴

2. A Critical Interpretation of al-Jurjānī: The Case of Mollā Luṭfī⁷⁵

Although Ottoman literature received Illuminationism in al-Jurjānī's paradigm, there were occasional dissenting voices, one of which belongs to Mollā Luṭfī (d. 900/1495). Indeed, the sum total of his criticisms in his gloss on *Ḥāshiyā 'alā Lawāmi' al-asrār* may prove to be quite devastating to al-Jurjānī's scheme. His critique, Mollā Luṭfī concentrates on al-Jurjānī's statements that suggest the Peripatetics and Illuminationists' non-adherence to a prophet. He argues that this is sheer slander and an old misconception (*li-anna hādihā buhtānun 'azīmun wa ifkun qadīmun*) because the former's books are replete with testimonies of prophecy and that the latter is the kernel of their philosophy. He conceives of both Peripatetics and Illuminationists as sects adhering to Plato, who is presumed to be a prophet, and cites al-Shahrazūri's *Nuzhat al-arwāḥ* and Avicenna's books as sources for the prophethood of Plato and Socrates. In his opinion, the Peripatetics make up a school that gathers around Plato and grasps philosophical sciences by means of conversation (*mubāḥatha*) and recitation (*mudārāsa*), seconded by abstinence and exercises (*al-riyādāt wa-l-mujāhadāt*). The Illuminationists, however, present themselves in service to Plato and a circle that is taught philosophical sciences through an arduous regimen, reclusion, contemplation, and turning one's face to nothingness.⁷⁶

Passing on to Socrates, Mollā Luṭfī keeps to a reading vis-à-vis "the niche of prophecy" (*mishkāt al-nubuwwa*), following the line of prophets David, Solomon, and Seth, and refutes their non-adherence to prophecy in no uncertain terms.

74 İzmīrlī İsmail Hakkı, "İslām'da Felsefe Cereyanları," *Darülfünun İlahiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 12 (1929): 28-29.

75 The relevant section of Mollā Luṭfī's *Ḥāshiyā 'alā Ḥāshiyat al-Sayyid al-Sharīf 'alā Sharḥ al-Maṭāli'*, the source of the analysis presented herein, is appended to this article.

76 Mollā Luṭfī, *Ḥāshiyā 'alā Ḥāshiyat al-Sayyid al-Sharīf 'alā Sharḥ al-Maṭāli'*, Süleymaniye Library, MS H. Hüsnü Paşa 1223: 100a.

Hence, denying allegations of the Peripatetics and Illuminationists' non-affiliation both before and after Islam, he explains how Muslim philosophers like Thābit b. Qurra (d. 288/901), Al-Kindi (d. 252/866 [?]), al-Fārābī, and Avicenna (d. 428/1037), abided by Prophet Muhammad's dominion and law (*wa-ammā al-ḥukamā' al-islāmiyyūn alladhīna wāfaqa zamānuhum al-dawlat al-muḥammadiyya wa hum ayḍan multazimūna bi-sharī'atihi*).⁷⁷ Although he includes Thābit bin Qurra in his list of Muslim philosophers, he may have meant the practice of philosophy and science in a universe of Islamic thought. At the end of the relevant passage, he discusses where al-Jurjānī's discriminatory language will lead to and raises the issue of the philosophers' denunciation. In his opinion, even in a most general way, condemning the philosophers should be strictly avoided because it is only begotten, he asserts, by the ignorance of the supposed jurists of his time (*li-mutafaqihati zamāninā alladhīna 'akhadhū dīnahum min ābā'ihim al-jahala aw min a'immati qurrā'ihim al-safala*).⁷⁸

After Mollā Luṭfi, this exchange continues after Mollā Luṭfi with al-Dawwānī and al-Dashtakī's own glosses on *Ḥāshiya 'alā Lawāmi' al-asrār*.⁷⁹ However, our focus here is on what they say about al-Jurjānī's relevant statements. Al-Dawwānī's exposition involves the supposition of a contradiction between al-Jurjānī's description of a theologian and the clause of "adherence to law of Islam" for the definition of theology. He poses the question of how those who employ speculation and demonstration, while simultaneously professing adherence to a prophet (e.g., Jewish and Christian clerics), can be called theologians when theology is defined by adherence to the law of Islam. This also applies to Sufis because the ascetics, as adherents of any prophet, are not called Sufis. In al-Dawwānī's opinion, al-Jurjānī's stipulation of theological practice conducted according to the law of Islam indicates that he meant Muslim theologians by "theologians" and that this is also the case with Sufis.⁸⁰ The authors of the relevant glosses point out that although the argument against al-Jurjānī pays attention to diction over intention, there is no contradiction of import. Indeed, Walī al-Dīn Jār Allāh's (d. 1151/1738) marginal note on the relevant passage al-Jurjānī's *Ḥāshiya 'alā Lawāmi' al-asrār*, suggesting that al-Dawwānī has rebutted Mollā Luṭfi's malignant charge about al-

77 Ibid., 100b.

78 Ibid., 101a.

79 For a manuscript that compiles these four glosses, see MS Damad İbrahim 841.

80 Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn As'ad al-Dawwānī, *Ḥāshiya qadima 'alā Ḥāshiyat al-Maṭāli'*, Süleymaniye Library, MS Carullah 1396, 78a.

Jurjānī (*aqūlu bi-mā dhakarrahū al-muḥaqqiq al-Dawwānī wa-l-mudaqqiq Mīrzājān li-yakūna an yujāba ‘ammā shana’a al-muḥaqqiq Mullā Luṭfi ‘alā al-Sayyid al-Sharif*), corroborates this judgment.⁸¹

3. Where the Two Seas Meet: Ṭāshkubrīzāda and an Alternative Reading of Illuminationism

A crucial question here is whether al-Suhrawardī’s claim that Illuminationism unified the two methods struck a chord with the Ottomans. In this context, I surmise that Ṭāshkubrīzāda makes the most compelling case. Referring to this philosophy in many of his works, he remains close to al-Jurjānī’s stance as regards the paths to truth, but builds on Ibn al-Akfānī’s perspective in the matter of Illuminationism and places it elsewhere in this scheme. This is quite remarkable, for he took a more positive position toward it, one that went beyond al-Jurjānī’s interpretation, even if he taught al-Jurjānī’s works like *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif* and was considered proficient in them.⁸² In fact, this was the main stance that he adopted, as opposed to one being particular to a single work.

As is evident in many of his works, Ṭāshkubrīzāda concurs that fundamentally there are two paths to truth: speculation and refinement. Let’s first turn to Ibn al-Akfānī’s quotation in *al-Sa’ādat al-fākhira*, in which Ṭāshkubrīzāda employs “speculation,” a term found in all classifications since Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī. The masters of speculation, pioneered by Aristotle, are called Peripatetics. Providing a literature survey, he analyzes, according to this perspective, one work of al-Fārābī, al-Rāzī, and Averroes each. Probably by mistake, he included al-Suhrawardī and *Ḥikmat al-ishrāq* in this section.

[Text 19] There are two paths for the people to attain this science [metaphysics], and the wayfarers of these paths are of two factions. One path obtains it by means of speculation and idea. Known as the Peripatetics, their dean is Aristotle and his book *Metaphysics* is the sum of his yield. *Talkhis aghrād [al-ḥakīm]* by Abi Naṣr [al-Fārābī] is a key to it, and *Theology [Enneads of Plotinus]*, *al-Mabāḥith al-mashriqiyya* by [Fakhr al-Dīn] al-Rāzī, *al-Ḥikmat al-ishrāq* by al-Suhrawardī, and *Faṣl al-maqāl bayn al-sharī’a wa-l-ṭabī’a min al-ittiṣāl* [by Averroes] stand surety for the clarification of what is suspected of this discipline from [the charge of] contravention of Islamic law.

81 Al-Sayyid al-Sharif al-Jurjānī, *Ḥāshiyā ‘alā Lawāmī’ al-asrār*, Süleymaniye Library, MS Carullah 1374, 13a. Wali al-Dīn Jār Allāh tackled the question of the Peripatetics and the Illuminationists in his gloss on *Sharḥ Hidāyat al-ḥikma* by Qāḍī Mir Maybudi (d. 909/1503-1504). See idem, *Ḥāshiyā ‘alā Sharḥ Hidāyat al-ḥikma*, Süleymaniye Library, MS Carullah 1296, 3a.

82 See Taşköprizāde, *eş-Şekāiku’n-nu’māniyye*, 552-60.

وللناس في تحصيل هذا العلم طريقان، وهم بسلوك الطريقين فرقتان: فرقةٌ تحصلها بطريق النظر والفكر، وتسمى المشاؤون، ورئيسهم أرسطوطاليس، وكتابه في ما بعد الطبيعة حاصلٌ محصوله. وتلخيص أغراض هذا الكتاب لأبي نصر مفتاح له، وكتاب أوثلوجيا والمباحث المشرقية للإمام الرّازي، وكتاب حكمة الإشراف للسهروردي، وكتاب فصل المقال بين الشريعة والطبيعة من الأتصال كافلٌ لبيان ما يُتَوَهَّم في هذا الفنِّ من مخالفة الشريعة.⁸³

The ones who pursue truth via self-refinement comprise two factions. In parallel with al-Jurjānī's description, the philosophers treading this path are Illuminationists, and the Muslims are unitarian Sufis.

[Text 20] One [other] path fared in the mystical path of the soul and idea in abstinence. These are the ascetics, and most of them reached states of sensation and [had] revealed to them [that which] cannot be described by tongue and statement and [which is] based on no evidence other than sentiment. This group, if its members were from the philosophers, are called Illuminationists, and if it were from the people of our law, they are called unitarian Sufis. There is a normative conduct and supplementary terminology for this group – apart from the said philosophy. al-Suhrawardī's *'Awārif al-ma'ārif* comprises them. But al-Jilyānī's [d. 602/1205-1206] *al-Mashāri'* is about sentimental conduct and [includes] hints of divine inspirations in its content. The *Epistle of al-Qushayrī* comprises the biographies of select Sufis until the author's time, Abī Ṭālib al-Makki's *Qūt al-qulūb* contains what is necessary for the [mystic] wayfarer. There is nothing more comprehensive and beneficial than Muḥyi al-Dīn Ibn al-'Arabī al-Ṭā'ī al-Ḥātimī's *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya*.

From the [ranks of] scholars, there are the ones who are versed in the two groups and [have] achieved mastery in both and gathered the two virtues and possessed the two graces, like Socrates and Plato from the ancient philosophers, and al-Ghazzālī and al-Suhrawardī from the contemporaries. The book *Ḥikmat al-ishrāq* is issued from this station in a code more secret than the mystery concealed within. Whoever opens it with Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī's *al-Miftāḥ* and enters from this gate to the *Exegesis of the opening chapter* of Quran is guided to straight path and attains the garden of Eden. This is the ascetics' way, and they are the unique individuals of their periods. Among those who tread this path are the learned, energetic, virtuous, and accomplished: his eminence Shams al-Dīn al-Fanārī in the Near Eastern realms and Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawwānī in the Iranian lands, both of whom are victors for both crowns and holders of these two fortunes.

83 Aḥmed ibn Muṣṭafā Ṭāshkubrīzāda, *al-Sa'ādāt al-fākhira*, MS Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa 936, 119a-119b.

وفرقةً سلك طريقة تصفية النفس والفكر بالرياضة. وهؤلاء هم النُّسَّاك، وأكثرهم يصلُّ إلى أمور ذوقية، ويكشفها له العيان بحلٍّ عن توصيف بلسان وبيان، ولا يقوم عليها دليل غير الوجدان. وهذه الطائفة إن كانوا من الحكماء يُسمَّون بالاشراقيين، وإن كانوا من أهل شريعتنا يُسمَّون بالصوفية الموحدين. ولهذه الطائفة - ما خلا الحكمة المذكورة - آداب شرعية واصطلاحات فرعية يشتمل عليها كتاب عوارف المعارف للسهروردي. وأمَّا المشارع للجلباني فأدب وجدانية، وفي خلالها رموز على النفحات ربانية. ورسالة القشيري تشتمل على سيرة أعيان الصوفية إلى زمان مصنفها، وقوت القلوب لأبي طالب المكي يشتمل على ما لا بدَّ للسالك. ولا أجمع ولا أنفع من كتاب الفتوحات المكية للشيخ محي الدين بن العربي الطائي الحاتمي.

ومن العلماء من تمهَّر في الطريقتين، وفاز كلتا الرئاستين، وجمع بين الفضيلتين، وانحاز هاتين الحسنتين: كسقراط وأفلاطون من قدماء، ومن المتأخرين الغزالي والسهروردي. وكتاب حكمة الإشراف له صادر عن هذا المقام برمز أخفى من السرِّ صدر كاتم، ومن فتح له كتاب المفتاح للشيخ صدر الدين القونوي، ودخل إلى تفسير الفاتحة من القرآن العظيم من الباب المذكور هُدي إلى صراط مستقيم، وفاز بجنة نعيم. وهذه طرق المجتهدين، وهي أفراد في الأدوار. وممن سلك هذه الطريقة العالم العامل والفاضل الكامل مولانا شمس الدين الفناري في ديار الروم، وجلال الدين الدواني في بلاد العجم، وهما فاتزا كلتا الرئاستين وحائزا ذينك الدولتين.⁸⁴

Inclined toward al-Jurjāni's interpretation in the second paragraph, Ṭāshkubrīzāda moves on to Ibn al-Akfāni's perspective by means of his exposition in the third paragraph. This ambivalence is not attested to in *Miftāḥ al-sa'āda*, as seen in the excerpt below, where Illuminationism is defined as a method that unites the two distinct paths. He cites quotations in *al-Sa'ādat al-fākhira*, whereas he mostly paraphrases in *Miftāḥ al-sa'āda*. The second work is an invaluable point of reference for his views. Another noticeable difference in the texts is that whereas al-Ghazzālī is counted as an Illuminationist in *al-Sa'ādat al-fākhira*,⁸⁵ his name goes unmentioned in the introductions of *Miftāḥ al-sa'āda*.

[Text 21] It is these two ways [to perfection]. The first of them is the demonstrative way, and the second is the experiential way. The first one is the mark of meticulous scholars, and the second one is the mark of fellow souls. Each of the ways may end up in the other, so that the wayfarer might be a conjunction for the two seas, that is to say, to run the demonstration and the observance, the science and the gnosis, or the physical and the transcendental [spheres].

84 Ṭāshkubrīzāda, *al-Sa'ādat al-fākhira*, MS Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa 936, 119a-120a; MS Serez 3927, 57a.

85 For a discussion of the content and problematic aspect of al-Ghazzālī's *Mishkāt al-anwār* that influenced the Illuminationist philosophy, see İlhan Kutluer, "Felsefe İle Tasavvuf Arasında: Gazzālī'nin *Miškātü'l-Envār*'ında Entelektüel Perspektifler," in *900. Vefat Yılında İmam Gazzālī Milletlerarası Tartışmalı İlmî Toplantısı* (İstanbul: İFAV, 2012), 507-33.

وهاتان طريقتان، والأولى منهما طريقة الاستدلال، والثانية طريقة المشاهدة؛ والأولى درجة العلماء الراسخين، والثانية درجة الصديقين. وقد تنتهي كل من الطريقتين إلى الأخرى، فيكون صاحبه مجمعا للبحرين، أي: يجري الاستدلال والمشاهدة أو العلم والعرفان أو الشهادة والغيب.⁸⁶

In *al-Sa'adat al-fākhira*, Ṭāshkubrīzāda also notes the compatibility of the Sufis' asceticism with the logic of the speculative path: "Some masters among the Illuminationist philosophers judged that Sufi discipline and practice worked along logical principles."⁸⁷ Thus, he conveys that asceticism also runs on demonstration and concludes by choosing the middle term. He continues this analysis in the introduction to the science of metaphysics and turns the subject to Illuminationism's place in this illustration, as Ibn al-Akfānī does in *Irshād al-qāsid*.

[Text 22] You have been informed that the mode of acquiring [knowledge] is either the way of speculation or the way of refinement, in what passed from [one of] the introductions. We have told you about that we speak of the way of refinement in the treatise's second part, insofar as we mention here the way of speculation only. Yet, the [way of] speculation has such a station adjacent to the way of refinement, and the definition of this approximates the definition of that. This way of sensation is called the "philosophy of sensation," of which al-Suhrawardi reached the highest station. The book *Hikmat al-ishrāq* is issued from this station in a code more secret than the mystery concealed within. (...) Among the contemporaries, the learned, energetic, virtuous, and accomplished: his eminence Shams al-Dīn al-Fanārī in the Near Eastern lands and his eminence Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawwānī in Iranian lands, both of whom are victors for both crowns and holders of those two fortunes. The doyen of these is Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī, may the Almighty bless his heart, and the savant Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shirāzī, may God pardon him.

وقد عرفت فيما سبق من المقدمات أن طريق الكسب إما طريق النظر أو طريق التصفية. وقد نبهناك على أنا نذكر طريق التصفية في الطرف الثاني من الرسالة، ولنذكر هاهنا طريق النظر فقط؛ إلا أن من النظر رتبة تتأخم طريق التصفية، ويقرب حدها من حدها، وهو طريق الذوق، ويسمونه بالحكمة الذوقية. وممن وصل إلى هذه الرتبة في السلف السهروردي. وكتاب حكمة الإشراق له صادر عن هذا المقام برمز أخفى من سر صدر كاتم. وفي المتأخرين العالم العامل والفاضل الكامل مولانا شمس الدين الفناري في بلاد الروم، ومولانا جلال الدين الدواني في بلاد العجم، وهما فائزان لكلتا الرياستين، وحائزان لتينك الدولتين. ورئيس هؤلاء الشيخ صدر الدين القونوي قدس سره العزيز، والعلامة قطب الدين الشيرازي رحمه الله.⁸⁸

86 Aḥmed ibn Muṣṭafā Ṭāshkubrīzāda, *Miftāḥ al-sa'āda wa miṣbāḥ al-siyāda fī mawḍū'āt al-'ulūm*, ed. Kāmil Kāmil Bakrī and 'Abd al-Wahhāb 'Abd al-Salām Abū al-Nūr (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Ḥadītha, 1968), 1:66.

87 Idem, *al-Sa'adat al-fākhira*, MS Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa 936, 112a.

88 Idem, *Miftāḥ al-sa'āda*, 1:313-14.

Concurrent with Ibn al-Akfānī's listing of al-Qūnawī in the Illuminationist party, Ṭāshkubrīzāda counts Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī, Mollā Fanārī, and al-Dawwānī as ambidextrous scholars of the two methods. Thus, in his depiction Mollā Fanārī, the Ottomans' first chief mufti, appears to be an Illuminationist. Kātib Chalabī, inspired by Ibn al-Akfānī and Ṭāshkubrīzāda, also alludes to this figure as an Illuminationist in his discussion of styles in metaphysics.⁸⁹

The material quoted from Ibn al-Akfānī, Ṭāshkubrīzāda, and Kātib Chalabī so far has been excerpted from texts about the classification of sciences. It is worth nothing that these scholars juxtapose mysticism and Illuminationism, as in al-Jurjānī's perspective and yet contradictorily situate the latter elsewhere, recognize al-Qūnawī as an adherent of it and associate Mollā Fanārī with this line. The caveat of the ambiguity of such texts of classification⁹⁰ vis-à-vis the feature of generalization is well-noted as a reminder to be alert. In addition, this can be read as Ṭāshkubrīzāda and Kātib Chalabī's conscious choice to regard al-Qūnawī and Mollā Fanārī as Illuminationists, given the explicit and figurative pro-Illuminationist stance in their oeuvres. Ṭāshkubrīzāda mentions the proximity of Illuminationists and Sufis in his theological text *al-Ma'ālim* and others, talks in this idiom when emphasizing a common vision on the matter of God's truth to gnostics versed in sentiment and theosophists among the Illuminationist philosophers (*wa-l-muta'allihūn min ḥukamā' al-ishrāq*),⁹¹ and reserves separate sections for the Peripatetic and Illuminationist theosophist philosophers (*ṭabaqāt al-ḥukamā' al-muta'allihīn min al-ishrāqiyyīn wa-l-mashhā'iyīn*) in his biographical work *Nawādir al-akhbār*.⁹²

On the other hand, a germane passage for analyzing Illuminationism, even if symbolic in outlook, is present in *al-Shaqā'iq al-nu'māniyya*. Al-Āmilī's device of three Platonic schools is rehashed in this work of Ṭāshkubrīzāda via the students of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Aqsarāyī. Here, we learn that his students were classified into three segments, the lowest being Peripatetics and the middle layer being Stoics. And yet the lot of the Illuminationists is recognized as the collegiate community.⁹³

89 See Kātib Chalabī, *Kashf al-zunūn*, 1:160. While partially true, Semih Ceyhan agrees that they are lacking in both the historical explication and determination of the source and nature of metaphysics. Another aspect of the problem is that Kātib Chalabī does not posit a clear connection between Mollā Fenārī and Ibn al-'Arabī. See Semih Ceyhan, "Molla Fenārī ve Bir Usul Metni Olarak Şerhu Dībâceti'l-Mesnevî," *İslâm Araştırmaları Dergisi* 23 (2010): 83-85.

90 Ibid., 87.

91 Ṭāshkubrīzāde, *el-Me'ālim*, 171.

92 Idem, *Nawādir al-akhbār*, Beyazıt State Library, MS Veliyyüddin 2458, 1b.

93 Idem, *al-Shaqā'iq al-nu'māniyya*, 15.

Although this account may be insignificant in and of itself, taking into consideration its composition and his points in other works, it would not be a stretch to say that the college Ṭāshkubrīzāda imagines is an institution that applies the Illuminationist method. Furthermore, one can suggest that the ideal scholar envisioned in his *al-Shaqā'iq al-nu'māniyya* is a dipterous scholar-gnostic (*dhū-l-janāhayn*). The people he frequently referred to in this work possess these attributes and even realized this union. Consequently, following from his critique of the contemporary college and dervish circles, as well as the obscurity of his affiliation with a mystical order despite his clear sympathies with prominent Sufis, I suppose that he was a scholar in pursuit of an urbane mystical teaching that would both manage his refinement and regimen and satisfy his intellectual curiosities – yet one without a sense of fulfillment achieved in his time.⁹⁴ One can also express this pursuit and effort, noticeable in many scholars of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as the “methodical integration”⁹⁵ they try to build between different systems.

4. Some Efforts at Synthesis: Ottoman Illuminationist Interpretations in the Axis of Ibn al-‘Arabī’s and Sunnite Teaching

Illuminationist philosophy was in contact with different thought systems from the outset and kept its presence in the constitution of variant styles and theories. One can count a variety of syntheses, among them Ṣā’in al-Dīn Ibn Turka al-İşfahānī (d. 835/1432), who combines the Peripatetic and Illuminationist philosophies with Ibn al-‘Arabī’s gnosis in the body of Shiite esotericism as well as in *Tamhīd al-qawā‘id*,⁹⁶ Ibn Abī Jumhūr al-Aḥṣā’ī’s (d. 904/1499 [?]) proposition of a Shiite interpretation of Illuminationist theology,⁹⁷ and Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Harawī’s (d. post-1008/1600) comparison of Illuminationism with the Advaita school of Indian philosophy,⁹⁸ and Mullā Ṣadrā original philosophical outlook. Similar moods

94 For the background of this opinion, see Mustakim Arıcı, *İnsan ve Toplum: Taşköprüzâde'nin Ahlâk ve Siyaset Düşüncesi* (Ankara: Nobel Yayın Dağıtım, 2016), 24-26, 86, 145.

95 For the concept and a proposal of periodization, see İbrahim Halil Üçer, “İslam Düşünce Tarihi İçin Bir Dönemlendirme Önerisi,” *İslam Düşünce Atlası*, ed. İbrahim Halil Üçer (İstanbul: Konya Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, 2017), 1:27-28.

96 Matthew S. Melvin-Koushki, “The Quest for a Universal Science: The Occult Philosophy of Ṣā’in al-Dīn Turka İşfahānī (1369-1432) and Intellectual Millenarianism in Early Timurid Iran” (Unpublished PhD diss., Yale University, 2012), 128.

97 Ṭāhir Kamālīzāda and Riḍā Gūhgan, “İbn Abī Jumhūr: Mu’assisu Kalām-i Shī’i İshrāqī,” *Falsafa va Kalām-i İslāmī* 49, no. 2 (2016-17), 239-55.

98 Al-Harawī, who penned a commentary of *Ḥikmat al-ishrāq* in Persian entitled *Anwāriyya*, is a Sufi affiliated with Chishtī order. Ziai, the work’s editor, notes that one of its distinguishing features is the comparisons of Illuminationist philosophy with Advaita Vedānta. Hossein Ziai, “Muqaddima-i Muṣaḥḥih,” in *Anwāriyya: Tarjuma wa Sharḥ-i Ḥikmat al-Ishrāq-i Suhrawardī*, by al-Harawī, ed. Hossein Ziai (Tehran: Mu’assasa-i Intishārāt-i Amīr Kabīr, 1984) xv-xvii.

are encountered among some Ottoman scholars like Muşannifak, Ḥusām al-Dīn ‘Alī al-Bidlīsī, Ismā‘il Rusūkhī Anqarawī, and Ḥasan Kurdī. While the first two stand closer to Iran’s cultural milieu, Anqarawī is a typical Ottoman scholar on the point of representativeness.

Muşannifak’s interest in Illuminationism is significant for early Ottoman scholars, for he describes its adherents, along the lines of al-Jurjānī’s argument, as a group not subject to prophecy⁹⁹ while simultaneously leveling severe accusations against Avicenna.¹⁰⁰ Under Mehmed II’s patronage,¹⁰¹ he wrote a commentary on al-Suhrawardī’s *al-Kalimāt al-dhawqiyya* (also known as *Risālat al-Abrāj*¹⁰²) in 866/1462¹⁰³ under the title *Ḥall al-rumūz wa kashf al-kunūz*¹⁰⁴ and with a lengthy introduction.¹⁰⁵ While he speaks as a Sufi in this work with an occasional reference to his shaykh Zayn al-Dīn al-Khwāfī (d. 838/1435),¹⁰⁶ one can see the name of a prominent mystic like al-Biṣṭāmī, Sahl al-Tustarī, and al-Qushayrī on almost every page. Besides, Muşannifak’s use of Illuminationist doctrines in certain issues can be detected. In the agenda section of the introduction, he deals with mystical knowledge and the Sufi orders in the first two articles and the discusses the definitions of “wisdom,” “philosopher,” and “Sufi” in the third one.¹⁰⁷ In his opinion *ḥikma* means philosophy in a third sense, and in this sense the philosophers are classified as either Peripatetic or Illuminationist. Aristotle is the pioneer of Peripatetic philosophy, al-Fārābī and Avicenna are his followers during the Islamic period, and Plato is the dean of the Illuminationists.¹⁰⁸ Remarkably, he complains about the abundance of people who state business with philosophy in this sense and look down on people, particularly in Anatolia and the historical period in general.¹⁰⁹

99 Muşannifak. *Ḥall al-rumūz*, 203a-b.

100 Ibid., 25b.

101 Ibid., 3b, 4b.

102 At the end of this brief work about the phenomenon of abstraction and overcoming psychological obstacles, al-Suhrawardī relates a narrative of a castle with ten towers representing human head. The first tower is the mouth, the second one is nose, the third one is the eyes, the fourth one is the ears, and the fifth one is touch. Muşannifak calls them “external towers.” Ibid., 198a. Afterwards, he moves on to the narration of internal senses completing ten. Walbridge says that this work is *Risālat al-Abrāj*. See John Walbridge, “The Devotional and Occult Works of Suhrawardī the Illuminationist,” *Ishraq* 2 (2011): 96. <https://iphra.ru/uplfile/smironov/ishraq/2/9walbri.pdf> (accessed July 23, 2018).

103 Muşannifak. *Ḥall al-rumūz*, 213b.

104 Ibid., 5b.

105 The copy that I used also consists of 214 folios, and the commentary starts from f. 131. Thus, the ten-section introduction makes up two-thirds of the text.

106 Ibid., 22a.

107 Ibid., 21b-31b.

108 Ibid., 203b.

109 Ibid., 25a.

In one place he gives an account of his own experience and, one may say, fully identifies with the Illuminationist stance. He mentions how, during 839 AH while at the court of the Timurid ruler Shāhrukh (r. 1405-1447) in Qarabagh of the Tabriz region, he experienced a ten-day out-of-body experience¹¹⁰ similar to the one that Plato, the pioneer of sensational wisdom, tasted and that al-Suhrawardī mentioned in *Ḥikmat al-ishrāq*.¹¹¹ While Muşannifak belies the work's mystical mannerisms, he nevertheless connects himself to the Illuminationist perspective through this account. It is quite astonishing that a Platonic experience is praised in a work penned under the patronage of an Ottoman sultan. This can be thought of as a sort of lobbying by a scholar who noticed the sultan's philosophical interest at first hand. On the other hand, the Illuminationist interests of a scholar who tasted the phenomenon of Illuminationist abstraction under the tent of the Timurids, who were in a stalemate with the Ottomans, appears to have found an echo in Istanbul.

Another person who has to be mentioned when discussing Ottoman Illuminationism is Ḥusām al-Dīn 'Alī al-Bidlīsī, whose tutelage occurred under Sayyid Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh (d. 869/1464), a mentor of the Nūrbakhshīyya branch of the Kubrawīyya order. This is because his major work, *Jāmi' al-tanzīl wa-l-ta'wīl*, and other works contain traces of the Peripatetic and Illuminationist schools, together with teachings of Ibn al-'Arabī. His statement of purpose for composing *al-Kanz al-khafī fī bayān maqāmāt al-şūfī*, which deals with being and certain metaphysical topics, reads: [I] "wrote the work in conformity with the stations of prophets, saints, scholars, Illuminationist and Peripatetic metaphysicians and the learning revealed to them during their observance." Frequently using Illuminationist concepts and theories in his works, he cites their views along with those of the Illuminationists. Nevertheless, Ibn al-'Arabī's influence is more marked in al-Bidlīsī,¹¹² for the influence of Ḥusām al-Dīn 'Alī al-Bidlīsī, the father of Idrīs-i Bidlīsī, lived on through his son as well as through his own works. Thus, a survey of Illuminationism in the Ottoman scholarly world should must note him in this respect.

İsmā'īl Rusūkhī Anqarawī, an Ottoman scholar who follows the Illuminationist philosophy intently, gives it a central place in his thought.¹¹³

110 Muşannifak, *Hall al-rumūz*, 148a-b.

111 al-Suhrawardī, *Ḥikmat al-ishrāq*, 160-61.

112 Esma Çetin, "Hüsameddin Ali el-Bitlisî'nin (ö. 909/1504) *Câmiu't-Tenzil ve't-Te'vil* İsimli Eserinden Âl-i İmrân Süresinin Tahkik ve Tahlili" (Unpublished PhD diss., Sakarya University, 2016), 31, 35; eadem, "Hüsameddin Ali El-Bitlisî'nin *Câmi'ü't-tenzil ve't-te'vil* İsimli Eserinde İşrâkî Felsefenin Etkisi," in *Osmanlı ve İran'da İşrâk Felsefesi*, ed. M. Nesim Doru et al. (Ankara: Divan Kitap, 2017), 67-68, 71.

113 As the researchers of Anqarawī's work suggested, his scientific conception has the form of a tripod. In Bilal Kuşpınar's opinion, they are mysticism, the Sunnite rite, and speculative theology seconded

Being a commentator of the *Mathnawī*, Anqarawī not only wrote the first Turkish commentary of *Hayākil al-nūr*, the Illuminationist school's classic philosophical text, but also penned *Miṣbāḥ al-asrār*, an exegesis of the Light verse.¹¹⁴ He writes that even though he went through the exegetical works like *Anwār al-tanzil*, *al-Kashshāf*, and *Ma'ālim al-tanzil*, he could not find what he was looking for in the sources before drafting his own exegesis. While recognizing the value of al-Ghazzālī's *Mishkāt al-anwār*, he claims that he could not see the mysteries that God had revealed to him in this work and thus finally picked up the pen to note down the pearls and gems in his heart.¹¹⁵ Nonetheless, both al-Suhrawardī's and al-Ghazzālī's works appear to have had an impact on this work.

Anqarawī's interest in Illuminationist philosophy is quite clear from his commentary on *Hayākil al-nūr*, which he entitled *Īdāḥ al-ḥikam*. His lifetime, the first half of the seventeenth century, coincides with major debates on philosophical sciences in the Ottoman milieu. In this context, the interest in al-Suhrawardī's works in Iran and the Near East during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has to be noted. But more specifically, one can suppose that one of his aims for writing his commentary on *Hayākil al-nūr* was to deny the allegation that this philosophy was contrary to Sunnite rite,¹¹⁶ for he defended the importance of intellect in the pursuit of truth at the high point of the Qāḏizādeli movement, with the slogan of whether philosophy is worth a dime. In this respect, his poem about intellect in his last work, the *Epistle of Eschatology*, is also worthy of note.¹¹⁷ He mentions points of agreement between Sunnite theology and Sufism at the explications in his *Mathnawī* commentary.

His brand of Illuminationism unites philosophical proof, theological demonstration, and mystical vision. In fact, one can say that it consists of a dialogue

by Illuminationist philosophy. He employs "Sunnite rite" in a jurisprudential sense. More specifically, Kuşpınar mentions the three metaphysical doctrines that inspire Anqarawī: al-Rūmī's gnosis, Ibn al-'Arabī's metaphysics, and al-Suhrawardī's Illuminationist philosophy. See Bilal Kuşpınar, *İsmā'il Ankaravî on the Illuminative Philosophy: His İzah'ul-Hikem, Its Edition and Analysis in Comparison with Dawwani's Shawakil al-Nur, Together with the Translation of Suhrawardi's Hayakil al-Nur* (Kuala Lumpur: ISTAC, 1996), 45-47; idem, "An Introduction to İsmâ'îl Rusûkhi Anqaravî," in *The Lamp of Mysteries (Miṣbāḥ al-Asrār): A Commentary on the Light-Verse of the Qur'an: Arabic Text Critically Edited*, ed. Bilal Kuşpınar (Oxford: Anqa Publishing, 2011), 20-22. Semih Ceyhan, however, thinks that these metaphysical doctrines are mysticism, Sunnite theology, and Illuminationist philosophy. See, Ceyhan, "İsmail Ankaravî ve Mesnevi Şerhi," 64.

114 Ibid., 64, 119, 234-35, 239.

115 Anqarawī, *The Lamp of Mysteries (Miṣbāḥ al-Asrār): A Commentary on the Light-Verse of the Qur'an: Arabic Text Critically Edited*, ed. Bilal Kuşpınar (Oxford: Anqa Publishing, 2011), 3-4.

116 Kuşpınar, *İsmā'il Ankaravî on the Illuminative Philosophy*, 48-49.

117 Ceyhan, "İsmail Ankaravî ve Mesnevi Şerhi," 120.

between the notion of the unity of being in the Ibn al-‘Arabī-al-Qūnawī tradition and Illuminationist concepts, which are then reconciled to Sunnite theology.¹¹⁸

On the other hand, he painstakingly distinguishes the method of Illuminationist self-discipline from Sufism, consistent with al-Jurjānī, on the ground that it does not adhere to a conduct of spiritual advance, by which he means that it is not undertaken under a gracious shaykh’s guidance.¹¹⁹

It is impossible to read the turn toward Illuminationism during the seventeenth century by scholars like Anqarawī independent of the historical backdrop and interests of contemporary scholars. I therefore suspect that the vibrancy following the sixteenth-century commentaries by al-Dawwānī and al-Dashtakī on *Hayākil al-nūr*, to which of people from the Near East to the Southern Asia paid close attention, is the main reason for the rejuvenated interest in al-Suhrawardī’s texts and in Illuminationism itself. The common cultural universe of the period’s scholars and the dynamic relations among them have to be factored in as well.

However, this statement does not warrant a neglect of the local dynamics at play in the interests of scholars like Kātib Chalabī and Anqarawī, for we even have evidence from cases where al-Suhrawardī’s works were studied and taught by scholars. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan b. Shihāb al-Dīn al-Gūrānī (d. 1101/1690), a teacher of Walī al-Dīn Efendi, was a prominent scholar and Sufi with students from the distant corners of the Islamic world.¹²⁰ His academic lineage in theology and philosophy extended back to al-Dawwānī through his teachers Mīrzājān al-Shīrāzī al-Baghnawī (d. 994/1586) and Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (d. 961-62/1554), and he apparently taught *Ḥikmat al-ishrāq* in Madina, based on the testimony of his student Abū Sālīm al-‘Ayyashī (d. 1090/1679).¹²¹ This example indicates al-Suhrawardī’s appeal beyond a college curriculum. In this respect, Jār Allāh Efendi’s marginalia exhibits a corroborative outlook. He provides an instance of comparative reading by noting that the words of prayer at the beginning of *Ḥikmat al-ishrāq*¹²² are mentioned in the third section of *al-Mashāri‘ wa-l-muṭārahāt*.¹²³ While discussing the difference between vision and observance, Jār Allāh Efendi refers the reader to al-Suhrawardī’s *Kalimat al-taṣawwuf*.¹²⁴

118 Ibid., 66, 70-71.

119 Ceyhan, “İsmail Ankaravī ve Mesnevi Şerhi,” 62, 70.

120 Recep Cici, “Kūrānī,” *DİA*, 26:426-27.

121 Khaled el-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History in the Seventeenth Century: Scholarly Currents in the Ottoman Empire and the Maghreb* (New York: Cambridge University, 2015), 50-52.

122 al-Suhrawardī, “Kitāb al-Mashāri‘ wa-l-muṭārahāt,” in *Majmū‘a-i Muṣannafāt-i Shaykh-i Ishrāq*, ed. Henry Corbin, 2nd printing (Tehran: Pizhūhishgāh-i ‘Ulūm-i İnsāni va Muṭāla‘āt-i Farhangī, 1993), 1:196.

123 Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī, *Sharḥ Ḥikmat al-ishrāq*, Süleymaniye Library, MS Carullah Efendi 1315, 1b.

124 Ibid., 4b.

We would be amiss if we omitted Ḥasan Kurdî from this survey of Ottoman Illuminationism. According to his own account, established via *Hayâkil al-nûr*, his affinity with it occurred in three steps. First, versifying and then memorizing *Hayâkil al-nûr*, he crowned his affection for it with his *Kitâb Sharḥ al-Alfiyyat al-ḥikamiyya*, a quaint commentary on it.¹²⁵ Even though he hails from Iran, his extended stay in the Ottoman domains and settling down in Damascus is enough to consider him an Ottoman scholar. Having composed the said work in Damascus in 1170, the author's other works entail a clear interest in Muḥyî al-Dîn Ibn al-'Arabî. He makes comparisons between the Illuminationist and Peripatetic philosophies in *Kitâb Sharḥ al-Alfiyyat al-ḥikamiyya* by discussing a variety of subjects in physics, metaphysics, and psychology. Quṭb al-Dîn al-Shîrâzî's *Sharḥ Ḥikmat al-ishrâq* can be recognized as one of this work's basic sources.¹²⁶

In the relevant section above, Kâtib Chalabî's opinions of Illuminationist philosophy was mentioned in relation with the title of his *Lawâmî' al-nûr fî zulmat Aṭlas mînûr*. And yet it appears that he has a keener interest, for presenting himself as being "of Illuminationist bent"¹²⁷ places him ahead of those who explicitly profess his spiritual affiliation. Gottfried Hagen, who wrote a monograph on him as a geographer and his *Jihânumâ*, mentions this aspect of Chalabî's life in his meticulous analysis. Noting that we have no clear conception of his contemporaries' interest in Illuminationist philosophy, Hagen poses the question of whether he was a solitary figure in this regard.¹²⁸ The cases cited here indicate that this was not the case; however, a more precise understanding of his own inclination and conduct requires more elaboration and comparative treatment.

The last name to be taken into consideration is Şâfi (d. post-1222/1808), a very poet who served as a grand vizier's scribe in his professional career. He makes a genuine case for the Illuminationist idiom's versatility and works with its themes like light and shade in his oeuvre. Attributing Illuminationism to Plato, Şâfi catches one's attention with his poems with an Illuminationist self-designation.¹²⁹ A few couplets are:

125 Ḥasan Kurdî, *Kitâb Sharḥ al-Alfiyyat al-ḥikamiyya*, Süleymaniye Library, MS Laleli 2515, 1b.

126 Mahmut Meçin, "Sühreverdî Şarihlerinden Hasan el-Kürdî ve *Heyâkilü'n-Nûr* Şerhi," in *Osmanlı ve İrani'de İsrâk Felsefesi*, ed. M. Nesim Doru et al. (Ankara: Divan Kitap, 2017), 109-13, 117; also see Zeynel Abidin Hüseyini, "İsrâkî Felsefe Geleneğinin Kayıp Halkası: Hasan El-Kürdî ve Nefs Anlayışı," in *Osmanlı ve İrani'de İsrâk Felsefesi*, ed. M. Nesim Doru et al. (Ankara: Divan Kitap, 2017), 131-72.

127 Kâtib Chalabî, *Sullam al-wuṣûl ilâ ṭabaqâti al-fuḥûl*, ed. Maḥmûd 'Abd al-Qâdir al-Arnâ'ût (İstanbul: İslam Tarih, Sanat ve Kültür Araştırma Merkez, 2010), III, 447.

128 Gottfried Hagen, *Bir Osmanlı Coğrafyacısı İş Başında: Kâtib Çelebi'nin Cihannümâ'sı ve Düşünce Dünyası*, trans. Hilal Görgün (İstanbul: Küre Yayınları, 2015), 60-61.

129 For the corpus and verses in Illuminationist themes by Şâfi, see Özlem Ercan, "Bektâşî ve İsrâkî Bir Şair: Sâfi, Hayatı ve Divan'ının Nüshaları," *Turkish Studies: Türkoloji Araştırmaları* 8, no. 1 (2013): 1375-95.

The spirit of Pythagoras & Plato, tender of salty dog,
Flushes a cadet of Illumination on board, to the lamp of the lighthouse.¹³⁰

Each word of mine is trading the holy word,
I'm the declaration of the radiant wisdom of Platonic ways.¹³¹

Having learned of the radiant wisdom from Plato right,
Beholding the true mystery in one chalice, bespoke.¹³²

IV. Conclusion: Can We Speak of an Illuminationist Milieu in the Ottoman Era?

Indeed, can we speak of Ottoman counterparts to al-Aḥsā'i, al-Dawwānī, Ibn Turka, and al-Harawī? Does their scholarly interest solely consist of composing commentaries on al-Suhrawardī's texts or making occasional references to them in their own works? This contribution pursues many similar questions, tries to provide a framework for the Ottoman scholarly world's interest in Illuminationism, and raises the topicality of such questions by asking whether we may speak of an Ottoman Illuminationism. Thus, it can be regarded as an attempt to illustrate an original Ottoman appetite for it while offering the said framework for an Ottoman scholarly interpretation of it.

Given the above documentation, we may conclude that the Illuminationist interpretation took root in the Ottoman milieu that developed thanks to the influence of al-Jurjānī's works and his students in particular. Both al-Suhrawardī's works and the Illuminationist philosophy were popular. After the first commentaries that put forward *Ḥikmat al-ishrāq* and *al-Talwīḥāt*, we may suggest that *Hayākil al-nūr* became more important owing to al-Dawwānī's commentary. There is also a compatibility in Iran and the Near East in this regard. Nevertheless, the literature developed in Iran was far richer and variegated. On the other hand, it is not coincidental that the scholars of the rival Ottoman and Safavid, both of whom claimed the political leadership of the Muslim world, undertook great efforts to present systemic syntheses. This political rivalry also influenced the scholars' integrative readings, including Illuminationist texts. Read in line with the Shiite trend in Iran, it assumes Sunnite hues in Ottoman domains. Both parties

130 Özlem Ercan, *Sâfi Divânı: Hayatı, Sanatı, Karşılaştırmalı Metin, Sözlük, Dizin* (İstanbul: Gaye Kitabevi, 2014), 426.

131 Ibid., 501.

132 Ibid., 555.

also borrowed from the teachings of Ibn al-‘Arabī and al-Rūmī. Jumhūr al-Aḥsā’i has a Shiite outlook, and Mullā Şadrā turns to a Sunnite conception on the part of Ottoman scholars. In this context, Ṭāshkubrīzāda’s reading of Illuminationism and the original interpretations of Anqarawī, Ḥusām al-Dīn ‘Alī al-Bidlīsī, and Ḥasan Kurdi are remarkable. One should also remember Ṭāshkubrīzāda’s theological text, written from the Sunnite perspective, that unifies the Ash‘arite, Peripatetic, and Illuminationist idioms, as well as Anqarawī’s effort to gather Sunnite, Mawlawī, and Illuminationist perspectives.

I summarize the main points of my findings, after perusing and analyzing the sources cited above, in the following manner. On the one hand, given the limits of space I omitted some names and subjects, among them the links of the commentators of *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, *Miftāḥ al-ghayb*, and the *Mathnawī*, notably Dāwud al-Qayşarī and Mollā Fanārī with Illuminationist philosophy, and the contributions of al-Jurjānī’s predecessors like Sirāj al-Dīn al-Urmawī (d. 682/1283), Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāzi (d. 766/1365), and some commentators of *al-Ishārāt*. On the other hand, it would be worthwhile to pursue whether there is a link between the interpretations of Illuminationist philosophy and *Ḥurūfiyya* (the esoteric knowledge of letters) during the Ottoman period.

However, at this point in time I am persuaded that the incremental knowledge contributed by more currents, names, and works will not change the point, but only add to its refinement. The artistic and literary reflections of Illuminationism are also veritable subjects that remain rather uncharted territory for the time being in my own research. What has been quoted from Şāfi here probably resonates well with his poet peers. Saturated with symbolic overtones, researchers are also welcome to follow the lead of this philosophy into decorative and pictorial arts, as well as the architectural elements in mosques, dervish lodges, and colleges.

At the start, the literature of Illuminationist philosophy within Ottoman lands and the relevant debates deserved attention and detailed analysis. With this goal in mind that, I tried to sketch a framework and classify the material at hand under the subheadings above. Certainly this approach, which sought to overcome the methodological intricacies and inconveniences due to the course of Ottoman philosophy and the nature of Illuminationist philosophy, will be improved with further discussion and research.

Appendix: Mollā Luṭfī, Ḥāshiya ‘alā Ḥāshiyat al-Sayyid al-Sharīf ‘alā Sharḥ al-Maṭāli‘, Süleymaniye Library, MS H. Hüsnü Paşa 1223: 100a-101a; MS Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 908: 81a-b.

(فهم المتكلمون): أي هم الطائفة الذين سمو في هذا الدين بالمتكلمين؛ لا الطائفة الحادثة في هذا الدين بعد حدوث علم الكلام. (وإلا فهم المشاؤون)، وإياك أن تفهم منه أن المشائين لم يقولوا بنبوّة الأنبياء؛ لأن هذا بهتان عظيم وإفك قديم. فإن كتب المشائين مشحونة بإثبات النبوة؛ بل النبوة على أصلهم مما يجب صدوره في سلسلة الكائنات على ما يظهر من مطالعة كتبهم. فإن أردت أن تعرف حقيقة الحال فاستمع لما تتلى عليك من المقال:

إن المشائين هم الطائفة الذين كانوا يترددون إلى جناب أفلاطون الإلهي، ويأخذون منه العلوم الحكمية بالمباحثة والمدارسة، دون الرياضات والمجاهدات. والإشراقيون هم الذين كانوا يأخذونها بطول الخدمة والإقامة في جنبه بأنواع الرياضات الشاقة، والعزلة والخلوة ودوام التوجه إلى عالم الغيب. وأفلاطون كان ممن يُظنّ بنبوته على ما ورد في بعض الأحاديث من أن أفلاطون كان نبيا لجهلة قومه. وأيضا كان أفلاطون تلميذ سقراط الذي كان من الأنبياء على ما صرح به الشهرزوري في تواريخ الحكماء، وصرح به أيضا ابن سينا في بعض كتبه. وأيضا سلسلة سقراط ينتهي إلى لقمان صاحب داود عليه السلام، / [١٠٠ ظ] وفيثاغورس صاحب سليمان عليه السلام. وبالجملة سلسلة الإشراقيين والمشائين كلهم ينتهي إلى أصحاب السفارة، وهم يدعون أنهم أخذوا الحكمة من أصحاب السفارة، ومن جملتهم داود وسليمان إلى أن ينتهي إلى هرمس الهرامسة وإلى شيش النبي عليه السلام المسمى في أغاتاديمون.

وإذا كان حالهم كذلك فكيف يظن بهم أنهم لم يلزموا ملة من ملل الأنبياء؟ ولو سلم ذلك فلا يلزم منه أن لا يقولوا بهم؛ لأن نبوة الأنبياء - غير محمد عليه السلام - كانت خاصة بطائفة طائفة على قدر حاجة تلك الطائفة إلى الأشياء. وطائفة المشائين كانوا يعرفون ما يجب أن يعلم ويعمل بالنظر، والإشراقيون بالتوجه، فلا جرم لم يرسل إليهم الأنبياء؛ بل وصلوا إلى الله تعالى بالنظر أو التوجه إلى جناب الغيب. والتوصل إلى الله تعالى بدون الأنبياء مما لم يستنكر إمكانه؛ بل وقوعه، والعلم بذلك أويس القرني؛ فإنه كان اصلا قبل وصول دعوة نبينا إليه، وبعد وصوله التزم شريعته؛ لأن رسالته كانت عامة لكافة الناس لقوله تعالى: ﴿وَمَا أَرْسَلْنَاكَ إِلَّا كَافَّةً لِّلنَّاسِ﴾ [السبا، ٢٨/٣٤]. فلا يلزم - بعدم التزام المشائين والإشراقيين لملة من ملل الأنبياء الذين لم يعم لهم نبوتهم - عدم قولهم يتوهم حتى يجترأ على تكفيرهم. ولو سلم عدم قولهم بنبوتهم لكن لا نسلم أنه يلزم منه تكفيرهم إذا لم يرسل إليهم. هذا حال من مضى من الحكماء قبل ظهور الإسلام، أي الدين المحمدي.

وأما الحكماء الإسلاميون الذين وافق زمانهم الدولة المحمدية وهم أيضا ملتزمون بشريعته، ومقتبسون من أنواره: كتابت بن قرة والكندي والفارابي / [١٠١ و] وابن سينا وأمثالهم. وكلهم يلتزمون توفيق الحكمة للشريعة؛ فالحذر كل الحذر أن ينسب الحكماء مطلقا إلى الكفر أتباعا لمتفقهة زماننا الذين أخذوا دينهم من آبائهم الجهلة أو من أئمة قرائم السفلة. ولذلك إذا سمعوا ما لم يقرع أسماعهم منهم قالوا: ما سمعنا بهذا في آبائنا الأولين، ولم تؤمنوا بما جاءهم من الحق المبين. فأنت إذا تحققت هذا المقال فلا تكن من المقلدين الذين يهيمون في وادي الضلال.

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