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Theurgy in the medieval Islamic world: conceptions of cosmology in Al-Būnī’s Doctrine of the Divine Names

John Daniel Martin III

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THEURGY IN THE MEDIEVAL ISLAMIC WORLD: CONCEPTIONS OF COSMOLOGY IN AL-BŪNĪ’S DOCTRINE OF THE DIVINE NAMES

A Thesis Submitted to

the Department of Arab and Islamic Civilizations

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts

by
John D. Martin III

under the supervision of
Dr. Saiyad Nizamuddin Ahmad

December 2011
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For my grandmother, JoAnn.
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Abstract

The mystical cosmology set forth by Abu-l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Yūsuf al-Qurashī al-Būnī (d. 622 / 1225) is of tremendous importance for understanding the development and application of the medieval Islamic occult sciences. In this thesis, we explore the concept and purpose of medieval Islamic theurgy as it is presented by al-Būnī. We will attempt to contextualize it within its complex and nuanced cosmology. His widely distributed and often banned work *Shams al-maʿārif* presents a challenge to even the most adept reader as it requires advanced understanding in an array of seemingly disparate subjects. This and other of al-Būnī’s works represent a comprehensive, albeit roundabout, guide to medieval Islamic occult philosophy and theurgic rites. The body of work as whole, dubbed the ‘Corpus Bunianum’ by Jan Just Witkam, problematically suffers from lack of critical scholarship and confusion within its textual tradition. We will offer an introductory analysis of the textual tradition and a list of titles which can be reasonably attributed to al-Būnī, along with some information regarding their manuscript tradition.
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Transliteration

The system of transliteration employed in this thesis corresponds to that of the Library of Congress, except in the case that ‘h’ is not used to represent tāʾ marbūta.

Abbreviations

Several abbreviations are employed throughout.

GAL Carl Brockelmann, Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur, vol. 1 (Weimar: Verlag von Emil Felber, 1898)


MS “Manuscript” (pl. MSS)

Texts

A list of texts attributed to al-Būnī and a discussion thereof can be found in the Appendix. Unless otherwise noted: pagination listed for Shams al-Maʿārif or the wuṣṭā corresponds to the anonymous 1936 Istanbul edition titled Shams al-maʿārif al-ṣughrā. References to the kubrā correspond to the 1960 Cairo edition.
Dates

Unless otherwise noted, dates are listed in the main body of the text with the Hijrī year followed by Common Era or Gregorian year. Dates in the Bibliography are CE unless otherwise noted. Dates were converted between Hijrī and CE using the idate program, which is part of the Arabeyes itools software package. For further information see: http://projects.arabeyes.org/project.php?proj=ITL.

Typsetting

The text of this thesis was prepared using the XƎ TEX environment for the TƎ X typesetting program. XƎ TEX was originally written in 2010 by Jonathan Kew. For information about XƎ TEX see: http://tug.org/xetex/.

The typeface used to set the Latin text is Gentium Plus. The typeface used to set the Arabic text is Scheherazade.
Introduction

Researching topics within the purview of the Islamic occult is, perhaps ironically, not without significant difficulty. The secondary source literature is often confused with regard to what is actually being treated. Primary sources come in the form of a material culture (amulets, magic bowls, magic shirts, etc.) or a textual tradition of esoteric manuals comprising segments on a wide array of arcane topics (astrology, alchemy, incantations and the special properties of elements belonging to the above, among many others).

Theurgy in this context is a particularly understudied topic. The word “theurgy” typically refers to a system of practices which are believed to harness divine or supernatural agency for application in human affairs. The etymology of the word is ancient Greek, but it does not appear in English until the 16th century.¹

Though it does have a long history in Islam, theurgy is often wholly confused or conflated with various forms of magic and sorcery by modern scholarship and pre-modern sources alike. This second set of forms is best categorized in English as “goety”, which can be understood as the antonym of theurgy. Goety refers to practices involving the invocation or employment of spirits from the so-called “lower realms,” commonly understood to be evil.²

There is also no typical translation of theurgy in the Arabic language, making it difficult to identify directly. In pre-modern treatments, theurgy is confusing to parse as it represents, for some writers on the topic, the highest form

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¹. θεουργία = θεο- indicating God or gods, as in θεολογία (“theology”) [from θεός “god”] + -ουργία, [part of ἔργον “to work”]. Oxford English Dictionary, s.v.

². Greek γοητεία from γοητ-, γόης meaning sorcerer, wizard, which is in turn from from γοέων to wail or cry. Oxford English Dictionary, s.v.
of mystical achievement. As such, its secrets are meant to remain hidden, and while extensive information may be given in the textual tradition, much of it is vague or misleading, meant as a test to weed the uninitiated from the adept. The material culture is no less vague, as it represents the completed material product of the working of theurgic rites, ostensibly, but gives no insight into the spiritual, which is the actual realm of theurgy.

In this thesis, the author hopes to identify and shed some light on several aspects of theurgic cosmology found in the writings of one of best known, and little studied, authorities: 7th/13th century theurgist Abu-l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Yūsuf al-Qurashī al-Būnī (d. 622/1225).

Chapter 1 begins with a brief discussion of the meaning of the terms religion, magic, superstition and theurgy as they are understood from various modern and historical perspectives. The concept of theurgy is framed in its Islamic historical context epistemologically, as well as in terms of the material culture which has been produced by its practitioners. We will also attempt here to define theurgy in Islam as related to the term sīmiyya.

In chapter 2, we will introduce the work of al-Būnī. This chapter comprises a discussion of the historical al-Būnī as well as the textual tradition of some of his more important titles.

In chapter 3, we discuss the cosmology in which the occult sciences developed in the medieval Islamic world, as well as historical antecedents in the ancient world.

In chapter 4, we introduce the Divine Names and their relation to sīmiyya as they are discussed by al-Būnī in his major works.
Chapter 1

Theurgy in Islam

Theoretical frames of reference

There is little consensus in modern scholarly literature over topics of the occult, the relationship between religion and magic or the further classification of different types of magic as licit or illicit within a given religious tradition.¹ This is even further true for modern treatments of such topics in the context of Islam. The concepts religion, magic, superstition are often used interchangeably to the effect of great confusion. For the purposes of the present work, we will introduce another concept, theurgy, into the mix and discuss its existence and form in the Islamic tradition.

For the sociologist, the difference between the concepts of religion, magic, superstition and theurgy lies in their social relevance. In this model, each is an aspect of a similar set of behaviors as expressions of explicit (elite) and implicit (popular and local) ideologies which are inevitably found in conflict with one another.² “The Islam of the [ʿUlamāʾ] is highly abstract, formal, and legalistic. Theology in this sense is more reflective than popular systems of religious meaning. At the same time it is less ritualistic and less bound to

common sense experience and social action."

Anthropologists view these phenomena similarly to sociologists, though they have been more careful to separate their definitions of religion and magic. They tend to see religion as “formal” and then anything else, whether theurgy or magic, as para-religious ritual or folk-practice. For magic and theurgy (and perhaps superstition), the exterior forms are often similar, involving practitioners engaged in ritual behaviors, appeals to forces and personalities unseen and a belief that those appeals will have a real and discernible effect on the material world in which the practitioner finds himself immersed. This means that in any case magic and theurgy are often conflated.

For the historian, each of these concepts might have a particular place in describing the political- or social-historical reality of a religious movement, the culture or subculture of the practitioner and the interaction between different classes and social groups contemporaneous with him. To quote Humphreys: “culture (the ways in which people express their values, attitudes, and beliefs) and religion (the ways in which people relate themselves to ultimate realities) ... have an important place, but only insofar as they throw light on questions of social structure and political power.”

For the Muslim theologian or jurist, these terms might represent — de-

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pending very much, of course, on the historical, social and cultural context of the individual — orthodoxy and orthopraxy in the case of religion, but heterodoxy and heteropraxy, in the case of the rest. For others religion (dīn) is made normative and structured to be exclusively correct; theurgy is an aspect of that. The others, magic (sihr) and superstition (khirāfa), are forbidden or demonstrated to be false. Only those practices which do not constitute disbelief (kufr) are to be regarded as theurgy, though there is some confusion over what this means. For instance, though a ritualized practice might be accepted as valid in some religious circles, it will not become formalized, and will remain outside of what might be considered orthodox dogma.

For the psychologist or skeptic, these terms might appear to describe all the same phenomena, conceived of as irrelevant to the material existence of the practitioner and having no discernible effect on the material world. Anything out of the ordinary occurs as a coincidence or random confluence of events. The supernatural defies scientific investigation and is therefore reduced to a point of psychological and emotional curiosity and unusual events are taken as coincidence. The practitioner is encouraged to believe that the rituals are efficacious on the off-chance that the desired result and inevitable reality are the same.

The believing practitioner, on the other hand, sees religion and theurgy as aspects of one another and that magic and superstition are the domain of those operating outside the scope of his religious paradigm. He views his religion as a body of knowledge which is to be used to test, estimate, hypothesize, experiment, evaluate and then theorize the the world, both material and immaterial, and then apply it to effect changes in those realms. This is the essence of theurgy.

While none of these theoretical models fits perfectly for describing or categorizing the topic of interest, the literature generated by their respec-

10. el-Shamy, Religion among the Folk in Egypt, 65.
11. Ibid., 71.
13. Ibid., 198.
tive fields on our present topic can be of some assistance in synthesizing and understanding the primary source literature, in the form of manuals and theoretical texts, and the secondary literature, in the form of other writings on these practices and their context in medieval Islamic cosmology.

Knowledge, science, technology and religion

Even more problematic, for the modern person, the above terms might all be confused or conflated with science or technology, or vice versa. Science can be generalized as any body of theoretical and practical knowledge utilized by an investigator in order to observe effects and make predictions within a given frame of reference and under certain conditions in order to develop an understanding of the relationships between elements within a system or with the system itself. Technology is the practical application of scientific knowledge using a set of techniques designed in order to achieve a desired result within a given system. The system within which technologies function is based on previously observed and predicted data, though the inner workings of the technology will not always be plain to the casual, uninformed observer. That which is inscrutable to a human observer appears in turn miraculous, magical, strange or diabolic.

The key to understanding just what constitutes each of these concepts is collapsing the paradigms of practitioner (internal) and observer (external). The conflation of religion, magic, superstition and theurgy collapses only the theoretical paradigms of each. From the observer’s point of view, these are a set of ritual forms or theoretical texts to be discussed and compared with effects either observed or reported by the practitioner and those in his immediate social environment. From the practitioner’s perspective, each aspect of ritual and every word in the scripture has meaning and connection to forces larger than himself or his social environment. He believes that the techniques belonging to his chosen discipline give him access to means beyond himself to effect changes in the material world, typically by way of appeal to aspects of the unseen world.
None of the theoretical models or scholarly worldviews presented is internally inconsistent. Rather, each only seems inconsistent or unreasonable from the point of view of another model. The language of one frame of reference is insufficient to describe another unless we have methods to connect the frames together by way of a shared reference point and translate between them. For the physicist, this problem can be dealt with using sets of descriptors in order to relate two frames and translate from one to the other, provided that they shared some point of reference, usually inertia.

The problem is slightly different when dealing with aspects of human behavior, philosophical or religious conceptions of knowledge and the underlying framework of reality, and other paradigms not typically described in mathematical terms, but in terms of language and semantics.\textsuperscript{14} In this case, there may sometimes be no shared points of reference at all between different observers. One observer may figuratively or actually see practices, rites, effects or phenomena in an entirely different, or mutually exclusive, manner. One perhaps unlikely reconciliation comes from a set of three “laws” of prediction set forth by 20th-century author, futurist and inventor, Arthur C. Clarke.\textsuperscript{15} He posited the following:

1. When a distinguished but elderly scientist states that something is possible, he is almost certainly right. When he states that something is impossible, he is very probably wrong.

2. The only way of discovering the limits of the possible is to venture a little way past them into the impossible.

3. Any sufficiently advanced technology is indistinguishable from magic.\textsuperscript{16}

\textsuperscript{14} Hammond, “Magic: A Problem in Semantics,” 1349-1350.
\textsuperscript{16} The word magic is being used here as a reference to “magical thinking.” See: Zusne and Jones, Anomalistic Psychology: A Study of Magical Thinking, for an introduction to the concept of “magical thinking” in modern psychology.
These principles apply to the present line of inquiry, as they pertain to what is possible and impossible, and how such things might appear to any observer. Furthermore, they pertain to the manner in which such phenomena might be described. Without sufficient information to discern the difference between technology and magic, the former will be regarded as the latter by the casual observer. If the observer has a great deal more knowledge with regard to the inner workings of the technology at hand, so-called “magical thinking” becomes unnecessary.

This is not to say that the observer will completely shift in his worldview, but rather only that when technical details are known, the effects of the technology are no longer surprising or shocking. In the same way, when a modern person connects a computer to a wireless data network or places a call using a mobile phone, they would not be surprised to see images of a distant place or hear the voice of someone halfway around the world. Instead, they would expect these phenomena and would understand that something was amiss in the case that they did not occur.\footnote{17}

Given the above, it is important to define what is meant by each of these terms so as to properly contextualize the topic at hand. Throughout the course of Islamic history, the types of knowledge and science have been

\footnote{17. It should be made clear that the author is in no way attempting to equivocate theurgy and magic with modern technology. Such parallels are drawn only for their value as instructive or demonstrative models, particularly in the case of the invocation and control of unseen forces. Electromagnetic energy in particular, due to its being typically invisible and yet capable of transmitting information over long distances (appearing nearly simultaneous on a sublunary scale) or causing discreet reaction between two disconnected items when harnessed, focused and controlled, provides an opportunity for an analysis of modern “magical thinking.” The vast majority of individuals utilizing wireless communications technologies on a daily basis have little to no understanding of how they operate on their most basic levels. This causes the user to speculate and form untested hypotheses with regard to the base-level operations of the devices which they regularly employ. The modern superstition holds that we have given up magical thinking, but in fact it appears that we have simply displaced one paradigm for another. For extensive treatment of the topic of magical thinking and the rise of technology, see Pamela Thurschwell, Literature, Technology and Magical Thinking, 1880-1920, Cambridge Studies in Nineteenth-Century Literature and Culture (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).}
treated at length and in great detail, so we shall begin there.

Types of knowledge

The Islamic epistemological tradition is extensive. Rosenthal writes:

“Arabic ‘ilm is fairly well rendered by our ‘knowledge’. However, ‘knowledge’ falls short of expressing all the factual and emotional contents of ‘ilm. For ‘ilm is one of those concepts that have dominated Islam and given Muslim civilization its distinctive shape and complexion. In fact, there is no other concept that has been operative as a determinant of Muslim civilization in all its aspects to the same extent as ‘ilm. This holds good even for the most powerful among the terms of Muslim religious life such as, for instance, tawḥīd [sic] ‘recognition of the oneness of God,’ ad-dīn [sic] ‘the true religion’, and many others that are used constantly and emphatically. None of them equals in depth of meaning and wide incidence of use.”\(^{18}\)

The types of knowledge with which the present study is concerned belong primarily to the realm of the metaphysical. Islamic theurgists recognize Revelation, as presented in the Qurʾān, as the source for all other knowledge, particularly gnosis (ḥikma), which holds a place of epistemological prestige for mystics, but also for anyone concerned with the underlying framework of reality. Nasr argues that it holds a special position in the Islamic epistemological hierarchy:

“Gnosis, which has always been held to be the highest form of knowledge in Islam, as well as other Oriental traditions, has definite conceptions of the universe, and in fact provides the only matrix within which the traditional cosmological sciences can

be properly understood. [...] The gnostic sees all things as manifestations of the Supreme Divine Principle, which transcends all determinations — even Being, its first determination. All entities in manifestation, both visible and invisible, are connected with this Center by the degree to which they reflect the Intellect and also by their existence.\textsuperscript{19}

It both describes the cosmological framework within which the theurgist operates as well as giving shape to the practice itself in the form of the language utilized. Indeed, it is knowledge itself which defines humanity’s place in the cosmos. This worldview, however, is not relegated specifically to religious endeavors. Epistemology factors into every aspect of Muslim life and work. Rosenthal continues:

“There is no branch of Muslim intellectual life, of Muslim religious and political life, and of the daily life of the average Muslim that remained untouched by the all-pervasive attitude toward ‘knowledge’ as something of supreme value for Muslim being. ‘\textit{\textbf{I}}lm\textit{\textbf{m}}’ is Islam, even if the theologians have been hesitant to accept the technical correctness of this equation. The very fact of their passionate discussion of the concept attests to its fundamental importance for Islam.”\textsuperscript{20}

Knowledge is of such importance in Muslim history that there have been extensive classifications made of the various types and forms of thereof and their expression as sciences. Among those who attempted extensive epistemological classifications are, to name a few: the historian, sociologist and philosopher Ibn Khaldûn (732 / 1332 - 808 / 1406); historian, biographer and geographer Hâjji Khalifa (Kâtip Çelebi) (1017 / 1609 - 1067 / 1657); theologian and exegete Fâkhr al-Dîn al-Râzî (543 / 1149 - 606 / 1209); and Persian scholar and poet ʿUmar Khayyām (439 / 1048 - 517 / 1123 or 526 / 1131).\textsuperscript{21}


\textsuperscript{20} Rosenthal, \textit{Knowledge Triumphant : The Concept of Knowledge in Medieval Islam}, 2.

Occult knowledge, the occult sciences, occultism

The occult sciences (ʿulūm al-khafiyya) are represented in the taxonomy as a branch of the metaphysical sciences (ʿulūm al-ghayb) which treat the unseen or ephemeral world, whereas the natural sciences treat the natural, physical world. They are often given short shrift and refuted or forbidden without much consideration beyond their being occult. This is perhaps the main source of confusion regarding such topics: the problem of what is permissible and what is impermissible and how to distinguish between them. This question puts the observer into the mode of the jurist, listed above, which is concerned primarily with the moral rather than intellective aspects of whatever occult practices are at hand.22

In the case of the Islamic occult, and more specifically Islamic theurgy, the discipline into which the practitioner is entered is connected with the highest perceived forms of mysticism. As well, the theurgic tradition requires orthodoxy and orthopraxy on his part.23 In the description of the purpose of such works and what sciences they elucidate, there is appeal to what the orthodox dogma might find acceptable.24 There is further appeal to tradition in the form of linking the author with older, august sources through chains of transmission of knowledge. In the case of Aḥmad al-Būnī, in the later manuscripts and editions of his work, he is linked with such figures as Ibn al-ʿArabī, Imām Jafar al-Ṣādiq, ʿAlī Ibn Abī Ṭālib, and the Prophet Muḥammad himself.25

This functions to contextualize such practices as something which is not only orthodox and orthoprax, but which has ties to the deepest roots of the religion itself. It also further contextualizes theurgy as a tiny, specialized branch of mysticism within the tradition. In some cases, it will function to

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23. At the end of the section explaining the birhatiyya oath, al-Būnī states that the practitioner “must ... worship Allah and no other beside him.” Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Yūsuf al-Qurashī al-Būnī, Manbaʿ uṣūl al-ḥikma (Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī wa-Awlāduhu, 1951), 90.
25. Ibid., 537-540.
tie the practices with the larger ancient monotheistic tradition as well. In any case, it is recognition that these practices are not marginal or obscure, only secret and hidden. The same can be said to apply to mystical endeavors within other occult traditions.

Helene Petrovna Blavatsky (d. 1891 CE), in a 19th century essay on the topic, set forth two observations regarding the occult:

1. There are more well educated and thoughtful men who believe in the existence of Occultism and Magic (the two differing vastly) than the modern materialist dreams of: and —

2. That most of the believers (comprising many theosophists) have no definite idea of the nature of Occultism and confuse it with the Occult sciences in general, the “Black art” included.

While Madame Blavatsky was referring in particular to the mystical/spiritualist group which she co-founded in the 19th century, the Theosophical Society, the observation is apt in the present context. Madame Blavatsky further illuminates the terminology for us:

“In our highly civilized West, where modern languages have been formed, and words coined, in the wake of ideas and thoughts — as happened with every tongue — the more the latter became materialized in the cold atmosphere of Western selfishness and its incessant chase after the goods of this world, the less was there any felt for the production of new terms to express that which was tacitly regarded as obsolete and exploded ‘superstition.’ Such words could answer only to ideas which a cultured man was scarcely supposed to harbor in his mind. ‘Magic,’ a synonym for jugglery; ‘Sorcery,’ an equivalent for crass ignorance;

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26. For a complete history of the origins of the Theosophical Society and information about its founders, including Madame Blavatsky, see: Theosophical Society, The Whole Truth about the Theosophical Society and its Founders, Bristol Select Pamphlets (Bristol: University of Bristol Library, 1882)
and ‘Occultism,’ the sorry relic of crack-brained, medieval Fire-
philosophers, of Jacob Bohemes and the St. Martins, are expres-
sions believed more than amply sufficient to cover the whole
field of ‘thimble-rigging.’ They are terms of contempt, and used
generally only in reference to the dross and residues of the Dark
Ages and its preceding aeons [sic] of paganism.”

These terms represent one aspect of the occult as it is being presented here.
The other aspect is treated by the same author:

“All the rest is some branch of the ‘Occult Sciences,’ i.e., arts
based on the knowledge of the ultimate essence of all things in
the Kingdom of Nature — such as minerals, plants, and animals
— hence of things pertaining to the realm of material Nature,
however invisible that essence may be, and howsoever much it
has hitherto eluded the grasp of Science. Alchemy, Astrology,
Occult Physiology, Chiromancy exist in Nature, and the exact Sci-
ences — perhaps so called because they are found in this age of
paradoxical philosophies the reverse — have already discovered
not a few of the secrets of the above arts.”

The reality of sorcery and its effects in the world

It has been suggested that a similar state of affairs existed in the medieval
Islamic world. Asatrian speculates that,

“in the [4th / 10th - 8th / 14th centuries] the rising tide of oc-
cultism inundated the lands of Islam as a whole, becoming a se-
rious threat for the orthodoxy as if an alternative form of reli-
gious cult. Perhaps, in certain Islamic intellectual and religious
circles the rise of occultism was viewed as a social disaster, se-
riously harming the fundamentals of state. This very approach

27. Helene Petrovna Blavatsky, “Occultism Versus the Occult Arts,” in On the Margin of the
28. Ibid., 74.
is explicitly traced in Ibn Khaldūn’s interpretation of the occult arts.”

Moreover, from Ibn Khaldūn’s point of view, the problem was real and dangerous as more than just a “social disaster.”

Ibn Khaldūn sets forth three different varieties of “souls that have magical ability” (al-nafūs al-siḥriyya).

1. Pure sorcery achieved through force of will. The sorcerer needs no “instrument of aid” in working his will, only the power of his mind.

2. That involving the “temper of the spheres and the elements” and the “properties of numbers.” Ibn Khaldūn characterizes this as “weaker” than the first and calls it ṭilsimāt (“talismans”).

3. Illusion and trickery, relying “upon the powers of the imagination,” and refers to it specifically as prestidigitation.

That this is a matter of religious importance to Ibn Khaldūn is further laid bare. He characterizes “magical exercise” (riyāḍat al-siḥr) as consisting of “directing oneself to the spheres, the stars, the higher worlds, or to the devils by means of various kinds of veneration and worship and submission and obeisance. Thus, magical exercise is devotion and adoration directed to (beings) other than God. Such devotion is unbelief.” He further addresses the reality of siḥr by setting the first two varieties listed above apart from the last, acknowledging that there is some confusion among the scholars over the reality of sorcery. He argues that those scholars who do not believe in the reality of siḥr have confused the first two, which are real, with the latter, which is imaginary. He states: “It should be known that no intelligent


person doubts the existence of sorcery, because of the influence mentioned, which sorcery exercises. The Qurʾān refers to it.”\textsuperscript{32} Rosenthal refers us to Doutté for an exposition of the “dogma of the reality of sorcery in Islam and medieval Christianity.”\textsuperscript{33} Doutté compares the dogma and explains that, unless done in service of God, sorcery “merits death” in the same way as shirk (“polytheism”) as its similarity thereto make it tantamount to apostasy and heresy.\textsuperscript{34}

The origins and purpose of sorcery

If the purpose of theurgy is to refine the soul and in the process use it to affect good in the spiritual and material worlds, then the purpose of sorcery is to do evil in the world. The two paradigms are diametrically opposed to each other, having no common goal or function. Ibn Khaldūn explains at several points within the Muqaddima that sihr is something preformed only by evil persons.\textsuperscript{35} He appears, on the surface, to fail at fully distinguishing the practice of sīmiyya from that of sihr or talismanic magic. However, Ibn Khaldūn is only critical of the purpose to which the practitioner puts their efforts. He states that: “A person who works with words may have no knowledge of the secrets of God and the realities of divinity, which is the result of vision and the removal (of the veil). He may restrict himself to the various relationships between words and the natures of letters and expressions, and he may become (magically) active with them in this capacity, and that is what people who practice letter magic are commonly supposed to do.”\textsuperscript{36} All such practices are eventually recognized by Ibn Khaldūn as harmful, both to the Muslim faith and other. This is the nature of their being forbidden, as

\textsuperscript{33} Ibid., 160, n. 755.
\textsuperscript{34} Edmond Doutté, Magie et religion dans l’Afrique du Nord (Algiers: Adolphe Jourdan, 1909), 336-337.
\textsuperscript{35} Ibn Khaldūn, al-Muqaddimah, 100, 167.
\textsuperscript{36} Ibid., 176.
things which cause harm are forbidden.  

The difference between theurgy and magic

Magic is therefore perhaps an inept term to translate the concept of *sihr*, except as the latter is used generally. In modern English parlance it simultaneously carries the connotations of occult operations and prestidigitation. The term “magical thinking” also renders “magic” problematic. It gives the connotation that magic has no actual properties which are supernatural. Rather any such properties are a function of illusion and the credulity of the observer. *Sorcery* is perhaps a better term for what we wish to discuss in its relation to theurgy.

*Theurgy* is still somewhat elusive. It certainly warrants a category of occult science itself in its Islamic context. It is hard, as well, to find an Arabic word which is fully descriptive of it. The sources describe what it is not, as seen in Ibn Khaldūn above, but on the topic of what it is, they are unclear. If we reckon theurgy to be simply whatever is left outside the scope of *sihr*, then we are left with something called *simiyyā*. Ibn Khaldūn describes *simiyya* as a form of occult science, outside the scope of *sihr*, as does Hājjī Khalifa.  

Ibn Khaldūn also referred to ‘*ilm asrār al-ḥurūf* (“the science of the secrets of the letters”). While there are other sciences which exist alongside *simiyya*, alchemy and astrology being two examples, it is *simiyya* which is most specifically related to what we wish to discuss as theurgy.

Ibn Khaldūn believes *simiyya* to have originated in Islam and to have arisen from within the context of Şūfī beliefs. He identifies al-Būnī and Ibn al-ʿArabī as authoritative sources on this topic and gives an explanation of the characteristics of the “activity” (*al-taṣarruf*). Even though there is no equivalent word in the Arabic text, Rosenthal adds “magic” to his descrip-

38. *Simiyyā* is a borrowed term, originally from Greek σημεια, meaning “marks” or “badges.”
tion of this “activity.” It is clear, however, that what is being discussed is not sihr as it relates to the invocation of demons or jinn. Ibn Khaldūn is very careful to specify this, though he does criticize the practitioners of sīmiyya at some length for having the same goals as the practitioners of other forms of magic and the makers of talismans.

Sīmiyya is not simply concerned with the properties of the letters of the abjad. It also incorporates astrology — for electional purposes, alchemy — in the spiritual sense, at the very least, and the invocation of the Divine Names. The focus of the discipline seems to be on “removing the veil” between the material world and the unseen world. The removal of the veil — presumably through attainment to a high degree of gnosis and spiritual discipline — is believed to afford the practitioner tremendous spiritual and material potency. It is also identified by the authors of its primary treatments as a practice which is to be engaged in by Muslims, to the exclusion of others.

Theurgy in general is necessarily obscure and sīmiyya is therefore no exception. The extant manuals and theoretical texts are vague and sometimes obtuse. They offer little in the way of a clear picture of what either theurgic rites looked like in practice or what their material result should be. The most likely reason for their obscurity is that theurgy was perceived as dangerous to those who were not fully prepared to perform the rites. The assessment can easily be made with regard to any esoteric discipline: the associated rites are kept hidden in order that the uninitiated and unskilled might be protected from harming themselves or others, spiritually or otherwise.

40. See: Ibn Khaldūn, al-Muqaddimah, 172 and Ibn Khaldūn, Muqaddima, 1040-1041
42. Ibid., 176.
43. Cf. the introduction to Shams al-maʿārif. al-Būnī refers to the “ahl al-qibla” al-Būnī, Shams al-maʿārif (al-kubrā) wa laṭāʾif al-ʿawārif, 6; [90]Buni1951; and el-Shamy, Religion among the Folk in Egypt, 69.
Notable figures and works in Islamic theurgy

As mentioned above, Aḥmad al-Būnī (d. 622 / 1225) and Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ʿArabī (560 / 1165 - 638 / 1240) wrote authoritatively on the topic of sīmiyya or ʿilm al-ḥurūf. al-Būnī’s works will be covered at length in the next chapter, so they will not be discussed here, except to note that the major title to which Ibn Khalūdūn probably refers is al-Lumaʿat al-nūraniyya. The topic is also discussed extensively in the best-known work attributed to him, Shams al-maʿārif wa-latāʾif al-ʿawārif.\(^44\)

Ibn al-ʿArabi treats the topic in the second part of al-Futuḥāt al-Makiyya, entitled “Knowledge of the degrees of the letters and the movements of the cosmos and its wealth pertaining to the Beautiful Names” (maʿrifa marātib al-ḥurūf wa-l-ḥarakāt min al-ʿālam wa-māhā min al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā).\(^45\)

al-Būnī and Ibn al-ʿArabi are both from the Maghrib, though it is arguable that this has little to do with their intellectual provenance, given that they both ended up at the far end of the Mediterranean — al-Būnī in Cairo and Ibn al-ʿArabi in Damascus. A slightly later example of Eastern provenance is the Persian Asrār-i qāsimī by Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī Kāshīfī al-Wāʿiẓ (840 / 1436-37 - 910 / 1504-5).\(^46\) According to Lory “[i]ts medium-sized book opens like any other, as if it were dealing with a subject as incontestable as pharmacology or astronomy. Its goal, however, is to outline the procedures that enable one to participate in the hidden laws that connect all living things.”

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\(^{46}\) See: EI², s.v. “Kāšifī, Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī” (by Gholam Hosein Yousofi) and Encyclopedia Iranica, s.v. “Kāšefī, Kamāl-al-Dīn Ḥosayn Wāʾez” (by M. E . Subtelny).
The first topic treated in the text is *simiyā*. 47

The obscurity and importance of theurgy

Theurgy is not very well treated in the modern secondary sources on the occult in Islam. Many conflate the concept with that of magic, etc. Fahd tells us that the term *theurgy* is the same as *tilasm* (“talismans”), which is Ibn Khaldūn’s second category of *siḥr*, and leaves it at that. 48

However, as we have seen, none of these is a sufficient mode of description or a sound basis for analysis. Part of the problem is that it is difficult to discern these differences in the modern, industrialized, increasingly technology-driven world. The purpose of theurgy particularly is obscure in the context of the modern world. Humans have surrounded themselves with a great technological apparatus which extends to every aspect of daily life, from social interaction to societal function. Where, then, was there ever a place for such arcane and recondite practices as those seemingly conducted by the writers of great, cryptic volumes of lore on mystic rites and the rituals and theory associated with theurgy?

This, however, should not be the basis for misjudging the place of theurgy and its importance in the pre-modern context. Nasr believes the occult sciences to be “a field that is of far greater significance for the understanding of the medieval sciences than is usually recognized.” 49 Rosenthal describes this as a conundrum and handicap for the modern scholar: “Any historical problem must be viewed from a modern vantage point, resulting from the author’s understanding of the state of the problem in his own time and cultural environment.” 50 This sentiment was never more true than in regarding the present line of inquiry. Theurgy is also still widely practiced in the Is-

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Islamic world. While connections with magical and scientific thinking have been discussed above, it should be understood first and foremost that theurgy is an aspect of a spiritual discipline. Islamic theurgy is tied to the religion itself from the point of view of the practitioner. It is simply an extension of practice, but it does not supplant, in any way, the core of the religion. Neither can it be separated from the religion. Islamic manuals of the occult sciences would be of little to no use for the non-Muslim practitioner.

Collapsing elite and vulgar forms

Pielow and el-Gawhary both refer to the theurgic rites described al-Būnī’s writings as “magic” (die Magie or siḥr). Pielow goes as far as to define siḥr as “Islamic magic,” which is not accurate at all. Fahd has characterized theurgy as equivocal to the second form of siḥr described by Ibn Khaldūn. While there does seem to exist a conceptualization of licit magic, as described by Ibn Khaldūn, it certainly does not have the same form or function as siḥr.

In other cases, anthropologists relegate theurgic rites and siḥr alike to the realm of “folk religion,” thus deeming the occult manuals to be “folklore.” This treatment in modern scholarship tends to stem from the concept of formal and vulgar religious forms which was set forth by David Hume, and which received quite an extensive critique by Peter Brown. Karamustafa extended this critique to the formation of conceptions of normative and

52. al-Būnī, Shams al-maʿārif (al-kubrā) wa laṭāʾif al-ʿawārif, 6.
53. EI², s.v. “Siḥr” (by Toufic Fahd).
non-normative forms of piety in early Śūfism. Unfortunately, the realm of the occult suffers from this same bias in analyses thereof. For el-Shamy theurgy falls into the category of “formal magic,” which,

“within the context of monotheism ... is not magic at all. It is rather a form of institutionalized but not formalized folk religious subsystem. It relies on religious beliefs and on the old ‘science of letters’ for its procedures; this subsystem revolves around the concept of God, and rests on certain formal religious doctrines that explain its efficacy and provide the basis for its development and open existence in a community.”

There are strict conditions under which the practitioner must conduct the prescribed theurgic rituals. Primarily, the practitioner must be pure of intention and “not harbor sinful notions.” The practitioner must also be in an state of purification (ṭahāra). In addition, “devotions and exercises certainly play a very insignificant role in [working with talismans]. Though for the theurgist, the practitioner of sīmiyya, the opposite is true. “Their exercise is the most extensive that it can be.”

An emphasis on purity of intention and physical state reflects that which is considered necessary for conducting any of the prescribed Islamic prayers. In the case of prayer, the person must make ablutions prior to beginning the prayer and then make the proper intention for the prayer (niyya). These conditions are mandatory for the performance of theurgic rites, as they are with prayer, because they involve the recitation of Qurʾān, et al.: “[Prostrating] when reciting the [Qurʾān] at verses in which is is sunna to do so; [Prostrating] out of thanks; ... and [Reciting] the [Qurʾān]” — all of which feature in the performance of theurgic rites — are forbidden if the practitioner is in

55. See: Ahmet Karamustafa, God’s Unruly Friends: Dervish Groups in the Islamic Later Middle Period, 1200-1550 (Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press, 1999).
56. el-Shamy, Religion among the Folk in Egypt, 68.
57. Ibid., 70.
a state of major ritual impurity (*janāba*). As such, the same requirements must obviously apply. In the case of non-theurgic, magical rituals, it is often necessary for the practitioner to be in a state of *janāba*. This would be the case particularly in rituals involving necromancy, contacting demons, and other dark rites. Sorcerers keep their activities hidden for fear of the authorities.

The theurgic practitioner would probably also do well to dissimulate with regard to his arcane knowledge as much as possible, either to avoid scrutiny and being suspected of sorcery or to avoid being known to have power based in the esoteric. In either case, the appearance of orthodoxy is important for deterring the interest of any who would intercede or disrupt the theurgist. As such, it is sensible that the inner and outer piety of the practitioner should be as unremarkable as possible. The best place to hide, so to speak, is in plain sight.

This is not to say that the practitioners of theurgy were so obscure that they left nothing behind. We have discussed some of the textual tradition of Islamic theurgy, but there is another side to its history as well: that of its material culture.

### Material culture and history of theurgy

The extensive material culture of the Islamic occult is another point at which the dichotomy between high and low forms collapses, confusing what is actually occurring. Schaefer states that “such objects, popularly believed to provide their owners with a prophylactic or apotropaic effect against a vari-

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61. There are associations as well with *ḥarām* (“forbidden”) elements, objects and substances. Ibn Khaldūn writes: “I have met a number of them and witnessed their kinds of magical practice. They informed me that they practice devotions and exercises [consisting of heretical prayers to jinn and the stars]. These things are written down on a sheet of paper they possess, and called [khinzirīyya].” *Khinzir* is of course a pig. Rosenthal writes that the meaning and derivation of this term are uncertain, though if seen in this regard, it would appear to be clear. See: Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muqaddimah*, 164-165.

62. Ibid., 164.
ety of real or imaginary dangers, or to endow them with certain abilities or powers, have long been a feature of life in the Middle East (as they have been elsewhere)."\textsuperscript{63} The generation of an amulet on the part of a theurgist is ostensibly shorthand for the longer forms of an invocation. As a hypothetical example, if the prescribed rite is to invoke the name \textit{al-Wadūd} ("the Loving") one thousand times, it might also be possible to construct an amulet based on that name. If it is possible to construct an amulet, it is probably easier for a practitioner of theurgy to do so correctly, with all the appropriate preparations and at the most auspicious times, than for an average person who wishes to receive the benefits of that invocation. As such, this creates a point of interaction between the theurgic elite and the folk. It also perhaps presents an opportunity for commerce on the part of the theurgist. As discussed above, there are similarities between the exterior forms of some aspects of rites associated with theurgy and those associated with magic. It should follow, of course, that there are also similarities between the material culture generated by each. Ibn Khaldūn is critical of those theurgists who would use their blessings to create talismans, lumping them in with the charlatan talisman-makers. It is very clear from the vastness of the extant material culture that, while he may have disapproved, this was quite common practice.

There are extensive collections of talismans and amulets from the Islamic world which have been photographed and published. There also exist such items as "magic bowls," "magic shirts," pendants, rings and plaques. Most such items state their purpose as being for the protection of the bearer, though there are other purposes.

Paper amulets

Two types of paper amulet exist from the Islamic world. The first type comprises handwritten examples which are constructed for a specific purpose at a specific time. The second type comprises mass- or multiple-produced examples printed on paper by way of carved wooden blocks or etched tin.64

While it might be the case that a practitioner of theurgy conceived of or initially constructed block-printed amulets, it is clear that they are very different from those made for a specific person and purpose. Block-printed amulets often have handwritten aspects, as if they were produced and then customized. They typically also contain a list of indications — as with modern pharmaceuticals — to which they are meant to be applied. These lists tend to range widely depending on the length of the amulet in question. There may be other elements as well which are similar to handwritten amulets, such as magic squares, the names of angels, strings of numbers, verses of Qurʾān and an invocation. Such amulets appear as though they have an “all-purpose” quality about them.65

In the former case, “the practitioner constructs an ʿamal (lit.: “work” ...) which is assumed to produce the desired effect under prescribed conditions.”66 In the case of an amulet which is meant to attract a specific lover or spouse, a suitable passage of the Qurʾān is chosen, its numerical value calculated, and then an array of numbers which corresponds to that value is worked out.67 After this, an appropriate time is selected, according to the electional astrology which remains an aspect of this practice. Some information about those with whom the ʿamal is being associated is needed, such

65. See Michaelides (Charta) E 33 (Plate 8), 76-79; T-S Ar. 38.133 (Plate 10), 85-89; GM 03.1 Schr. (Plates 15a, 15b, 15c, 15d), 103-110 printed in Schaefer, *Enigmatic Charms: Medieval Arabic Block Printed Amulets in American and European Libraries and Museums* Schaefer’s introduction provides a good background information for both the practice of block-printing and the social, religious and historical context in which such amulets were produced.
67. Mommersteeg, “‘He Has Smitten Her to the Heart with Love’ The Fabrication of an Islamic Love-Amulet in West Africa,” 503.
as the names of the man and his mother. It is also helpful to have an object which has been within close proximity to the person upon whom the ‘amal is being enacted.\textsuperscript{68} The amulet is written and the correct supplications and invocations are made. If everything goes according to plan, when the appropriate “servant beings” have responded that the request will be met, the practitioner is given a signal. After this, a copy of the amulet is written and given to the client, with the intent that the client will carry it with him.\textsuperscript{69}

Durable amulets

Amulets in the form of pendants, rings and other wearable or non-wearable durable materials are quite plentiful. The materials used range from precious brass and precious metals to semi-precious gemstones.\textsuperscript{70} Their durability has ensured that they are found in large numbers in museums throughout the world. With these amulets, the forms represented are more similar to that of the handwritten amulets discussed above. Many involve verses of Qur’ān, magic squares, the Names of God, the names of angels and so on. Others incorporate numbers, symbols — particularly those representing the Highest Name of God — and sometimes pictorial images of animals.\textsuperscript{71} Tewfiq Caanan wrote the seminal study on Islamic amulets and talismans. He covers many aspects of their form and function which are important for understanding the material culture of theurgy, but for which there is not sufficient space in the present study.\textsuperscript{72}

\textsuperscript{68} el-Shamy, Religion among the Folk in Egypt, 70-71.
\textsuperscript{71} Ibid., 166.
Magic Bowls

Magic or healing bowls (shifāʾ), as they are more appropriately called, are among the most interesting and elaborate items from the material culture of Islamic theurgy. As Savage-Smith points out, unlike other amulets which were carried on the person of the afflicted, shifāʾ bowls were a household item, used only when someone was ailing.73 There are several types of shifāʾ bowl. One was used primarily to aid someone who was ill. They have verses from the Qurʾān, usually a magic square of some description (or multiple squares) and they are made out of etched brass, copper, bronze, silver, or gold. Sometimes a precious metal will be inlaid over an alloy. The other type is similar to the first, but has a very specific purpose. This type tends to be called a “poison cup,” though these are not, as one might assume, meant for the purpose of poisoning someone. Their actual purpose is to remove the effects of poison, in someone so afflicted. These cups often include images of certain animals, such as lions (or dogs), scorpions, snakes and two intertwined dragons.74 All such bowls have a list of indications for which the afflicted can utilize them in relief.75

Magic Shirts

Another odd, yet thoroughly fascinating aspect of the material culture are “magic shirts.”76 These are shirts which are meant to be worn underneath outer garments and act as a sort of talismanic garb. They tend to be inscribed

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74. Ibid., 74.
75. The author has had the privilege of see and inspecting a number of authentic magic bowls in the Grand Bazaar in Istanbul. They are as described by the limited sources on the topic and they are most fascinating.
76. There is surprising little written about magic shirts or talismanic garments in Islam. For the most extensive treatment available, see: Philippe Demonsablon, “Notes sur deux vêtements talismaniques,” Arabica 33, no. 2 (July 1986): 216–250.
with various magic squares and invocations as well as the Seal of the Greatest Name.\textsuperscript{77}

Gaps between the textual tradition and the material culture

Based on the sheer volume of the material evidence for medieval theurgy — amulets, talismans, healing bowls, magic shirts — it can be safely asserted that it held a quotidian presence in medieval Islamic society. There is, however, a missing link between the information available in the theurgic textual tradition and what exists in the material culture. Though there are huge numbers of amulets in various forms which survive, many of these types are not at all mentioned in the manuals. No instructions for the construction of amulets are presented in the texts, though there are explanations of some of the forms that are contained in them. In the case of artifacts such as magic shirts and magic bowls, there is simply nothing at all in the texts which corresponds to or describes them in any way.

This missing link must unfortunately stay missing. In any system of such great erudition as exemplified by the theurgic tradition in Islam, there must be a component of initiation in order to maintain the esoteric qualities of the system. This is the key to the system. The texts may demonstrate the theory and the cosmology behind the work, but rarely if ever the work itself. Even if details for the practices are given, they tend to be broken up across several works. There is also the problem of intentional mistakes in texts, which are meant to throw off the uninitiated. The material culture left behind, if it exists at all, gives no further clues as to what the practice exactly entails. In the context of Islam, we should be thrilled indeed that there exists such a rich material culture that can be associated with the occult. It is vastly understudied at present, as are many topics specifically related to the occult. The only way to really fully study the unwritten aspects of theurgy is to be

\textsuperscript{77} This is in fact a loose description of one such shirt, presumably for a child or very slight person which the author saw, again in the Grand Bazaar in Istanbul.
initiated into the knowledge, though few would be willing to do this, even if it would be possible to find a mentor to take them on as a disciple. Without this knowledge, we are left to speculation as outsiders looking in.

**Pearls before swine**

Again we return to the issue of the insider-outsider paradigm. As discussed, there is a necessity for obscurity on the part of the practicing theurgist. The occult is not something that is simply ignored or forgotten and lost to obscurity. Instead it is a secret, never to be forgotten, for which the adept must always strive: “the Pearl of Great Price.”\(^78\) It is something which is to be *actively* hidden and then closely guarded. Peters writes: “The occult is doubly occult: it is a hidden knowledge of hidden truths or powers. These latter were concealed it is agreed, by the Maker of Truths who appears to have been generally reluctant to cast his Pearl before Swine, while those who do possess them are careful to keep a close guard on their treasure. Indeed in many societies those ‘knowers,’ who everywhere and always constitute an elite, banded together in guilds and brotherhoods to stand guard of the extremely useful and valuable knowledge that was theirs.”\(^79\)

In the next chapter we will introduce the foremost occult sage of Islamic civilization, Abu-l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Yūsuf al-Qurashī al-Būnī (d. 622 / 1225). His work is among the most recondite and confusing to access, and almost nothing is known about his life. In spite of this his best-known work, *Shams al-maʿārif al-kubrā*, remains the most famous (and infamous) work on the the occult sciences in Islamic history.


\(^79\) Ibid.
Very little is known about the historical Aḥmad al-Būnī. Most of the information which appears in modern scholarship about his life and whereabouts has been covered repeatedly, and typically traces to the same core of several sources. Several more recent treatments of his work have interpreted this paucity of historical data as evidence that he may not have existed. Irregularities in language usage and repetitions in texts attributed to al-Būnī have allowed the same authors to conjecture that he may have been a figurehead for a corpus of otherwise authorless works: a ‘Corpus Būnianum’ as it was coined by Jan Just Witkam.¹ It is possible that there exist works which have been incorrectly attributed to al-Būnī, or that some of his works were recompiled long after his death. There is very little in the way of evidence for claims that he may not have existed. If there is a dearth of information about him to sufficiently establish his having existed, there is certainly no great wealth of data to the contrary. It will be demonstrated in this chapter that at least some of al-Būnī’s work is directly attributable to the historical person bearing his name. It will also be demonstrated that some such works appear to have been included in later attributed editions, though sometimes

The Historical al-Būnī

The eminent bibliographer and historian Ḥājjī Khalīfa (1017 / 1609 – 1067 / 1657) has al-Būnī’s death date at 622 / 1225, with no further details beyond the year.² Rosenthal speculates a later death date, sometime in the late 7th / 13th century, citing dates which appear in the printed editions of Shams al-maʿārif wa-laṭāʾif al-ʿawārif (al-kubrā) as well as MS BERLIN 4126, dated 669H. He also argues that the mystical pedigree in the final section of Shams al-maʿārif (al-kubrā) indicates that his death might have occurred late in the 7th / 13th century, on the basis of some of the names listed therein.³ The pedigrees are problematic, however, as they appear not to have been part of the original text. The problem and origin of the pedigrees is discussed below. Most other catalogs and similar works reference Ḥājjī Khalīfa for this

². These conclusions were arrived at after careful research in the manuscript collections at the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul conducted throughout 2011. The Appendix contains a list of works attributed to al-Būnī, drawn from various sources, listed with manuscripts corresponding to those titles.

³. Muṣṭafā b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Qusṭanṭīnī Ḥājjī Khalīfa (Kātıp Çelebi), Kashf al-ẓunūn ‘an asāmī al-kutub wa-l-funūn Lexicon Bibliographicum et Encyclopedicum, ed. and trans. Gustave Flügel, 7 vols. (London: Oriental Translation Fund, 1853), vol. 4, 74, #7658. Ḥājjī Khalīfa lists the same date in all entries related to al-Būnī, save one. For the text titled ‘ʿAlam al-hudā wa asrār al-ihtidāʾ, Ḥājjī Khalīfa lists 630 / 1232 as the death date; cf. vol. 4, 246, #8286. The date appears in both Flügel’s edition and in the lithograph editions. It is occasionally echoed in later sources as a possible alternative date, but never further substantiated. One possible explanation is a note which appears in MS KİLİÇ ALİ PAŞA 588 at the end of a list of works said to be by the same author (f. 221r). This note may perhaps have been mistaken for a death date, given that there is a date listed for the MS in the colophon. The final section does appear to be a second colophon, but is in fact a list of titles copied from the margin of MS HAMIDIYE 260 after the colophon at the end of the first section (f. 239v, margin). The last two lines of the note read “By the grace of his Lord, the poor slave of Allāh, the mamlūk, finally arrived at the Ḥanafī madhhab and this [was] on the sixteenth of Rabī’ II year 30 and praise to Allāh alone.” This MS is listed alternately as Sharḥ al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā and as ‘ʿAlam al-hudā wa asrār al-ihtidāʾ. See the Appendix for full details and discussion.

information. According to Ibn al-Zayyāt (d. 814 / 1411), his grave is near that of the jurist and traditionist ‘Abd al-Jalīl al-Ṭaḥāwī (d. 649 / 1251) in the covered tomb referred to as al-Bāb, the location of which was perhaps already lost at the time of Ibn al-Zayyāt’s writing in 804 / 1401. Ibn al-Zayyāt relates that al-Ṭaḥāwī’s grave is “at the door of the tomb, and near it in the mihrab” is that of al-Būnī.⁵

Most sources cite Būna, the name given by early Arab geographers, as the birthplace or original home of al-Būnī.⁶ The town has a long history of habitation.

“It was successively a Phoenician settlement, a Punic city, a possession of the Numidian kings, and a Roman city named Hippo Regius, it played a major role during the Christian era when Saint Augustine was bishop there (395-430 CE). Captured by the Vandals (430 CE), retaken by the Byzantines, it became a Muslim possession at the end of the [1st /] 7th or beginning of the [2nd /] 8th century.”⁷

It is now called al-ʿAnnāba, situated in north-eastern coastal Algeria.⁸

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قال القرشيوهوفيالتربةالمقببةالبابوهيلاتعرفالآنوعندبابهذهالتربةقبر الفقيهالامامالعالمالمحدثعبدالجليلالطحاويماتسنةتسعوأربعينوستمائة وقبرهعلىبابالتربةوقريبمنهفيالمحرابقبرالشيخالامامالعالمأبيالعباس أحمدالبونيصاحباللمعةالنورانية...


7. EI², s.v. “al-ʿAnnāba” (by G. Marçais).

8. Ibid.
While equally little is known about Aḥmad al-Būnī’s ancestry and progeny, according to Brockelmann, Aḥmad al-Būnī had a son named Abu-l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿAbbās al-Būnī.\(^9\) Considering the structure of ʿAlī al-Būnī’s name, al-Būnī is more likely to be his grandfather, himself being Abu-l-ʿAbbās and his “son” being Ibn ʿAbbās.

We have some insight into the intellectual and spiritual pedigree of Aḥmad al-Būnī from his own texts, as well as from his inclusion in others as well. al-Nabhānī mentions al-Būnī and cites among his miracles (karamāt) the identification of specific supplications which were related to him by the Prophet Muḥammad in a vision.\(^10\) Witkam provides a group of sanads (“lineages”) which trace the intellectual traditions of the specific ‘ulūm in which al-Būnī is initiated. These pedigrees are taken from the printed editions of Shams al-maʿārif al-kubrā wa laṭāʾif al-ʿawārif.\(^11\) Witkam comments that “[if these pedigrees] were not an integral part of the Shams al-maʿārif from the very beginning (and the manuscript tradition does not seem to warrant this), they may have been part of the author’s Fahrasa, the educational (auto)biography, a genre which has become particularly popular in the Maghrib.”\(^12\) These lists, beginning with the heading “Epilogue on the commemoration of the chain of authority of our shaykhs,” do, however, appear in at least two of the earliest manuscript copies of Shams al-maʿārif al-kubrā, which means that this feature was present in the manuscript tradition as early as the middle of the 11th / 17th century.\(^13\)

The pedigrees, regardless of their actual historical veracity, do demon-

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9. Brockelmann, GALs, 911. Brockelmann attributes his son (“Sein Sohn ...schreib”) with writing a MS titled Fukūk [poems and stories,] Berl. Qu. 1044.
12. Ibid., 190.
13. (يتَّخَصَّةُ فِي ذُکُرٍ مَنْذِ مَبِينَةً . . . ) MS HACI SELIM AĞA 528 (dated in the colophon, f. 313r: Friday at the end of Dhū al-Qaʿda 1140 H), ff. 310v, ln. 15–312r, ln. 10 and MS HACI BEŞİR AĞA (EYÜP) 89 (dated in the colophon, f. 215r: the middle of Jumāda I 1057 H), ff. 213r, ln. 43–214v, ln. 8.
strate that there is an effort, as in the case of most mystic authors, at connecting al-Būnī to a larger tradition, which can be traced back all the way to the Prophet Muhammad himself.\textsuperscript{14} He is also variously connected to the first five Shiʿī Imāms,\textsuperscript{15} as well as to renowned Andalusian mystic Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿArabī (560 / 1165 – 638 / 1240)\textsuperscript{16} and Spanish traditionist Abū-l-ʿAbbas Ahmād b. ʿUmār al-Anṣārī al-Mursī (504 / 1110 – 584 / 1188).\textsuperscript{17} Witkam elaborates that these pedigrees demonstrate that al-Būnī has been linked to both the Western and Eastern Islamic esoteric and mystical traditions, but again cautions the reader not to associate al-Būnī as a Shiʿī author simply due to the mention of the Imāms in his sanads, as was done by el-Gawhary.\textsuperscript{18}

\textbf{Summary of the state of the textual tradition of al-Būnī}

The textual tradition of works attributed to al-Būnī is confused and confusing to assess. At present there exists no exhaustive study of his works as a whole. This is not to say that his works are in any short supply, nor that the most widely known are particularly difficult to acquire at present, in printed form. There exists a group of printed works attributed to al-Būnī, the earliest in lithograph form, from the 13th / 19th century produced variously in India and Egypt, some printed in Cairo and elsewhere throughout the 14th / 20th century, and some printed and reprinted within the last decade, primarily in Beirut. There also exists a large number of manuscripts attributed

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{14} Witkam, “Gazing at the Sun: Remarks on the Egyptian Magician al-Būnī and His Work,” 192, 195, 196.
  \item \textsuperscript{15} Ibid., 192.
  \item \textsuperscript{16} See EI\textsuperscript{2}.
  \item \textsuperscript{17} See EI\textsuperscript{2}, s.v. “Ibn Ḥubaysh, Abu ʿl-Ḳāsim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf b. Abī ʿĪsā al-Anṣārī al-Mursī” (by D.M. Dunlop).
\end{itemize}
to him in collections throughout the Islamic world and Europe.  

Most modern studies on al-Būnī treat only those of his works which have made it into print form and wide circulation or they focus on only a handful of MSS, which usually comprise part of a European collection. *Shams al-maʿārif al-kubrā* receives the most attention since it has been printed a number of times in the last two centuries. It is regarded as a manual for the occult sciences of ṣimīyya and ūlm al-ḥurūf, which relate to the use of the Arabic letters for theurgic purposes, as discussed in the first chapter. Witkam expands the discussion of the textual tradition initiated by el-Gawhary in “Die Gottesnamen im magischen Gebrauch in den al-Buni zugesschriebenen Werken.”

Witkam discusses al-Būnī’s intellectual lineage at length in order to further his discussion of the Corpus itself, rather than placing al-Būnī into the category of “magician.” His study represents one of very few truly philological studies on al-Būnī. el-Gawhary proposed this as well, but then focused more on the body of texts as an example of folk practice rather than a textual tradition. Presently, the underlying assumption for most discussions of al-Būnī’s textual tradition is that very little of his work can be directly attributed to him, and should be viewed as a “corpus.” This concept was first suggested by el-Gawhary, is a feature in all studies of al-Būnī’s works in every study

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19. The greatest number of these manuscripts languishes in Turkey, practically untouched, in a variety of collections and libraries, many of which have been digitized and are now housed in high-resolution, electronic format at the library belonging to the Suleymaniye Mosque in Istanbul. The collections housed at the Suleymaniye alone contain around 150 MSS attributed to al-Būnī, approximately one third of which are dated. Those manuscripts which are housed in state-run libraries can be viewed in low-resolution online or downloaded in high resolution for a fee at the website for the Republic of Turkey Ministry of Culture and Tourism - “Turkey Manuscripts” (Türkiye Cumhuriyet Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı - “Türkiye Yazmaları”) [https://www.yazmalar.gov.tr/]. The site also gives a relatively complete listing of municipal, regional and waqf-based libraries (kütüphaneler) throughout the country [https://www.yazmalar.gov.tr/kutuphane.php] and the names of the collections (koleksiyonlar) contained therein [https://www.yazmalar.gov.tr/koleksiyonlar.php].


Aversion to scholarship on al-Būnī

There is a modern scholarly aversion to al-Būnī’s work, due in part to the nature of its content and to difficulties in understanding and analyzing the texts themselves. In the first chapter we described some of the problems of dealing with theurgy and the occult as a topic. There is no shortage of similar problems present when dealing with the textual tradition of a given author or set of authors in some sort of intellectual lineage. The topics themselves are complex to the point of being indecipherable without a background in astrology, alchemy, history both ancient and late antique, ancient philosophy, theology, and religious law and custom. This is not an endeavor for the faint of heart or the easily frustrated. Ullmann found al-Būnī’s work to be poorly organized and difficult to understand. To be fair to Ullmann, however, his purpose was not in sorting out the bizarre and labyrinthine textual tradition of an author nearly lost to obscurity save for a few references in catalogs and a handful of works which survive to the modern era. He worked to create a modern taxonomy of sciences in the Islamic world—hence the title: Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam — using all of the resources

22. The most extensive studies of al-Būnī’s work after al-Gawhary are: Edgar Walter Francis, “Islamic Symbols and Sufi Rituals for Protection and Healing: Religion and Magic in the Writings of Ahmad ibn Ali al-Buni (d. 622 / 1225)” (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2005); Pielow, Die Quellen der Weisheit; Witkam, “Gazing at the Sun: Remarks on the Egyptian Magician al-Būnī and His Work.” Pielow’s study is on the topic of magic in general and uses al-Būnī as its basis for analysis and Francis’ is on the topic of healing by means of occult practices. Only Witkam’s study is a discussion of the textual tradition using mss found in the collection at Leiden University. This topic is one which warrants further investigation on a much larger scale. It would be interesting to collect together images and information on mss attributed to al-Būnī from all over the world and develop a full catalog of works, much in the same way that Osman Yahia did for the works of Ibn al-ʿArabī in his Histoire et classification de l’oeuvre d’Ibn ʿArabī. It is the hope of the present author to contribute to the definition of the “Corpus Būnianum,” in Witkam’s appellation.

available to him. It would be unfair to criticize Ullmann’s point regarding the work of al-Būnī, since anyone approaching the works would be hard pressed to find them any less perplexing, even if they had an extensive background in Islamic history and theology. It is also highly unlikely that one would be able to find the best sources available for al-Būnī, since he deliberately spread information across a huge body of written works which represent a huge single source if taken together. These are now scattered throughout the world, which even further obscures their content. Further, al-Būnī, unlike a figure such as Ibn al-ʿArabī, does not have extensive commentaries written by his disciples. He also does not refer to himself or give very much in the way of autobiography in his writing. As a result, it is difficult to evaluate the historical personage of al-Būnī, as demonstrated above.

Ullmann seems also to be frustrated with the intellectual character of al-Būnī’s work, seeing it simultaneously as credulous with regard to the unseen world, and as a work comprised of “stupid formulaic arithmetic which he [al-Būnī] thinks he can dominate.” As Witkam aptly observes, Ullmann appears to be suggesting that “al-Būnī, if only he had worked in a less formalistic arithmetical way, would really have provided his readers with meaningful answers to the enigma of the universe.” el-Gawhary theorizes two possible reasons for this lack of scholarship: first, during the time when al-Būnī was alive, there were “almost countless saints, ascetics and mystics,” many of whom became quite well known; and second, that al-Būnī’s writings have been previously associated with Shīʿī themes and authors. Though, as mentioned above, with regard to the intellectual and spiritual pedigrees, placing al-Būnī as a Shīʿī is largely nonsensical. The lineage which connects him to the Imāms is likely to connect him to Jafr al-Ṣādiq, the ʿAlī Ibn Abī Tālib and finally the Prophet Muḥammad for the purposes of ʿilm al-bāṭin (“the science

24. Witkam points out that Ullmann must have been using one of the printed editions of Shams al-maʿārif al-kubrā wa laṭāʾif al-ʿawārif as the section to which he refers is not present in the MSS evaluated by the former.
of the interior”) or ‘ilm al-jafr with which mystics widely accepted to be Sunnis, such as Ibn al-ʿArabī, were also interested.28

Problems in establishing authorship

Lack of access to dated MSS has also played a part in relegating al-Būnī’s work to the realm of the unapproachable. Though, on this point, Fahd has a fairly comprehensive listing of dated MSS for Shams al-Maʿarif, mostly in Turkey, in which he includes several not listed elsewhere.29 There is also a rather long list in Brockelmann, in both the first edition and in the supplemental volumes.30

What we do lack is autograph copies of any of al-Būnī’s works, even though we do have some very early MSS.31 The earliest dated extant MS from al-Būnī’s work is MS MANISA IL HALK KÜTÜPHANESİ 1445, which is dated 618H, though its origins are murky.32 MS HAMIDIYE 260, on the other hand, while dated 772H, also indicates that it was copied from a MS which was copied from the words of al-Būnī himself, begun in the first ten days of Dhū al-Qaʿida 621H and completed on Monday, 17 Dhū al-Ḥijja in the same year.33 This information is significant for two reasons. First, it establishes that al-Būnī was alive prior to 622H, which helps to establish further that he did, in fact, live in the period which has been commonly accepted for his life. Second, this is, to date, the only MS which bears any such certificate of recitation for al-Būnī. It is interesting that this title is one which receives little to

28. See Toufic Fahd, La Divination arabe, etudes religieuses, sociologiques et folkloriques sur le milieu natif de l’Islam (Strasbourg / Leiden: Brill, 1966), 219-224; and EI 2, s.v. “djafir” (by Toufic Fahd).
29. Fahd, La Divination arabe, 231.
31. Budge refers to an autograph by al-Būnī in a note, though this references is erroneous. Budge’s reference is to a note in Doutté, Magie et religion dans l’Afrique du Nord which simply refers to the 1291 / 1874 lithograph of Shams al-maʿārif al-kubrā, which is not an autograph in any sense of the word.
32. See discussion below.
33. Colophon, f. 239v.
no attention until now. ‘Alam al-hudā appears in several catalogs and there are a handful of references to it, but it is never properly treated. This is an important piece in the puzzle of al-Būnī's textual corpus.

The “Corpus Būnīanum”

Witkam, in his article “Gazing into the Sun,” proposes that we should consider some of al-Būnī's works as a “Corpus Būnīanum,” in which the texts represents a compendium or “cookbook” of work by multiple authors and generations of practicing magicians. He argues, citing el-Gawhary's 1968 dissertation, that “[t]his does not merely imply that there is a pseudepigraphic Būnian literature, but also that some works by al-Būnī, or ascribed to him, may in fact constitute a composition of fragments of very diverse origin.”

Similar assertions were made with regard to the legitimacy of the work of Jābir ibn Ḥayyān, which was demonstrated in part to be the case by the late Paul Kraus. Kraus demonstrated that some of the texts attributed to Jābir were actually written by later Ismāʿīlis.

el-Gawhary's insight is not necessarily accurate with regard to the entire catalog of al-Būnī's work, but it is an adept analysis of what has happened in the case of Shams al-maʿārif wa-laṭāʾif al-ʿawārif (al-kubrā). On its surface, the book appears to be a large single work in four volumes. There is significant evidence to suggest, however, that the modern editions and the late manuscripts bearing this title are in fact a sort of compilation or edition themselves. el-Gawhary states that the book did not always appear in the form in which it now exists.

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37. His access to manuscripts for the purposes of his dissertation, it seems, was limited to only a few in Cairo. We shall attempt here to pick up where el-Gawhary left off, having had the good fortune to inspect a fair number of dated manuscripts which shed light on some
The three shumūs

Witkam identifies that there are at least two, and more likely three, versions or recensions of *Shams al-maʿārif* in its manuscript tradition, and that the practice of having multiple versions of a text is common in classical Islamic scholarship. In this case, a given work might have a long or full recension (*kabīr, basīṭ, mabsūt, muṭawwal*), as well as concise (*ṣaghīr*) and intermediate (*wasīṭ*) versions.38 Fahd identifies that there are in fact three recensions which bear the name *Shams al-maʿārif*, each with noted differences.39 Ziriklī also lists three recensions or versions in *al-ʿAlām: qāmūs tarājim li-ashhar al-rijāl wa-l-nisāʾ min al-ʿArab wa-l-mustʿaribīn wa-l-mustashriqīn*.40

The smallest of the Suns

Fahd presents at least two MSS as the (*ṣughrā*) version, MS MANISA, *GENEL*, 1445 (a.k.a. MS MANISA İL HALK KÜTÜPHANESİ 1445, dated 618H in numerals in the colophon) and MS AYASOFYA 2799 (dated Thursday 13 Ramadan 861 in the colophon). These have some features that belong in *Shams*, including diagrams which explain aspects of the cosmology and example of squares, but they are otherwise quite different. Fahd seems to be wary of the date in the colophon, though he does not specify why.41 Indeed the MS has an aspect of strangeness to it.

The hand is inspired by Shikasta Nastaʿlīq and the text is framed, though not very precisely. The diagrams which appear in both MS AYASOFYA 2799 and MS AYASOFYA 2802 (N.D.) are not fully complete in this MS. Some are fully drawn and labeled, others have an outline of the background shapes in red ink, but no text. It is possible that the shapes were meant to be the

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41. Fahd, *La Divination arabe*, 231.
only presentation of the diagrams, but this is unlikely given the style of the diagrams in all of the other MSS ascribed to al-Būnī. It is also possible that this is a later copy which has been presented as though it is earlier. Images of the MS do not provide enough information for any possibility to be more that speculation.

Another peculiarity of this text, in each of its extant copies, is that it refers to the title *Shams al-maʿārif wa-laṭāʾif al-ʿawārif* by name. There are two alternate possibilities: first, the work may actually be another title entirely. It is labeled as *Mawāqīt al-baṣāʾir wa-laṭāʾif al-sarāʾir* in the catalog of the Manisa Library, even though there is a title page which identifies it as *Shams al-maʿārif*. The text also corresponds to two others with the same title. Second, it is possible that they represent a commentary *Shams al-maʿārif* which has been mislabeled. The text is very different than that in the other two recensions, though it does seem to be related. There is an otherwise unattested commentary listed at the end of MS HAMIDIYE 260 and MS KİLİÇ ALI PAŞA 588 titled *Taysīr al-ʿawārif fī tilkhīṣ shams al-maʿārif*. In that same list, there is only reference to a single *Shams al-maʿārif wa-laṭāʾif al-ʿawārif*. Multiple recensions are not cited until much later.

Either of these possibilities are equally plausible, as is that this text is another version of the same title, as has been suggested in several of the sources listed here. The relationships between these three texts have yet to be studied in deep detail.

The case for an authentic *Shams*

Witkam observes, as does el-Gawhary that the manuscript tradition varies widely from the printed tradition — lithograph or otherwise — at least in the case of the *kubrā*. There exist two printed editions of *Shams al-maʿārif*

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42. MS MANISA IL HALK KÜTÜPHANESİ 1445, f. 48v, lns. 1-2 and MS AYASOFYA 2799, f. 34v, ln. 12. The reference reads ((كتابنا المعروف شمس المعارف ولطائف العوارف)).
43. See the Appendix for details.
which refer to themselves as the ṣughrā. One was recently printed in Beirut without notes and by an anonymous editor.\footnote{Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Yūsuf al-Qurashī al-Būnī, \textit{Shams al-maʿārif al-ṣughrā} (Beirut: Muṣasat al-Nūr li-l-Maṭbuʿāt, 2005).} It contains no information with regard to which manuscripts were used in its compilation and edition. The text of this edition corresponds with that of another published in Istanbul in 1936, with minor variants throughout.\footnote{See: Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Yūsuf al-Qurashī al-Būnī, \textit{Shams al-maʿārif al-ṣughrā}, The text actually corresponds with \textit{Shams al-maʿārif al-wusṭā}, (Istanbul: unknown publisher, 1936).} It too has an anonymous editor, though it divulges a great deal more about the origin of its text. The editor, whoever he might have been, saw fit to include an introduction with some information about al-Būnī and a list of his works edited and otherwise, as well as an image of the title page, first folios, and last folio of the manuscript which was used to establish the text.\footnote{Ibid., 3-9. Information from this list is included in the Appendix.} The introduction reads:

“This manuscript which we have in [the present] edition is from the manuscripts of one of our associates, and [which] I have in photograph after consideration of the original and its revision. I have photographed a copy in the Institute for Arabic Manuscripts, and another photographed copy is present in the Institute at ‘al-Kitāniyya’ Library, Rabat, Morocco, under number 49 [titled] \textit{ḥurūf wa-awqāf (shams al-maʿārif)}. The use of them came to pass in some strange situations, but our version is more accurate and better.”\footnote{We have to assume that the anonymous editor is referring to the Institute of Arabic Manuscripts in Cairo, given that he refers to other MSS in Cairo in his notes.}

The date in the colophon as seen in the printed image is obscured and illegible. The layout and style is similar to several MSS which the author has seen in Istanbul, but does not appear to actually be any of those listed in the first appendix for this title. It is obviously a finely-executed commission as it has an ornate headpiece and the text appears to be framed.

The text does, however, match that of a very finely executed MS ATIF EFENDI KOLEKSIYONU 1539, dated 831H which also happens to be the earliest
dated for this particular version of the text. The text of MS BAĞDATLI VEHBI 1721, dated 1065H, also matches that of MS ATIF EFENDI KOLEKSİYONU 1539 and the 1936CE printed edition. It is noted as “wustā” in a majmūʿ of commentaries by the owner: MS BAĞDATLI VEHBI 2250, dated 1321H, f. 54r. MS HACI SELİM AĞA 529, was ostensibly produced alongside its kubrā mate (MS HACI SELİM AĞA 528) in 1140H, making it one of the latest examples of this version. Between this and the copy in Bağdatlı Vehbi, it would appear that the text was still known in an older shorter form long after the Kubrā had been compiled. Given the lack of a better appellation and the confusion regarding the ṣughrā, we will refer to the printed editions of the latter and the MSS to which they correspond collectively as the wustā. While this is not the earliest dated example of al-Būnī’s work, it is consistent throughout the different MSS and the most likely to actually be Shams al-maʿārif. There are a great number of said correspondences between the kubrā and the wustā which are pointed out in the notes of 1936 printed edition of the latter.49

The kubrā manuscripts

The earliest dated MSS of the kubrā appear in the mid-11th century: MS BÂYAZİD 1304 (1055H); MS BEŞİR AĞA (ELYÜP) 89 (1057H); and Nuruosmaniye 2831 (dated 1064H). There are kubrā MSS produced until the 1291 lithograph, after which the manuscripts taper off. There is one particularly interesting copy in a beautiful hand, with gilt frames and headpiece: MS HACI SELİM AĞA 528 (1140H). This has a second volume which is not dated, but is in a similar hand, and with the same gilt features. The second volume is the wustā.

Though the text is similar in places between the wustā and the kubrā, there is a key difference which is striking, once noticed. The text of the wustā is much more personal in its presentation. The lack of personal or first-person voice throughout the kubrā has already been noted by Witkam. He pointed out that the end section of the kubrā is presented in the third-

49. al-Būnī, Shams al-maʿārif al-ṣughrā
person, whereas the rest of the text tends not to be.\textsuperscript{50} Indeed, the portions of the kubrā which correspond to those in the wuṣṭā tend to be written in first-person, addressing the reader through the use of the “royal we.” There are further differences and discrepancies which serve to convince the careful reader that this text has at the very least been altered at a later date, if not compiled from multiple sources.

Problems within the text of \textit{Shams al-maʿārif (al-kubrā)}

\textit{Fuṣūl} 21-30, according to el-Gawhary, contain a number of expressions not found elsewhere in the text. \textit{Faṣl} 21 begins the third part belonging to the larger book.\textsuperscript{51} el-Gawhary is quite right in his assessment that this does not belong to this work, and is possibly not attributable to al-Būnī at all. This particular section seems to correspond to the the work titled \textit{al-Lumaʿat al-nūraṇiyya}, the work to which Ibn Khaldūn refers as \textit{al-Anmāṭ}.\textsuperscript{52} This book, which also appears in the \textit{majmūʿ} MS HAMIDIYE 260, as well as numerous other MSS, begins with a series of hourly supplications which are sorted by the day of the week, beginning with the “first hour belonging to Sunday” and proceeding through the rest. This section does not appear in any form in \textit{Shams al-maʿārif (al-kubrā)}. The next section is a series of \textit{anmāṭ}: “types,” classifications or groupings pertaining to the divine names. This is where the differences between the texts become very noticeable. First, each section is different: they do not appear in the same order in the MS as in the printed edition. Second, the names explained are different names.

A similar phenomenon occurs in the final \textit{faṣl} of \textit{Shams al-maʿārif (al-kubrā)}. This section appears at first to be nearly identical in content to a work called \textit{‘Alam al-hudā wa-asrār al-iḥtīdā}. This title is the first part of the \textit{majmūʿ} MS HAMIDIYE 260 (copied in Cairo, dated 772H in the colophon, f. 239v). MS KILIÇ

\textsuperscript{50} Witkam, “Gazing at the Sun: Remarks on the Egyptian Magician al-Būnī and His Work,” 190.


\textsuperscript{52} Ibn Khaldūn, \textit{al-Muqaddimah}, 177-178.
ALİ PAŞA 588 (dated 792H, f. 221r) is a copy of this faşl from MS HAMIDIYE 260. This book is mentioned in Shams al-maʿārif (al-wuşṭā), which might indicate that the former was written prior to the latter.53 The reference does not appear in the kubrâ, which would make sense, since a version of the very book appears at the end. This section — number 39 in the printed edition, number 37 in MS HACI BEŞİR AĞA (EYÜP) 89 — appears at first glance to be the same as ‘Alam al-hudâ wa-asrâr al-ihtidâ’. Upon thorough reading of both ‘Alam al-hudâ and this section, it is discovered that the names that are treated in both have nearly verbatim text in the treatments. However, there are a great many names which do not overlap. It appears that al-Bûnî used an entirely different set of names than do his modern counterparts. Doutte, Pielow and Gawhary all list the Divine Names as they appear in the ḥadîth compendia of al-Tirmidhî and Ibn Mâja.54

Issues of authorship

It was noted by Fahd that at least one section of Shams al-Maʿārif, titled Sharḥ asmâʾ al-ʿaẓama, was copied for Bâyazîd II.55 This section appears in the printed kubrâ edition as section number 12. There is a heading similar to this in the wuşṭâ. Al-Bûnî appears not to actually be the author of this section, but rather to have copied it from an older work.56 Fahd notes: “al-Buni claims to have copied a copy that belonged to Prince Najm al-Din Ayyûb, who had

53. al-Bûnî, Shams al-maʿārif al-ṣughrâ, 18. The anonymous editor indicates that this title exists in Dâr al-Kutub al-Misriyya.
55. Fahd, La Divination arabe, 238, n. 3. Fahd references MS AYASOFYA 1872, ff. 1-15r, 17. The author has not seen this MS.
56. This work appears in print in two editions from Cairo, one undated, the other dated 1358 / 1939. It is identified in print as either Sharḥ ism Allâh al-aʿzam or al-Luʿluʿ al-manţûm fî-l-ṭalâsim wa-l-nujûm. See Rosenthal’s note: Ibn Khaldûn, al-Muqaddimah, 168, n. 793.
made a copy of Ubayy b. Kaʿb’s copy, which was owned by the Prophet.”

“Prince Najm al-Dīn” refers to the man who would become al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb b. Kāmil Muḥammad (603 / 1207 – Shaʿbān 647 / November 1249), ostensibly the last of the Ayyūbid Sulṭāns, who came to power in 637 / 1240 and reigned until his death. He served as his father’s deputy in Egypt during the reign of his father, al-Malik al-Kāmil I Nāṣir al-Dīn (573 / 1177 or 576 / 1180 – 21 Rajab 635 / 6 March 1238, r. 615 / 1218 – 635 / 1238). This would place him in Cairo at roughly the end of al-Būnī’s life, at a time when Egypt was under attack from Crusader invasions, and his father was subject to various intrigues on the parts of members of his family in Syria. Perhaps more interesting is that this text is said to have been owned by Ubayy b. Kaʿb al-Anṣārī al-Madanī (d. between 19 / 640 – 35 / 656), secretary to the Prophet Muḥammad in Medīna, who is purported to have compiled a copy of the Qurʾān prior to Caliph ʿUthmān’s compilation. The authenticity of that claim is unverifiable, but it does suggest that al-Būnī himself, rather than someone else, may have compiled other older texts into his own works.

At the very least, al-Būnī is establishing a theurgic textual tradition that precedes him, and which perhaps is connected with the Prophet Muḥammad himself. At most, he is legitimating his intellectual efforts and placing himself in a position of great importance. If he was in the employ of a ruler, then al-Būnī is also establishing his legitimacy in another way. The reference to al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ also might indicate some sort of patronage relationship be-

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57. Fahd, La Divination arabe, 238, n. 3. Translation from the French belongs to the author.
58. For al-Ṣāliḥ see EF, s.v. “al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Nadjam al-Dīn Ayyūb b. al-Kāmil Muḥammad” (by D.S. Richards) and Joan Wucher King, Historical Dictionary of Egypt (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1984), 552-4. For al-Kāmil, see EF, s.v. “al-Kāmil (al-Malik)” (by H.L. Gottschalk) and King, 381.
59. King, Historical Dictionary of Egypt, 381.
tween al-Būnī and the Ayyūbid prince. If al-Būnī did have an Ayyūbid prince as his patron, then it is almost certain that he was working for him — in other words, performing theurgic rites on the behalf of the patron. This relationship between the powerful ruler and his court theurgist, represents an occult formulation of authority and hegemony. It places a great deal of power in the hands of the theurgist, whether one believes in the the effects of his work or not. It is all but certain that a ruler of this era would have had an astrologer in his employ and sought his consultation before undertaking any major endeavor. The same goes for the theurgist.

Evidence of patronage for the works of al-Būnī

The above may be impossible to establish, but the provenance of codices, collections and mss containing al-Būnī’s work gives some clue to the reasons why these texts survive until the present, and why they appear to have been copied, recopied, compiled and edited many times and in different forms. As stated, the reference to al-Būnī’s copying of a text owned by al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, if accurate, indicates that al-Būnī probably had the patronage of an Ayyūbid prince. There is some evidence as well for the posthumous patronage of his works on the part of the Ottomans. Many of the mss now housed by the Süleymaniye Library have the signet stamp and ownership or commission statements which relate them to the Ottomans. On the surface, it is clear that the Ottomans had some interest in these texts, as they amassed more and better copies of them than existed anywhere else in the world. This fact alone does not mean a great deal, since the Ottoman sulṭāns collected a great many texts from a wide range of authors, the best of which are known to exist in Istanbul.61

61. Rosenthal notes this in the introduction to his translation of Ibn Khaldūn’s Muqaddima, as does Nader Bizri in his foreword to Epistles of the Brethren of Purity: the İkhwan al-Safa’ and their Rasa’il: An Introduction. Additionally, Osman Yahia showed that the best manuscripts belonging to the work of Ibn al-ʿArabī in Histoire et classification de l’œuvre d’Ibn ʿArabī. The same appears to be the case for al-Būnī, there being around 170 mss containing his works and very elusive commentaries thereupon in the collections managed by the
Two Ottoman Sultanṣ, in particular, seem to have had a great interest in the writings of al-Bûnî. The mystical interests of Bâyazîd II (d. 918 / 1512, r. 886 / 1481 – 918 / 1512) are noted, as is his patronage of the Halveti order of Şûfi dervishes, who flourished after he invited one of their shaykhs to Istanbul. Bâyazîd II has a signet stamp on a fair number of mss by al-Bûnî. This fact may mean nothing beyond the fact that he, like other sultanṣ, endowed a library and filled it with volumes from around the Ottoman world. However, the mss which bear this distinction are also typically either very old or very beautifully executed, which means that they are important. The same occurs with the signet and ownership statements of Mahmud I (d. 1168 / 1754, r. 1143 / 1630 – 1168 / 1754), though in this case, they are far more prolific. At least one of every title found in the Turkish collections bears the ownership statement of Mahmud I.

The state of the ‘Corpus’

As stated, the textual tradition of al-Bûnî is far from linear. However, we have gained some insight into the development of the “Corpus Bûnianum” and some of the more prominent texts which fall under this heading. It is quite clear that al-Bûnî’s compositions are meant to be taken as a group, not one by one, in order that the theory and practice which he presents be synthesized before it can be applied by the practitioner. The corpus represents an occult tradition, after all, and such obfuscation would make sense in context. The practical information is no better organized than the theory. It is likely that, given enough time, the practitioner might study this body of

Süleymaniye Library. This does not even account for the libraries elsewhere in Turkey which have at least another 50. For a list of titles and important corresponding mss, see the Appendix.

63. For more information about the reign of Bâyazîd II, see ibid. and Halil Inalcık, The Ottoman Empire; The Classical Age 1300-1600 (London: Phoenix, 2000), 30-33.
64. For more on the reign of Mahmud I, see Finkle, Osman’s Dream: The Story of the Ottoman Empire 1300-1923, 254-271.
work and be blessed with the illumination required for such an endeavor. It is, however, equally likely that the practitioner might never achieve illumination. In either case, the arrangement of information in the texts provides a hurdle which the novice must clear, in order to attain to higher levels of practice.

Of the texts discussed here, as well as those listed in the Appendix, *Shams al-maʿārif* remains the most problematic. It is arguable that in its latest and longest form, it is either a compilation or an edition which strays quite far from its source material. It could even be argued, given the differences in the content of the texts presented, particularly with regard to the names used, that the *kubrā* recension represents a later bowdlerization.

We will look more closely at the *wusṭā* in the second half of the present work. The cosmology and the place of the Divine Names therein, which will be discussed in chapters 3 and 4, respectively, is somewhat more straightforward than in the *kubrā*. 
Chapter 3

The ancient roots of Islamic theurgy

Understanding medieval Islamic cosmology

The sciences extant in the medieval Islamic world were an agglomeration of referred knowledge from cultures existing prior to the advent of Islam, which came to be expressed and developed wholly within the context of the central doctrines and tenets of an Islamic system. Seyyid Hossein Nasr characterizes this process as cultural development through enrichment; synthesis rather than accretion: “In this region, the home of many earlier civilizations, Islam came into contact with a number of sciences which it absorbed, to the extent that these sciences were compatible with its own spirit and were able to provide nourishment for its own characteristic cultural life.”¹ Pielow makes a similar observation, arguing for a conception of synthesis over syncretism.²

We must, therefore, understand the conceptual framework upon which the ancient sciences hung in order to understand their development in the Islamic world. Ancient cosmology is the marriage of philosophy and science. Staggering in complexity, it represents the study of the ordering of nature and reality at abstract, fundamental and essential level as well as particular, developed and manifest levels.

². Pielow, *Die Quellen der Weisheit*, 27.
Platonism is perhaps the most important philosophical framework within which to conceptualize and analyze the Islamic occult. The doctrines of Platonism are widely discussed in Islamic philosophical writing, both in praise and in criticism. The noted theologian Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī is said to have greatly appreciated the synthesis represented in Platonism: Kraus posited that “the reconciliation of philosophy with theology is achieved, in al-Rāzī’s view, at the level of a Platonistic system which in the last resort derives from the interpretation of [Plato’s] Timaeus.”\(^3\) The platform is seemingly even accepted by Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (450/1058 – 505 / 1111) in his Tahāfut al-falāsifa (“The incoherence of the philosophers”), even though he is typically thought to have rejected it completely.\(^4\) al-Ghazālī’s rejection can be argued not to be of the ancient philosophers themselves, but of the view of them taken by later philosophers. Particularly rejected as “failure to understand their supposed masters” is the view held by later philosophers that the ancients were other than monotheists themselves, “or that they had denied the existence of God, prophecy, and religious law.”\(^5\) Whether praised or rejected on a philosophical level, Platonism features very much in the Islamic worldview and in the conception of the sciences which are based thereupon.

It is perhaps useful to analyze the ways in which this Platonic worldview has survived until recent periods both in the Islamic world and elsewhere, and work backward to its origins in the philosophies. As such, we shall begin in the late medieval period with a brief discussion of several occult works which were of tremendous interest to both scholars of Islam and of other fields in the 20th century, and even to the present day.


Medieval European occult associations with Platonism

Modern treatments of the Islamic occult tend to link its forms and concepts to the European occult tradition, which has as its basis such works as Agrippa von Nettesheim’s *Three (or four) Books of Occult Philosophy* and pseudo-Majrīṭī’s *Ghayāt al-Ḥakīm*, known in Latin as the “Picatrix.” While there is some similarity between these texts and those belonging to al-Būnī, it is primarily in the form of a shared philosophical lineage, that of neo-Platonism, or perhaps more accurately and simply put, Platonism. Further discussion is warranted in order to analyze the ways in which the texts are similar and dissimilar.

The Picatrix antedates that of al-Būnī by approximately two centuries, though its exact origins are unknown. Its translations, Spanish and then Latin, are said to have occurred during the 7th / 13th century. While the book does share the qualities of being neo-Platonistic in its philosophical bent, it is seen as being indifferent to, or disdainful of “the governing religion and accepted moral standards.” Hartner questions how the work could have been allowed to exist at all, in either its Muslim or Christian context, both of which he deems “intolerant,” presumably of anything which was seen to deviate from orthodoxy:

“How is it possible that, in a Muslim society which may be characterized by any epithet whatever except tolerant, a book can be composed and read which, apart from the Basmala heading

7. The authorship of the work is controversial. Ibn Khaldūn names the Andalusian mathematician and astronomer Maslama b. Ḥṣām al-Majrīṭī (d. ca. 397 / 1007) as the author. It has been argued more recently that this is impossible, given that the work was compiled some fifty years or more after his death. See: David Pingree, “Some of the sources of the Ghāyat al-ḥakīm,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 43 (1980): 1. For more information on al-Majrīṭī, see *EI*, s.v. “al-Madjrīṭī, Abu ’l-Ḳāsim maslama b. Ḥṣām al-Faraḍī” (by J. Vernet).
Pingree agrees on this point, though in a less unctuous manner, arguing that “while the magic of the Ghāya is claimed to be based on a Neoplatonic theory whose virtue was that it derived all magical powers from the One who is by definition the Good, the types of magical acts described in the text reflect also ancient traditions[.]”10 This feature marks it as very different from the work of al-Būnī. As has already been discussed in Chapter 1, al-Būnī does make it clear from the outset that the practitioner engaging in theurgy of the nature proposed by him must be a pious Muslim, with purity of intent. While Hartner is certainly basing his above analysis on specific editions in the tradition of Ghāyat al-Ḥakīm or Picatrix, it is clear that there are elements present therein which fall solidly outside the scope of orthodoxy and fall into the realm of pure idolatry. It may have been the case that inclusion of any troublesome or heretical material was a form of dissimulation on the part of the compiler of the text. Such dissimulation does in fact occur often in the form of mistakes and omissions in the text and illustrations within al-Būnī’s works, though it should be noted that there are never any directly pictorial

representations of beings, human, angelic, demonic or otherwise.

A further similarity between Ghāyat al-Ḥakīm and the work of al-Būnī, beside that of their Platonist connection, is a rather confusing textual tradition. This, as we have seen in the last chapter, is probably a feature of any occult textual tradition over time, given both the secret nature of the topics at hand, and the lasting effects of efforts on the parts of religious authorities in given periods to purge the realms of such arcane or esoteric literature, for the ostensible purpose of eliminating impious activities. It should be noted, however, as we discussed in the last chapter, that rather than destroying the works of al-Būnī, the Ottoman Sultans saw fit to collect, copy and preserve them on several occasions. The literature on the Picatrix is so extensive that the author cannot even begin to give it proper treatment here. Suffice it to say that the association with al-Būnī is problematic.

The work, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* (De Occulta Philosophia), by Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim (AD 1486 – 1535), on the other hand, exhibits a much less controversial neo-Platonism, which is in line with that of al-Būnī. Agrippa’s *De occulta philosophia* presents a cosmological framework in which the natural powers—those belonging to God and his servant beings, namely angels—can be entreated for theurgic purposes. Charles G. Nauert points out that: “[t]hese natural powers, however, are not what we mean by the same phrase today. Sometimes Agrippa means ‘terrestrial’ when he writes ‘natural.’ Generally, however, he uses the latter term to describe any thing or event which exists or occurs without the direct action of some divine or angelic power.” This does not rule out indirect action through other means, such as the energies in the celestial spheres or any attendant beings, but only in the case that they are understood to be subordinate to the Divine principle underlying their existence.

Agrippa constructed his philosophy as a corrective, believing that “the
usual authorities in the various occult sciences, Albertus Magnus, Robert of Lincoln, Roger Bacon, Arnold of Villanova, [the] Picatrix, Pietro d’Abano, and Cecco d’Ascoli, had mixed much nonsense with their writings and so were largely responsible for the ill repute in which magic (which, to Agrippa, was the generic term for all the occult sciences) was generally held.”

Agrippa’s view is, like that of al-Būnī, that the ancients had access to a powerful revealed science, beginning with the Revelation given to Moses and extending to the Gospel of Jesus, though in the latter case the tradition ends with the Revelation embodied in the Qurʾān. Agrippa includes a chapter on “What magic is, what are the parts thereof, and how the professors must be qualified.”

Agrippa breaks the discipline into three sciences, a sort of trivium occultum, comprising:

1. “Natural philosophy,” which is to be understood as what we would normally call the natural sciences.

2. “Mathematical philosophy,” which is specified as arithmetic, geometry / trigonometry, and astronomy as well.

3. “theological philosophy, or divinity,” which is “what God is, what the mind, what an intelligence, what an angel, what a devil, what the soul, what religion, what sacred institutions, rites, temples, observations, and sacred mysteries are: it instructs us also concerning faith, miracles, the virtues of words and figures, the secret operations and mysteries of seals, and ... it teacheth us rightly to understand, and to be skilled in the ceremonial laws, the equity of holy things, and rule of religion.”

He summarizes thus, “these three principle faculties magic comprehends, unites, and actuates; deservedly therefore was it by the ancients esteemed

14. Henry Cornelius Agrippa, Three Books of Occult Philosophy, ed. Donald Tyson, trans. James Freake (Woodbury, Minnesota: Llewellyn Publications, 2007), 5. It should be noted that when Agrippa refers to magic, he is referring to the all of the occult sciences, particularly theurgy. See last note.
as the highest, and most sacred philosophy.”  

The truth of this science most arcane was believed to have been known to Antiquity, though not that of the Romans, but of the ancient Greek philosophers, namely Pythagoras and Plato.  

This conception of the Wisdom of the Ancients is treated by authorities and practitioners in both the medieval Islamic and Christian worlds as the highest tradition of knowledge, and by skeptics as pure myth, constructed to justify occult activities as pious acts. Nasr does not conceive of such integration as borrowing or undue influence. He regards it, in the case of Islam, as a synthesis which only strengthens and is strengthened by the core of the Islamic system:

“The primordial character of its revelation, and its confidence that it was expressing the Truth at the heart of all revelations, permitted Islam to absorb ideas from from many sources, historically alien yet inwardly related to it. this was particularly true with regard to the sciences of Nature, because most of the ancient cosmological sciences—Greek, as well as Chaldean, Persian, Indian, and Chinese—had sought to express the unity of Nature and were therefore in conformity with the spirit of Islam. Coming into contact with them, the Muslims adopted some elements from each—most extensively, perhaps, from the Greeks, but also from the Chaldeans, Indians, Persians, and perhaps in the case of alchemy, even from the Chinese. They united these sciences into a new corpus, which was to grow over the centuries and become part of the Islamic civilization, integrated into the basic structure derived from the Revelation itself.”

Platonism in the Islamic hierarchy of knowledge

The taxonomy of sciences or hierarchy of knowledge is a topic of much discussion for Islamic historians. This taxonomy begins with the classification of Greek learning into two schools: the Hermetic-Pythagorean school which was “metaphysical in its approach, its sciences of Nature depending upon the symbolic interpretation of phenomena and of mathematics;” and the Aristotelian syllogistic-rationalistic school which “was philosophical, rather than metaphysical, and [whose] sciences were therefore aimed at finding the place of things in a rational system, rather than at seeing, through their appearances, the heavenly essences.”

Seyyid Hossein Nasr makes the case that Ibn Khaldūn’s “classification contains in summary fashion the plan according to which the arts and sciences have, in fact, been studied in most religious and Islamic schools during the past several centuries. Even if many of these schools, especially in the Sunni world, have not studied all the subjects enumerated by Ibn Khaldūn, they have usually accepted the principles of his classification, which can be considered the final version of the Islamic division of the sciences.”

Both Ibn Khaldūn and Hājjī Khalīfa (Kātıp Çelebi) placed the metaphysical sciences in a category unto themselves, placing prophetic knowledge and the knowledge of angels in the realm of metaphysics. Ibn Khaldūn also relegated the occult sciences to the metaphysical. Hājjī Khalīfa (Kātıp Çelebi), on the other hand, includes the occult sciences with the physical sciences. Ibn Khaldūn’s classification is of course more in line with materialist philosophy than is that of Hājjī Khalīfa (Kātıp Çelebi). The latter asserts the physical reality of the effects of the occult sciences as well as their spiritual or immaterial reality.

19. Ibid., 63.
20. Ibn Khaldūn, Muqaddima, 1028-1030.
The place of astrology

Particularly important for understanding cosmology are the sciences of astronomy or astrology—typically viewed as the same discipline throughout Islamic history. Their features are used to describe natural reality, but also metaphysical reality as well. That realm in which astronomy / astrology functions is outside the scope of the natural world by virtue of its being outside the sphere of Earthly existence. In the modern world, the stars are giant, burning balls of gas light-years away from what we know to be a planetary system surrounding our local star, the Sun. In the pre-modern world, while the nature of the helio-centric planetary system may have been known, it was of little importance. Abū-l-Rayḥān al-Bīrūnī (362 / 973 – 442 / 1050) is said to have eschewed the heliocentric system and settled on the geo-centric view. This has nothing whatever to do with superstition. The stars were features in the night sky, some moving, some fixed. Knowledge of them was absolutely necessary to determine where one might be or what time it was.

For the theurgist, the position of the heavenly bodies was a snapshot of the state of the cosmos. From that snapshot, information could be determined about the relative auspiciousness of a given time for the practice in which the theurgic practitioner was engaged. This is not wholly different from using the positions of stars to determine the appropriate time for prayers which occur after dark. Given that the rules concerning when prayers are not to be performed are based on observation of the position of the sun in the sky, this point of practice depends upon the observation and observance of the positions of the heavenly bodies.

23. Ibid., 136.
The cosmological purpose of astrology

Cosmological paradigms can typically be described by the same language used to describe those belonging to astrology or astronomy. In the ancient world, understanding the configuration of the firmament was tantamount to having a grasp on a deeper reality. The cosmological underpinnings of the universe were represented in the heavens, and as such, the names of stars and constellations came to be named for aspects of the mythos to which a particular culture subscribed. The characters in the mythos were used to explain and remember aspects of the system, e.g. mapping the relationships of the Gods over the relationships between the elements.25

In a non-mythological context like Islam, the cosmos is described in terms of the religion itself, using the scripture and its features as the background in which the order of reality is set. “[P]latonic magic as the texts seem to describe it employed the archangels, angels and demons who are subordinate beings in the chains descending from the planets,” as opposed to what is found in Ghayāt al-ḥakīm, which uses the celestial forces directly.26 The cosmos is an expression of the Qur’ānic revelation and, in turn, can be described in the same manner.

There are astrological boundaries for the spheres of influence in such a cosmological framework. One such division is the sublunary sphere, i.e. the boundary between the Heavens and the Earth. The moon is the boundary of the shifting reality of material existence and the fixed reality of the firmament.27 The firmament can have an effect on the sublunary sphere, but the opposite is not the case as the former is unmoving, unchanging and eternal.

al-Būnī’s cosmos

Toward the beginning of *Shams al-maʿārif*, al-Būnī lays out a description of the cosmos.

“I speak in the first [matter] on the number of the letters of the alphabet as [they are] the origins of speech and its foundation, and in them it is built up.

“I am aware that the numbers are secrets just as the letters are relics, and that the Upper (ʿulwīyy) realm supports the Lower (suflīyy) realm, and the realm of the Throne (al-ʿarsh) supports the realm of the Pedestal (al-kursī), and the realm of the Pedestal supports the sphere of Saturn (zaḥal), and the sphere of Saturn supports Jupiter (al-mashtari), and the sphere of Jupiter supports the sphere of Mars (al-marīkh), and the sphere of Mars supports the Sun (al-shams), and the sphere of the Sun supports the sphere of Venus (al-zuhra), and the sphere of Venus supports Mercury (ʿaṭārid), and the sphere of Mercury supports the sphere of the Moon (al-qamr), and the sphere of the Moon supports the sphere of Air (al-hawā), and the sphere of Air supports the sphere of Water (al-māʾ), and the sphere of Water supports the sphere of Earth (al-turāb), and the sphere of Earth supports the sphere of Fire (al-ḥarāra). So belonging to Saturn in the Upper [realms] is the letter jīm, and the number of [its magic square] (al-mawāfiqa) is three [by three], and it is also three letters, and belonging to [Saturn] in the Lower [realms] is the letter Sād, and it [is] ninety-five, and belonging to the sphere of Jupiter is the letter dāl and it is four in number, and belonging to it the square (al-murabba) four times four [i.e., the four by four square], and

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28. This is deliberate obfuscation on the part of al-Būnī or a later scribe. He has added the numerical value of the letters in the word Sād rather than using the numerical value of the letter itself, as in the case with the other letters mentioned. The value of the letter Sād in 90. The experienced practitioner or serious adept would take note of this.
then belonging to the sphere of Mars in the Upper [realms] is the sum of five, and it is the letter ẁāʾ.

“And belonging to the sphere of the Sun is six, and it is the letter ṣāw, and from the forms it has the six by six (al-musaddas).

“And then the sphere of Venus is seven, and it is the letter ṣāyy, and belonging to the sphere of Mercury is eight, and it is the letter ḥāʾ.

“And belonging to the sphere of the Moon is nine, and it is the letter ṭāʾ, and from the forms it has the nine by nine (al-mutassaʾ).”

This passage lays out a cosmic subordination.

The Lower realms are subordinate to the Upper realms. Anything that is referred to as ‘ulwīyy is associated with the higher levels of the hierarchy of spheres. Anything that is referred to as suflīyy is associated with the sublunary sphere. That which inhabits the upper realms can have an effect on that which inhabits the lower realms. The highest level of the cosmos, al-ʿarsh, is inhabited by Allāh himself and none other. This is concordant in terms of theological reality, as this particular point is stated in the “Throne verse,” as it is known (Qurʾān [al-baqara] 2:255).

29. Ahmad b. ʿAlī b. Yūsuf al-Qurashī al-Būnī, Shams al-maʿārif al-ṣughrā. The text actually corresponds with Shams al-maʿārif al-wusṭā. (Istanbul: unknown publisher, 1936), 16. The translation is the author’s. It should be noted here that the names for common polygons which are listed here should not be translated as such. These names designate the dimension of magic square which should be associated with a particular planet. The word mawāfiqa is associated with ṣawq, which typically means “magic square.” Some aspects of ṣawq and how they fit into the cosmology will be discussed in the next chapter.

30. The word “supports” has been chosen to render the Arabic ʿayyān (اَيَّان) as it conveys that there is a directional relationship of power and influence inherent in this cosmology. If one of the higher realms removes support for the lower realms they collapse. The lower realms are dependent upon the upper realms for their continued existence.
The Platonic worldview in al-Būnī’s cosmos

The passage presented is perhaps the most important in al-Būnī’s work for understanding his cosmology. It sets forth several principles which are important for constructing a theurgic system around, like some sort of cosmological rubric. Of course, this being an occult work, the system will not be fully explained. There is enough information in the passage to figure out what information is missing, in the case of associated squares and other values. al-Būnī explains the cosmology in more detail in al-Uṣūl wa-l-ḍawābiṭ and fills in some lacunae.31

In al-Uṣūl wa-l-ḍawābiṭ, al-Būnī presents the work as being the “order of the works belonging to the ancient philosophers” (tartīb al-aʿmaāl min al-ḥukāmāʾ al-aqdamayn).32 There are minor differences between the specific examples in Shams al-maʿārif and the elaboration given in al-Uṣūl, but this should not be surprising. Such texts were often copied by scribes who did not understand what they were copying. There are also occasional intentional “mistakes” introduced by the author(s) in order to keep such texts from being used by the uninitiated.

The planets each have associations with a square of a particular dimension (wafq), a day of the week (yawm), a metal (maʿādan), a gemstone (jawhar), a set of elemental variables (daraja), a specific lunar mansion (manāzil) and a set of earthly actions, events or realities. By this, we mean, aspects of human interaction which can be generalized. Mars, for instance is associated here with wars, disputes, etc.

The letters of the alphabet are given associations with the four Platonic elements. The elements are very important, as they tend to be used to describe practically every aspect of theurgic cosmology.

32. Ibid., 5.
The Platonic elements

The true roots of Platonism lie not with Plato himself, but with Empedocles and his system of roots.³³ Plato adapted the system of roots as elements and this is how classical Platonic physics was thereafter conceived. The elements are important for understanding medieval theurgy because they feature heavily in describing the features of the physical world, but also of the unseen world. This should not be confused with elemental magic, in which the elements themselves are personalities.

Instead, they should be conceived as qualities, the same way that we might describe spicy food as “hot” or someone’s mood as “light,” the use of elemental descriptions describe a certain element as “fiery” or a letter as “watery.” The latter case is the one most often seen in the work of al-Būnī.³⁴

The association of Arabic letters with qualities in this manner allows for their classification at finer levels as well and their further association with other aspects of the occult sciences. These associations, and their inherent description in terms of quality, allow for the discernment of the most opportune times and most appropriate methods for the working of theurgic rites. al-Būnī observes that there are twenty-eight mansions of the moon and that there are twenty-eight letters in the Arabic alphabet.³⁵ It follows that there is a single letter and therefore an elemental description of each lunar mansion. There is a chart which illustrates all such associations in the beginning of the section on the lunar mansions in the kubrā.³⁶

The elemental system represents a perfect cosmos: a closed system. Every quantity of each element was used in the creation of the cosmos, without a trace left over. From Timaeus: “Now of the four elements in the construction of the cosmos had taken up the whole of every one. For its Constructor

³³. See Kingsley, Ancient Philosophy Mystery, and Magic: Empedocles and the Pythagorean Tradition, 13-68 for a complete treatment and depiction of these elements and their place in the ancient cosmos.
³⁴. See the table of elemental associations with the abjad, as well as the explanation which follows in: al-Būnī, Manbaʿ uṣūl al-ḥikma, 66.
³⁵. al-Būnī, Shams al-maʿārif al-ṣughrā, 16.
³⁶. al-Būnī, Shams al-maʿārif (al-kubrā) wa laṭāʾif al-ʿawārif, 23.
had constructed it of all the fire and water and air and earth that existed, leaving over, outside it, no single particle or potency of any one of those elements.”

This is the reason that change must occur at the sublunary level, because there is nothing from which to make anything new unless something is destroyed. Therefore, living beings consume and die and become consumed. The system was viewed as being very much alive, an organism.

The same cosmology is explored in the *Rasāʾil ikhwan al-ṣafā* (The Treatises of the Brethren of Purity). The third treatise (risāla) is an explication of the ordering of the cosmos and the relationship of the heavenly spheres to one another. Here we see a system almost identical to the subordination of the spheres presented by al-Būnī. The *Rasāʾil* present much of the prerequisite information which was taken for granted as understood by the theurgic practitioner, particularly in the case of astrology. This fact makes it clear that the cosmology and system expressed in al-Būnī’s work is much older than the 7th / 13th century in the Islamic period.

**Cells in an organism**

If we take up the metaphor of the cosmos as a living organism, then we can extend the associations in both directions. Just as the cosmos is the whole of reality—the macrocosm—a human being represents a microcosmic representation thereof. This means that the spheres and their attendant beings are represented within a person. If this is the case, then the representation of parts of the human being are represented in the macrocosm as well.

Earlier we mentioned that the highest level of the cosmos, *al-ʿarsh*, is inhabited by Allāh himself and none other. It should be clear by now that the

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38. Ibid., 61-63.
40. Ibid., 146-147.
41. Pielow, *Die Quellen der Weisheit*, 34-35.
other spheres in this system are inhabited as well. Every part of the system is
full of smaller parts, each working in a specific way to continue the existence
of the system, like cells in a body.

These workers inhabit the spheres and are identified by the same design-
ations as the upper and lower spheres. Those who are in the category of
ʿulwīyy are generally understood to be angels. Those in the category of su-
flīyy are understood to be jinn. It is worth keeping in mind that not all jinn
are evil, some are Muslim, and subservient to God. The concept of a jinn-like
being also has roots in the ancient sources. Plotinus said: “There are, in fact,
fiery living beings among the spirits.”

Each such being has a specific name which can be derived from elements
in a magic square. This practice is among the more arcane, never fully de-
scribed in al-Būnī’s works. He approaches a discussion of the suflīyy beings
in al-Usūl wa-l-ḍawābit, but does not describe how they are contacted.

Building microcosms

The true purpose for al-Būnī’s cosmological outline in both Shams al-maʻārif
and Usūl wa-l-ḍawābiti is the construction of magic squares (awfāq, s. wafq).
The awfāq are used in the execution of amulets and feature centrally. In the
above framework, any square can be executed at the most auspicious time
possible for the client, based on whatever problem he is trying to solve. The
structure of the square is quite complex.

al-Būnī demonstrates the method for filling squares in an article called
Bughyat al-mushtāq, which follows al- цифр wa-l-ḍawābit. At first glance, this

42. Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Yūsuf al-Qurashī al-Būnī, al-Kashf fī ʿilm al-ḥarf wa-yalī Uṣūl ʿilm al-ḥarf
43. Ibid., 170-180.
(Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University
Press, 1966), 27.
45. el-Shamy, Religion among the Folk in Egypt, 156.
46. al-Būnī, Manbaʻ usūl al-hikma, 22-23.
47. Ibid., 58-68.

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might appear to be simply an exercise in mathematical abstraction. As the squares get larger, curious and interesting things begin to occur. In odd-sized squares, there will always be a 3x3 square in the center, if al-Būnī’s pattern is employed. For odd-sized squares, he gives a template up to 9x9, though it is relatively clear after working through such a square, what the pattern for the next larger square will be. The even squares are relatively complicated to predict in terms of pattern, but there is a discernible method for adding a row / column and figuring the appropriate order of the elements. al-Būnī demonstrates templates up to 10x10, though he mentions higher order squares.

This exercise is indeed no mere mathematical abstraction. Each square is unique in its features and each represents a microcosmic representation of the cosmos at large. Perhaps even more accurate would be to say that each magic square is an entire universe unto itself, replete with boundaries, elemental properties, and existential meaning. Inside a system of theurgic cosmology, “we may compare the physical universe to an immense magic square.”

This aspect of Islamic theurgy is, unsurprisingly, related to some of the oldest and most recondite aspects of Pythagorean philosophy. It also demonstrates that the ancient philosophers were not simply sitting idly around drawing up magic squares for the sake of curiosity. Based on al-Būnī’s near-veneration of Plato and Socrates in al- 추진 wa-l-ذوبيح as the highest authorities on the construction of awfāq for the purposes of theurgy, it seems that there was more to their work on magic squares than simple curiosity about the mathematical properties of arrays of numbers.

In W.S. Andrews’ volume, *Magic Squares and Magic Cubes*, the author suggests that the “best expositions of Pythagorean philosophy are found in the ‘Timaeus’ and ‘Republic’ of Plato.” It is here that it is made clear that the Platonic system of philosophy is more than just that. Rather it is a system by which the interconnected nature of reality can be understood intimately.

Plato suggests that all of the sciences should be studied together for their

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49. Ibid., 158.
“mutual relationships that we may learn the nature of the bond which unites them. For only then will a pursuit of them have value for our object, and the labor, which might otherwise prove fruitless, be well bestowed.”

Andrews further points out that the modern scholar tends to be narrowly specialized amid a complexity of sciences, which renders him incapable of contemplating their synthesis. This is probably true at the present as well.

The purpose for all of this “stupid formalistic arithmetic,” as Ullmann commented on the work of al-Būnī, is to represent reality in a simultaneously complex and simple underlying reality for the cosmos. This understanding is the true goal of theurgy, as we shall see.

“When Plato’s advice is followed and the ‘mutual relationships between our sciences’ are understood we may perchance find this clue, and having found it be surprised to discover as great a simplicity underlying the whole fabric of natural phenomena as exists in the construction of a magic square.”

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51. Ibid., 168.
Chapter 4

The doctrine of the divine names in al-Būnī’s work

The power of names

In the last chapter, we demonstrated the inner workings of al-Būnī’s cosmology. Within this cosmology, there exists the room for theurgic works. However, since the lower spheres of influence, al-ʿālam al-sifliyyāt, are subordinate to the highest, al-ʿālam al-ʿulwiyyāt, in order for theurgy to work, there must be a method for harnessing the intelligences or beings at the higher levels. That method is found in the secrets and sciences associated with the Divine Names.

Names have long been believed to have power over the named. This power links the act of naming and the act of creating: a thing cannot be until it is named. el-Shamy writes that

“[a]n inherent aspect of the creation of things is the creation of names. The name, as in the case with God’s names, is believed to be organically integrated with the ‘thing’ that it designates—be it a person, plant animal, inanimate object, or abstract entity such as ‘blessedness,’ ‘goodness,’ or ‘evil.’ Letters of the Arabic alphabet and numerals were also created. ...al-Būnī, ...sheds light on the practical aspect of applying the hidden attribute of let-
ters and names toward performing certain tasks with the aid of
supernatural beings and forces.”

The properties described by the Divine Names appear in the cosmos as cre-
ative forces.

Modern psychology on magical thinking, as discussed in the first chap-
ter, emphasizes the importance of names. “Of all possible words, names
have the greatest power.” Indeed this is held to be true in the case of al-
Būnī’s writings. The most excellent Names of God (asmāʾ Allāh al-ḥusnā) are
arguably the most important aspect of his writings, or at least the most-
treated therein. In every work attributed to al-Būnī, there is at least some
description (tafsīl) of the Names of God, their related supplications (adʿiyya,
s. duʿāʾ), or their special properties (khawāṣṣ, s. khāṣṣa). The extent to which
this is the case varies from title to title. In Shams al-maʿārif al-wusṭā there
are sections on the special properties of the basmala, the division, classifi-
cation and special properties of the Divine Names, and the number of the
names—ninety-nine—known to the highest saints (al-awliyāʾ).

al-Būnī does not, as we should expect, give a full explication of any of
these topics in the wusṭā, at least not all in one place. As with other esoteric
writings, al-Būnī switches subjects and leaves out key details, which must
either be known to the practitioner, inferred or worked out using other in-
formation presented.

In the kubrā, a great deal more specific information is given with regard
to the awfāq associated with the given names. There is also an extensive
listing and explication of all of the ninety-nine names discussed above. The
problems with this section have already been discussed in the second chap-

1. el-Shamy, Religion among the Folk in Egypt, 28.
2. Zusne and Jones, Anomalistic Psychology: A Study of Magical Thinking, 196.
3. The opening line to each sūra of the Qurʾān, save one: بِسْمِ الّهِ الرَّحْمَٰنِ الرَّحِيمِ, al-
4. Ibid., 86-92.
5. Ibid., 56-57.
6. See section (faṣl) 16 “on the most excellent Names of God and their beneficial squares
(awfāqihā al-nāfiʿāt)” in al-Būnī, Shams al-maʿārif (al-kubrā) wa laṭāʾif al-ʿawārif, 164-206
ter of the present work, but perhaps deserve some further treatment in light of what is found in the wusṭā with regard to the names.

The names found in Shams al-Maʿārif al-wusṭā are ninety-nine in number, though al-Būnī never fully lists them in a single location. They can be found throughout the text. The work ‘ʿAlam al-hudā wa-asrār al-ihtidāʾ, however, comprises a full list and extensive treatment of each of the ninety-nine names presented in the wusṭā. The order of the names presented, when they are partially listed in the wusṭā, is also correspondent between the two texts. Their relationships, that is, when they are presented in pairs or groups, also corresponds. ‘ʿAlam al-hudā is exhaustive in its description of the names, whereas the treatments in the wusṭā are practical, with very little theoretical information presented. The latter presents itself as a theoretical manual for initiates and for adepts investigating the “realities of the Names, and their rankings in the ladder of accession, and the discovery of the secret of enumeration.”

Compassion and Mercy as creative forces

The three sections listed above from the wusṭā are representative of three levels of complexity or illumination regarding the Divine Names. In the first case, the basmala, these names are uttered with a high level of frequency. They appear at the beginning of every sūra of the Qurʾān. Muslims utter these words before beginning even the smallest endeavor. al-Būnī reminds the reader that the basmala, though common in usage, is also very powerful. He relates it as being the first scripture of Ibrāhīm, Nūḥ and Sulaymān as well as the first Revelation given to the Prophet Muḥammad. This gives the phrase a special place among the usages of the Names, and emphasizes its importance. The section on the basmala in the wusṭā is involved enough to warrant a detailed treatment on its own, for which there is not space in the present work. Suffice it to say that the most important aspect for the

7. MS HAMIDIYE 260, f. 2r.
topic at hand is that these names represent the first words revealed to the Prophets listed above, which gives them a rarefied position in the ranking of the names.

Particularly important in this is the mention of compassion, as noted above. There is another cosmological principle at work here: “According to Ibn ʿArabī and most other Ṣūfis, the creation of the world is thus based upon the ‘compassion’ (al-rahmān) of the Infinite. It is by His Compassion that God gives being to the Names and Qualities which are the archetypes of creation.”9 In this cosmology it is through compassion that creation is allowed to exist. This will be explored further as it relates to the illumination of certain names to the highest Saints awliyā’.

The division and classification of the Divine Names

The next aspect of the Divine Names is described toward the end of the wuṣṭā, though it makes more sense to present it first. Throughout the text, al-Būnī discusses which names have significance for what purposes and their associations and representations within the cosmology. For al-Būnī, the Divine Names describe the Creator as well as His influence and place in the created cosmos.

In the wuṣṭā, Būnī gives a classification of Names and a brief discussion of their attributes and relation to one another. He writes:

“Now we recall, by the power of God and his strength, the special properties of the Excellent Names of God most high, with their sum and their effect and which from them is grouped and which is alone, and which is employed by Him Alone, and what pertains to every Name in its meaning and its exposition.

“The Names are divided into five divisions: names of essence (asmāʾ al-dhāt), names of attributes (asmāʾ al-ṣifāt), names of descriptions (asmāʾ al-awṣāf), names of characters (asmāʾ al-akhlāq),

names of effects (asmāʾ al-afʿāl), and from these names, specific [among them] were revealed and hallowed with special properties of fact, and joined names entering one in the other.”

al-Būnī’s classification is subtle, but the distinctions therein are very important. The Divine Names are typically discussed as abstract attributes ascribed to God. These names or attributes of the divine are quite heavily discussed in modern discourse on Islamic spirituality, especially in the realm of literature directed at modern Śūfīs. The above, however, is an aspect which is often completely left out. As with knowledge, the Names have different types, which are descriptive of the ways in which they are meant to be employed.

In the case of the first group, for example, al-Būnī says that they are the names in the āyāt which begin “Huwwa Allāh alladhī la ilāha illa huwwa.” These āyāt are al-ḥashr: 22-23, and the names which appear there are al-ʿĀlim al-ghayb wa-l-shahāda (“Knower of the Invisible and the Visible”), al-Rahmān (“the Compassionate”), al-Raḥīm (“the Merciful”), al-Malik (“the Sovereign”), al-Quddās (“the Holy”), al-Salām (“the Peace”), al-Muʾmin (“the Keeper of the Faith”), al-Muhaymin (“the Guardian”), al-ʿazīz (“the Majestic”), al-Jabbār (“the Compellor”), al-Mutakabbir (“the Superb”).

al-Būnī tends to shorten the first in the list to al-ʿĀlim al-ghayb or to present it as ʿalām al-ghuyūb. While the rest of the names conform to the lists with which modern readers will be familiar, this name does not fit. el-Gawhary and Doutté both list out the 99 Divine Names as they appear in the Ḥadīth collections of the traditionists al-Tirmidhī and alternatively Ibn Māja.

10. al-Būnī, Shams al-maʿārif al-ṣughrā, 86. The translation is the author’s.
11. Many such books are infused with the same sort of popular psychology as modern astrology and other “new-age” spiritual products. These treatments are largely without value for assessing the uses of the Divine Names in theurgic rites or their place in medieval cosmology.
12. al-Būnī, Shams al-maʿārif al-ṣughrā, 86.
13. ibid., 87; MS HAMIDIYE 260, f. 235f.
The rest of the categories are spread throughout the final sections of the text and nothing is listed categorically. Presumably it is up to the novice to discern which names fit into the other categories, from the Qurʾān, at least in this particular work.

The Names known to the saints

The last level of the Names for al-Būnī include those names which are the domain of the highest saints (al-awliyāʾ). This aspect of the Divine Names is of particular interest to the theurgist, as it deals with finding the names which are 99 in number, the knowledge of the hidden names which are behind those 99, and having access to the Greatest Name.¹⁵ These are the measures of a Saint wālī for al-Būnī.

Nabhānī, in Jāmiʿ Karamāt al-awliyāʾ, identifies al-Būnī’s karamāt as being related to the revealing of certain names and practices related to those names. He relates that the Prophet Muḥammad appears to al-Būnī in a vision and

“he asks [the Prophet] about the names of seclusion (asmāʾ al-khīlwa), and he said [that] ‘they are seven: yā Allāh, yā Ḥayy, yā Qāyyūm, yā Dhā Jalāl wa-l-Ikrām, yā Nihāyat al-Nihāyāt, yā Nūr al-Anwār, yā Rūḥ al-Arwāḥ.’ And he said, ‘if you are in danger of being overcome by lust in the retreat, then perform ablutions and powerfully recite yā Hādī.’ And he said, ‘for too many thoughts [at once] recite after ablutions yā Latīf.’ And he said, ‘for appetite for food, recite after ablutions yā Qawī.’ And he said, ‘for hardship, recite after ablutions, yā Fattāḥ.’ And he said, ‘for an abundance of psychological dangers and satanic fantasies, yā Dha al-Quwā.’ And he said, ‘if something surprises you and causes you concern, then recite yā Bāṣīṭ.’ An he said, if you are faced with

¹⁵. al-Būnī, Shams al-maʿārif al-ṣaghra, 56.
something otherworldly, recite yā Qawī, yā ‘Azīz, yā ‘Alīm, yā Qadīr, yā Samī‘, yā Baṣīr.”\textsuperscript{16}

This bit of hagiography is quite telling, both in terms of what the perception was of al-Būnī’s occupations, and also in terms of, how a Saint perceives that which has been kept secret from the average person, or even the pious person. The anecdote describes one of the methods for glimpsing beyond the veil of the material world in which human beings are mired. al-Būnī is given these names in a vision, by the Prophet himself. Ibn al-ʿArabī is known to have experienced similar visions and dreams, about which he wrote extensively.

The reason for hiding aspects of the theurgic rites is that they are dangerous to the uninitiated and the improperly trained, as discussed in the first chapter. The names alone, when repeated, typically a very large number of times, are considered to be quite potent. al-Būnī writes that writing the basmala 600 times, then carrying the written artifact on one’s person would bring an individual tremendous rewards in the form of material and spiritual gain.\textsuperscript{17} This is something that can be achieved by accident, apparently, if the practitioner were to simply commit to doing the repetitions recommended. For this reason the more powerful and therefore more dangerous Names must be hidden.

The Greatest Name and the Hidden Names

The ultimate piece of information which is sought by the theurgist is the Greatest Name of Allāh (al-ism Allāh al-aʿẓam). al-Būnī was no exception. Again, from modern psychology: “In some religions, the real name of the deity is not to be used because of its potency, and substitutes are resorted to.”\textsuperscript{18} This name is of the utmost importance in al-Būnī’s theurgic system. As stated above, al-Būnī says that access to the Greatest Name belongs only

\textsuperscript{16} al-Nabhānī, Jāmiʿ karamāt al-awliyā‘.
\textsuperscript{17} al-Būnī, Shams al-maʿārif al-ṣughrā, 27.
\textsuperscript{18} Zusne and Jones, Anomalistic Psychology: A Study of Magical Thinking, 196.
to the Saints. This Name is therefore not ever represented as a Name, but rather as a series of arcane symbols which are said to represent the Name itself and which have various intrinsic connections with certain letters, the heavenly bodies, metals, and herbs. This set of symbols are often, perhaps mistakenly, referred to as the “Seal of Solomon.”19 These associations are discussed at length in Winkler’s Siegel und charaktere in der Muhammadanischen Zauberei, particularly the associations with the sawāqiṭ, the “hidden letters” in Sūrat al-Fāṭiḥa. Al-Būnī also has a lengthy treatise on this topic called Sharḥ sawāqiṭ al-Fāṭiḥa, which is partially excerpted and included in Shams al-maʿārif al-kubrā.20 This Greatest Name or this Great Seal, was used in this form in amulets of various types, as well as other talismanic objects.21

The Names behind the 99 Names

al-Būnī’s cryptic and mysterious reference to “the Hidden Names behind the 99 Names” is something very different from everything else we have explored. This refers, in fact, to a form of nomina barbara or pure sound, which is known only to the angels, the Prophets and the Highest Saints. In writings attributed to al-Būnī, one will often come across strings of letters which seem to have no meaning within the Arabic language, but are referred to as names. In two texts in Manbaʿ uṣūl al-ḥikma, titled “Sharḥ al-birhatihin” and Sharḥ al-jaljalūtiyya,” we find these names abound. Therein, each is associated with one of the Divine Names as we are accustomed to seeing them in other places in al-Būnī’s works.22 Pielow lists the names found in the Jaljalūtiyya with their Arabic Divine Name equivalencies.23

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20. MS BAĞDATLI VEHBI 928
21. See, Porter, Arabic and Persian Seals and Amulets in the British Museum, 168, A118; Mommersteeg, “‘He Has Smitten Her to the Heart with Love’ The Fabrication of an Islamic Love-Amulet in West Africa,” 504; and Mommersteeg, “Allah’s Words as Amulet,” 69.
22. See al-Būnī, Manbaʿ uṣūl al-ḥikma, 69-92 and 93-325, respectively.
In the text on the Jaljaltiyya one will also find examples of the usages and explanations of the so-called seven seals and their associations.\textsuperscript{24} al-Būnī refers to these names as \textit{al-asmāʾ al-suryāniyya}.\textsuperscript{25} This \textit{Sūryānī} does not refer to the middle-Aramaic Syriac language spoken in the Fertile Crescent during the first millennium CE. As has been noted by O’Kane and Radtke, the so-called \textit{Sūryānī} to which al-Būnī refers is nothing like the latter, and appears instead to be gibberish.\textsuperscript{26} This is, however, the nature of \textit{nomina barbara}.

In \textit{Kitāb al-ibrīz}, \textit{Sūryānī} is explained to be available only to the highest saints, the Prophets and the angels. In this work, Ibn al-Mubārak relates the ibrīz, literally “pure gold” of his master ʿAbd al-‘Azīz al-Dabbāgh, which includes knowledge of \textit{Sūryānī}. Ibn al-Mubārak’s master was an unschooled, but not illiterate mystic of the 12th/18th century.\textsuperscript{27} Indeed, he is reported to have attained the highest form of spiritual knowledge, ʿirfān, through piety and purity of spirit alone. al-Dabbāgh is an example of the type of person to which al-Būnī refers in \textit{Shams al-maʿārif} when he discusses \textit{al-awliyāʾ}.\textsuperscript{28} The \textit{Sūryānī} language of al-Dabbāgh is linked to the disconnected letters of the Qurʾān and represents a sort of primordial language. These provide the basis for a language of pure sound, in which each phoneme can bear meaning. al-Dabbāgh indicates that anyone who knows how to understand \textit{Sūryānī} “ascends to a knowledge of the secrets of letters. Herein is an awesome science which God has veiled from minds as a mercy unto people lest they be informed of wisdom while darkness is [still] in their bodies and they come to perish. We beseech God for protection from this!”\textsuperscript{29} Here again we return to the idea of a powerful, secret rite which is only made accessible to those who are ready, in order to protect those who are not.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{24} al-Būnī, \textit{Manbaʿ uṣūl al-ḥikma}, 257.
  \item \textsuperscript{25} Ibid.
  \item \textsuperscript{27} Ibid., xvi.
  \item \textsuperscript{28} al-Būnī, \textit{Shams al-maʿārif al-ṣughrā}, 57.
  \item \textsuperscript{29} al-Lamaṭī, \textit{Pure Gold from the Words of Sayyidi ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dabbāgh (al-ibrīz min kalām Sayyidi ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dabbāgh)}, 425.
\end{itemize}
The relationship of Divine Names, secret languages and subtle beings to theurgic rites

All of this may seem quite far-fetched to the skeptic. Indeed, secret languages, invisible beings and Saints who can communicate therewith will probably push even the most devout modern person into skepticism. These things all seem quite unnecessary to the average pious practitioner of the faith. For most, prayer, fasting, pilgrimage, charity and faith are sufficient. As discussed in the first chapter, though, the theurgic practitioner does not operate outside this system. In fact, it is a requirement that the practitioner be established on a practice of orthodox piety in order to attain to the spiritual states necessary for theurgy.

So what is all of the rest of this then? Is it mere affectation, or is it something more significant? For the theurgist, the cosmology is simply what Nasr has termed “traditional cosmology.” It describes the universe in which they live and in which they practice their faith in the Creator of the same. “Traditional cosmology is an application of metaphysical principles to the cosmic domain.”30 It is only with an understanding of this cosmology that one may proceed toward understanding the Divine names as an expression thereof.

Acts of theurgy are like supererogatory prayers. They are not required for practitioners, but they are another mode of piety, one which is believed to have positive mechanical effect when worked. The other aspects—the secret languages, the hidden names, the sciences known only to the Saints and Prophets—are a form of shorthand, or code.

In other words, if a normal prayer supplication has the effect of pleasing God by way of the pure intention of the praying individual, then a rite of theurgy focuses the intention and amplifies the prayer or supplication a thousandfold, a millionfold, or more. These rites allow for the mystic practitioner to tap into the raw creative power which is believed to be the catalyst for the very existence of the universe. That a Saint or Prophet is afforded

this is regarded by the theurgist as a blessing, nothing more or less.

Methods for working theurgic rites based on the Divine Names and \textit{awfāq}

As stated, these rites represent a form of shorthand employed by the practitioner for communicating with the unseen world. As we have seen with al-Dabbāgh’s presentation of the nature of this primordial language, it is said to contain meaning, even in its smallest unit, the phoneme. This, he says, is the manner in which angels communicate: “If you see them [i.e., angels] speaking Syriac, you see how they indicate things with one or two letters, or with one or two words, which others [i.e., humans] could only indicate by means of one or two [complete] notebooks.”\textsuperscript{31} Similarly, encoding a massive supplication in a \textit{wifq} allows for the beings who will do the actual work to interpret the request more clearly, and without the confusion of the languages of human beings.

al-Būnī never fully describes the processes for the construction of magic squares and their purpose in the writing of an talisman or the creation of an amulet. As with any esoteric or occult work, certain aspects are left to be communicated from practitioner to practitioner, or completely omitted. In the case of al-Būnī, it would appear to be the former. Given that his works are among the most prevalent when it comes to the occult sciences in the modern period, it should come as no surprise that there is a degree of regularity in methods for and rituals surrounding the execution of amulets and talismans. The practitioner can represent an entire universe in a square and then use that square to be able to address the beings which hold the proverbial keys to linking the microcosm with the macrocosm it represents.

“[U]sing a square is not only easier and quicker [for the practitioner]. Squares … are also very easy to read for the spirits who will be invoked in order to realize the request as formulated in the amulet. Spirits can read

squares at a glance. Immediately they understand what is asked for. Constructing a numerical square might be seen, therefore, as a ‘condensed’ way of writing.”32

The Divine Names in awfāq

al-Būnī’s work must be understood as a set of materials meant to be used for theoretical purposes on the part of a practitioner, rather than as some sort of practical manual, as it is often cast.33 While there are specific applications or outlines of theurgic rites explained on occasion these are accessory to the cosmology-centered theurgy which is the primary focus of the text. A great deal must be inferred or passed between practitioners who inherit the sciences from their progenitors.

The standard 3x3, or budūḥ, square appears in most sources in one form or another. This is often mistaken for being an amulet on its own and, as such, is believed to have special properties unto itself. The 3x3 (along with the 4x4) serves to demonstrate the order in which numbers should be filled into squares.34 Higher order squares do not appear in Islamic sources until the 7th / 13th century.35

For the purposes of executing an amulet, a suitable Divine Name must be chosen. This is not a task conducted at random or with only the meaning of the Divine Name in mind. The name must have a specific numerical value in order that it might be used to derive a ‘magic square’ or wafq.

In a magic square, any column, row, or long diagonal should add to the same sum. This means that the Name or Names chosen must be suitable for the given size of square, based on divisibility of its numerical value. Any

32. Mommersteeg, “‘He Has Smitten Her to the Heart with Love’ The Fabrication of an Islamic Love-Amulet in West Africa,” 505.
34. al-Būnī, Manbaʿ uṣūl al-ḥikma, 59, 61.
Arabic text can be fit into a square, so often whole verses from the Qurʾān are used in this manner.\textsuperscript{36} There is a set of mathematical transformations which must be performed on the numerical value of the name to derive numbered elements in the square from the numerical value.\textsuperscript{37}

Magic squares in the construction of amulet

Once the square is set, is written on the amulet paper and it is framed by the names of the Archangels and the names of the attendant or agent beings associated with the square (\textit{al-mawākil}) are written.\textsuperscript{38} The attendant beings are the angels and \textit{jinn} associated with a given square. There are different ways for finding the names of the \textit{mawākil}. Canaan refers to these names as “spiritual names” and identifies the “angelic syllable” as ʾīl, which is to be added to the end of the abjad representation of the numerical value found in the square, or for the given verse, or even the letters of the alphabet.\textsuperscript{39} These are referred to as \textit{al-mawākil al-ʿulwīyy}. The names of the other beings, the \textit{mawākil al-siflī} are derived in a similar manner, using a variety of suffixes or syllables, according to Canaan.\textsuperscript{40} Every single letter in the Qurʾān has an angel associated with it, which can be invoked.\textsuperscript{41} The entire amulet becomes an invocation. It is not meant to be simply written, but read aloud or invoked, which is done by the practitioner.\textsuperscript{42}

In this way, we come full circle and return to the cosmology. The beings invoked have certain properties and can work only within certain realms. Each element in the square represents an angel or jinn, depending on the conception. These are what operate on the material world, subordinate to

\textsuperscript{36} See Porter, \textit{Arabic and Persian Seals and Amulets in the British Museum}, #A119, 168 and Mommersteeg, “‘He Has Smitten Her to the Heart with Love’ The Fabrication of an Islamic Love-Amulet in West Africa,” 502-503.
\textsuperscript{37} Ibid., 505.
\textsuperscript{38} al-Būnī, \textit{Shams al-maʿārif al-ṣughrā}, 71.
\textsuperscript{39} Caanan, “The Decipherment of Arabic Talismans,” 138.
\textsuperscript{40} Ibid., 141-142.
\textsuperscript{41} Mommersteeg, “Allah’s Words as Amulet,” 508.
\textsuperscript{42} Ibid., 507.
God and to all the beings in the realms which exist above the sublunar sphere.

Analysis of the use of divine names in theurgic rites

The Divine Names, as we have seen, are an act of creation unto themselves. In the cosmology of al-Būnī, reality is layered and its layers are subordinate to one another. The purpose of theurgy in such a system is to manipulate the macrocosm by connecting its attributes to those represented in a microcosm. The Divine Names describe not only the attributes of the Divine Personality, but also the expression of those attributes in the material world as a form of creation. The cosmos itself is therefore acted upon at a very fine level by its Creator. The names also relate the Creator in this system to the created in a very intimate way. Through various theurgic rites involving knowledge and methods known only to very few, the cosmos can be nudged and shifted this way and that, but only with the permission of its Creator, or His subordinates.
Conclusions

General Remarks

The theurgic writings of al-Būnī represent a simultaneously illuminating and obfuscating body of esoteric theory and methods. They are non-linear in their presentation, but are nothing if not comprehensive, covering a wide range of topics, which have as their central aim the spiritual alchemy of the practitioner. This alchemy is not literal, but figurative, meant to hone the piety and devotion of practitioners to the point that they may work theurgic rites, without transgressing the bounds of what is religiously legal. This is the purpose of theurgy. It stands in opposition to goety, which has its roots in the debasement of piety and the engagement with evil.

al-Būnī’s writings demonstrate very clearly that there is a place for theurgy in an Islamic system. The cosmology that is presented therein also represents something at once Islamic and also very ancient. The Islamic theurgic system encodes and incorporates the most ancient systems of mysticism and monotheistic piety, synthesizing them into a form of spiritual technology. Additionally, this writings represent a rich and valuable resource for the study of this mode. The increasing availability of manuscripts in digital formats will allow for ever finer treatment of al-Būnī’s work. Such efforts will hopefully begin to demystify the Corpus Būnianum in the coming years, and will allow future generations of scholars better access to materials which pertain to the occult sciences in Islam.
The Corpus Būnīanum

As we have seen, there are several parallel traditions within the body of al-Būnī’s work. It is the hope of the author that the information presented in Chapter 2 will further elucidate the interaction between these parallel traditions and help to clarify the state of the Corpus as we understand it. Given the little we know about the historical personage of al-Būnī, the identification of the recitation certificate in MS HAMIDIYE 260 gives us strong evidence that al-Būnī actually lived in the beginning of the 7th / 13th century. It also gives us at least one work which is directly and incontrovertibly attributable to him, providing a basis for which we might someday vet the character of other work purported to be a part of the Corpus.

The problem of magic

It is hoped that the information presented here has demonstrated that, contrary to the referred knowledge on al-Būnī, he was not a “magician” and did not practice or write about “magic,” but rather, he advanced a system of theurgic techniques which were couched in the traditional mystic cosmological framework which was present in the 6th / 12th – 7th / 13th century Islamic world. The mysterious and opaque nature of the topic, as well as the lack of historical information from that particular period make it difficult to certainly identify any significant milestones in the development of this worldview. It is clear from al-Būnī’s writings that medieval Islamic cosmology absorbed late-Platonist cosmology, at least in the area of mystic endeavors and theurgic rites. It is also clear, that the medieval Islamic systems of theurgy had an influence on contemporaneous and later esoteric systems in Europe. Both of these points are far too vast to have been covered fully within the scope of this work, but will hopefully be taken up in the future.
List of works attributed to al-Būnī

This list has been compiled based on research conducted over several extended visits in 2011 to the manuscript collection in the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul. It is corroborated using Hajji Khalifa’s Kashf al-ẓunūn ‘an ‘asāmī al-kutub wa-l-funūn and Carl Brockelmann’s Geschichte der arabischen litteratur, among other sources. In MS HAMIDIYE 260, a collection of several works attributed to al-Būnī, there is a listing of his works penned perhaps by the scribe who copied out the first section, ‘Ilm al-hudā wa asrār al-ihtidā’ (see below), or by a later scholar. The MS is dated 772H in the colophon (f. 239v) and represents the earliest known listing of works attributed to al-Būnī. The present list is based thereupon and is presented in the order in which it appears in the MS. The same list appears verbatim in MS KİLİÇ ALİ PAŞA 588, dated 792 in the colophon, suggesting that it was copied from the former. The list is in the same hand as the main text and is neatly copied after the colophon. This list below comprises important manuscripts, if extant, and any lithographed or printed copies listed in modern sources. Appearance in the following sources is noted below:


All MSS that I have not personally seen or printed editions to which I have not had access are marked with an asterisk. MSS to which I have not had access are listed with their referring source. Full information has been given for those MSS which have been inspected closely, otherwise only information which appears in the Süleymaniye Library catalog is listed. All measurements are given in millimeters. This list represents the present state of my ongoing research aimed at establishing an authoritative list of titles attributable to al-Būnī as well as any extant MSS and editions thereof. As such, apologies for any heretofore uncorrected mistakes or omissions are given.

Titles listed in Hamidiye 260 and Kılıç Ali Paşa 588

‘Alām al-hudā wa-asrār al-ihtidā’

“The Characteristics of Guidance and the Secrets of the Guided”

This title is often listed as Sharḥ al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā (شَرْحُ الأَسْمَاءِ الْحُسْنَى), including a reference by al-Būnī himself (see GALs 910; Shams al-ṣūrat al-ṣughrā, print. ed. 1936, 18). I have confirmed that several MSS listed as such are in fact ‘Alām al-hudā, though not all. The title Khawāṣṣ al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā is also often conflated with Sharḥ.

HKh IV, 248, #8268 (‘Alām al-hudā); HKh IV, 24, #7463 (Sharḥ al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā), mentions a commentary by al-Bīstāmī; GAL 497 (Sharḥ al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā fī ‘Alām al-hudā); GALs 910 (listed under both titles). MSS:
HAMIDIYE 260 (1), dated 772H, f. 239v in numerals in the colophon (ff. 1-240, 21 lns, 250x180). There is also a certificate of recitation copied above the date which indicates in words that it was begun in first ten days of Dhū al-Qa‘ida 621H and completed on Monday, 17 Dhū al-Ḥijja in the same year. There is a list of works by al-Būnī in the margin on f. 239v as well; KILIÇ ALİ PAŞA 588, dated 792H in numerals in the colophon on f. 221r before a second colophon which presents a list of works. This is a copy of MS HAMIDIYE 260 (1); ESAD EFENDI 1501, dated 733H f. 233 before colophon (233 ff., 21 lns, 259x182); LALELI 1550, dated 739H f. 255 before colophon (255 ff., 21 lns, 186x135); NURUOSMANİYE 1550, dated 794H f. 255r in colophon (255 ff., 21 lns, 186x135);

Shams al-maʿārif wa-laṭāʾif al-ʿawārif

“The Sun of Knowledge (and the Subtleties of the Practices)”

HKh IV, 74-75, #7658; GAL 497; GALs 910; Z.

There are ostensibly three recensions of Shams al-maʿārif: a kubrā (‘full’ or ‘longer’), ṣughrā (‘small’ or ‘shorter’) and wustā (‘middle’). All three recensions include some text at the beginning which is nearly identical in the three recensions. There are further correspondences between the kubrā and wustā recensions. For a full discussion, see Chapter 2. For extensive note on the correspondences between the kubrā and wustā recensions in the printed tradition, see the 1936CE Istanbul edition titled Shams al-maʿārif al-ṣughrā.

kubrā

HKh, III, 194, #4886; K (listed erroneously as Sharḥ al-maʿārif al-kubrā; Z (PRINT ED); F, 231.

MSS: BEYAZID 1304,* dated 1055H (273 ff.); BEŞİR AĞA (EYÜP) 89, dated 1057 in numerals in a note next to the colophon on f. 215v (215 ff., 43 lns.). This MS is quite finely executed, but appears to be a draft. It is bordered but has not gilt header or frame; HACI SELİM AĞA 528, dated 1140H in the colophon on f. 313v (313 ff. 39 lns.). A very fine execution with gilt frame and header;
HEKIMOĞLU 535, dated 1099H (503 ff., 25 lns., 301x196); CARUL-
LAH 1548, dated 1111 (337 ff., 306x205); HEKIMOĞLU 534, dated
1118H; HEKIMOĞLU 537, dated 1119H. This is in the same hand as
HEKIMOĞLU 534; NURUOSMANİYE 2830, dated 1122H (204 ff.);
NURUOSMANİYE 2832, dated 1126H (176 ff.); NURUOSMANİYE 2833,
dated 1126H (224 ff.); HAMİDİYE 677, dated 1171 (379 ff., 21 lns,
205x155); HAMİDİYE 678, dated 1171 (395 ff., 21 lns, 210x155).

Printed editions: Aḥmad b.ʿAlī b. Yūsuf al-Qurashī al-Būnī, Shams
al-maʿārif al-kubrā wa laṭāʾif al-ʿawārif (Cairo: unknown publisher,
lithograph, 1874, listed in the text as “1921H.”), lithograph, copies
of this are in the Sülemaniye library, cf. ali emiri arabı 2808* and
IBRAHIM ISMAIL HAKKI 2060.* There is also another litho-
graph in 4 parts which was printed in 1347H, cf. MEHMET SE-
FAYHİ 614 (131 + 110 + 120 + 38 pp.)*; Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Yūsuf
al-Qurashī al-Būnī, Shams al-maʿārif (al-kubrā) wa laṭāʾif al-ʿawārif
(Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī wa-Awlādī, 1927); al-Būnī,
Shams al-maʿārif (al-kubrā) wa laṭāʾif al-ʿawārif.

wustā

Z (ms); F, 231.

MSS: ATİF EFENDİ 1539, dated 831H in the colophon on f. 131v
(132 ff., 17 lns.). This is a very finely executed ms with vow-
elling throughout. There do appear to be some missing folios
if the text is compared to other MSS which correspond to the
same text; AYASOFYA 2804, dated 838H (94 ff., 19 lns.); AYASO-
FYA 2806, dated 849H (126 ff., 19 lns., 182x134); LALEI 1576, dated
849H (142 ff., 17 lns.); HAFİD EFENDİ 198, dated 855H (60 ff., 30
lns. 177x133); KADİZADE MEHMET 335, dated 869H (45 ff., 25 lns.,
255x160); NURUOSMANİYE 2831, dated 903H (99 ff.); KEMANKEŞ
316, dated 1030H (180 ff.); CARULLAH 1533 (2), dated 378-533, 19
lns., 205x180); BAĞDATLI VEHBI 1721, dated 1065 (135 ff., 19 lns.,
152x106). The owner of the MS, though not its scribe, authored
a commentary dated 1321H in which he names it the “wustā,” cf.
This appears to be very late compared to the rest, ca. mid-11th century H. If so, it would be one of the latest copies of this recension by about a century.

The printed editions of this text are titled “Shams al-maʿārif al-ṣughrā.” This appellation is meaningless, as the text contained therein corresponds directly to these wuṣṭā MSS. 1533 Printed editions: al-Būnī, Shams al-maʿārif al-ṣughrā; al-Būnī, Shams al-maʿārif al-ṣughrā.

ṣughrā

Z (MS); F, 231.

This recension would appear to actually be some sort of commentary. Its MSS manuscripts are only three in number and only two of them are dated. One is roughly contemporaneous with those of the wuṣṭā and its mate would appear to be from the same century. The other is purported to be very early, but the handwriting is an odd shakasta nastʿalīq script and the date written in numerals.

MSS: MANISA, GENEL, (A.K.A. MANISA İL HALK KÜTÜPHANESİ) 1445, dated 618H in numerals in the colophon (210x130); AYASOFYA 2799, dated Thursday 13 Ramadan 861H in the colophon (255x170); Ayasofya 2802.

Mawāqīt al-baṣāʾir wa-laṭāʾif al-sarāʾir

“The Timings of Discernment and the Subtleties of the Inner Secrets”

HKh VI, 244, #13359;

Laṭāʾif al-ḥarāāf ft-l-hurūf al-ʿulwiyyāt

(var. fī asrār al-falak wa-l-hurūf al-maʿnawiyyāt)

(أيضاً: في أسرار الفلك والحرف المعنوياً)

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“The Subtleties of Signs and in the Divine Letters” or “...in the Secrets of the Heavenly Spheres and the Spiritual Letters”

HKh V, 313, #11105; GALs 911 mentions variants listed above; K;


Hidāyat al-qāṣidīn wa-nihāyat al-wāṣilīn

“The Guidance of the Two Paths and the End of the Two Roads”

HKh VI, 496, #14375; GALs 911.

Mawāqif al-ghāyat fī asrār al-ihtidāʾ

“The Positions of the Destination and in the Secrets of the Guided”

HKh VI, 235, #13354; GAL 497; Z (ms).

Taysīr al-ʿawārif fī talkhīṣ shams al-maʿārif

“The Facilitation of the Practices in the Abridgement of the Sun of Knowledge”

This title appears in none of the catalogs. I would speculate that this is the actual title of the ṣughrā recension, which seems itself to be some sort of commentary and is very different from the other recensions, as mentioned above.

Asrār al-adwār wa-tashkīl al-anwār

“The Secrets of the Stations and the Organization of the Illuminations”

HKh I, 279, #640;

Kitāb yāʾ al-taṣrīf wa-jullat al-taʿrif

“The Book of the Yāʾ of Conduct and the Importance of Instruction”
Risālat yā’ al-wāw wa-qāf al-yā’ wa-l-ʿayn al-nūr

“Treatise on the Yā’ of the Wāw and the Qāf of the Yā’ and the Eye of Illumination”

al-Lumaʿat al-nūraniyya (fī-l-awrād (var. -l-kushūfāt) al-rabbāniyya

“The Luminous Brilliances in the Divine Supplications”

HKh V, 337-338, #11200 (full title listed above); GAL 497 mentions variants listed above; GALs 910 mentions a commentary by al-Bistāmī in MS YENI CAMI 785, II, f. 231, dated 858H; K; Z.

It is difficult to ascertain at present what content belongs in this text. The shorter MSS listed below are perhaps excerpts or the longer MSS collections.

MSS: REISULUKUTTAB 1162 (017), dated 789H (ff. 210-235, 17 lns.); CARULLAH 2083 (1), dated 798H (ff. 1-31, 17 lns., 180x135); CARULLAH 2095 (23), dated 838 (ff. 159-162, 23 lns., 280x161); AYASOFYA 2810, dated 851 (96 ff., 11 lns., 167x210). A version of this also appears in HAMIDIYE 260.


al-Laṭāʾif al-ʿashar

HKh V, 316, #11122.

al-Taʿāliqat fī manāfī al-Qurʾān al-ʿazīm

“Notes on the Beneficial Uses of the Glorious Qurʾān”

Hkh II, 368, #3317 (?, see below); GAL 498 (?, see below). HKh lists a work titled Tafsīr al-Shaykh Sharaf al-Dīn al-Būnī which may correspond
to this title. *Taṣfīr* does not appear anywhere else. GAL lists a work titled only *Taʾliqa* which may correspond to this.

**Titles appearing in later sources**

*Asrār al-ḥurūf wa-l-kalimāt*

“The Secrets of the Letters and the Words”

HKh I, 280, #647; GAL 498; GALs 911.

*Khawāṣṣ al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā*

“Special Properties of the Most Beautiful Names”

HKh III, 180, #4813; GAL 498; GALs 911.

*Iẓhār al-rumūz wa-ibdāʾ al-kunūz*

“Appearance of the Symbols and the Manifestation of the Treasures”

HKh I, 346, #889; K.

*Qabas al-iqtidāʾ ilā wifq* (var. *falak* al-saʿāda)

(∗wa-najm al-iḥtidaʾ ilā sharaf al-sāda∗)

“The Firebrand of Emulation toward the Quadrate (Sphere) of Joy (and the Star of the Guided toward the High Rank of the Distinguished)”

HKh IV, 503, #9367; GAL 497; GALs 910 mentions variants listed above.

**MSS:** Hacı Ahmet Paşa 1549 (002), dated 881, f. 121v (ff. 103-122, 15 lns., 185x138); Hacı Ahmet Paşa 120 (007), dated 1112, f. 142v (ff. 124-142, 23 lns., 214x128).

*al-Uṣūl wa-l-ḍawābiṭ*

“Fundamentals and General Rules”
GAL 498; GALs 911.

MSS: FATIH 5370 (002), dated in colophon on f. 82v (ff. 21-82, 21 lns., 202x143; YAZMA BAĞIŞLAR 706 (1), dated 1129 (ff. 1-47, 21 lns., 220x168).


Sharḥ ism Allāh al-aʿẓam

“Commentary on the Greatest Name of God”

F, 238, Z (PRINT ED).

MS: AYASOFYA 1872* (ff. 1-15r, 17).


Mūḍiḥ al-tarīq wa-qisṭās al-tahqīq

“The Clearing of the Path and the Balance of Truth”

HKh IV, 24, 7463; GALs 911.

al-Silk al-zāhir

“The Shining Cord”

Z (ms).

Fadāʾil (fawāʾid) al-basmala

“The Virtues (Benefits) of the Basmala”

GAL 497 (variant title above in parentheses). Z lists a printed edition entitled Faḍl bism Allāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm (fadūl bism Allāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm) or “The Importance of the Basmala.”

Fi faḍl (khawāṣṣ) āyat al-kursī

“On the Importance of the (Special Properties) of the Throne Verse”

GAL 497 (variant title above in parentheses).
Sirr al-ḥikam wa-jawāmiʿ al-kalim

“The Secret of Wisdom and the Collection of Utterances”

GAL 498.

al-Durr al-munaẓẓam fī-l-sirr al-aʿẓam

“The String of Pearls in the Greatest Secret”

GAL 498.

Works wrongly attributed to al-Būnī

Mafātīḥ asrār al-ḥurūf wa-maṣābiḥ anwār al-ẓurūf

“The Keys to the Secrets of the Letters and the Sources of the Illumination of the [Favorable] Conditions”

GALs 911; K. GALs lists this title as wrongly attributed to al-Būnī (Paris 2660, II, 252, 16). K refers to GAL.
Bibliography


———. *Kitāb Latāʾif al-ʾishārāt fī asrār al-ḥurūf al-ʿuluwiyyāt*. Cairo: unknown publisher, lithograph, 1899, listed in the text as “1317H.”


———. *Shams al-maʿārif al-kubrā wa-latāʾif al-ʿawārif*. Cairo: unknown publisher, lithograph, 1874, listed in the text as “1921H.”


