

AN OVERSHADOWED AKBARĪ SUFĪ IN FOURTEENTH-CENTURY ANATOLIA: SHAMS AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD AL-TUSTARĪ AND HIS INTELLECTUAL LEGACY

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Abstract

This study addresses a long-standing case of identity confusion in Islamic intellectual history between two contemporaneous 8th/14th-century scholars known as al-Tustarī: Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī and Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī (d. 732/1332). While Badr al-Dīn al-Tustarī, a prominent theologian and philosopher, has been well documented, Shams al-Dīn's life and intellectual legacy have remained largely in obscurity. Using a comparative methodology that examines paratextual elements of their works –such as introductions, conclusions, titles, dedications, and places of composition– this research clearly distinguishes the two figures. It then reconstructs

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Shams al-Dīn al-Tustarī's intellectual profile through an analysis of his authenticated works. The findings indicate that Shams al-Dīn was a 14th-century Anatolian Sufi active in Konya, who was active within the political sphere of the Eşrefoğlu principality and enjoyed Mamlūk patronage. His intellectual outlook reflects an original synthesis of Avicennan philosophy and Akbarī Sufism. By resolving this confusion, the study restores Shams al-Dīn al-Tustarī's rightful place in Islamic intellectual history and sheds light on the sophistication of Anatolian Sufi thought. Since the extant and identifiable works by Shams al-Dīn al-Tustarī are largely limited to texts attributed to Badr al-Dīn al-Tustarī, particular care has been taken to distinguish between the two figures. In addition, several works belonging to Shams al-Dīn al-Tustarī that were not attributed to Badr al-Dīn al-Tustarī have been identified and are examined separately in this article. In light of the available evidence, it appears that Shams al-Dīn al-Tustarī has not, to date, been the subject of an independent biography in either classical biographical literature or modern academic scholarship.

Key Words: Tasawwuf, 14th-century Anatolia, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī, akbarism, Eşrefoğlu principality, Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī

Introduction*

In the history of Islamic thought, the confusion of scholars who lived in the same period and who bore similar names constitutes a significant research problem.¹ In this context, the identity confusion between two scholars bearing the *nisbah* al-Tustarī who lived in the 8th/14th century –Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī (d. after 727/1327) and Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī (d. 732/1332)– is clearly observable both in classical biographical sources and in

* I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the anonymous reviewer, who drew my attention to the works authored and copied by the Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī in the Reisülkütab and Fatih collections, thereby helping to guide the arguments of this study on a sound footing; who also pointed out the attribution to Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī in Muḥammad ibn Maṣṣūr al-Maqdisī's (d. after 795/1393) commentary on *Manāzil al-sā'irīn*; and whose numerous valuable suggestions and corrections have been instrumental in bringing this article to its present form.

¹ Yasin Apaydın, "Timurlu Dönemi Herat'ında Bir Müderris: Mesud Şirvânî'nin (ö. 905/1500) Entelektüel Biyografisine Doğru", *İslam Tetkikleri Dergisi* 13/2 (September 2023), 507-509; Mustafa Yasin Akbaş, "Mesâbîhu's-Sünne Şerhlerinden *Miftâbu'l-Fütûb*'un Eşref el-Fukkâ'ye Aidiyeti Meselesi", *Şırnak Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 27 (December 2021), 208-233.

modern academic studies. The personality of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī has been lost, remaining in the shadow of his contemporary Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī, who became famous as a student of al-Bayḍāwī (d. 685/1286) and a commentator on his works; he authored works that comparatively deal with the commentaries on *al-Ishārāt* by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210) and Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274), who are commentators on Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037).² The subject of this article, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī, has remained overshadowed by Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī, a situation that has made it difficult to reconstruct his biography and intellectual legacy. This gap in the literature necessitates a systematic examination of the differences between the lives, works, and intellectual frameworks of the two scholars.

First, while our study addresses the issue of the relative obscurity of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī's scholarly identity, it takes as its central point of departure the problem of name confusion with Badr al-Dīn al-Tustarī as one of the main underlying causes. Nevertheless, it is clear that explaining the matter solely on the basis of this similarity is insufficient. Notably, a scholar who lived in Anatolia and whose works circulated within the region, some of them even entering palace libraries, is not mentioned by a figure such as Kātib Chalabī (d. 1067/1657), who authored comprehensive bibliographical works. In particular, the absence of any reference to Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī's commentary on *Manāzil al-sā'irīn* in contexts where numerous commentaries on this work are listed suggests that his scholarly legacy may have been overlooked.

In this respect, rather than attributing Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī's limited recognition solely to name confusion, it may be argued that additional factors played a determining role, such as the restricted circulation of his works, their omission from the

² Zeynep Tslıgkır, *Bedreddin et-Tüsterî'nin* (ö. 732/1332) el-Muhâkemât beyne Şerhayî'l-İşârât *Adh Eserinin Tabkik ve İncelemesi* (İstanbul: Marmara University, Institute of Social Sciences, Master's Thesis, 2017); Abū 'Abd Allāh Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn As'ad al-Tustarī, *Majma' al-durar fī sharḥ al-Mukhtaṣar: wa-buwa sharḥ Mukhtaṣar Ibn al-Hājib fī uṣūl al-fiqḥ wa-aḥad al-shurūḥ al-sab'ah al-sayyārah*, ed. 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ghāzī Khaṣīfān - Ismā'īl al-Hājī - 'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Rasīnī (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 2018); Abū 'Abd Allāh Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn As'ad al-Tustarī, *Sharḥ Minbāj al-wuṣūl ilā 'ilm al-uṣūl*, ed. Ibrāhīm ibn Ṣamāyil al-Sulamī (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 2019).

bibliographical sources of the period, and the absence of an independent biographical transmission (for instance, by his students or later generations) that could have rendered him more visible within the scholarly tradition. Taken together, these considerations indicate that Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī's marginal presence in the literature is the result of multiple interrelated causes.

In addition to these points, this study aims to identify the causes of the attributional confusion between the two al-Tustarīs and to elucidate the biography, works, and intellectual world of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī in light of the criteria that distinguish him from Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī. To help resolve this problem, this research comparatively analyzes the prefaces and colophons of the works of both scholars, the epithets and titles they employed, the individuals to whom they dedicated their works, and the places where these works were composed. In addition, a content analysis of the works identified as belonging to Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī is conducted to examine his intellectual system. This approach will not only help eliminate the existing confusion in the literature but also contribute to a better understanding of the intellectual tradition of Anatolia, the geographical context in which Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī lived.

In line with this objective, we first comparatively analyze the aspects in which the biographies of the two scholars differ, such as *nisbabs*, titles, geographical affiliations, and scholarly networks; we then introduce the works that we have definitively identified as belonging to Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī, namely, *al-Fuṣūl al-Ashrafiyyah*, *Juhd al-muqill*, *Sharḥ Manāzil al-sā'irīn*, *Sharḥ al-aḥādith al-arba'īn*, *Risālat al-qadā' wa-l-qadar*, *Kāshifat asrār al-ḥaqā'iq*, and *al-Risālah al-mughbniyah*. In the content analysis of these works, where appropriate, we seek to highlight the points of intersection between Peripatetic philosophy and Akbarī Sufi thought in his intellectual system. This approach facilitates a sound presentation of the intellectual world of the true author of the aforementioned works.

In distinguishing between Badr al-Dīn al-Tustarī and Shams al-Dīn al-Tustarī, a comparative analysis –presented in tabular form– of the style and expressions found in the manuscript copies of the works attributed to both scholars, as well as their epithets and titles, and the

dedication and colophon records, is used to elucidate the differences between them. Subsequently, the works belonging to Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī are introduced and subjected to a brief content analysis, through which a framework of his intellectual world is outlined. In the final stage, the work attempts to demonstrate the position and significance of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī within the context of the intellectual history of the period.

1. Between Two Figures Named al-Tustarī: Establishing the Identity of Shams al-Dīn

The figure of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī has been largely eclipsed by his contemporary, famous scholar Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī.³ This situation is observable in both classical and modern sources. Many studies have tended to present these two distinct thinkers as a single figure, attributing their works to one another and conflating details of their lives.⁴ Within this historical context, reconstructing the biography of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī necessarily requires, first and foremost, an effort to distinguish him from Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī. To ensure a reliable differentiation, it is necessary to briefly address the life and works of

³ Abū Muḥammad Jamāl al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn al-Ḥasan al-Isnawī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi‘iyyah*, ed. ‘Abd Allāh al-Jubūrī (Baghdad: Ri‘āsat Dīwān al-Awqāf, 1390-1391/1970-1971), 1/319-320.

⁴ The issue of Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn Abī Sharīf (d. 906/1500) attributing Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī’s *Risālat al-qadā’ wa-l-qadar* to Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī in his work *al-Musāmaraḥ sharḥ al-Musāyarah* is addressed separately when the aforementioned treatise is introduced. See Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn Abī Sharīf, *al-Musāmaraḥ sharḥ al-Musāyarah*, ed. Kamāl al-Dīn Qārī - ‘Izz al-Dīn Ma‘maysh (Beirut: al-Maktabah al-‘Aṣriyyah, 2004), 138-139. Indeed, an examination of the studies conducted on Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī shows that his works have at times been confused with those of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī. As an example of this situation, one may cite a modern study focusing on Badr al-Dīn al-Tustarī’s (d. 732/1332) *al-Muḥākamāt bayna Sharḥay al-Ishārāt*. See Zeynep Tsilgkır, *Bedreddin et-Tüsterî’nin (ö. 732/1332) el-Muhâkemât beyne Şerhayîl-İşârât Adlı Eserinin Tabkik ve İncelemesi*, 12-16. For studies that attribute Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī’s *Risālat al-qadā’ wa-l-qadar* to Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī, see Yadullāh Ghulāmī, “Badr al-Dīn Tustarī”, *Dā‘irat al-Ma‘ārif-i Buzurg-i Islāmī* (Tehran: Markaz-i Dā‘irat al-Ma‘ārif-i Buzurg-i Islāmī, 1381 HS), 11/544-545; ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Khaṣīfān, “Muqaddimah”, *Majma‘ al-durar fī sharḥ al-Mukhtaṣar*, auth. Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 2018), 1/75; Ibrāhīm ibn Šamāyil al-Sulamī, “Muqaddimah”, *Sharḥ Minbāj al-wuṣūl ilā ‘ilm al-uṣūl*, auth. Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 2019), 1/59.

Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī, as highlighted in historical sources, and subsequently to demonstrate that Shams al-Dīn al-Tustarī refers to a distinct identity from that of Badr al-Dīn al-Tustarī.

Most of the information we possess about Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Asʿad al-Tustarī is based on the accounts transmitted by the renowned Shāfiʿī jurist and legal theorist al-Isnawī (d. 772/1370).⁵ Al-Isnawī relates that Badr al-Dīn al-Tustarī, to whom he refers as “our shaykh,” taught in Qazvin for approximately twenty years, traveled to Egypt at the beginning of 727 AH and remained there for several months, during which he attended his lessons, and that al-Tustarī subsequently moved on to Iraq. He further states that until his death in Hamadān in the 730s AH, al-Tustarī spent the summer months in Hamadān and the winter months in Baghdād because of its warmer climate.⁶

Owing to al-Isnawī’s close acquaintance with him and his status as his student, the relatively detailed information he provides constitutes a primary source. Indeed, this circumstance resulted in al-Isnawī serving as the main source for most of what was later reported about the aforementioned al-Tustarī.⁷

In addition to the circumstances of his life, al-Isnawī also discusses in detail his teacher’s works. According to his account, Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī was a versatile scholar who composed commentaries on Ibn al-Ḥājjib’s (d. 646/1249) *Mukhtaṣar* in uṣūl al-fiqh; Sirāj al-Dīn al-Urmawī’s (d. 682/1283) *Maṭālīʿ al-anwār* in logic and philosophy; al-Bayḍāwī’s *Ṭawālīʿ* in kalām, *Minhāj* in uṣūl al-fiqh, and *al-Ghāyah al-quswā* in furūʿ al-fiqh. Indeed, al-Isnawī characterizes his teacher as “the imām of his age in kalām, uṣūl al-fiqh, logic, and philosophy, a scholar who was both a *muḥaqqiq* and a *mudaqqiq*,” thereby highlighting his scholarly stature.⁸

In light of the information provided by al-Isnawī, it is noteworthy

⁵ Al-Isnawī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyyah*, 1/319-321.

⁶ Al-Isnawī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyyah*, 1/320.

⁷ Abū l-Faḍl Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Durar al-kāminah fī aʿyān al-miʿab al-thāminah*, ed. Hāshim al-Nadwī et al. (Hyderabad, Dakkan: Maṭbaʿat Majlis Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif al-ʿUthmāniyyah, 1392/1972), 5/119; Abū l-Falāḥ ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Ibn al-ʿImād al-Ṣāliḥī, *Shadharāt al-dhabab fī akbbār man dhabab*, ed. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Arnāʾūṭ - Maḥmūd al-Arnāʾūṭ (Beirut - Damascus: Dār Ibn Kathīr, 1406-1414/1986-1993), 8/179-180.

⁸ Al-Isnawī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyyah*, 1/320.

that Anatolia is not mentioned among the regions visited by his teacher Badr al-Dīn al-Tustarī. Moreover, although he showed interest in many fields and authored works, it is also noteworthy that his student al-Isnawī did not include any connection between him and Sufism.

One of the principal reasons why Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī has frequently been confused with Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī⁹ is that, in the prefaces and colophon records of his works, he identifies himself simply as “Muḥammad al-Tustarī”. The attribution of the title “Shams al-Dīn” to him is possible not directly but rather through indirect indications, such as references found on the flyleaf pages of his works or expressions within the text, such as “the Sun of Tustar” (*Shams Tustar*).¹⁰ In contrast, Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī explicitly includes the *laqab* “Badr al-Dīn” in the introductions and colophon records of his works. The most important evidence for distinguishing between Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī and Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī lies in the modes of naming they employ in the title pages and colophon records of their works. The following two tables compare these differences.

Table I: Title Records Attributed to Badr al-Dīn al-Tustarī and Shams al-Dīn al-Tustarī

Name Records Attributed to Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī	Name Records Attributed to Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī
أما بعد فيقول العبد الفقير المحتاج إلى عفو ربّه القدير محمّد بن أسعد اليمني المدعوّ بيدر التستري ... Thus, says Muḥammad ibn As‘ad al-Yamanī, the poor servant in need	تأليف الفقير إلى الله تعالى محمّد التستري عفا الله عنه ووفقه للصواب. The book of Muḥammad al- Tustarī, the servant in need of God Most High. May God forgive him

⁹ A. C. S. Peacock’s statement –based on *Kashf al-zunūn*– that Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī maintained a friendship with the Ilkhanid ruler Öljeytū is incorrect. See A. C. S. Peacock, *Islam, Literature and Society in Mongol Anatolia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 57. The passages in *Kashf al-zunūn* clearly indicate that it was Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī who was on friendly terms with Öljeytū. The relevant statement reads: “*Muḥammad ibn As‘ad ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Tustarī ... min shu‘arā’ Sulṭān Muḥammad Khudābanda*”/Muḥammad ibn As‘ad ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Tustarī was among the poets of Öljeytū.” See Ḥājī Khalīfah Muṣṭafā ibn ‘Abd Allāh Kātib Chalabī, *Kashf al-zunūn ‘an asāmi l-kutub wa-l-funūn*, ed. M. Şerefettin Yaltkaya - Kilisli Rıfat Bilge (İstanbul: Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1971), 1/540.

¹⁰ Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī, *Risālat al-qaḍā’ wa-l-qadar* (İstanbul: Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya, 1006), 69b.

of the forgiveness of his Omnipotent Lord, who is called Badr al-Tustarī ... ¹¹	and grant him success in what is right ... ¹²
أَمَّا بَعْدُ فَيَقُولُ الْعَبْدُ الْحَقِيرُ الْفَقِيرُ إِلَى عَفْوِ رَبِّهِ الْكَبِيرِ مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ أَسْعَدَ الْيَمَنِيِّ الْمَلَقَّبُ بِبَدْرِ التُّسْتَرِيِّ ... Thus, says Muḥammad ibn As‘ad al-Yamanī, known by the laqab Badr al-Tustarī, the humble servant in need of the forgiveness of his Great Lord ...¹³	وَبَعْدُ فَإِنَّ الْفَقِيرَ إِلَى الْغَنِيِّ مُحَمَّدَ التُّسْتَرِي يَقُولُ ... Thus, says Muḥammad al-Tustarī, the servant in need of God Most High ...¹⁴
وَبَعْدُ فَإِنَّ أَفْقَرَ خَلْقِ اللَّهِ إِلَى رَحْمَةِ رَبِّهِ مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ أَسْعَدَ الْيَمَنِيِّ ثُمَّ التُّسْتَرِي ... Thus, [says] Muḥammad ibn As‘ad al-Yamanī, then [known as] al-Tustarī, the one among His creation most in need of the mercy of his Lord ...¹⁵	وَبَعْدُ فَإِنَّ الْفَقِيرَ إِلَى الْغَنِيِّ مُحَمَّدًا التُّسْتَرِي يَقُولُ ... Thus, says Muḥammad al-Tustarī, the servant in need of God ...¹⁶
وَبَعْدُ يَقُولُ ... مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ أَسْعَدَ الْيَمَنِيِّ الْمَعْرُوفُ بِالتُّسْتَرِي ... Thus, says Muḥammad ibn As‘ad al-Yamanī, known as al-Tustarī ...¹⁷	وَبَعْدُ فَإِنَّ الْفَقِيرَ إِلَى اللَّهِ مُحَمَّدًا التُّسْتَرِي يَقُولُ ... Thus, says Muḥammad al-Tustarī, the servant in need of God ...¹⁸

¹¹ Abū ‘Abd Allāh Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn As‘ad al-Tustarī, *Sharḥ Maṭālī‘ al-anwār* (İstanbul: Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Ragıp Paşa, 781), 2a.

¹² Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī, *al-Fuṣūl al-Asbrafiyyah fī l-uṣūl al-burhāniyyah wa-l-kashfiyyah* (İstanbul: Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya, 2445), front flyleaf (*ḡabriyyah*).

¹³ Abū ‘Abd Allāh Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn As‘ad al-Tustarī, *Kāshif al-asrār ‘an ma‘ānī Tawālī‘ al-anwār* (İstanbul: Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Köprülü Fazıl Ahmed Paşa, 831), 2a.

¹⁴ Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī, *Sharḥ Manāzil al-sā‘irīn* (Samsun: Samsun İl Halk Kütüphanesi, 55 HK 1132), 1b.

¹⁵ Abū ‘Abd Allāh Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn As‘ad al-Tustarī, *Sharḥ al-Tajrīd* (Dublin: Chester Beatty Library, 3690), 1b.

¹⁶ Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī, *Sharḥ al-aḫādīth al-arba‘in* (İstanbul: Millet Kütüphanesi, Feyzullah Efendi, 2163), 154b.

¹⁷ Abū ‘Abd Allāh Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn As‘ad al-Tustarī, *Sharḥ al-Taḥṣīl* (İstanbul: Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Carullah, 515), 1b.

¹⁸ Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī, *Risālat al-qaḏā’ wa-l-qadar* (Ayasofya, 1006), 69b.

أما بعد يقول ... محمد بن أسعد اليمني المشهور بالتستري ... Thus, says Muḥammad ibn Asʿad al-Yamanī, known as al-Tustarī ...¹⁹	وبعد فإن الفقير إلى الله محمدًا التستري يقول ... Thus, says Muḥammad al-Tustarī, the servant in need of God ...²⁰
وبعد يقول ... بدر الحق والدين محمد بن أسعد بن محمد اليمني ثم التستري ... Thus, says Badr al-Ḥaqq wa-l-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Asʿad ibn Muḥammad al-Yamānī, then [known as] al-Tustarī ...²¹	وبعد فإن أضعف عباد الله محمدًا التستري يقول ... Thus, says Muḥammad al-Tustarī, the weakest of God's servants ...²²

Table II: Colophon Records Attributed to Badr al-Dīn al-Tustarī and Shams al-Dīn al-Tustarī

Colophon Records Attributed to Badr al-Dīn al-Tustarī	Colophon Records Attributed to Shams al-Dīn al-Tustarī
حزّره مؤلّفه محمد بن أسعد اليمني الملقّب ببدر التستري في شهور سنة ثلاث وسبعمئة بمدينة تبريز صانها الله تعالى عن الآفات. The author of this work, Muḥammad ibn Asʿad al-Yamanī, known by the <i>laqab</i> Badr al-Tustarī, composed it in the city of Tabriz in the months of the year 703 [AH] – may God Most High protect him	وقد فرغ من تبويضه مؤلّفه الفقير إلى الله محمد التستري أحسن الله شأنه وصانه عما شأنه أواسط ذي القعدة من سنة عشر وسبعمئة بمدينة قونية. The fair copy of this work was completed by its author, Muḥammad al-Tustarī, the servant in need of God –may God Most High elevate his state and protect him from all that would diminish his honor– in the city of Konya in the middle of the month of Dhū l-

¹⁹ Abū ʿAbd Allāh Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Asʿad al-Tustarī, *Sharḥ Minbāj al-wuṣūl ilā ʿilm al-uṣūl* (İstanbul: Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Kadızade Mehmed, 110), 1b.

²⁰ Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī, *Risāla fī taḥqīq qawlibī taʿālā “Qul a-innakum la-takfurūna ...”* (İstanbul: Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya, 1006), 69a.

²¹ Abū ʿAbd Allāh Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Asʿad al-Tustarī, *al-Muḥākamāt bayna Sharḥay al-Isbārāt wa-l-tanbībāt* (İstanbul: Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Fazıl Ahmed Paşa, 898), 1b.

²² Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī, *Jubd al-muqill* (İstanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi, III. Ahmed, 2112/1), 1b.

from afflictions. ²³	qa'dah in the year 710 [AH]. ²⁴
كتبه مؤلفه بدر التستري عفا الله عنه في شهور سنة سبع وسبعمئة بمدينة تبريز صانه الله عن العاهات. This work was composed by its author, Badr al-Tustarī –may God forgive him– in the city of Tabriz in the months of the year 707 [AH]; may God protect him from every affliction.²⁵	وقد فرغ من تبييضه مؤلفه الفقير إلى الله محمد التستري أوسط نهار الاثنين لأربع عشرة خلت من جمادى الآخرة من سنة 727 بمدينة قونية في المدرسة المسماة بدار الحديث الصاحبى، رحم الله بانيها. الحمد لله رب العالمين، وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه أجمعين، وحسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل. انتهى ذلك. والحمد لله وسلام على عباده. The fair copy of this work was completed by its author, Muḥammad al-Tustarī, the servant in need of God, on Monday, the fourteenth day of the month of Jumādā l-ākhirah in the year 727 [AH], at midday, in the city of Konya, in the madrasah known as Šāḥib's [Šāḥib Ātā] Dār al-Ḥadīth. May God have mercy upon its founder. Praise belongs to God, the Lord of the worlds. Blessings be upon God's Messenger Muḥammad, upon his family, and upon all his Companions. God is sufficient for us, and He is the best disposer of affairs. The matter has been completed here. Praise be to God, and peace be upon His servants.²⁶

²³ Abū 'Abd Allāh Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn As'ad al-Tustarī, *Kāshif al-asrār 'an ma'ānī Tawālī' al-anwār* (İstanbul: Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Köprülü Fazıl Ahmed Paşa, 831), 142a.

²⁴ Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī, *al-Fuṣūl al-Asbrafiyyah* (Ayasofya, 2445), 56b.

²⁵ Abū 'Abd Allāh Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn As'ad al-Tustarī, *Sharḥ Maṭālī' al-anwār* (İstanbul: Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Ragıp Paşa, 781), 229a.

²⁶ Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī, *Sharḥ Manāzil al-sā'irīn* (Samsun İl Halk Kütüphanesi, 55 HK 1132), 126a.

2. A Ḥakīm-Sufi under the Patronage of Mubārīz al-Dīn Meḥmed, the Bey of Eşrefoğlu: Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī

Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī is known to have composed works in the fields of fiqh and kalām in Tabriz, particularly in 703 and 707 AH.²⁷ In contrast, as can be understood from certain flyleaf notes and the prefaces of his works, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī authored works dealing with wisdom (*ḥikmah*) and Sufism in Konya in 710 and 727 AH. Moreover, the fact that Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī also wrote a two-volume medical treatise²⁸ clearly demonstrates that he was a distinct figure from Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī.²⁹

For instance, his work entitled *al-Fuṣūl al-Asbrafiyyah fī l-uṣūl al-burbāniyyah wa-l-kashfiyyah*, composed in Konya in 710 AH, was dedicated to Mubārīz al-Dīn Meḥmed Bey, the second ruler of the Eşrefoğulları Beylik. Following the death of his patron in 720 AH,³⁰ Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī appears to have redirected his intellectual affiliations; thus, his *Sharḥ Manāzil al-sā'irīn*, completed in 727 AH, was dedicated to the Mamlūk Sultan Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn.³¹ This pattern of patronage is closely tied to the geographical trajectory of his scholarly activity. He composed *Kāshifat asrār al-ḥaqā'iq* in 711 at the Nizāmiyyah Madrasah in Konya³² and *al-Risālah al-mughniyah* in 722 in Sulaymānshahr.³³ In addition to his authorial works, he was also active as a scribe: he copied Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī's (d.

²⁷ Abū 'Abd Allāh Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn As'ad al-Tustarī, *Sharḥ Maṭālī' al-anwār* (İstanbul: Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Ragıp Paşa, 781), 229a.

²⁸ Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī, *Jubd al-muqill* (İstanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi, III. Ahmed, 2112/1-2).

²⁹ Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī, *al-Fuṣūl al-Asbrafiyyah* (Ayasofya, 2445), 56b; Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī, *Sharḥ Manāzil al-sā'irīn* (Samsun İl Halk Kütüphanesi, 55 HK 1132), 126a; Sait Kofoğlu, "Eşrefoğulları", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslām Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1995), 11/484-485.

³⁰ Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī, *al-Fuṣūl al-Asbrafiyyah* (Ayasofya, 2445), 1b-2a; Kofoğlu, "Eşrefoğulları", 485.

³¹ Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī, *Sharḥ Manāzil al-sā'irīn* (Samsun İl Halk Kütüphanesi, 55 HK 1132), 1b.

³² Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī, *Kāshifat asrār al-ḥaqā'iq fī umūr al-dunyā wa-l-ākbarah* (İstanbul: Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Reisülküttab, 1197), 140b-147b.

³³ Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī, *al-Risālah al-mughniyah* (İstanbul: Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Fatih, 5302), 168b-209b.

early first quarter of the 5th/11th century) *al-Dharī‘ah* in 711 at the same Niẓāmiyyah Madrasah in Konya³⁴ and Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shirāzī’s (d. 710/1311) *Ikhtiyārāt-i Muẓaffarī* in 722 in Antalya.³⁵ Taken together, these data clearly demonstrate that he carried out his scholarly production predominantly within the Anatolian region over an extended period.

Further supporting the attribution of these works is a note found on the flyleaf of a manuscript copy, which reads “*Sharḥ Manāzil al-sā‘irīn* li-Mawlānā Shams al-Dīn al-Tustarī” (“The Commentary on *Manāzil al-sā‘irīn* by our master Shams al-Dīn al-Tustarī”).³⁶ Such evidence is particularly significant given that a number of works attributed in the manuscript tradition to Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī have frequently been misattributed to Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī. Moreover, the corpus of works belonging to Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī is not limited to the titles mentioned here. This issue is examined in greater detail in the section entitled “The Works He Authored in Arabic”.

Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī offers no information about his life or teachers in the six works whose manuscripts we have been able to identify. Similarly, no record concerning him is found in biographical sources dealing with his period, such as *al-Walad al-shaḥīq wa-l-ḥafīd al-khalīq* by Qāḍī Aḥmad of Niğde (d. after 734/1333), *Masālik al-absār fī mamālik al-amṣār* by Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umārī (d. 749/1349), or *al-Durar al-kāminah fī a‘yān al-mi‘ab al-thāminah* by Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī (d. 852/1449). Nevertheless, when details such as his composition of *Sharḥ Manāzil al-sā‘irīn* at the Şāḥib Ātā Dār al-Ḥadīth in Konya, his invocation of blessings upon its founder, and his authorship of a commentary on forty ḥadīths are considered, it is plausible that he held a position at the Şāḥib Ātā Dār al-Ḥadīth in Konya during those years. It is also understood that he received patronage from prominent political figures of Anatolia, such as Mubārīz al-Dīn Meḥmed Bey of the Eşrefoğlu dynasty, and that he dedicated some of his works to Mamlūk sultans. Indeed, in the

³⁴ Abū l-Qāsim al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad al-Rāghib al-Işfahānī, *al-Dharī‘ah* (İstanbul: Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Reisülküttab, 1197), 79b-130b.

³⁵ Quṭb al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Mas‘ūd al-Shirāzī, *Ikhtiyārāt-i Muẓaffarī* (İstanbul: Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Fatih, 5302), 2a-164b.

³⁶ Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī, *Sharḥ Manāzil al-sā‘irīn* (Samsun İl Halk Kütüphanesi, 55 HK 1132), front flyleaf (*ẓabriyyah*).

introduction to his two-volume medical work entitled *Jubd al-muqill*, he employed expressions similar to those used when dedicating *al-Fuṣūl al-Asbrafiyyah* to Mubārīz al-Dīn Meḥmed Bey, although in this instance, he left the name in the dedication formula blank. These differences in language, titles, and dedication styles observed in the flyleaf notes and colophon records of the works attributed to each of the two scholars allow for a clear and definitive distinction between their respective identities.

3. The Scholarly, Medical, and Sufi Legacy of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī

3.1. The Works He Authored in Arabic

3.1.1. The Encounter of Peripateticism with Akbarī Metaphysics: *al-Fuṣūl al-Asbrafiyyah fī l-uṣūl al-burbāniyyah wa-l-kashfiyyah*

Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī composed this work, which contains philosophical and Sufi content, in Konya in the year 710 AH. In the introduction, he dedicated it to Mubārīz al-Dīn Meḥmed Bey, the second ruler of the Eşrefoğlu dynasty, and concluded the work with a prayer asking God to grant him success.³⁷ This dedication clearly demonstrates that Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī was under the patronage of Mubārīz al-Dīn Meḥmed Bey. The expression *al-Fuṣūl al-Asbrafiyyah* in the title of the work, in addition to meaning “the most noble chapters”, also alludes to the Eşrefoğlu dynasty.

The only known copy of the work today was transcribed with the author’s colophon and is preserved in the Süleymaniye Library, Ayasofya Collection (no. 2445, fols. 1b-56a). On the guardleaf (*wiqāyah*) of the manuscript, there is a *waqf* inscription recorded by Shaykhzādah Aḥmed Efendī, inspector of the Awqāf-i Haramayn, stating that Sultan Maḥmūd I endowed this manuscript. On the page following the guardleaf, within the title panel, the title of the work, its author, and the person to whom it was dedicated are recorded together with the following expressions:

كتاب [ال]فصول الأشرفية في الأصول البرهانية والكشفية، تأليف الفقير إلى الله تعالى محمد التستري عفا الله عنه ووفقه للصواب، [كتبه ل]خزانة المولى المعظم، مالك أزمنة الأمراء الأعظم، حامي الأطراف والأماكن، كهف الورى ... [محمد

³⁷ Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī, *al-Fuṣūl al-Asbrafiyyah* (Ayasofya, 2445), front flyleaf (*ṣabḥiyyah*), 1b, 56a-b.

بن سليمان ...

The book *al-Fuṣūl al-Asbrafiyyah fī l-uṣūl al-burbāniyyah wa-l-kashfiyyah*, composition of Muḥammad al-Tustarī, the servant in need of God Most High. May God forgive him and grant him success in what is right. [This work was written for] the library of the exalted lord, the great amīr who holds the reins of the eminent rulers, the protector of lands and regions, the refuge of the people ... [Meḥmed ibn] Sulaymān ...³⁸

The author states in the introduction that he entitled the work *al-Fuṣūl al-Asbrafiyyah fī l-uṣūl al-burbāniyyah wa-l-kashfiyyah*. Nevertheless, on the flyleaf of the manuscript, there appears an additional title, *Kitāb al-Fuṣūl al-Asbrafiyyah fī l-ḥikmah al-falsafiyyah*, which reflects the content of the work. This secondary designation was most likely recorded by Khayr al-Dīn al-Aṭūfī (d. 948/1541), the compiler of the catalog of Sultan Bayezid II's library, as an indication of the work's disciplinary affiliation; the presence of Sultan Bayezid II's seal at the end of the manuscript supports this assumption. It is known that al-Aṭūfī, while classifying the works in the library, employed similar field-designating expressions, and comparable examples can be found in many manuscripts in the Ayasofya collection. Therefore, the phrase "fī l-ḥikmah al-falsafiyyah" should not be regarded as a second title of the work.³⁹

Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī presents this work as a treatise devoted to the science of *mabda'* and *ma'ād*,⁴⁰ which he regards as the most exalted of the sciences and as the ultimate aim of those who seek true knowledge and aspire to attain the stations of veracity (*ṣiddiqiyyah*).⁴¹ According to him, the work synthesizes the propositions of the divine philosophers (*ḥukamā' ilābiyyūn*) with the

³⁸ Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī, *al-Fuṣūl al-Asbrafiyyah* (Ayasofya, 2445), front flyleaf (*ḡabriyyah*).

³⁹ Himmet Taşkömür - Hesna Ergun Taşkömür, "Transliteration and Facsimile 'Register of Books' (*Kitāb al-Kutub*), Ms Török F. 59", *Treasures of Knowledge: An Inventory of the Ottoman Palace Library (1502/3–1503/4)*, ed. Gülrü Necipoğlu - Cemal Kafadar - Cornell H. Fleischer (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 2/233.

⁴⁰ As noted in the section on Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī's Persian works, the author composed an independent treatise entitled "A Treatise on Creation, Resurrection, and the Afterlife (*Kāshifāt asrār al-ḥaqā'iq fī umūr al-dunyā wa-l-ākhirah*)", devoted to the themes of origin (*mabda'*) and return (*ma'ād*).

⁴¹ Shams al-Dīn al-Tustarī, *al-Fuṣūl al-Asbrafiyyah* (Ayasofya, 2445), 2a.

subtle insights of the practicing scholars (*‘ulamā’ ‘āmilūn*). The term *burhānī* in the title refers to the divine philosophers, whereas *kashfī* points to practicing scholars.

Although the work consists of nine chapters, its *burhānī* (philosophical) section appears to be more extensive than its *kashfī* (Sufi) section. This difference likely explains why, on the flyleaf of the manuscript, the expression “*fī l-ḥikmah al-falsafiyyah*” –which I take to have been recorded by al-Aṭūfī, the cataloguer of the work– was preferred in place of “*fī l-uṣūl al-burhāniyyah wa-l-kashfiyyah*”, a phrase that conveys both the philosophical and Sufi dimensions in the title. This preference may be understood as reflecting the predominance of the philosophical aspect of the work over its Sufi dimension.

The first chapter of the work is devoted to the Necessary Being and His attributes;⁴² the second to the immaterial intellects;⁴³ the third to the celestial souls;⁴⁴ the fourth to the sublime beings;⁴⁵ and the fifth to the sublunary bodies.⁴⁶ The sixth chapter examines form and matter (*ṣūrah* and *bayūlā*);⁴⁷ the seventh addresses elements that come into being through change without composition;⁴⁸ and the eighth investigates elements that arise through change and composition.⁴⁹ The final chapter is devoted to the rational soul (*al-naḥs al-nāṭiqah*) and its faculties.⁵⁰ While the first and sixth chapters are each examined in four sections, the most comprehensive chapter –the ninth– is treated in five sections. That in this work, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī demonstrates not only his mastery of Peripatetic philosophy but also his command of the Akbarī tradition is evident from the following statements:

Know that when a human being repents to God, abandons [worldly] attachments and the pursuit of caprice, and begins the spiritual wayfaring (*sulūk*) by the command of a skilled

⁴² Shams al-Dīn al-Tustarī, *al-Fuṣūl al-Asbrafiyyah* (Ayasofya, 2445), 4b-9a.

⁴³ Shams al-Dīn al-Tustarī, *al-Fuṣūl al-Asbrafiyyah* (Ayasofya, 2445), 9b-11b.

⁴⁴ Shams al-Dīn al-Tustarī, *al-Fuṣūl al-Asbrafiyyah* (Ayasofya, 2445), 11b-13a.

⁴⁵ Shams al-Dīn al-Tustarī, *al-Fuṣūl al-Asbrafiyyah* (Ayasofya, 2445), 13a-15b.

⁴⁶ Shams al-Dīn al-Tustarī, *al-Fuṣūl al-Asbrafiyyah* (Ayasofya, 2445), 15b-19a.

⁴⁷ Shams al-Dīn al-Tustarī, *al-Fuṣūl al-Asbrafiyyah* (Ayasofya, 2445), 19a-23a.

⁴⁸ Shams al-Dīn al-Tustarī, *al-Fuṣūl al-Asbrafiyyah* (Ayasofya, 2445), 23a-25b.

⁴⁹ Shams al-Dīn al-Tustarī, *al-Fuṣūl al-Asbrafiyyah* (Ayasofya, 2445), 25b-35a.

⁵⁰ Shams al-Dīn al-Tustarī, *al-Fuṣūl al-Asbrafiyyah* (Ayasofya, 2445), 35a-55b.

guide [the perfected spiritual master], the animal, human, and angelic attributes are removed from him. The Noble Messenger relates from God Most High: “My servant continues to draw near to Me through supererogatory acts until I love him. When I love him, I become his hearing with which he hears, his sight with which he sees, his tongue with which he speaks, his hand with which he grasps, and his foot with which he walks”.⁵¹ Thus, this servant beholds the sustaining lordship (*qayyūmiyyah*) of God Most High, becomes His vicegerent, and a locus for His overpowering might and His grace. This is the station of being David, for “the scholars are the heirs of the prophets”.⁵² The servant then again becomes worthy of the prostration of the angels – this is the station of being Adam. By his form he is on earth, and by his meaning he is in the true paradise, which is the realm of “Be!” (*kun*), for “what God wills comes to be, and what He does not will does not come to be”.⁵³ Thereafter, he acquires the capacity to receive the essential self-disclosures [of God]. Through these essential self-disclosures he becomes annihilated from his selfhood and can no longer contemplate his own ego – how, then, could he contemplate other determinations pertaining to the loci of manifestation? Being occupied with God and rejoicing in His lights, he is cut off from all that is other than God. Then he is also freed from the thought that he is cut off from what is other than God. After that, I am unable to express what he becomes.⁵⁴

The Sufi dimension of *al-Fuṣūl al-Ashrafiyyah* extends beyond the passage cited above. The author grounds the exalted status of the science of *mabdaʿ* and *maʿād*, which constitutes the purpose of the work’s composition, in a statement frequently transmitted by Sufis as a ḥadīth: “I was a hidden treasure and desired to be known; therefore, I created creation so that I might be known”.⁵⁵ The work introduced here in broad outline deserves comprehensive study and evaluation. In

⁵¹ Al-Bukhārī, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, “Kitāb al-riqāʿ”, 38.

⁵² Al-Bukhārī, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, “Kitāb al-ʿilm”, 10.

⁵³ Abū Dāwūd, *al-Sunan*, “Kitāb al-ādāb”, 101.

⁵⁴ Shams al-Dīn al-Tustarī, *al-Fuṣūl al-Ashrafiyyah* (Ayasofya, 2445), 38a-b.

⁵⁵ Shams al-Dīn al-Tustarī, *al-Fuṣūl al-Ashrafiyyah* (Ayasofya, 2445), 2a.

particular, this treatise –through which al-Tustarī’s Akbarī approach to metaphysics and natural philosophy is manifested– possesses special significance as it was composed in accordance with the synthetic (*mazj*) character of the postclassical (*muta’akkbirūn*) period.

With the exception of Brockelmann,⁵⁶ the work has been erroneously attributed in the literature to Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī.⁵⁷

3.1.2. Between the Theoretical and Practical Horizons of Medicine: *Jubd al-muqill* or *al-Shāmil li-naḥībī l-mutanāwil*

Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī entitled his two-volume medical work *Jubd al-muqill*; the only known manuscript copy has been identified in the Topkapı Palace Library, III. Ahmed Collection (nos. 2112/1 and 2112/3). One piece of evidence supporting the attribution of the work to Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī is the presence, in the introduction of *Jubd al-muqill*, of dedication expressions similar in style to those he used when dedicating *al-Fuṣūl al-Ashrafiyyah* to Mubārīz al-Dīn Meḥmed Bey. However, although these dedication formulas are present in the sole manuscript currently accessible, the sections in which the name of the dedicatee would normally be recorded have been left blank. Therefore, it is not possible, on the basis of the available evidence, to determine with certainty whether this omission was deliberately made by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī himself or resulted from the negligence or preference of the copyist.

Once again, in the introduction to the work, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī introduces himself –consistent with the expressions found in all his other works– by stating: “*fa-inna ad’afa ‘ibād Allāh Muḥammad al-Tustarī yaqūl ...*”/Thus, says Muḥammad al-Tustarī, the weakest of God’s servants ...” This statement constitutes another indication demonstrating that the author of *Jubd al-muqill* is Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī and not a different Muḥammad al-Tustarī. To illustrate the striking similarity between the dedication in *Jubd al-muqill* and that found in *al-Fuṣūl al-Ashrafiyyah*, we

⁵⁶ Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur: Erster Supplementband* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1937), 1/774.

⁵⁷ Tsılıgkır, *Bedreddin et-Tüsterî’nin* (ö. 732/1332) el-Muhâkemât beyne Şerhayîl-İşârât Adlı Eserinin Tabkik ve İncelemesi, 11, 13.

reproduce here the relevant passages from both works.

i. (Dedication statements in *al-Fuṣūl al-Asbrafiyyah*)

وأخدم بها خزانة مَنْ حاز قصب السبق في حلبة المآثر والمفاخر، وفاز من تحقيق الفضائل ... مبارز الدنيا والدين سيف الله في الإسلام والمسلمين، سليمان الزمان، محمد بن سليمان.

And I place it in the service of the library of the one who has seized the banner of precedence in the arena of noble deeds and glories, and who has triumphed in the realization of virtues ... the champion of the world and the religion, the Sword of God in Islam and among the Muslims, the Solomon of the age, Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān.

ii. (Dedication statements in *Jubd al-muqill*)

وخدمتُ به خزانةَ كُتُب مَنْ فاز من بين الأنام بالعدل والحقّ أفضل في الغرب والشرق الدنيا والدين الإسلام والمسلمين، رفع الله في الدارين قدره ومجّله، ولا بلغ هدئي عمره مجّله.

And with it, I have served the library of the one who, among all people, has attained preeminence through justice and truth – the most excellent in the West and the East, [the champion of] the world and the religion, of Islam and the Muslims. May God exalt his rank and station in both abodes and may the guidance of his life never fail to reach its proper place.

Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī states that, although he possessed limited knowledge, he compiled his concise medical treatise from the works of physicians, and he implores God Most High to grant that this work be complete with respect to medical matters and comprehensive within its field. While the author names his work *Jubd al-muqill* in the introduction, the records found on the flyleaves of both volumes indicate that the work was also titled *al-Shāmil li-naḥḥibī l-mutanāwil*.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ The first volume of *Jubd al-muqill* –also referred to as *al-Shāmil li-naḥḥibī l-mutanāwil*– is described as “the first volume of the book *Jubd al-muqill*, entitled *al-Shāmil li-naḥḥibī l-mutanāwil*”. See Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī, *Jubd al-muqill* (İstanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi, III. Ahmed, 2112/1), front flyleaf (*ṣabriyyah*). The second volume of *Jubd al-muqill* –also known as *al-Shāmil li-naḥḥibī l-mutanāwil*– is described as “the second volume of the book *Jubd al-muqill*, entitled *al-Shāmil li-naḥḥibī l-mutanāwil*”. See Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad

Although the author characterizes his work as *Jubd al-muqill* (“the utmost effort of one of limited means”) and describes it as a concise treatise, he nevertheless prays that it be complete in its medical aspects and exhaustive within its domain. It is therefore possible that, in accordance with the author’s supplication, the work came to be described in later periods as *al-Shāmil li-naḥḥihī l-mutanāwil* (“the work whose benefit is all-encompassing in every respect”).

This work, which includes the views of Greek physicians such as Hippocrates (d. ca. 375 BCE [?]),⁵⁹ Galen (d. ca. 200 BCE [?]),⁶⁰ and Dioscorides Pedanius (d. 1st century CE),⁶¹ as well as those of Muslim physicians such as Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037),⁶² Ibn al-Bayṭār (d. 646/1248),⁶³ and Ibn al-Nafīs (d. 687/1288),⁶⁴ consists of two parts and two volumes. The first volume comprises the theoretical and practical aspects of medicine. Each volume is organized under a single *maqālah*, the *maqālahs* being divided into chapters (*bābs*), and the chapters into sections (*faṣls*).

The first chapter of the first volume –namely, of the first *maqālah*– is devoted to *umūr ṭabī‘iyyah* (natural philosophy) and consists of sections dealing with the elements, temperament, humors, organs, anatomy, spirits, actions, and certain principles that some scholars also subsume under *umūr ṭabī‘iyyah*.⁶⁵ The second chapter of the same *maqālah* is entirely devoted to diseases; the sections of this chapter examine both general issues related to diseases and the causes leading to illness.⁶⁶

The second volume, which contains the pharmacological material, functions as the second *maqālah* and is divided into two chapters. The first chapter addresses the powers of drugs and their general principles. In the opening sections of this chapter, the routes by which drugs enter the body and their classifications are discussed; the subsequent sections establish the types of drugs and the fundamental

al-Tustarī, *Jubd al-muqill* (İstanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi, III. Ahmed, 2112/2), front flyleaf (*ṣabriyyah*).

⁵⁹ Shams al-Dīn al-Tustarī, *Jubd al-muqill* (III. Ahmed, 2112/2), 95a.

⁶⁰ Shams al-Dīn al-Tustarī, *Jubd al-muqill* (III. Ahmed, 2112/2), 31b-546b.

⁶¹ Shams al-Dīn al-Tustarī, *Jubd al-muqill* (III. Ahmed, 2112/2), 42a.

⁶² Shams al-Dīn al-Tustarī, *Jubd al-muqill* (III. Ahmed, 2112/2), 37a.

⁶³ Shams al-Dīn al-Tustarī, *Jubd al-muqill* (III. Ahmed, 2112/2), 31b-546b.

⁶⁴ Shams al-Dīn al-Tustarī, *Jubd al-muqill* (III. Ahmed, 2112/2), 115b.

⁶⁵ Shams al-Dīn al-Tustarī, *Jubd al-muqill* (III. Ahmed, 2112/1), 58b-225a.

⁶⁶ Shams al-Dīn al-Tustarī, *Jubd al-muqill* (III. Ahmed, 2112/1), 2a-48a.

rules pertaining to them. In the remaining sections, the actions of drugs and the related rules are explained in detail.⁶⁷ The second chapter of the second volume is devoted entirely to an alphabetical classification of the names of drugs.⁶⁸

As implied by the alternative title of *Jubd al-muqill* (i.e., *al-Shāmil*), and as our content summary also demonstrates, the work brings together medical topics in a comprehensive and holistic manner. Nevertheless, determining the work's precise place in the history of medicine requires thorough evaluation by historians of medicine.

3.1.3. A Counterpart to 'Afif al-Dīn al-Tilimsānī's *Sharḥ Manāzil al-sā'irīn*: *Sharḥ Manāzil al-sā'irīn*

Having apparently lost his patronage following the death of his benefactor Mubārīz al-Dīn Mehmed Bey in 720/1320,⁶⁹ Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī dedicated his *Sharḥ Manāzil al-sā'irīn*, which he composed in Konya in 727/1327, together with his *Sharḥ 'Ilal al-maqāmāt*, to the Mamlūk Sultan Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn.⁷⁰ According to his own statement, he completed the fair copy of *Sharḥ Manāzil al-sā'irīn* on Monday at midday, after the fourteenth of Jumādā l-ākhirah in the year 727, in Konya, at the madrasah known as Şāhib Ātā Dār al-Ḥadīth. In addition to the copy containing the author's colophon (Samsun Provincial Public Library, no. 55 Hk 1132, ff. 1b-126a), another manuscript is preserved in the Süleymaniye Library, Fatih Collection (no. 2707, ff. 1b-141). The scribe named Muḥammad al-Fukkā'ī, who copied the Fatih manuscript in 761/1360, gives the name of the author of the work as Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī in the colophon. On the page following the colophon of the Fatih manuscript, there is a note by Zayn al-Dīn al-Khwāfī (d. 838/1435), one of the commentators on *Manāzil* and the founder of the Zayniyyah order.⁷¹ This note indicates that Zayn al-Dīn al-Khwāfī saw this manuscript.

⁶⁷ Shams al-Dīn al-Tustarī, *Jubd al-muqill* (III. Ahmed, 2112/2), 23b-30a.

⁶⁸ Shams al-Dīn al-Tustarī, *Jubd al-muqill* (III. Ahmed, 2112/2), 31b-546b.

⁶⁹ Kofoğlu, "Eşrefoğulları", 11/484-485.

⁷⁰ Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī, *Sharḥ Manāzil al-sā'irīn* (Samsun İl Halk Kütüphanesi, 55 HK 1132), 1b; Nedim Tan, *Abdullah Ensârî Herevî'nin Tasavvuf Târihindeki Yeri ve Sad Meydân'ı* (İstanbul: Marmara University, Institute of Social Sciences, Ph.D. Dissertation, 2013), 85.

⁷¹ Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī, *Sharḥ Manāzil al-sā'irīn* (İstanbul: Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Fatih, 2707), 140b, 141b.

In the introduction to his commentary on Khwājah ‘Abd Allāh al-Harawī’s (d. 481/1089) *Manāzil*, al-Tustarī describes the work with the following striking phrase: “Just as kings stand in relation to slaves, so does *Manāzil* stand among the books of the folk” (*wa-kānat nisbat kutub al-qawm ilayh nisbat al-sūqab ilā l-mulūk*).⁷² He then relates that, although the scholars of his time showed great interest in *Manāzil*, they had difficulty understanding its subtle expressions, and that despite their engagement with reading and critical examination, there existed no commentary that truly brought solace to the heart. At this point, he notes that some friends belonging to the Sufi path requested that he write a commentary on the work. During the lessons he delivered on *Manāzil*, he wrote down what occurred to his heart, and later, upon the encouragement of his companions, he compiled these notes into a commentary.⁷³

In this commentary, al-Tustarī engages directly with the commentary of ‘Afīf al-Dīn al-Tilimsānī (d. 690/1291).⁷⁴ Some authors, however, consider al-Tustarī’s work less successful than al-Tilimsānī’s in establishing connections between the chapters and in reflecting the internal coherence of the *Manāzil* text.⁷⁵ Nevertheless, al-Tustarī’s commentary influenced later commentators of *Manāzil*, such as Zayn al-Dīn al-Khwāfī and Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Maṣṣūr ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Maqdisī.⁷⁶ Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Maṣṣūr ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Maqdisī, in his commentary on *Manāzil*, while listing the commentaries written prior to his own, also included the commentary of Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī and cited it in his work. In this commentary, which al-Maqdisī composed

⁷² Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī, *Sharḥ Manāzil al-sā’irīn* (Samsun İl Halk Kütüphanesi, 55 HK 1132), 1b; This statement by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī parallels al-Tilimsānī’s characterization of al-Harawī, namely: “al-Harawī is among those who speak most correctly concerning the truth and who show the path of the *ṭarīqab* in the clearest manner”. See Abū l-Rabī‘ ‘Afīf al-Dīn Sulaymān ibn Shams al-Dīn al-Tilimsānī, *Sharḥ Manāzil al-sā’irīn*, ed. Muḥsin Bīdārfar (Qom: Intishārāt-i Bīdār, 1432 AH), 1/25.

⁷³ Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī, *Sharḥ Manāzil al-sā’irīn* (Samsun İl Halk Kütüphanesi, 55 HK 1132), 1b-2a; Abdurrezzak Tek, “Giriş”, *Menâzilü’s-sâirîn: Tasavvufa Yüz Basamak*, auth. Khwājah ‘Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī al-Harawī (Bursa: Emin Yayınları, 2008), 43-45.

⁷⁴ Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī, *Sharḥ Manāzil al-sā’irīn* (Samsun İl Halk Kütüphanesi, 55 HK 1132), 21b-22a, 25a, 29b, 97a, 106b, 107a, 112a, 113a.

⁷⁵ Tan, *Abdullah Ensârî Herevî’nin Tasavvuf Târibindeki Yeri*, 85.

⁷⁶ Tan, *Abdullah Ensârî Herevî’nin Tasavvuf Târibindeki Yeri*, 90-93.

in 795/1393, his attribution of the work to Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī is a probable reason why the text was also ascribed to Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī in later periods.⁷⁷ That al-Tustarī, despite having examined al-Tilimsānī's commentary, states in the introduction to his own work that "among the existing commentaries there is none that brings relief to the hearts"⁷⁸ may be seen as another motive for his engagement and polemic in this field.

To illustrate the method and discursive style adopted by al-Tustarī in his commentary on *Manāzil al-sā'irīn*, it is appropriate to cite here his explanations of the second degree of the "station of reverence" (*ḥurmah*), as expounded by 'Abd Allāh al-Harawī. Of this degree, al-Harawī maintains that the scriptural texts (*nuṣūṣ*) should be accepted according to their apparent meanings, that no alternative meanings should be imposed upon them through interpretation (*ta'wīl*), and that their outward expressions should not be construed in representational or metaphorical terms. These statements in *Manāzil* may be read as a reflection of what al-Harawī expressed in his work *Dhamm al-kalām*.⁷⁹

While commenting on this passage, al-Tustarī relates the concept of *khbar* mentioned in the text to the so-called *khbarī* attributes of God, that is, those attributes concerning the divine essence mentioned in the Qur'ān and the Prophetic Sunnah. His interpretation in this regard broadly accords with Ibn al-'Arabī's (d. 638/1240) approach to truth and divine unity, which brings together transcendence (*tanzīb*) and similitude (*tashbīb*).⁸⁰ At the same time, al-Tustarī's exposition bears an original character through its distinctive style and noteworthy

⁷⁷ For al-Maqdisī's references, see Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Maṣṣūr ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Maqdisī, *Sharḥ Manāzil al-sā'irīn* (İstanbul: Beyazıt Kütüphanesi, Veliyyüddin Efendi, 1734), 184a, 312a. See the passage where al-Maqdisī's reference to "Badr al-Dīn" in fact pertains to Shams al-Dīn al-Tustarī: Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī, *Sharḥ Manāzil al-sā'irīn* (Samsun İl Halk Kütüphanesi, 55 HK 1132), 54b.

⁷⁸ Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī, *Sharḥ Manāzil al-sā'irīn* (Samsun İl Halk Kütüphanesi, 55 HK 1132), 1b.

⁷⁹ For detailed information on al-Harawī's *Dhamm al-kalām*, see Tan, *Abdullah Ensârî Herevî'nin Tasavvuf Târihindeki Yeri*, 114-118; İsa Koç, *Hanbelî Literatürünün İslam Mezhepleri Tarihi Kaynakları Gelenegindeki Yeri* (Ankara: Araştırma Yayınları, 2024), 185-188.

⁸⁰ For detailed information on Ibn al-'Arabī's thought reconciling *tanzīb* (divine transcendence) and *tashbīb* (divine immanence), see Ekrem Demirli, "İbnü'l-'Arabî ve Takipçilerinin Tanrı Anlayışı: Tenzih ve Teşbih Hükümlerinin Birleştirilmesi", *İslam Araştırmaları Dergisi* 19 (2008), 25-44.

emphases.

According to al-Tustarī, the stance of the pious forebears (*al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ*) on this issue consisted of accepting these scriptural texts according to their outward sense, believing in their meanings, yet consigning their true modality to God (*tafwīḍ*). This approach, he argues, is both a requirement of divine unity and an expression of complete submission. Al-Tustarī stresses that this Salafī understanding of *tafwīḍ* protects those who lack knowledge of ultimate reality from falling into doctrinal deviation when they engage in rational speculation about such texts.

He holds that such deviations arise in two directions. First, some people ascribe these attributes to God in their literal sense, thereby inclining toward anthropomorphism (*tasbbīb*). When one considers that certain Hanbalī circles—who identified themselves with adherence to the pious forebears—were historically associated with the Mujassimah,⁸¹ the motivation behind al-Tustarī’s position becomes clear. Second, another group rejects the outward meanings of these texts altogether, declaring them null and void, which ultimately leads to the denial of the rulings of the Sharī‘ah. Al-Tustarī explicitly states that both tendencies are false.

At the same time, al-Tustarī notes that theologians—especially the Mu‘tazilīs and Ash‘arīs—sought to interpret such texts in accordance with their own rational and methodological principles. He illustrates, with examples, how they explained these expressions through figurative representations, a typical instance being the interpretation of “hand” as power or bounty.

Among these two approaches—namely, the method of *tafwīḍ*

⁸¹ As an example of Hanbalīs accused of *tajsim* (anthropomorphism), one can cite al-Harawī himself: “Al-Harawī was accused by the Ash‘arī scholars of Herat of being a *mujassim* and of exceeding the limits of the Sharī‘ah, and they complained about him to Sultan Mas‘ūd of Ghaznah. However, when al-Harawī appeared before the Sultan, he reassured him with explanatory statements, and he lived a comfortable life without facing any punitive measures. ... According to the report, Sultan Mas‘ūd summoned al-Harawī because of circulating rumors and asked, ‘Do you say that God will place His foot upon Hell?’ Al-Harawī replied, ‘God does not suffer harm from the fire, nor can the fire cause Him any damage. The Prophet does not make false statements about Him, and the scholars of this community do not add anything to what they narrate from the Prophet; they attribute it as it is to the Prophet’. This answer pleased Sultan Mas‘ūd, who rewarded al-Harawī for his response”. See Tan, *Abdullah Ensârî Herevî’nin Tasavvuf Târihindeki Yeri*, 67.

attributed to the Salaf and the theological method of *ta'wīl*– al-Tustarī maintains that the people of truth (*ahl al-ḥaqīqah*) adopted a third path. According to this view, such texts are believed in, and their realities are accepted with complete submission. When the Salafī position is associated with the outward sense and the theologians' interpretations with the inward sense, this third path sometimes coincides with the Salafī approach and at other times with interpretation; however, by uniting and reconciling both, it transcends them and arrives at a deeper realization of the truth (*taḥqīq*).⁸² The essence of al-Tustarī's view corresponds exactly to the well-known verses in which Ibn al-ʿArabī succinctly expresses this synthesis in *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*:

If you affirm transcendence alone, you restrict the Real

If you affirm similitude alone, you limit Him.

If you affirm both together, you are rightly guided

You become the leader of the knowers and the
guide of the people of truth⁸³

Following his commentary on al-Harawī's *Manāzil al-sāʿirīn*, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī appended a commentary on al-Harawī's *ʿIlal al-maqāmāt*, a treatise written as a complement to the same work.⁸⁴

Although *Sharḥ Manāzil al-sāʿirīn* has generally been attributed to Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī, Īraj Afshār considered this attribution doubtful and suggested that the work might belong to Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Yamanī.⁸⁵ However, given that the *nisbah* “al-Yamanī” does not appear in the manuscripts of al-Tustarī's commentary on *Manāzil*, it becomes clear that Afshār was unable to properly distinguish between Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī and Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī, which led him to this erroneous assessment. Brockelmann, by contrast, attributed *Sharḥ Manāzil al-*

⁸² Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī, *Sharḥ Manāzil al-sāʿirīn* (Samsun İl Halk Kütüphanesi, 55 HK 1132), 40a-b.

⁸³ Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, ed. Abrār Aḥmad Shāhī - ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Sulṭān al-Manṣūb (Cairo: Sharikat al-Quds, 2016), 72.

⁸⁴ Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī, *Sharḥ ʿIlal al-maqāmāt* (Samsun: Samsun İl Halk Kütüphanesi, 55 HK 1132), 121a-126a.

⁸⁵ Ghulāmī, “Badr al-Dīn al-Tustarī”, 11/544-545; Tan, *Abdullah Ensârî Herevî'nin Tasavvuf Târibindeki Yeri*, 85.

sā'irīn –as he did *al-Fuṣūl al-Asbrafiyyah*– to Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī.⁸⁶

Finally, *Sharḥ Manāzil al-sā'irīn* has been published in a careless manner, simply attributed to Muḥammad al-Tustarī without specifying the manuscript on which the edition is based.⁸⁷

3.1.4. The Ishārī/Akbarian Interpretation of Ḥadīths: *Sharḥ al-aḥādīth al-arba'in*

The sole known manuscript of this work is preserved in a composite codex in the Feyzullah Efendi Collection of the Millet Library (no. 2163, ff. 154b-168a). In the introduction, the author identifies himself as *al-faqīr ilā l-Ghanī Muḥammad Tustarī* (“Muḥammad al-Tustarī, the servant in need of the Self-Sufficient [God]”). The manuscript contains no record concerning the date of copying or the identity of the copyist. At the end of the codex, however, the following statement appears: “These are what we have written –without altering the wording or leaving anything out– apart from the marginal notes. May God have mercy on the one who copied this manuscript in an orderly fashion [observing the numerical sequence of the ḥadīths]”.⁸⁸

In this work, the author emphasizes that the number forty has been associated with numerous virtues and praiseworthy qualities, and he cites several examples to illustrate this point: the completion of Adam’s body in forty days; Moses’ withdrawal for forty days in preparation to receive revelation; the Sufi practice of subjecting disciples to a forty-day retreat (*khalwah*); and the tradition among ḥadīth scholars of compiling and commenting on forty ḥadīths. All of these, he notes, attest to the spiritual significance of this number. Proceeding from this understanding, al-Tustarī states that he composed the work out of a

⁸⁶ Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur: Erster Supplementband*, 1/774.

⁸⁷ Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī, *Sharḥ Manāzil al-sā'irīn ilā'llāh ta'ālā*, ed. 'Āṣim Ibrāhīm al-Kayyālī (Beirut: Dār Midād li-l-Ṭibā'ah wa-l-Nashr, 2017). Due to editorial carelessness in this edition, the references in this study are based on the authorial manuscript held at the Samsun İl Halk Kütüphanesi (MS 55 HK 1132). The information provided by 'Āṣim al-Kayyālī regarding the dedicatee of the commentary does not correspond with the content of the work itself and may therefore mislead the reader. See 'Āṣim Ibrāhīm al-Kayyālī, “Muqaddimah”, *Sharḥ Manāzil al-sā'irīn ilā'llāh ta'ālā*, auth. Muḥammad al-Tustarī (Beirut: Dār Midād li-l-Ṭibā'ah wa-l-Nashr, 2017), 8.

⁸⁸ Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī, *Sharḥ al-aḥādīth al-arba'in* (İstanbul: Millet Kütüphanesi, Feyzullah Efendi, 2163), 168a.

desire to collect and expound forty ḥadīths.⁸⁹

In his commentary, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī draws upon both the ideas of Ibn al-ʿArabī and the poetry of Ibn al-Fāriḍ (d. 632/1235). Rather than confining himself to the outward meanings of the texts, he foregrounds their Sufi and philosophical dimensions.⁹⁰ Indeed, *Sharḥ al-aḥādīth al-arbaʿin* bears the clear imprint of Akbarian Sufi thought. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that the intellectual framework al-Tustarī established in *al-Fuṣūl al-Ashrafiyyah* is consistently maintained in his shorter works as well.

3.1.5. A Response to a Jew's Objections to Ahl al-sunnah's Interpretation of Predestination: *Risālat al-qaḍāʾ wa-l-qadar*

Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī did not assign a title to this treatise, and in the two manuscripts examined, the work is not explicitly named. The copy preserved in the Köprülü Fazıl Ahmed Paşa Collection (no. 1630, ff. 119a-b) is cataloged as *Risālat al-qaḍāʾ wa-l-qadar*, while the copy in the Ayasofya Collection (no. 1006, f. 69b) appears under the title *al-Asʿilab wa-l-ajwibab*. Both titles accurately reflect the content; however, since the treatise deals directly with the issues of divine decree (*qaḍāʾ*) and predestination (*qadar*), and because similar works are commonly known under the title *Risālat al-qaḍāʾ wa-l-qadar*, this designation is preferred here.

In the introduction, al-Tustarī explains his motive for composing the treatise: a Jew had composed verses raising questions concerning *qaḍāʾ* and *qadar* and asked Muslim scholars to respond to them.⁹¹ Al-Tustarī states that, according to his own words, he attempted to answer these questions “to the extent of his weak understanding and limited intellect”. The author responds to the questions posed by the Jew both in verse and in prose. In one of his poetic replies, he refers to himself as “the Sun of Tustar (*Shams Tustar*)”, thereby alluding explicitly to his name.⁹²

⁸⁹ Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī, *Sharḥ al-aḥādīth al-arbaʿin* (Feyzullah Efendi, 2163), 154b.

⁹⁰ Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī, *Sharḥ al-aḥādīth al-arbaʿin* (Feyzullah Efendi, 2163), 155b, 159a-160a.

⁹¹ Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī, *Risālat al-qaḍāʾ wa-l-qadar* (İstanbul: Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya, 1006), 69b.

⁹² Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī, *Risālat al-qaḍāʾ wa-l-qadar* (Ayasofya, 1006), 69b.

In this treatise, unlike in his other works, a kalām-based idiom and style predominate over a Peripatetic or Akbarian one. Nevertheless, al-Tustarī relates the issue to *istiʿdād* (disposition or preparedness), one of the central concepts of the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd*. According to him, although God's decree rests upon His eternal knowledge and power, it does not negate the servant's will and acquisition (*kasb*), which are grounded in human *istiʿdād*. *Qaḍāʾ* and *qadar*, while manifestations of God's absolute will and omnipotence, simultaneously affirm human responsibility for choice. By emphasizing the distinctions between command (*amr*) and will (*irādah*), decree (*ḥukm*) and good pleasure (*riḍā*), and decree and choice (*ikhtiyār*), al-Tustarī safeguards human freedom and moral accountability. In both his prose and poetic responses, he stresses that God is pleased only with perfection and is not pleased with deficiency.⁹³

Ibn al-Humām (d. 861/1457) encountered this treatise on predestination, examined its contents, and cited it in his work *al-Musāyarah*, recording the author's name simply as "al-Tustarī". In contrast, his student Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn Abī Sharīf –who appears not to have seen the text itself– identified this figure, to whom his teacher had referred merely as al-Tustarī, as "Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Asʿad al-Tustarī" in his commentary *al-Musāmarah* on *al-Musāyarah*.⁹⁴ Had Ibn Abī Sharīf examined the original treatise, however, he would easily have seen that the author explicitly identifies himself, as noted above, as "Shams Tustar". Consequently, attributing this treatise to Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī is incorrect. Moreover, it would be highly unusual for a single individual to use two honorifics, "Badr al-Dīn" and "Shams al-Dīn", for himself simultaneously. As previously indicated, unlike Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī, Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī consistently refers to himself in his works by the name "Badr al-Dīn" and clearly prefers this *laqab*.

⁹³ Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī, *Risālat al-qaḍāʾ wa-l-qadar* (Ayasofya, 1006), 69b.

⁹⁴ Kamāl al-Dīn ibn Abī Sharīf, *al-Musāmarah sharḥ al-Musāyarah*, 139. *Risālat al-qaḍāʾ wa-l-qadar* will be critically edited and subjected to a detailed analysis in a separate, dedicated article by the present author.

3.1.6. Treatise on the Esoteric Interpretation of Qur'ān, Sūrat Fuṣṣilat, Verses 9-11: *Risālah fī taḥqīq qawlibī ta'ālā "Qul a-innakum la-takfurūna.."*

The single manuscript of this treatise, located in the Süleymaniye Library, Ayasofya Collection (no. 1006, f. 69a), begins with the author introducing himself, as in his other works, as "*al-faqīr ilā l-Ghanī Muḥammad al-Tustarī*/Allah's needy servant, Muḥammad al-Tustarī". The author explains that he composed this treatise in response to a friend who, considering agreement with himself as agreement with his own person and disagreement as opposition to him, asked for an exegesis of verses 9-11 of Sūrat Fuṣṣilat. Al-Tustarī emphasizes that he interprets these verses not according to the classical exegesis methodology but within an esoteric (*ishārī*) framework.⁹⁵

3.1.7. A Lost Work on the Wisdom of Worship: *Asrār al-ʿibādāt*

This work has been identified on the basis of internal references found in the author's other writings. In his *Sharḥ al-aḥādīth al-arbaʿin*, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī comments on the tradition, "One of the matters contributing to a person's happiness is having a sparse beard",⁹⁶ noting that "a thick and large beard causes difficulty in washing, combing, and similar tasks; this leads to wasted time, engagement in useless activities, and prevents one from attending to more important matters such as acquiring knowledge and performing righteous deeds".⁹⁷ He further mentions that he discusses this topic in his work *Asrār al-ʿibādāt*. However, no manuscript of this particular work has been located to date.

Since no manuscript copy of *Asrār al-ʿibādāt* has been identified, it is not possible to determine with certainty whether the work was composed in Arabic or Persian. However, given that the author refers to this work in his Arabic treatise *Sharḥ al-aḥādīth al-arbaʿin* and does not note that it was written in Persian, *Asrār al-ʿibādāt* has been classified among his Arabic works.

⁹⁵ Shams al-Dīn al-Tustarī, *Risālah fī taḥqīq qawlibī ta'ālā* (Ayasofya, 1006), 69a.

⁹⁶ Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad Ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī, *Kitāb al-Majrūḥīn min al-muḥaddithīn wa-l-ḍuʿafāʾ wa-l-matrūkīn*, ed. Maḥmūd Ibrāhīm Zāyid (Aleppo: Dār al-Waʿy, 1396/1976), 1/360.

⁹⁷ Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī, *Sharḥ al-aḥādīth al-arbaʿin* (Feyzullah Efendi, 2163), 158a.

3.2. The Works He Authored in Persian

3.2.1. A Treatise on Creation, Resurrection, and the Afterlife:

Kāshifat asrār al-ḥaqā'iq fī umūr al-dunyā wa-l-ākhirah

A Persian treatise is preserved in the Süleymaniye Library, within the Reisülküttâb collection, in the codex numbered 1197, spanning folios 140a-147a. At the beginning, it is entitled *Risālah fī aḥwāl al-qiyyāmab wa-l-jannab wa-l-safar wa-ghayrihim*, and at the end, *Kāshifat asrār al-ḥaqā'iq fī umūr al-dunyā wa-l-ākhirah*. As both titles indicate, the work deals with the subjects of the beginning and the return (*mabda'* and *ma'ād*), generally in the light of Qur'ānic verses, in twenty chapters.

In the introduction, the name of Muḥammad al-Tustarī is not explicitly mentioned as it is in the prefaces of his Arabic works. Nevertheless, the statements contained in the colophon leave no room for doubt that the treatise belongs to Muḥammad al-Tustarī and that it was written in his own hand. In this context, I present below the expressions that demonstrate both its attribution to Muḥammad al-Tustarī and that it is directly from his pen:

تم الكتاب ... المسماة كاشفة أسرار الحقائق في أمور الدنيا والآخرة. ووقع الفراغ من تحريره على يد الفقير إلى الله تعالى محمد التستري أحسن الله خاتمته غرة ذي القعدة سنة عشر وسبعمائة بمدينة قونية بالمدرسة النظامية رحمه الله منشئها.

The book entitled *Kāshifat asrār al-ḥaqā'iq fī umūr al-dunyā wa-l-ākhirah* has been completed. The fair copy was finished at the hands of the one in need of God Most High, Muḥammad al-Tustarī –may God grant him a good end– on the first day of Dhū l-qa'dah in the year seven hundred and ten, in the city of Konya, in the Nizāmiyyah madrasah – may God have mercy on its founder.⁹⁸

The codex containing *Kāshifat asrār al-ḥaqā'iq* also includes a copy of al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī's *al-Dharī'ah*,⁹⁹ transcribed in the hand of Muḥammad al-Tustarī. Notably, in his scribal note for this copy, Muḥammad al-Tustarī employs the expression “waqa'a min naskhihi” in the colophon of *al-Dharī'ah*,¹⁰⁰ rather than “waqa'a min taḥrīrihi”, as found in the colophon of *Kāshifat asrār al-ḥaqā'iq*. This distinction

⁹⁸ Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī, *Kāshifat asrār al-ḥaqā'iq* (Reisülküttâb, 1197), 147b.

⁹⁹ Al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Dharī'ah* (Reisülküttâb, 1197), 130b.

¹⁰⁰ Al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Dharī'ah* (Reisülküttâb, 1197), 165b.

clearly demonstrates that the latter work is an original composition authored by him.

3.2.2. A Concise Work on Astronomy and Cosmology: *al-Risālah al-Mughniyah*

Like the Reîsülküttab miscellany introduced above, the manuscript numbered 5302 in the Fatih collection of the Süleymaniye Library contains important records that shed light on the scholarly activities of Muhammad al-Tustarî. This miscellany shows that Muḥammad al-Tustarî copied (*istinsāk*) Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī's Persian treatise on astronomy, *Ikhtiyārāt-i Muẓaffarī*, which had been dedicated to the Chobanid ruler Muẓaffar al-Dīn Yawlaq Arslān.¹⁰¹ It also includes a work authored by al-Tustarî himself, entitled *al-Risālah al-mughniyah*.

In the introduction to *al-Risālah al-mughniyah*, the author clearly sets out the nature of his work. The treatise is described as a concise composition written within the framework of the science of *bay'ah* (astronomy/cosmology), dealing with the structures of celestial and terrestrial bodies. Al-Tustarî states that he has limited the scope of the work to a succinct presentation of topics such as the dimensions, volumes, and physical properties of these bodies. He further explains that the treatise was composed at the request of certain friends and under conditions of haste, which led to its being named *al-Risālah al-mughniyah*.¹⁰²

A comparison between the colophon (*farāgh* record) of *al-Risālah al-mughniyah* and that of al-Shīrāzī's *Ikhtiyārāt-i Muẓaffarī* demonstrates that *al-Risālah al-mughniyah* is an original composition authored by al-Tustarî himself. This comparison strongly indicates that the work is not a product of scribal transmission but rather an autograph text that emerged directly from the author's own pen.

i. Colophon indicating that he copied *Ikhtiyārāt-i Muẓaffarī*:

وقد وقع الفراغ من نسخه على يدي الفقير محمد التستري أحسن الله إليه ضحوة
نهار الأربعاء ... من محرم سنة 722 بمدينة أنطالية في الخانقاه الجلالية، رحم
الله منسئها.

The copying of this work was completed by the hand of the
humble servant Muḥammad al-Tustarî –may God show him

¹⁰¹ Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī, *Ikhtiyārāt-i Muẓaffarī* (Fatih 5302), 2a.

¹⁰² Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarî, *al-Risālah al-mughniyah* (Fatih 5302), 168b.

kindness— on the forenoon of Wednesday, ... of Muḥarram 722 [AH], in the city of Antalya, in the Jalāliyyah khānqāh. May God have mercy on its founder.¹⁰³

ii. Colophon indicating that he authored *al-Risālah al-mughbniyah*:

وقد وقع فراغ من تسويده الفقير إلى الله محمد التستري أحسن الله إليه في صفر 722 بمحرسة سليمان شهر من أعمال الروم.

The drafting (composition) of this work was completed by the one in need of God, Muḥammad al-Tustarī —may God show him kindness— in the month of Ṣafar 722 [AH], in the protected city of Sulaymānshahr, in the lands of Rūm.¹⁰⁴

The terminology employed by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī in his manuscripts provides important clues for distinguishing between his authorial and scribal activities. Notably, the term *naskh*, which he uses while copying al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī's *al-Dharī'ah*, also appears in his transcription of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī's *Ikhtiyārāt-i Muẓaffarī*. In contrast, in his own authored work *Kāshifāt asrār al-ḥaqā'iq*, he employs the term *taḥrīr*, whereas in *al-Risālah al-mughbniyah*, he uses the expression *taswīd*. Furthermore, in the colophons of his works *Sharḥ Manāzil al-sā'irīn* and *al-Fuṣūl al-Asbrafiyyah*, the term *tabyīḍ* is consistently preferred.

On the basis of these terminological preferences, it appears that al-Tustarī used terms such as *taswīd* and *taḥrīr* to denote his authorial activity, whereas he reserved the term *naskh* exclusively for manuscripts he copied. Accordingly, this evidence demonstrates that *Kāshifāt asrār al-ḥaqā'iq* and *al-Risālah al-mughbniyah* are original compositions that have come down to us directly from the author's own pen.

4. Traces of Akbarī Thought in al-Tustarī: The Esoteric Commentary on the Ḥadīth “Allah Created Adam in His Own Image”

One of the traditions on which Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī comments in his *Sharḥ al-aḥādīth al-arba'in* is the ḥadīth “Allah created Adam in His own image”.¹⁰⁵ Al-Tustarī's interpretation of this ḥadīth is highly emblematic of his intellectual worldview, and this

¹⁰³ Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī, *Ikhtiyārāt-i Muẓaffarī* (Fatih, 5302), 164b.

¹⁰⁴ Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī, *al-Risālah al-mughbniyah* (Fatih, 5302), 209b.

¹⁰⁵ Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī, *Sharḥ al-aḥādīth al-arba'in* (Feyzullah Efendi, 2163), 156a-b.

commentary is thus presented here as an exemplary text. Historically, scholars have had some difficulty in discussing and interpreting this ḥadīth. Ibn Qutaybah (d. 276/889) described it as “a tradition whose interpretation is challenging for people”,¹⁰⁶ while Ibn Fūrak (d. 406/1015) affirmed that there was no dispute among scholars regarding its authenticity. However, when the version “Allah created Adam in the image of the Merciful (al-Raḥmān)” is considered, differing approaches emerge: some scholars interpret it esoterically, whereas the majority reject such readings as incorrect.¹⁰⁷ The ḥadīth has therefore been interpreted differently by ḥadīth scholars, theologians, and Akbarī Sufis. In particular, Ibn al-ʿArabī used this tradition as a foundational proof in his doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd*, linking it with Qurʾānic verses such as “I will create a vicegerent on earth”¹⁰⁸ and “Allah taught Adam all the names”,¹⁰⁹ as well as the ḥadīth, together with the ḥadīths “Allah created Adam in His own image”¹¹⁰ and “I am his hearing, his sight, his tongue, his hand, and his foot”,¹¹¹ explicitly understanding the pronoun *huwa* as referring to God.¹¹²

Al-Tustarī's commentary adopts a more inclusive approach. He presents the possibilities that the pronoun *huwa* may refer to Adam, to God, or to a third entity, without explicitly privileging any single interpretation. Nevertheless, his broader discussion of the interpretation in which the pronoun refers to God suggests that he implicitly favors and values this view. Notably, this method allows the simultaneous presentation of both exoteric scholars' perspectives and Akbarī Sufi views.

Al-Tustarī presents several interpretations for the pronoun when

¹⁰⁶ Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muslim Ibn Qutaybah al-Dīnawarī, *Taʾwīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyi al-Dīn al-Aṣḥar (Beirut - Doha: al-Maktab al-Islāmī - Muʾassasat al-Ishrāq, 1419/1999), 318.

¹⁰⁷ Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Fūrak, *Musḥkil al-ḥadīth wa-bayānub*, ed. Mūsā Muḥammad ʿAlī (Beirut: ʿĀlam al-Kutub, 1985), 45-46; Şaban Çiftçi, “Allah Âdem’i Kendi Sûretinde Yaratmıştır” Hadisinin Tahric ve Değerlendirmesi”, *Pamukkale Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 1/1 (March 2014), 8-14.

¹⁰⁸ Q 2:30.

¹⁰⁹ Q 2:31.

¹¹⁰ Al-Bukhārī, *al-Şaḥīḥ*, “Kitāb al-istiʿdhān”, 1.

¹¹¹ Al-Bukhārī, *al-Şaḥīḥ*, “Kitāb al-riqāq”, 38.

¹¹² Orkhan Musakhanov, *Tilimsânî'nin İlâhî İsimler Nazariyesi* (İstanbul: Litera Yayıncılık, 2018), 299-309; Orkhan Musakhanov, “İlâhî İsimler Teorisi”, *İslâm Düşüncesinde Teoriler: Metafizik*, ed. Ömer Türker (İstanbul: Ketebe Yayınları, 2021), 2 (*Varlık Düşüncesi ve Sıfatlar*)/1125.

understood as referring to Adam. One view holds that Adam was created in the state of his death, meaning he was brought into existence in full perfection, bypassing the usual stages of human development such as the nutfah, ‘alaqah, mudghah, childhood, youth, and old age. Another interpretation suggests that Adam was created in his paradisiacal form, descending to earth without any diminution in stature or luminosity.¹¹³ A further perspective considers Adam as created in a composite form containing opposites so that he embodies dualities such as error and guidance, sin and repentance, or knowledge and ignorance. In contrast, angels are created solely for obedience, Satan solely for disobedience, and animals solely for service; their natures are singular.¹¹⁴ This last view resonates with the Akbarī conception of humans as *kawn-i jāmi‘*, integrating opposites within themselves,¹¹⁵ yet the pronoun’s reference to Adam rather than to God distinguishes it from a fully Akbarī approach.

In interpreting the pronoun as attributed to a third entity, al-Tustarī draws on exoteric scholarship, citing the Prophetic saying “Do not say, ‘May Allah spoil his face’, or strike it, because Allah created Adam in His image”. Here, the “face” refers to the person receiving the censure or blow, reflecting honor and dignity toward Adam and humanity in general.¹¹⁶ Again, the pronoun referring to Adam rather than God differentiates this view from the Akbarī-centered interpretation.

If one adopts the Akbarī preference of the pronoun referring to God, the ḥadīth aligns with the version “Allah created Adam in the image of the Merciful”, implying that Adam was created according to a divine archetype. Al-Tustarī interprets *ṣūrah* (image) not physically but spiritually. According to him, *ṣūrah* refers not only to external forms but also to the arrangement of meanings, as in expressions such as “the

¹¹³ Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī, *Sharḥ al-aḥādīth al-arba‘in* (Feyzullah Efendi, 2163), 156a; For the source of these comments, see Çiftçi, “Allah Âdem’i Kendi Sûretinde Yaratmıştır” Hadisinin Tahric ve Değerlendirmesi”, 9-11.

¹¹⁴ Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī, *Sharḥ al-aḥādīth al-arba‘in* (Feyzullah Efendi, 2163), 156a.

¹¹⁵ For detailed information on the concept of *kawn-i jāmi‘* (the comprehensive/collective nature of human beings), see Abdullah Kartal, *İlâhî İsimler Teorisi: Allah-İnsan İlişkisi* (İstanbul: Hayykitap, 2009), 179-181.

¹¹⁶ Ibn Qutaybah, *Ta’wīl mukbtalif al-ḥadīth*, 319; Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī, *Sharḥ al-aḥādīth al-arba‘in* (Feyzullah Efendi, 2163), 156a.

image of a matter” or “the form of a poem”.¹¹⁷

In this context, al-Tustarī states that the form in which Adam was created resembles the Divine (*Raḥmānī*) form in essence, attributes, and actions.

i. Similarity in essence: The human soul is considered an entity possessing existence in itself; it is neither matter nor a physical body, nor is it a substance localized or incarnated in a place. The soul is neither confined by space nor dependent on direction.¹¹⁸ These qualities, in a certain sense, correspond to the attributes ascribed to God’s essence. In this respect, al-Tustarī’s approach differs from that of early theologians, who regarded the soul as a subtle physical substance, and aligns with the perspective adopted by the Peripatetic philosophers, further developed by thinkers such as al-Ghazālī, and ultimately embraced by Akbarī Sufis.¹¹⁹

ii. Similarity in attributes (*ṣifāt*): The soul is endowed with attributes such as life (*ḥayy*), knowledge (*‘ālim*), power (*qādir*), will (*murīd*), hearing (*samī‘*), sight (*baṣīr*), and speech (*mutakallim*), which reflect divine qualities. Upon perfection, humans may be described with most

¹¹⁷ Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī, *Sharḥ al-aḥādīth al-arba‘in* (Feyzullah Efendi, 2163), 156b.

¹¹⁸ Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī, *Sharḥ al-aḥādīth al-arba‘in* (Feyzullah Efendi, 2163), 156a.

¹¹⁹ ‘Alīm Allāh Lāhūrī presents the early views of theologians (*kalām*) and Sufis regarding the soul and contrasts them with his own perspective: “Some theologians and Sufis claimed that souls are ‘subtle and luminous bodies’, grounding this view in the report that the Prophet Muḥammad (peace be upon him) saw Ādam, Mūsā, Yūsuf, Ibrāhīm, and other prophets (peace be upon them) in the heavens during the Night Journey (*Isrā’*). However, it is known that the bodies of these prophets are buried beneath the earth. Therefore, what was seen above must have been the souls. In our view –following al-Ghazālī, the majority of Sufis [especially Akbarīs], and some theologians– the soul is, by its essence, a substance abstracted from matter and form. Consequently, it can neither be perceived by the senses nor divided into parts. The event of the Prophet seeing the prophets during the Night Journey actually consists of the observation of the souls in forms adapted to perception (*ru‘yat al-arwāḥ fī ṣuwar al-tamatibthul*). For this reason, the Divine command, ‘Say: The soul is from the command of my Lord’ [Q 17:85], indicates that the soul belongs not to the realm of creation but to the realm of divine command. Indeed, God further clarifies this reality by stating, ‘Know that both the creation and the command belong to Him. Exalted is Allah, Lord of the worlds!’ [Q 7:54]”. ‘Alīm Allāh Lāhūrī, *Taqdīs al-Raḥmān bi-l-taqyīd ‘an al-zamān wa-l-makān* (İstanbul: Beyazıt Kütüphanesi, Veliyyüddin Efendi, 1562), 40a. For information on ‘Alīm Allāh Lāhūrī, see Orhan Musabanlı, “Lahor, Şam ve İstanbul Hatında Ekberî-Müceddidî Sûfî: Alîmullah Lâhûrî ve Eserleri”, *Kocatepe İslami İlimler Dergisi* 6/1 (June 2023), 203-225.

divine attributes established by the Sharī‘ah. The Prophet’s ḥadīth “Adopt the character of Allah” and the philosophical principle that wisdom is “to resemble God as far as possible” support this notion.¹²⁰

iii. Similarity in acts (*af‘āl*): Human acts are analogized to divine acts. For example, writing begins with will in the heart and is transmitted via the animal soul to the brain, nerves, muscles, and, finally, the fingers, producing letters on paper. The motions of the pen move the ink, creating written text. This process mirrors divine actions at a microcosmic level. Al-Tustarī further maps the human heart to the Throne (‘*Arsh*), the brain to the Chair (‘*Kursī*), the senses to angels, nerves and organs to the heavens, the finger to nature, the pen to elements, the ink to the cosmic order, and the imagination to the Preserved Tablet (‘*al-Lawḥ al-maḥfūẓ*). One grasping these correspondences is said to understand the secret of the Prophetic saying “He who knows himself knows his Lord”.

This layered interpretation demonstrates al-Tustarī’s Akbarī-influenced yet original esoteric reading of the ḥadīth, integrating metaphysics, human perfection, and the correspondence between divine and human realities.¹²¹

Conclusion

The most significant finding of this study is the need to clearly distinguish between two 8th/14th-century scholars bearing the Tustarī *nisbah*: Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī and Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī. The evidence demonstrates that Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī, a prominent commentator on Avicenna, was a scholar engaged in kalām, jurisprudence, logic, and philosophy, who studied the *Sharḥ al-Ishārāt* tradition comparatively and was active in major intellectual centers such as Tabriz, Hamadān, Baghdād, and Cairo.

In contrast, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī emerges as a distinct intellectual figure operating within the scholarly milieu of Anatolia, particularly in regions such as Konya, Sulaymānshahr, and Antalya. The analysis shows that his relative obscurity in comparison

¹²⁰ Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī, *Sharḥ al-aḥādīth al-arba‘in* (Feyzullah Efendi, 2163), 156b.

¹²¹ Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī, *Sharḥ al-aḥādīth al-arba‘in* (Feyzullah Efendi, 2163), 156a-b.

to his contemporary largely stems from the conflation of their identities in the manuscript tradition. A systematic examination of prefaces, colophons, titlature, patronage networks, and places of composition confirms that the works attributed to Shams al-Dīn belong to a separate intellectual trajectory rooted in Anatolian scholarly and cultural contexts.

The content analysis further reveals that Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī developed a coherent intellectual system characterized by the integration of multiple disciplines. His works indicate an engagement with philosophical and mystical traditions, suggesting a synthesis that reflects the intellectual climate of 14th-century Anatolia. This synthesis becomes particularly visible in his treatment of key theological and philosophical concepts, where interpretive methods point to a layered reading of texts that combines rational inquiry with spiritual insight.

The most evident finding of this research is the necessity of distinguishing between these two al-Tustarī-*nisbah* scholars. Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī was a *muḥaddith* and jurist who was engaged in kalām, jurisprudence, logic, and philosophy and was active in the major scholarly centers of Tabriz, Baghdād, and Hamadān. In contrast, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī was a Sufi operating within the Konya-centered intellectual and cultural milieu, notable for producing works on medicine, philosophy, and Sufism. It is evident that Shams al-Dīn enjoyed the support of important Anatolian political figures, such as Eşrefoğlu Mubārız al-Dīn Mehmed Bey, and that he also dedicated some of his works to Mamlūk sultans.

With respect to Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī's intellectual identity, his *al-Fusūl al-Asbrafiyyah* reflects a distinctive synthesis of Akbarī Sufism and Peripatetic philosophy. This synthesis is apparent both in its conceptual framework and in the method of textual interpretation. His commentary on the ḥadīth "Allah created Adam in His own form" demonstrates the clearest example of his connection to the Akbarī tradition. He interprets the term *ṣūrah* not as a material form but as a spiritual reality, emphasizes that the pronoun refers to God, and presents humanity as the locus of divine truths in essence, attributes, and actions. This approach firmly places his thought within the Akbarī lineage. In his commentary on al-Harawī's *Manāzil*, al-Tustarī structures his system around the Akbarī balance that unites

tanzīb (divine transcendence) and *tashbīb* (divine immanence), adopting Ibn al-‘Arabī’s approach, which transcends both the traditionalist *tafwīd* of the salaf and the kalāmī interpretative methods by integrating apparent and hidden meanings. A content analysis of his works shows a clear intersection between Peripatetic philosophical thought and Akbarī Sufi doctrine in his intellectual system.

In conclusion, this study aims to restore Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī to his rightful place in the history of Islamic thought and to contribute to a deeper understanding of the intellectual richness of 14th-century Anatolia. This reconstruction of his thought lays the groundwork for future research to further illuminate Shams al-Dīn’s overlooked intellectual legacy. Moreover, this methodological approach may serve as a model for investigating other historical figures whose identities have been similarly conflated.

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