A STUDY OF SOME WORKS OF ŞÛFÎSM COMMONLY ATTRIBUTED TO AL-GHAZÂLÎ

BY

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THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (Ph.D) IN THE DEPARTMENT OF ISLAMIC AND MIDDLE EASTERN STUDIES, FACULTY OF ARTS
1998
IN THE NAME OF ALLĀH
THE COMPASSIONATE, THE MERCIFUL

DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that this thesis is written by myself and any references made to the sources are duly acknowledged

CHE ZARRINA SA'ARI
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I wish to confess my utmost appreciation and thankfulness to my first academic supervisor Dr. Carole Hillenbrand for her assistance, precious guidance and encouragement throughout my research at Edinburgh University. Dr. M. V. MacDonald and Dr. Ian K. A. Howard who are my second academic supervisors also deserve the same appreciation and gratitude. Their insightful remarks, scrupulous accuracy and constructive suggestions for alterations or additions in writing this thesis were instrumental in shaping this work into its final form. Needless to say, for any errors and omissions I hold myself fully responsible.

My gratefulness is also deserved by the academic staff of the Department of Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies including Miss I. Crawford, the former secretary of the Department and the present secretary Miss L. Scobie for their general assistance and kindness throughout the period of my study in Edinburgh. I would also like to express my appreciation and indebtedness to the Main Library of Edinburgh University, especially to the staff of the Inter-library Loan Service for their unceasing efforts in finding books, journals and other related materials, without which it might not have been possible to produce this work, and other staff of the library who took the trouble to make available to me the works which were used in the course of this research.

I would like to acknowledge my special debt of thankfulness to the Government of Malaysia and MARA whose financial support has enabled me to undertake this research.
Last but not least is the debt of appreciation and gratitude to my beloved husband, Joni Tamkin Borhan, who has also studied for Ph.D in the Department of Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies. His unfailing support, encouragement, assistance and cooperation were unforgettable. My son, Muhd. Hasyier Farooque also earns a deep appreciation and admiration, who though still young, realizes and understands the nature of my work, and essentially kept my life delightful and enjoyable throughout my academic years in Edinburgh.

Finally, this humble work is dedicated to my beloved parents, Haji Sa'ari Hussain and Hajjah Azizah @ Wan Zainun Wan Ja'far, who not only become my guardians, but also my spiritual teachers. Their vision, inspiration and dedication have contributed to my academic success. It is also dedicated to my father and mother-in-laws Borhan Bin Mat Jedek and Ngadiah Bt. Satimin, for their support and commitment in pursuing higher knowledge. This work is also addressed to my brothers and sister, Hamizi Sa'ari, Nurul Salikin and Muhammad Salleh Wasunni, and my in-laws Samuri Andalas, Tai Ping Sila, Mauzon Salla, Ubaidah Taqwa, Iramazat, Tata Susila, Abdil Hakim Assidki and Khalili Halwa, for their continuous backup, encouragement and prayers throughout my study. I also would like to record my debt of gratitude, thankfulness and appreciation to my sister, Che Zuhaida Sa'ari, who though busy with her study, provides continuous help and sacrifice in finding and posting some very important materials from Malaysia, without which this study would not have been completed.

The present writer in her search for truth and knowledge is aware both as a student and a Muslim of human's weakness unless assisted and willed by God. In this regard, I recite al-Ghazālī's writing as a maxim, with which he concludes one of the
book of the *Ihya*': "Praised be God, at the beginning and at the end, in what is apparent and in what is hidden. May His blessings and most abundant salutations rest upon our master Muḥammad, his family and Companions, and His every chosen bondsman on earth and in heaven. My success is from God alone, upon Him do I rely, and unto Him do I repent."

Che Zarrina Sa'ari,
Edinburgh,
1998.
This thesis is a study of three works normally attributed to Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, namely al-Risālah al-Laduniyyah, Minhāj al-Ārifīn and Jāmiʿ al-Ḥaqāʾiq bi Tajrid al-ʿAlāʾiq, but whose authenticity has been questioned by scholars. The aims of the thesis are to translate, annotate and analyse the three works in order to assess whether they were written by al-Ghazālī or not. For these reasons, the thesis is arranged into a general introduction which is followed by three major parts each of which consists of two chapters. The first part (Chapters One and Two) deals with the Risālah, the second (Chapters Three and Four) concentrates on the Minhāj and the third (Chapters Five and Six) focusses on the Jāmiʿ.

A major section of the thesis (the first, third and fifth Chapters) provides for the first time in English the translations with annotations of the three works mentioned above. The second, fourth and sixth Chapters attempt to compare and contrast the approach to Ṣūfism presented in the three works with that revealed in al-Ghazālī's securely attributed works. The thesis argues that it is rather doubtful that any of these works were written by al-Ghazālī and that their authors, who probably came from circles close to al-Ghazālī, combined some of his ideas with those from other Ṣūfī quarters. The study ends with a select bibliography and appendices.
## NOTES ON TRANSLITERATION

### Consonants

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**LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

The following is a list of the abbreviations used for the most frequently consulted works:

- **al-Arbā’in**
  - al-Ghazālī, *Kitāb al-Arbā’in fi Uṣūl al-Dīn*

- **ʿAtṭār [Arberry]**

- **ʿAwārif**
  - al-Suhrawardī, *ʿAwārif al-Maʿārif*

- **Bouyges**
  - Bouyges, Maurice, *Essai De Chronologie Des Oeuvres De Al-Ghazali* (Algazel), Michel Allard (ed.)

- **E.I. (1)**
  - *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* (First Edition)

- **E.I. (2)**
  - *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Second Edition)

- **E.P.**
  - *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy*,

- **Faysal,**
  - al-Ghazālī, *Faysal al-Tafriqah*,

- **GAL**
  - Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*

- **Ḥilyah**
  - al-Isfahānī, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā’*

- **Iḥyā’**
  - al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā’ ʿUlūm al-Dīn*

- **Iqtisād**
  - al-Ghazālī, *Kitāb al-Iqtisād Fi al-ʿIṭiqād*,

- **Jāmi‘**
  - Pseudo al-Ghazālī, *Jāmi‘ al-Ḥaqāʾiq bi Tajrid al-ʿAlāʾiq*

- **Kashf**

- **Kimiyā**
  - al-Ghazālī, *Kimiyā-e Saʿādāt*

- **Lane**
  - E. W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*
Lisan
Ibn Manzūr, Lisān al-ʿArab

al-Lumāʾī
al-Sarrāj, Kitāb al-Lumāʾī

Maqāṣid
al-Ghazālī, Muqaddimah Tahāfut al-Falāsifah al-
Musammāt Maqāṣid al-Falāsifah, ed., Sulaymān
Dunyā,

Mīyār
al-Ghazālī, Mīyār al-ʿIlm fī Fann al-Manṭiq,

Minḥāj
Pseudo al-Ghazālī, Minḥāj al-ʿArīfīn

Mīrṣād
Najm al-Ḍīn Rāzī, Mīrṣād al-ʿĪbād min al-Mabdāʾ al-
Maʿād, (tr.), Hamid Algar, The Path of God's
Bondsmen from Origin to Return

Mishkāt
Gairdner, W. H. T., (tr.), Mishkāt al-Anwār, (The Niche
for Lights)

Muʿallafāt
Badawi, A. Rahmān, Muʿallafāt al-Ghazālī,

Munqīdah
al-Ghazālī, al-Munqīd Ṣī al-Dalāl, ed., Muḥammad
Muṣṭafā Abū al-ʿUlā and Muḥammad Muḥammad
Jabīr,

Qisṭās
al-Ghazālī, Qisṭās al-Mustaqīm, (ed.) Victor Shalḥat,

Q. Risālah
al-Qushayrī, al-Risālah al-Qushayriyyah

Qūt
al-Makki, Qūt al-Qulūb,

Rīḍayyih
al-Muḥāsibī, al-Rīḍayyih li Ḥuqūq Allāh

Risālah
Pseudo al-Ghazālī, al-Risālah al-Laduniyyah

Tāj
al-Zabīdī, Tāj al-ʿArūs

Taʾrīfāt
al-Jurjānī, al-Taʾrīfāt

Tahāfut
al-Ghazālī, Tahāfut al-Falāsifah, ed., Sulaymān Dunyā

Tuḥfat
Ibn al-ʿArabī, Tuḥfat al-Safarah ilā Ḥadrat al-Bararah

Waḥīf
al-Safādī, Kitāb al-Waḥīf bi al-Wafayāt,
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<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Title</th>
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<tr>
<td>BSOAS</td>
<td>Bulletin of School of Oriental and African Studies, [London]</td>
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<td>DI</td>
<td>Der Islam, (Berlin and New York)</td>
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<tr>
<td>IC</td>
<td>Islamic Culture, [Hyderabad]</td>
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<td>IQ</td>
<td>The Islamic Quarterly, [London]</td>
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<td>IR</td>
<td>The Islamic Review, (London)</td>
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<td>IS</td>
<td>Islamic Studies, [Karachi and Islamabad, Pakistan]</td>
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<tr>
<td>JRAS</td>
<td>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, [London]</td>
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<td>MW</td>
<td>The Muslim World, [Hartford, Connecticut]</td>
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<tr>
<td>SI</td>
<td>Studia Islamica, [Paris]</td>
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5.11.2. Section: On the explanation on visions *(al-mushāhadah)*

5.11.3. Section: Explanation on unveilings *(al-mukāshafāt)*

5.11.4. Section: On explanation of manifestation *(al-tajallī)*

5.11.5. Section: On explanation of "arrival" *(al-wuṣūl)*

5.12. Chapter Twelve: On the explanation of knowledge *(al-ma‘rifah)* and its mode

5.13. Chapter Thirteen: On the explanation of the state *(al-ḥāl)* and the station *(al-maqām)* and the distinctions between them

5.14. Chapter Fourteen: On the mentioning of the signs of the masters concerning some of the stations *(al-maqāmāt)*;

in it [the chapter] are several sections

5.14.1. Section: Control *(al-qabd)* and expansion *(al-basīf)*

5.14.2. Section: On annihilation *(al-fanā‘)* and abiding *(al-baqā‘)* [in God]

5.14.3. Section: On ecstasy *(al-wajd)* and rapture *(al-ghalābah)*

5.14.4. Section: On intoxication *(al-sukr)* and sobriety *(al-sahw)*

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INTRODUCTION
INTRODUCTION

(1) Statement of the problem

In the medieval Islamic world, works were commonly found to be falsely attributed to another author. There were a variety of reasons for attaching the name of a well-known author to one's work; to prevent the removal of objectionable matter from a work, or to attract people to read it, or perhaps to discredit a rival by attributing to him a work which contained heretical views.\(^1\) Abū Bakr al-Rāzī (d. cir. 290/894 - 320/924) was suspected of writing a book against the belief in saints. This was falsely ascribed to him in order to bring him into discredit.\(^2\) It would not be surprising therefore, if al-Ghazālī, himself an Ashʿarite theologian and a Şūfī, who was among the most influential of all Islamic thinkers should also fall victim to this phenomenon. Since there are sometimes inconsistencies among the works which are attributed to al-Ghazālī, some modern scholars such as Goldziher,\(^3\) Palacios,\(^4\)

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Macdonald, Watt, Badawi and Lazarus Yafeh have raised doubts as to the authenticity of some of them.

Al-Risālah al-Laduniyyah is the first book to be dealt in this present study. There are several manuscripts and published editions of Al-Risālah al-Laduniyyah. For our own research and translation, we have used the Risalah from Majmūʿah Rasā'il al-Imām al-Ghazālī. we have also consulted the manuscript at the India Office, in London for purposes of comparison. The Risālah is listed as a work by al-Ghazālī by some biographers such as al-ʿAyarūs, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, Ḥājjī

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5 Macdonald, Life of al-Ghazālī, p. 131, argues against Maqānī al-Ṣaghīr.

6 Watt reproduces Palacios' list and adds to it many other works including Al-Risālah al-Laduniyyah and Minhāj al-ʿArifīn. Cf. Watt, "Authenticity", pp. 32 - 34.


8 Studies in al-Ghazālī, Jerusalem, 1975, attempts to produce linguistic criteria for assessing the authenticity of al-Ghazālī's genuine works.


10 Vol. 4, Beirut, 1406/1986, pp. 87 - 111.

11 No. B382.


Khalīfah,14 as well as by Brockelmann,15 and it seems that they generally accept it as a genuine work of al-Ghazālī.16 The Risālah, however, is not mentioned by one of al-Ghazālī's early biographers, al-Subkī or by his commentator, al-Zabīdī or also by Tāshköprüüzāde who lists other works written by al-Ghazālī.17

The Minhāj is the second work to be dealt in this study. There is one manuscript in addition to two published editions of this work.18 For our own research and translation, we have used the edition of it in Majmū‘ah Rasā‘il al-Imām al-Ghazālī.19 No comparison can be made in the edition because of difficulty of access to other editions. The Minhāj is listed only by Brockelmann as among the works of al-Ghazālī. Bouyges who also mentions this work says that the Minhāj al-Ṣārīfīn is identical to the Minhāj al-Ṣāḥibīn which is also attributed to al-Ghazālī.20 However, they are in fact not similar books.21 Al-Subkī, al-Zabīdī and Tāshköprüüzāde make no mention of the Minhāj in their works.

15 GAL, p. 423.
16 For a more detailed discussion, see Chapter Two, 2.6. Authenticity of al-Risālah al-Laduniyyah.
18 The Minhāj is mentioned by Brockelmann in GAL, Vol. 1, p. 745, as having been in a published compilation of al-Ghazālī’s treatises entitled Farā’id al-La‘īli min Rasā‘il al-Ghazālī, (ed. Fajr Allāh al-Kurdi), Cairo, 1343/1924, pp. 101 - 120, which contains Mfrā‘ al-Sālikīn, Minhāj al-Ṣārīfīn and Rawḍat al-Fā‘ilīn. The treatise was then republished in Beirut in a compilation of al-Ghazālī’s works entitled Majmū‘ah Rasā‘il al-Imām al-Ghazālī. A manuscript of it can be found in Maktabah al-Fā‘ilī, Istanbul under the title Manāhij al-Ṣārīfīn, no. 2896.
20 Bouyges, p. 91.
21 See Mu‘allaqāt, p. 248.
The Jāmiʿ al-Ḥaqāʿiq bi Tajrid al-ʿAlāʾiq is the third book to be dealt in this study. There are several manuscripts and two published editions of this work.²² For our own research and translation, we have used the text of "Gāmiʿ al-Ḥaqāʿiq bi Tajrid al-ʿAlāʾiq", edited by M. J. Casas y Manrique.²³ The Jāmiʿ is listed only as an authentic work by Brockelmann and Gosche. Brockelmann says that the division into sections of the book is identical to Tuhfat al-Safarah ilā Ḥaḍrat al-Bararah by Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿArabī.²⁴ Gosche who refers to the Uppsala manuscript says:

It is no longer than al-Iiqād fi al-ʾiqād, but it is different from the latter in the discussion of sections.

He therefore suggests that the manuscript of the Jāmiʿ is in fact the book al-Mustazhiri by al-Ghazālī.²⁵ However, Bouyges who also mentions this work, in response to Gosche’s suggestion, writes:

... But when the book is published, it is almost certain that [the book] will not be like that.²⁶

Certainly, it is not the same book as al-Mustazhiri. The Jāmiʿ is also cited by Ḥājjī Khalīfah, but he writes only a short title of it as "Jāmiʿ al-Ḥaqāʾiq" and he does not mention its author.²⁷

²² The Jāmiʿ al-Ḥaqāʾiq bi Tajrid al-ʿAlāʾiq is numbered No. 24 in GAL by Brockelmann, Supplementbände, Leiden, 1937, Vol. 1, 422, p. 748, and No. 3898 in Kashf al-Zunūn by Ḥājjī Khalīfah, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 510. The latter mentions it as only "Jāmiʿ al-Ḥaqāʾiq". According to C. J. Tornberg, Arabic, Persian and Turkish Manuscripts of the Library of the University of Uppsala, Uppsala, 1849, p. 262, a manuscript of it can be found in Uppsala, no. 402, and he mentions that the treatise deals with ethics. The treatise was printed and published in Lucknow in 1869 and was republished in Uppsala in 1937, edited by M. J. Casas y Manrique. Cf. also R. Gosche, Uber Ghazzālīs Leben und Werke, Berlin, 1858, p. 252, no. 8; 297, no. 22; Bouyges, p. 88, no.72; cf. Muʿallaṣfāt, pp. 251 - 254.

²³ Uppsala, 1937, pp. 3 - 58.


²⁵ Gosche, op. cit., p. 252; cf. Bouyges, p. 88, no. 72; Muʿallaṣfāt, p. 252.

²⁶ Bouyges, p. 88, no. 72.

(2) Purpose of the research

Although the Risālah, the Minhāj and the Jāmiʿ have been published several times, there are as yet no critical editions of them. The Risālah was once translated into English by Smith and published under the title "al-Risalah al-Laduniyya by Abu Hamid Muhammad al-Ghazali". However, in this article the treatise is not annotated and analysed in order to assess its authorship. In her translation, Smith simply came to the general conclusion that the treatise was written by al-Ghazālī without making any detailed analysis to defend her opinion. Concerning the Jāmiʿ and the Minhāj, so far no translations of them have been made into English nor, it would appear, into any other Western language.

The purpose of this study is to translate these three works into English, and then to examine and analyse critically the ideas and styles of writing presented in these three works. More specifically, we wish to see whether or not the ideas expressed in these works are in line with al-Ghazālī's ideas as shown in those works which can be confidently attributed to him such as the Ihya', the Munqidh, the Arbaʿīn and others. This research will, it is hoped, provide a clearer idea of their authenticity which is now still a debated issue in the academic world.

(3) Scope and methodology of the study

This study does not attempt to compare these three works with any of those of al-Ghazālī's predecessors, since it is beyond the remit of the present discussion.

However, sometimes, al-Ghazālī’s predecessors' views are given in the footnotes. Occasional comparison has been made between these three works and those of later writers, for purposes of discussing possible authorship. For example, the Jāmi‘ is compared to certain parts of al-Suhrawardi’s ‘Awārif al-Ma‘ārif, Najm al-Dīn Rāzī’s Mirṣād al-‘Ilbād and also Ibn al-‘Arabī’s Tuhfat al-Safarāh ilā Ḥadrat al-Barārah, and the Risālah is compared to Ibn al-‘Arabī’s Risālah fi Ma‘ānī al-Nafs wa al-Rūḥ.

For the purpose of the study, the thesis is arranged in three parts, each of which includes two chapters. In Part One, the study will cover an annotated translation, analysis and examination of al-Risālah al-Laduniyyah. Chapter One is devoted to the annotated translation of the Risālah with some cross-references to al-Ghazālī’s authentic works such as the Iḥyā’ and the Maqṣad. Chapter Two contains a analysis of the Risālah. Although the discussion of ideas of the Risālah concerns the doctrines of the Šūfīs, reference will also be made to certain philosophical ideas which are presented in the Risālah. In an appendix, a comparison between the Risālah and the Risālah fi Ma‘ānī al-Nafs wa al-Rūḥ of Ibn al-‘Arabī is given, since they both have several similar passages.

As far as Part Two is concerned, Chapter Three presents an annotated translation of the Minhāj and an analysis of the Minhāj is presented in Chapter Four. The mystical ideas and views of the Minhāj will be examined and compared to those of al-Ghazālī as expressed in the Iḥyā’ and the Arba‘īn in order to shed light on the possible authorship of the Minhāj.

PART ONE

*AL-RISĀLAH AL-LADUNIYYAH*

CHAPTER ONE

ANNOTATED TRANSLATION OF

*AL-RISĀLAH AL-LADUNIYYAH*
In Part Three, the study will consist of a translation, analysis and examination of Jāmi‘ al-Ḥaqā‘iq bi Tajrid al-‘Alā‘iq. Like the two earlier parts, Part Three also consists of two chapters, Chapters Five and Six. Chapter Five contains an annotated translation of the Jāmi‘. Like the Minhāj, it has not been possible for a comparison be made with any other manuscripts, because of the difficulty of access to them. Chapter Six will seek to explain the ideas on the doctrines of Śūfīsm which are presented in the Jāmi‘. These ideas will then be compared to al-Ghazālī’s views on these subjects. The materials used are mainly from al-Ghazālī’s teachings of Śūfīsm.

For a comparison of the Jāmi‘ to the ‘Awārif, the Mirṣād and the Tuhfat, the Arabic edition of ‘Awārif al-Ma‘ārif of al-Suhrawardi and the Tuhfat of Ibn al-‘Arabi and the English edition of Mirṣād al-‘Ībād of Najm al-Dīn Rāzī have been used. The Arabic text of the Jāmi‘ contains a number of extracts from the Mirṣād. The editor of the Jāmi‘ has included such extracts in order to show the similarities between the works. Comparisons made between these four works, the Jāmi‘, the ‘Awārif, the Mirṣād and the Tuhfat have been included in the Appendix.

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30 The edition used in this comparison is of Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣū ‘Umar al-Suhrawardi, Kitāb ‘Awārif al-Ma‘ārif, Beirut, 1983.


CHAPTER ONE

ANNOTATED TRANSLATION OF *AL-RISĀLAḤ AL-LADUNIYYAH*

THE TREATISE ON SPIRITUAL INTUITION

(p. 87) *In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

1.1. Introduction to the treatise

Praise be to God who has adorned the hearts of His chosen servants with the light of sainthood, has instructed their spirits with excellent solicitude and has opened the door of *tawḥīd* to the gnostics (*ʿarīfīn*) among the religious scholars (*ʿulamāʾ*) with the key of knowledge (*dirāyah*). I pray to God to bless and grant salvation to our Lord Muhammad, the Lord of Apostles, the Lord who summons and protects and the Guide of the community to the right path, and to his family, who dwell in the sanctuary of protection.

The esoteric knowledge of spiritual intuition (*al-ʿilm al-ghaybī al-laduni*)

Know that one of my friends told a story about a religious scholar who denied the esoteric knowledge of spiritual intuition on which the chosen of the Ṣūfīs rely, and to which the followers of the mystic path (*tariqah*) trace their origin, when they say that the knowledge of spiritual intuition is stronger and firmer than the kinds of knowledge which are obtained and acquired through learning. And it was related that

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1 The English translation of the Qurʾān which has been used in this translation is that of Abdullah Yusuf Ali, *al-Qurʾān al-Karim, The Meaning of the Glorious Qurʾān*, Maryland, 1983.
he who claimed this used to say: "I do not have the ability to elucidate the knowledge of the Sūfis, and I do not suppose that anyone in the world [can] speak about true knowledge through cogitation and deliberation without study and acquired learning (kasb)".

And I said: "It is as though he is not acquainted with the [different] ways of acquisition [of knowledge], and has not comprehended the matter of the human soul (al-nafs al-insānīyyah)² and its attributes, the manner of its receiving the impressions of the unseen world and the knowledge of the celestial world (malakūt)".³ My friend said: (p. 88) "Yes, that man says that knowledge [consists of] jurisprudence (fiqh), exegesis of the Qur'ān (tafsir) and scholastic theology (kalam) only, and there is no knowledge beyond them, and these kinds of knowledge are attained only by learning and study".

² The human mind or soul. This kind of soul possesses all the faculties and power of the vegetable soul (al-nafs al-nabātiyyah) as well as those of the animal soul (al-nafs al-ḥayawānīyyah), but it has the rational faculty (al-qawwālah al-ʿaqliyyah) as an addition. (Cf. B. A. Dar, "Abd al-Qādir al-Jilānī and Shihāb ad-Dīn al-Suhrawardī" in A History of Muslim Philosophy, Vol. 1, (ed.) M.M. Sharif, Wiesbaden, 1963, pp. 362 - 363; see also M. Saeed Sheikh, A Dictionary of Muslim Philosophers, Lahore, 1970, p.137).

³ Permanent sovereignty, the celestial and angelic kingdom. In Mishkāt al-Ghazālī describes the world in some detail, The world is two worlds, spiritual (rūḥnī) and corporeal (jismnī), or if you will, sensual (hissī) and intellectual (ʿaqli), or again, if you will, superior (ʿulwī) and inferior (ṣūlī). All [of these expressions] are close to one another [in meaning], and the difference between them is merely one of viewpoint. If you view the two worlds in themselves, you say "corporeal" and "spiritual"; if you view them in relation to the eye which apprehends them, you say "sensual" and intellectual"; and if you view them with respect to their relationship to each other, you say "superior" and "inferior". You may also, perhaps, call one of them the world of dominion and sense-perception (ʿālam al-mulk wa al-shahādah) and the other, the world of concealment and sovereignty (ʿālam al-ghayb wa al-malakūt).

(For further detail on these two worlds, cf. the introduction to al-Ghazālī, Jawāhir al-Qur'ān, pp. 11, 28, 33. Cf. Macdonald, The Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory, New York, 1903, pp. 234, 235; cf. the study of Wensinck, "On the Relation Between Ghazālī's Cosmology and His Mysticism" in Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Academie van Wetenschappen, Deel 75, 1933, Serie A, 6, pp. 183 - 209; al-Tahānawi, Kashshāf Iṣḥāqāt al-Funūn, Calcutta 1861, p. 1339). The world of sovereignty is a world of concealment, since it is hidden from most people. The sensual world, however, is a world of perception, since it is perceived by all. (Cf. Mishkāt, pp. 122 - 123).
Then I said: "Yes, and how is the knowledge of exegesis to be learnt, for the Qur'an is an all-encompassing ocean which comprehends all things and not all of its meanings and the truths of its exegesis are mentioned in these compositions which are well-known among the ordinary people (cawāmm); nay indeed exegesis is other than what the person who claims this knows". Then that man said: "He does not reckon exegeses to be other than those exegeses which are well known and celebrated and attributed to al-Qushayrī,4 al-Tha'labī,5 al-Māwardī6 and others". I said: "He is far from the path of the truth, for al-Sulami7 assembled some of the statements of those who are seeking the truth (muḥaqqiqirif)8 which come close to true knowledge (tahqiq).9 And those words are not mentioned in other exegeses".

It is as if that man who does not consider that knowledge is anything but

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8 i.e. the Sufis.

9 Smith has: "...of the statements of those who attained to something like certainty" which is imprecise. Cf. Smith, "al-Risālah", p. 190.
jurisprudence, scholastic theology and this ordinary exegesis apparently does not
know the parts of [the branches of] knowledge, their distinctions, their degrees, their
ture significances, their outward expressions and their inward meanings. It is a
common phenomenon that he who is ignorant of a thing denies that thing. He who
makes that claim has never tasted the draught of the truth and has not become aware
of the knowledge of spiritual intuition, so, how can he confirm that? I am not content
that he should confirm that which he does not know either by blind acceptance of
tradition (taqlidan)\(^\text{10}\) or conjecture (takhminan). Then that friend said: "I want you
to mention some of the degrees of the religious sciences and how to verify this
knowledge and to what you yourself attribute it and how you can confirm its
authenticity".

Then I said that the explanation of this request is very difficult, but I will start
on its introduction according to my state and in conformity with my time and what
occurs to my mind. I do not want to prolong the discussion, for the best discussion
is that which is brief and cogent and I have asked God, Most Powerful and Most
Great, for success and help and I have mentioned the excellent request of my friend
with regard to this humble [work].\(^\text{11}\)

\(^{10}\) Here used in the sense of adherence to a school of thought through imitation of others rather than
through experience or intellectual conviction, or the sense of blind acceptance of a doctrine on the authority
of others and a consequent fanaticism on its behalf. Al-Ghazālī came to appreciate that this is not a secure
path to the truth. (\textit{Maqṣad}, p. 43; \textit{Ihya‘}, Vol. 1, p. 13). Elsewhere al-Ghazālī writes that a righteous man
may be denied spiritual unveiling by reason of a dogma he has held since the time he acquired it by
imitation in childhood as a result of holding a good opinion of his teachers. This will form a barrier
between him and the reality of God and prevent the unveiling in his heart of anything which conflicts with
what he has accepted through imitation. (\textit{Ihya‘}, Vol.3, p. 12; Watt, \textit{Muslim Intellectual: A Study of al-

\(^{11}\) Smith has: "I have mentioned the request of my good friend, in regard to this officious proceeding on
my part" which is vague and inaccurate. Cf. Smith, "\textit{al-Risālah}", p. 191.
1.2. Section One: On the dignity of knowledge

Know that knowledge is the way in which the rational, calm soul conceives the realities (haqā‘iq) of things and their forms (p. 89) free of material substances (mawād) with their characteristics, qualities, quantities, intrinsic natures (jawāhir), and essences (dhawāt), if they are simple. The knower (‘ālim) is the one who comprehends, is discerns and conceives, and the known (ma‘lūm) is the essence of the thing, the knowledge of which is engraved in the soul, and the dignity of knowledge is in accordance with the dignity of its subject-matter, and the rank of the ‘ālim is according to the rank of knowledge.

There is no doubt that the most excellent, the highest, the most glorious and the greatest of known things is God who is the Maker, the Creator, the Truth, the One. The knowledge of Him is the knowledge of tawḥīd which is the most excellent, noble and perfect of the [religious] sciences. This knowledge is necessary (darūri), and its acquisition is incumbent on all men of reason (‘uqalā‘) as the bringer of the Law (Shar‘) (P.B.U.H.) said:

The seeking of knowledge is obligatory for every Muslim.

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12 Lit. "jewel"; tech. "intrinsic nature", one of the fundamental terms of the philosophers.

13 Essence or quiddity. A common term in philosophical use. This word is the feminine of "dhi" meaning "possessor". (Lane, Vol. 1, p. 984). It denotes several meanings, i) Being or self (anniyah), ii) Thing or individual (shai‘ or ‘ayn), iii) The essence of a thing or its inner meaning (māhiyyah), iv) Substratum of thing in which qualities inhere (jawhar). (Cf. M. Abdul Hye, "Ash'arism", Vol. 1, in (ed.) Sharif, op. cit., p. 228; see also Saeed Sheikh, op. cit., p. 55). Here the word dhat is used the third meaning.

14 It is difficult to grasp the exact meaning of the phrase: in kānai mufradatan. Smith has: "if they are simple [i.e. uncompound]". Smith, "al-Risālah", p. 191.

He gave orders that [people should] travel in search of this knowledge; he (P.B.U.H.) said:

Seek knowledge even in China.\(^{16}\)

He who knows (‘ālim) this knowledge is the most excellent of the ‘ulamā’. For this reason, God Most High has distinguished them by mentioning them in the most noble class. He said:

God, the angels and those endowed with knowledge have testified that there is no god but He. (3:18)

Those who know the knowledge of tawhīd absolutely are the Prophets, and after them the ones who know are those who are the heirs of the Prophets.\(^{17}\)

This knowledge, though it is noble in its essence and perfect in itself, does not deny the rest of the sciences, but rather cannot be obtained except by many premises (muqaddimāt), and these premises can only be arranged methodically by means of various sciences such as the science of astronomy\(^ {18}\) and the science of all created things (masnū‘āt). And from the knowledge of tawhīd are generated other sciences whose divisions we shall mention in their [proper] places.

(p. 90) Know that knowledge is noble by its essence without considering the direction of the thing known; even the knowledge of sorcery (sihr) is noble in its

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\(^{16}\) This Tradition is also cited by al-Ghazālī in his Ḳiyāl, Vol. 1, pp. 8 - 9; see also Qūf, Vol. 1, p. 262; Ḳashi, p. 11; ‘Awārif, p. 119.

\(^{17}\) The use of ‘ulamā’ here is intended to mean ‘those who know the Truth’. The word ‘ulamā’ in its usual sense in English as ‘religious lawyer’ has therefore been avoided.

\(^{18}\) Lit. ‘the science of heavens and celestial bodies’.
essence, even though it be false. That is because knowledge is opposed to ignorance and ignorance is one of the necessary attributes of darkness, and darkness is in the sphere of immobility, and immobility is near to non-existence (\textit{\c{c}ad\d{a}m}), and what is false and misleading is to be put in this division. Therefore ignorance is in the same category as non-existence and knowledge is in the same category as existence (\textit{wuj\d{u}d}) and existence is better than non-existence and guidance, truth and light are all like existence. Therefore if existence is higher than non-existence, knowledge is more excellent than ignorance, for ignorance is like blindness and darkness, and knowledge is like perception and light.

The blind and the seeing are not alike, nor are the depths of darkness and the light. (35:19-20)

God, be He Praised has spoken clearly about these signs when He said:

Say; are those who know and those who do not know equal? (39:9)

So if knowledge is better than ignorance and ignorance is one of the necessary characteristics of the body, and knowledge is one of the attributes of the soul, [and] then the soul is nobler than the body. Knowledge has many divisions which we shall enumerate in another section.

In order to seek knowledge, the religious scholar has a number of paths which we will mention in another section. Now after understanding the excellence of knowledge, nothing is incumbent on you except for the gnosis (\textit{ma\textsuperscript{3}rifah}) of the soul which is the Tablet (\textit{al-lawh})\textsuperscript{19} of the religious sciences, their abode and their

\textsuperscript{19}This is generally understood as the prototype of the Qur\'\textsuperscript{a}n which has always existed in Heaven. It is usually known as "\textit{al-lawh al-mahf\d{u}z}", "the Preserved Tablet". (\textit{Ihya\textsuperscript{\textcircled{}}}, Vol. 3, p. 19; see also T. Burekhardt, \textit{An Introduction to Sufi Doctrine}, (tr.) D. M. Matheson, Lahore, 1959, p. 149).
That is because the body is not the place for knowledge because bodies are finite and cannot contain the multiplication of the sciences; nay indeed, they are able to receive only impressions and imprints (al-nuqūsh wa al-ruqūm). The soul is able to receive all types of science without any resistance or competition or annoyance or cessation. We shall discuss the elucidation of the soul briefly.

(p. 91)

1.3. Section Two: On the elucidation of the soul (al-nafs) and the human spirit (al-rūḥ)

Know that God Most High has created man from two different things: one of them, the body (al-jism) which is dark (muẓlim), coarse, coming into existence and degenerating (al-kawn wa al-fasad), complex, made up of parts, earthy whose nature is not perfected except by something other than it; and the other is the soul which is jewel-like, simple (al-nafs al-jawhari al-mufrad), illuminating, rational, acting, moving and completing instruments and bodies. And God Most High compounded the body with the components of nutriment and developed it with the components of blood (dam) and prepared its rules, arranged its principles and set down its limits, and made the [inner] substance of the soul apparent by the command of Him, the One, the Perfect, the Perfector, the Benefactor.

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20 In this text, the author seems to use nafs and rūḥ interchangeably. They will be taken as synonyms in this translation, except in certain places.

21 Smith has: "evil" which is incorrect. Smith, "al-Risālah", p. 193.

22 Jawhar means that part of man which is eternal.

23 Correcting this text by reading "blood (dam)" instead of "ashes (ramād)" which makes more sense. Cf. Al-Ghazālī, "Kitāb al-Risālah al-Laduniyyah", MS. India Office, London, No. 612, f. 5.
I do not mean by the soul the faculty (quwwah) which seeks nourishment, nor the faculty24 which is aroused to lust and anger, nor the faculty which resides in the heart,25 producing life, and making sensation manifest and bringing about movement from the heart to all the limbs. For this faculty is called the animal spirit (rūḥ hayawānī), and sensation and movement and lust and anger are among its troops. And that faculty which seeks for nourishment, and which resides in the liver (kabd) with its outflow is called the natural spirit (rūḥ tabīʿiyī) and digestion and disposal are among its attributes. And the imaginative faculty (al-quwwah al-musawwirah), the procreative one, the growing one and the rest of the natural faculties are all the servants of the body. And the body is the servant of the animal spirit because it accepts the faculties from it and works in accordance with its motion.

But I mean by the soul only that perfect, simple jewel-like substance whose only business is recollection, memorization, contemplation, discrimination and careful consideration, and it accepts all branches of knowledge and does not grow weary of receiving abstract images, free of matter. This jewel-like substance is the leader of the spirits and the commander of the faculties and all serve it and comply with its command. I mean the rational soul (al-nafs al-nāfiqah),26 that jewel-like substance (jawhar), which has a special name among every group of people (qawm). The philosophers call this substance the rational soul. The Qurʾān calls it the soul at rest

24 Reading al-quwwah.

25 Here the heart refers to the physical heart.

(al-nafs al-mu'tma'inah)\(^{27}\) and the spirit created by the command of God (al-rūh al-amrī)\(^{28}\). And the Sūfīs call it the heart.\(^{29}\) The difference is only in the names but the meaning is one, and there is no difference concerning it.

(p. 92) So, in our opinion, the heart, the spirit and the soul at rest are all of them names for the rational soul. The rational soul is the jewel-like substance (jawhar) which is living, active (fa'āl) and comprehending, and whenever we use the expressions "the absolute spirit" (al-rūḥ al-muflaq) or "the heart", we mean by it only this substance (jawhar).

The Sūfīs call the animal spirit a soul. Divine Law (sharī'ah) has mentioned that, saying:

The greatest of your enemies is your soul.\(^{30}\)

And the Lawgiver [the Prophet] has used the name of the soul, and indeed has strengthened it with an addition, for he (P.B.U.H.) said:

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\(^{27}\) Cf. C. 89:27-30. God Most High says: "[To the righteous soul will be said]: "O [thou] soul, in [complete] rest and satisfaction! Come back thou to thy Lord, - well pleased [thysel], and well pleasing unto Him! Enter thou, then among My Devotees! Yea, enter thou My Heaven!".

\(^{28}\) Cf. C. 17:85. God Most High says: "They ask thee concerning the spirit [of inspiration]. Say: "The spirit [cometh] by command of my Lord: Of knowledge it is only a little that is communicated to you, [O men!]


\(^{30}\) This Tradition is not in the six canonical hadith collections. However, according to Zayn al-Dīn Abī al-Fadl 'Abd al-Rahīm b. al-Ḥusayn al-Īrāqī, al-Mughni 'an Ḥamlī al-Asfār fī al-Asfār fī Takhrij maṣal al-Ihyā' min al-Akhbār, on the margin of al-Ghazālī, Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn, Vol. 3, Beirut, 1982, p. 4, the tradition is taken from Bayhaqī, see also al-Zabīdī where he calls the soul in this connection "that which seeks to become proud". Cf. al-Zabīdī, Ithāf, Vol. 7, p. 205, 206, 218.
Your soul which is between your two sides.  

By this word he indicated only the faculty of sensual desire and anger, for both of them arise from the heart which is situated between the two sides. Thus when you know the difference between the names, you should know that scholars (al-bāḥithīn) express this valuable jewel-like substance (al-jawhar al-nafis) by different expressions and they relate different views concerning it. The scholastic theologians (al-mutakallimūn), who are acquainted with the science of dialectics (ʿilm al-jadāl) reckon the soul to be a body. They say that it is a subtle body (jism laṭīf) which is opposed to that coarse body (al-jism al-kathīf). They do not consider the difference between the spirit and the body to consist of anything other than that subtlety and grossness. Some of them reckon that the spirit is an accident (ʿarad), and some of the physicians tend towards this opinion, and some of them consider that blood is a spirit. All of them are convinced that their opinion is limited by their imaginative powers, and they do not seek the third division. And you should know that the divisions are three kinds; the body, the accident (ʿarad) and the simple jewel-like substance (al-jawhar al-fard).

For the animal soul is a subtle (laṭīf) body: It is like a lamp which has been lit and placed in the glass of the heart; I mean that pine-cone shape which is

31 This Tradition is also cited with but with slightly different by al-Ghazālī in his Ḥiyāʾ, Vol. 3, p. 4, i.e.: The greatest of your enemies is your soul, which is within your two sides.

32 The meaning of this seems to be that all these groups are limited in what they can know of the truth.

33 This is reminiscent of Sūrat al-Nūr, C. 24:35. God Most High says: God is the Light of the heavens and the earth. The parable of His Light is as if there were a Niche and within it a Lamp: The Lamp is enclosed in Glass: The Glass as it were a brilliant star: Lit from a blessed Tree, an Olive, neither of the East nor of the West.
suspended in the breast. And life is that which illuminates the lamp, and blood is its oil\textsuperscript{34}, and sense and movement [reflect] its light, and lust is its heat and anger is its smoke. The faculty which seeks nourishment and which is located in the liver is its servant and its guard and its protector. This spirit is to be found in all animals.

Man is a body and its impressions (āithār) are accidents. And this soul is not rightly guided to knowledge and does not know the way of the creature and nor what is due to the Creator. It is merely a servant, a captive which dies with the death of the body. If the blood were to be increased, that lamp would be extinguished by the excess of heat and if it were to be decreased, it would be extinguished by the excess of cold and its extinction is the reason for the death of the body. (p. 93) [This has nothing to do either with] the judgement of the Creator, praise be to Him, nor [is it a] responsibility (takli\textsuperscript{f}) imposed by the Lawgiver on this soul, because [dumb] beasts and the rest of the animals are not required [to observe the precepts of religion] and nor are they told [to obey] the ordinances of the Law.

Man is obligated and told to obey because of another concept which can be found in himself as something additional and especially applicable to him. That concept is the rational soul (al-nafs al-nafiqah) and the soul at rest (al-rūḥ al-mutta'innah). This soul (rūḥ) is neither a body nor an accident because it is from the command of God Most High as He said:

Say: the soul (rūḥ) [cometh] by command of my Lord. (17:85)

He said:

\textsuperscript{34} Reading "duhn" instead of "rahn".
[To the righteous soul (nafs) will be said:] O [thou] soul in [complete] rest and satisfaction! Come back thou to Thy Lord, well pleased [thyself] and well pleasing unto Him!. (89:27-28)

The command of the Most High Creator is not a body nor an accident, but rather it is a Divine force (quwwat ilāhiyyah) like the First Intellect (al-ʾaql al-awwal) and the Tablet (al-lawḥ) and the Pen (al-qalam). They are simple jewel-like substances which are separate from matter (mawād); indeed they are pure lights, rationally conceivable and intangible. The soul and the heart in our usage are equivalent of those jewel-like substances; they are not susceptible to corruption and do not disappear or perish or die; rather they leave the body and wait to return to it on the Day of Resurrection as has been declared in the Revelation (šarāʾ).

It has been authenticated in the sciences of wisdom (al-ʾulūm al-ḥikmiyyah)35 by categorical proof and clear pieces of evidence36 that the rational soul (al-rūḥ al-nāṭiqah) is not a body nor an accident, but is a fixed jewel-like substance, eternal, incorruptible. We have no need to repeat the proofs and multiply the pieces of evidence because they are established and recorded. And whoever wants to verify them should consult the appropriate books for that branch of knowledge. As for our method, it will not be attained by proofs; rather we rely on direct insight (ʿiyān) and depend on the vision of faith.

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35 i.e. the knowledge of philosophy. (Cf. ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd, al-Taḥfīr al-Falṣafī fī al-ʾIslām, Cairo, 1964, pp. 205 - 211).

36 Smith has: "so it is plainly proved". Cf. Smith, "al-Risālah", p. 197.
When God associated the spirit with His command and sometimes with His
loftiness, 37 He said:

And I breathed into him My spirit. (15:29)

And He said:

Say: the spirit [cometh] by command of my Lord. (17:85)

(p. 94) And He said:

And We breathed into it [the body] of Our spirit. (66:12)

God Most High is too Lofty to bring a body or an accident into association with
Himself because of their lowliness and their liability to change and the rapidity of
their cessation and corruption. And the Lawgiver (P.B.U.H.) said:

The souls are like troops assembled, 38

and he said:

The souls of martyrs are in the crops of green birds. 39

The accident does not remain after the annihilation of the jewel-like substance
because it does not subsist in itself (dḥātiḥ) and the body is subject to dissolution.

37 Smith has: "the fact that God related the spirit sometimes to Himself" is wrong because it is not in the

38 This Tradition is in four of the canonical hadith collections. See Abū Dāwūd, Sunan Abī Dāwūd, Kifāb
al-ādāb, no. 4834, Vol. 4, p. 359. It is related by Muslim and also by Suhayl b. Sāliḥ from his father who
related from Abū Ḥurayrah. For further references, cf. Wensinck.

39 This Tradition is in five of the canonical hadith collections, but with slightly difference "Arwāhuhum
fi jawf tayr khudr" See, Sunan Abī Dāwūd, Bāb fi faḍāl al-shahādah (864), no. 2520, Vol. 3, p. 22; Sunan
references, cf. Wensinck.
As has been said, the composition of matter (māddah) and form (ṣūrah) are as is mentioned in books, and so when we found these verses and Traditions and intellectual proofs, we learned that the spirit is a simple jewel-like substance, perfect, living in itself (dhāṭīthi), and from it are generated (yatawallad) the soundness and corruption of the religious and the natural spirit and the animal [spirit] and all the bodily forces (al-quwwā al-badaniyyah) are all among its troops.

[We have learned also that] this jewel-like substance accepts the images of known things and the truths of existent things (al-mawjūdāt) without busying itself with their individual selves (aʿyān) and corporeal forms (ashkhas). For the soul is capable of knowing about the truth of humanity without seeing a man, just as it knows about angels and devils and has no need to see their actual selves because the senses of most of the people are unable to reach them. One group of the Sūfis says that the heart has an eye just as the body has. And it sees outward things with the outward eye, and it sees the [inner] truths with the eye of the mind. The Apostle of God (P.B.U.H.) said:

There is not a servant but that his heart has two eyes.⁴⁰

These are two eyes by which he comprehends the unseen world. Whenever God Most High wishes well to a servant, He opens the two eyes of his heart so that he may see what is hidden from his sight.

This soul does not die with the death of the body because God Most High

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⁴⁰ This Tradition is also quoted by al-Ghazālī in his Ḣiyāʾ with slightly difference,
There is not a servant but that he has four eyes, two eyes on his head for seeing his worldly matter, two eyes in his heart for seeing his religious (dīnīh) matter. Cf. Ḣiyāʾ, Vol. 3, p. 44.
summons it to His door and says:

Come back thou to thy Lord. (89:28)

It only leaves the body and discards it. As a result of its discarding of it, the conditions of the animal and natural powers become inactive, that which was moving is stilled and that stillness is called death.

The people of the path, I mean the Šūfis, depend upon the soul and the heart more than they depend on the corporeal form (šakhs). (p. 95) Since the soul is from the command of the Creator Most High, it is in the body like a stranger, and its direction is towards its source and its place of return. It will achieve benefits from its source more than the corporeal form, since its [source] is strong and is not defiled by natural defilements.

When you have learnt that the soul is a simple jewel-like substance and you have learnt that the body must have a locus and that the accident cannot remain except with substance, then you should know that this substance does not abide in any abode and does not dwell in any locus, and the body is not the locus of the soul nor is it the abode of the heart. On the contrary, the body is the instrument of the spirit and the implement of the heart and the vehicle of the soul. The essence of the soul is not attached to the parts of the body and is not detached from it, rather it is receptive of the body, beneficial to it, and outpouring over it.

The first thing on which its light is manifested is the brain (dimāgh) because

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41 *Wa awwal mā yudhhar nuruh 'alā al-dimāgh*; the Arabic is strange.
the brain is the special place of manifestation of the essence of the spirit, it takes a
guard from the front of the body, and a minister and ruler from its middle, and a
treasury and a treasurer from its back, and from all its parts infantry and cavalry, and
from the animal spirit a servant, and from the natural [spirit] a representative, and
from the body a vehicle, and from the world a sphere of activity, and from life goods
and wealth, and from movement merchandise, and from knowledge profit, and from
the next world a destination and a place to return, and from the sharē a path and a
method, and from the commanding soul (al-nafs al-ammārah) a guard and a leader,
and from the censuring [soul] (al-nafs al-lawwāmah) an admonisher, and from the
senses spies and aides, and from religion a coat of mail, and from the mind an
instructor, and from sensibility a pupil, and the Lord, praise be to Him, is behind all
these, on the watch.

The soul, with this attribute, together with this equipment, did not accept this
course body (al-shakhṣ al-kathīf) and is not attached to its essence, but it brings it
a benefit and causes it to face towards its Creator and its Creator has commanded it
to attain benefit until an appointed end. Along this journey, the soul does not engage
itself in anything except the acquisition of knowledge because the knowledge will be
its adornment in the world of the hereafter because the adornment of:

42 i.e. the soul which is constantly enjoining evil, (cf Q. Risālah, p. 394; Smith, An Early Mystic of
Baghdad, London, 1935, pp. 90 - 91. Hereafter referred to as Early.) An expression used in the holy Qurān
C. 12:53 for the lowest stage in the spiritual growth of man. God Most High said:
Nor do I absolve my own self [of blame]: the [human] soul is certainly prone to evil
(la ammārah bi-al-su'), unless my Lord do bestow His Mercy.

43 i.e. the self-accusing soul, an expression used in the Qurān C. 75:2 for the second stage in spiritual
growth. God Most High said:
And I do call to witness the self-reproaching soul (bi al-nafs al-lawwāmah): [Eschew
Evil].
Wealth and children are the ornament of life in this world. (18:46)

Just as the eye is preoccupied with the sight of visible things and hearing perseveres in listening to voices and the tongue is prepared to form statements and the animal spirit seeks out the delights of anger and the natural spirit loves the delights of eating and drinking, (p. 96) so too the spirit at rest, I mean the heart, does not seek anything except knowledge and is not satisfied except with it and learns throughout its life, and is adorned with knowledge for all of its days until the time of its separation [from the body]. If it were to receive anything other than knowledge, it would receive it for the benefit of the body, [but] not for the desire of its true essence or for love of its [original] source. When you have learnt the states of the spirit and its immortality and its love for knowledge and its passionate desire for it, then it is incumbent on you to learn the divisions of knowledge; and they are many and we will enumerate them briefly.

1.4. Section Three: On the types of knowledge and its divisions

You should know that knowledge is divided into two parts. The first is revealed (sharīf) and the other is rational (‘aqlī). Most revealed knowledge is rational for those who know [through study] (‘ālim) and most rational knowledge is revealed for those who have intuitive knowledge (‘ārif).

For any to whom God giveth not light, there is no light. (24:40)

As for the first division; it is revealed knowledge and is divided into two

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44 It is slightly different in the Qur'an as it reads "al-mal wa al-banīn zinat al-hayāh al-dunyā".
The first type is in the fundamentals (al-üşûl), and it is the knowledge of tawhîd. This knowledge looks at the essence of God Most High, His Eternally-existent (qadimah) attributes and His Creative attributes and also His Essential attributes which are numbered with the Divine names as has been mentioned. It also looks at the states of the Prophets and the imâms after them and the Companions. And it looks at the states of death, life, and the states of the Last Day, the Resurrection, the Assembly and the Reckoning and the Seeing of God Most High.

Those who look into this knowledge hang on closely first of all to the verses of God Most High in the Qur’an, then to the Traditions of the Apostle (P.B.U.H.), then to the intellectual proofs and the arguments of analogy (al-barâhîn al-qiyâsîyyah), and then they take the premises of syllogistic argumentation (al-qiyâs al-jadâlî) and what belongs to them both from the experts in philosophical logic (al-mantîq al-falsafî). They place most of the terms in (p. 97) the wrong place. They make use of such terms as substance, accident, evidence (dalîl), inference (nażâr), proof (istidlâl) and argumentation (hujjah), but the meaning of each of these terms differs for each group, so that the philosophers denote by substance one thing, the Şûfis use it to denote another, the Scholastic theologians something else, and so on. But it is not the purpose of this treatise to verify the meaning of the terms according to the opinions of groups and we will not hasten with it. These people are specialists in discussion of the fundamentals and the knowledge of tawhîd, and they are called al-Mutakallimûn (Scholastic Theologians). The name of kalâm has become well-known.

in connection with the knowledge of *tawḥīd*.

Among the knowledge of the fundamentals is exegesis and the Qurʾān is one of the greatest things, the most eloquent, the most glorious and the most mighty of them. It contains many difficult matters which cannot be comprehended by any intellect except those to whom God Most High has granted the comprehension of His Book. The Apostle (P.B.U.H.) said:

There is not a verse from the verses of the Qurʾān but it has an exoteric (*zāḥir*) sense and an esoteric (*bāṭin*) sense and its esoteric sense has another esoteric sense up to seven esoteric senses.46 and in one account "up to nine" [esoteric senses].

And he (P.B.U.H.) said:

Each word from the words of the Qurʾān has an ending and each ending has a beginning.47

God Most High has informed [us] in the Qurʾān about all types of knowledge, [what is] clear of the existent things, [what is] hidden of them, [what is] small of them and great of them, [what is] perceptible of them and [what is] intelligible of them, and this is indicated in His Most High words:

Nor anything fresh or dry [green or withered], but is [inscribed] in a record clear [to those who can read], (6:59)

and the Most High also said:

That they may meditate on its signs, and that men of understanding

46 This Tradition is also cited by al-Ghazālī in his *Arbaʿīn*, p. 38; cf. *Qūf*, Vol. 1, p. 107.

47 This Tradition is also cited by al-Ghazālī in his *Mishkāt*, p. 137 and *Arbaʿīn*, p. 38; cf. *Qūf*, Vol. 1, p. 107. Smith has: "Every word of the Qurʾān has a moral sense and every moral sense has also a mystical sense" which is incorrect. Cf. Smith, "al-Risālah", p. 354.
may receive admonition. (38:2)

Since the matter of the Qur'ān is the greatest matter, which commentator has [been able to] give it its due, and which knower (\textit{\‘ālim})\textsuperscript{48} has [been able to] go beyond [his own limited] knowledge? Yes, each one of the commentators has entered upon an explanation of it [Qur'ān] according to his capacity and has waded into its elucidation in accordance with the power of his mind, and [in accordance with] the capability of the extent of his knowledge, and all of them have given their views, and they have spoken truly. For knowledge of the Qur'ān has indicated knowledge of fundamentals, (p. 98) the branches (\textit{furūū}), the revealed and the intellectual. It is the commentator's duty to look upon the Qur'ān with regard to language, the use of metaphor, composition of the word, the degrees of the grammar, the usage of the Arabs, the methods (\textit{umūr}) of the philosophers and the mode of expression of the Sūfis, in order that his exegesis gets close to the precise ascertaining of the truth. Even if he restricted himself to one aspect and satisfied himself in the explanation of one branch [of knowledge], he would not go beyond the responsibility of explanation and the evidence of faith and the establishment of proof would direct itself to him.\textsuperscript{(?)49}

From the knowledge of fundamentals also is the knowledge of the Traditions. Verily, the Prophet (P.B.U.H.) was the most eloquent of the Arabs and non-Arabs, and was a teacher to whom revelation was revealed by God Most High, and his mind encompassed all sublime things (\textit{'alawīyyāṭ}) and worldly things (\textit{suflāyāṭ}). Beneath

\textsuperscript{48} Smith has: "theologian" which is incorrect. Cf. Smith, \textit{"al-Risālah"}, p. 355.

\textsuperscript{49} Smith has: "he has not fulfilled his duty of explaining it fully and he finds himself opposed by the evidence of faith and the establishment of the proof". Smith, \textit{"al-Risālah"}, p. 355.
each of his words and indeed each of his utterances, are to be found the seas of secrets and the treasures of allegory. Therefore, the knowledge of his Traditions and the understanding of his sayings is a great matter and a significant affair. Nobody is able to have comprehensive knowledge of the Prophet's sayings unless he refines himself by following the lawgiver and removes the twistedness from his heart with the straightening of the law of the Prophet (P.B.U.H.).

Whoever wants to speak about the exegesis (tafsir) of the Qur'an and the interpretation (ta'wil) of the Traditions, and to be accurate in his discussion, must first achieve knowledge of language, be widely versed in the area of syntax (nahw), to be deeply rooted in the field of the desinential inflections (īrāb) and to be versatile in the various kinds of morphology (tasrif). For the knowledge of language is a ladder and a stairway to all sciences, and whoever does not know language, there is no way for him to acquire knowledge. For he who wants to ascend to the roof, has first to prepare a stairway, then he can climb up. The knowledge of language is a significant means and a great stairway, so that he who seeks knowledge cannot dispense with the rules of language, for knowledge of language is the origin of the fundamental things.

The first science of language is the understanding of the particles, which are like single words, and after that, the understanding of the verbs (al-afāl) such as triliteral and quadriliteral and others. It is incumbent on the philologist to examine the Arabs' poetry of which the first and most perfect is the Jahiliyyah poetry, because it provides correction for the mind and refreshment for the soul. Together with [studying] poetry, particles and nouns, it is incumbent upon him to obtain a knowledge of grammar for it is to knowledge of language, like the steelyard balance.
is to (p. 99) gold and silver, like logic to the knowledge of philosophy, prosody to poetry, the cubit to clothes and the measure to grain. In everything which cannot be weighed with the scale, the actuality of excess or deficiency cannot be perceived. For knowledge of language is a means to knowledge of exegesis and of Traditions, and knowledge of the Qur'ān and the Traditions is a proof for the knowledge of tawḥīd, and [God's] servants' souls cannot be rescued except by it [tawḥīd], and they cannot be free from the fear of the world to come except through it. This is a detailed explanation of the knowledge of fundamentals.

The second division of revealed knowledge is knowledge of branches, that is to say, knowledge is either theoretical or practical. And the knowledge of fundamentals is theoretical, whereas the knowledge of the branches is practical. This practical knowledge comprises three duties:

The first of them is the duty to God Most High which is the pillars of religious observances (ʿibādāt) such as purification, prayer, almsgiving, pilgrimage, struggle (jihād), invocation of God, [celebration of] the feast days, congregational gathering (jumʿah) and its additional [works] of supererogation and religious obligation.

The second of them is the duty to [one's] fellow beings.50 This comprises the categories of customary law (ʿādāt) and has two aspects; one of them is transactions (al-muʿāmalāt)51 such as buying and selling, partnership, gift, loan, debt, punishment and all kinds of blood-wits. The second aspect is contractual obligations (al-
such as marriage, divorce, manumission, servitude, the law of inheritance and its appurtenances. The term jurisprudence (fiqh) applies to these two obligations. And the knowledge of jurisprudence (fiqh) is a noble science, profitable, universal and necessary which is indispensable for people because of the universal need for it.

The third of them is duty to oneself. This is the knowledge of moral qualities, and moral qualities are either blameworthy and should be discarded and cut off or praiseworthy and should be acquired and souls should be embellished with them. The blameworthy qualities and the praiseworthy characteristics are well-known in the Holy Book of God Most High and in the Traditions of the Apostle (P.B.U.H.),

He who assumes a single one of them will enter Paradise.53

(p. 100) As for the second part of knowledge, it is rational knowledge. It is a problematic and difficult knowledge which contains error and correctness. And its subject-matter is divided into three classes:

The first class which is the first of the classes is the knowledge of mathematics and logic. As for mathematics, it includes arithmetic and it considers numbers and geometry, which is the science of dimensions, figures and cosmology, i.e. is the science of spheres and stars and the climes of the earth and what is connected with them; from it are derived the science of astrology and the rules for the times of births and horoscopes. It [also] includes the science of music which is concerned with the

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52 The Arabic would be more usual in the plural here.

53 This Tradition is also cited by al-Ghazālī in Ḥiyā’, Vol. 4, pp. 369 - 370; cf. ʿAwārīf, p. 234.
relationship of chords (nasab al-āthār).

As for logical knowledge, it examines by means of definition (hadd) and description (rasm) things which cannot be perceived by representation (tasawwur), and it investigates by means of analogy and proof those sciences which can be attained by verification (tasāīq). The science of logic revolves around this basis, beginning with simple terms (mufradal), then with compound terms (murakkabāt), then propositions (qadāyā), then syllogism (qiyās), then the parts of syllogism and then the search for the proof which is the ultimate aim of logic.

The second class, which is the middle one of them, is natural science. Its practitioner examines the unrestricted substance and the basic elements of the world, substances and accidents, motion and rest, the states (alhāl) of the heavens and matters of action and reaction. This science produces investigation of the states of the classes of existent things and the types of souls and physical constitutions and the number of the senses and the particular circumstances of their perception of the things they perceive. Then it leads to a consideration of medical science, which is the science of bodies, diseases, medicines and remedies and what belongs to them. Among its branches are the science of meteorology, the science of mineralogy and the knowledge of the intrinsic nature of things and it finishes with the science of alchemy that is the treatment of ailing bodies in the interiors of minerals (ajwāf al-

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54 This is of three types, i) the plant soul (al-nafs al-nabāṭiyah), ii) the animal soul (al-nafs al-ḥayawānīyyah), iii) the human soul (al-nafs al-insānīyyah) and their faculties. (Maqāsid, p. 346).

55 This means what happens to the body as a result of the mixture of the four elements: earth, water, fire and wind. (See Maqāsid., pp. 335 - 336).
māʿādin).56

The third class, which is the highest, is the consideration of existent, then its division into the necessary [self-existent] (wājīb)57 and the potential (mumkin),58 then the consideration of the Creator, His essence, all His attributes, His activities, His command, (p. 101) His ordinance, His decree and the ordering of the appearance of existent things from Him, then the consideration of the celestial beings, simple substances, distinct intellects (al-ʿuqūl al-mujarradah)59 and perfect souls (al-nuḥūs al-kāmilah). Then the consideration of the states of angels and devils. It [the third class] finishes with the knowledge of Prophecy, the matter of miracles (muṣjżǎt) and the states of miracles (karāmāt)60 and the investigation of the states of sacred souls, the state of sleep and wakefulness and the stations of dreaming. Among its branches are the science of talismans and incantations (al-niranjat) and what depends on them. All these sciences have particulars, accidents and degrees, which need a clear explanation with illuminating (bahi) proof, but brevity is more fitting.

56 Smith has: "which is the treatment of ores that are ailing [i.e. base metals] in the interior of mines". Cf. Smith, "al-Risalah", p. 359.

57 This is the philosophers' expression for God. It is that which exists by itself or which cannot but exist. (Tahāfut (tr.) Kamali, pp. 96f).

58 This is the philosophers' expression for other than God. It is that which receives its existence. (Tahāfut (tr.) Kamali, pp. 141f).

59 Substances which are not separated and are not compound. (Cf. Maqāṣid, p. 253; al-Tahāfut, p. 224).

60 The Prophet's miracles are called muṣjżǎt, whereas the saint's miracles are called karāmāt, "what renders others incapable of doing the same". Cf. Taʿrīfāt, pp. 161, 195; Abu Bakr Muhammad al-Kalābāḏhi, The Doctrine of the Sufis, (tr.) A.J. Arberry, Cambridge, 1935, pp. 59 - 61. Hereafter referred to as "Doctrine [Arberry]".
1.5. Section Four: The knowledge of the Şūfīs

Know that intellectual knowledge is simple in itself but from it is generated a compound knowledge in which all the states of the two simple sciences are found. That compound knowledge is the knowledge of the Şūfīs and the way of their states. Verily, they have a special knowledge with a distinct way which consists of the two [types of] sciences. Their knowledge comprises the [mystic] state (ḥāl), the spiritual state (waqf) and audition (samā’), ecstasy (wajd), longing (shawq), intoxication (sukr), sobriety (ṣahw), affirmation (al-ithbāt) and effacement (al-mahw), poverty (faqr) and annihilation (fana'), saintship (wilayah) and intention (irādah), [the position of] the shaykh and the disciple and what belongs to their states with additional things (zawa'id), characteristics (awsaf) and stations.

We will discuss these three types of knowledge in a special book, if God Most High wills. Now, it is our intention only to enumerate the kinds of knowledge and their different types in this treatise. We have stated them concisely and enumerated them by way of summarization and brevity. He who wants to acquire additional [knowledge] and the elucidation of these sciences, he should consult the books.

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61 Waqf is used by the Şūfīs to denote the spiritual state in which anyone finds himself, and by which he is dominated at the moment. According to Abū Sulaymān al-Dārānī, it means: "the preservation of one's spiritual state". According to Sahl al-Tustari, it means: "search for knowledge of the state, i.e. the decision of a man's state, which exists between him and God in this world and hereafter". (Cf. Kashf, p. 13, no. 1). According to Hujwirī waqf is: "that whereby a man becomes independent of the past and the future, as, for example, when an influence from God descends into his soul and makes his heart collected (mujtamā’); he has no memory of the past and no thought of that which is not yet come". (Ibid., p. 367; cf. Tārīfāt, p. 227; Doctrine [Arberry], p. 77; ‘Abd al-Mun'im al-Ḥifnī, Muťjam Muštalahāt al-Ṣūfiyyah, Beirut, n. d. p. 268.

62 This special book which contains all these three types of knowledge cannot be traced, but al-Ghazālī has extensive discussion on mystical states, samā’, shawq, faqr, the characteristics of the shaykh and the disciple and also on tafakkur. See Ḥiyā‘, Vol. 1, pp. 48ff, Vol. 2, pp. 264ff, Vol. 4, pp. 190ff). And discussions on mystical states, wajd, shawq, shukr, ṣahw, fana’, and the position of the disciple can be found in pseudo al-Ghazālī’s Jāmi‘ al-Ḥaqqāq bi Tajrid al-‘Alā‘īq. (See Chapter Five, 5.14. below).
When the discussion about the explanation of the enumeration of the types of sciences has come to an end, you should know for certain that each of these branches of the arts and each one of these sciences requires a number of conditions so that they may be engraved on the souls of those who seek [knowledge]. And after the enumeration of these sciences, you have to know the methods of acquiring [knowledge], for acquiring knowledge (p. 102) has fixed methods which we will describe in detail. (God willing).

1.6. **Section Five: The explanation of the methods of acquiring [the types of] knowledge**

Know that human knowledge is acquired by two methods; first human learning (al-ta'allum al-insānī), and second Divine learning (al-ta'allum al-rabbānī).63

As for the first method; it is a well-known method and a perceptible procedure which all men of reason (‘uqalā’) may approach. And as for the human learning, it consists of two kinds, one of them from outside, which is acquisition by learning, and the other from inside which is busying oneself with reflection (tafakkur). Reflection from within occupies the same position as learning from without. Learning is for one person to derive benefit from another person who has only particular knowledge (al-shakhs al-juz‘ī),64 whereas reflection is for a soul to derive benefit from the Universal

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63 Smith has: "human teaching (al-ta'allum) and ...Divine teaching (al-ta'allum)" which is wrong. Cf. Smith, "al-Risālah", p. 360.

64 He is contrasting a person learning from another at the level of particular knowledge which is incomplete with the soul learning from the universal which will provide universal knowledge.
Soul (al-nafs al-kulliyah).65 The Universal Soul is stronger in influence and more powerful in teaching than all the ‘ulamā’ and men of reason (‘uqalā’).

[Types of] knowledge66 are implanted in the root of souls with virtuality (bi al-quwwah), like the seed in the earth and the jewel in the bottom of the sea or in the heart of the mine. And learning is the [process] of searching for the emergence of that thing from virtuality to actuality (al-fi’l). And education is bringing it out from virtuality to actuality. For the soul of the learner resembles the soul of the teacher and is almost approximate to it in its relationship. The learned in giving information is like the farmer and the learner in gaining profit is like the earth. And the knowledge which is in virtuality is like the seed, and that which is in actuality is like plants. When the soul of the learner is perfected, it becomes like the tree which bears fruit or like the jewel which emerges from the bottom of the sea.

When the bodily powers overcome the soul, the learner needs to increase his study and [to spend] more time on it, and he has to endure difficulty and weariness and has to search [to gain] benefit. When the light of the mind (‘aql) overcomes the qualities of the senses,67 the seeker can dispense with much study through a little reflection. For the soul of the receptive person (nafs al-qābil) will gain benefits through a single hour’s reflection, that which the soul of the inert person (nafs al-

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65 i.e. that which is inclusive of all individual souls. This corresponds to the Preserved Tablet (al-lawh al-mahfūz) and is the complement of the spirit or the first intellect. (Burchhardt, op. cit., p. 151; Ahmad Fouad el-Ehwany, “al-Kindi”, Vol. 1, in (ed.) Sharif, op. cit., p. 433; O. A. Farrukh, “Ikhwan al-Safa”, Vol. 1, in ibid., p.295; Saeed Sheikh, op. cit, p. 137).

66 Reading "al-ulūm" (knowledge) instead of "al-cawm" that has no meaning. Cf. The India Office ms. f. 10, which says "al-ulūm".

67 Reading "al-hawāss" (senses) instead of "al-hiss" (sense).
jāmīd) cannot gain in (p. 103) a [whole] year's learning.

So some people attain [types of] knowledge by study and some through reflection. Study needs reflection, for man is unable to learn all particulars (juzʾiyyāt) and universals (kulliyyāt) and all known facts, but rather he learns something and gains some [types of] knowledge by reflection. Most [branches of] theoretical knowledge (al-ʾulūm al-naẓariyyah) and practical arts (al-sanʿāʾiʾ al-ʾamaliyyah) are gained by the souls of the wise through the clarity of their intellect and the power of their thought and the keenness of their conjectures (ḥads)\(^{68}\) without an increase [in the process of] study and acquisition.

Were it not for the fact that man gains some of what is first known to him through reflection, the matter would be prolonged for men, and the darkness of ignorance would not vanish from [men's] hearts, for the soul cannot learn all its particular and universal matters, by study; rather [it learns] some of them through acquisition and some of them by speculation (naẓar), like seeing people's customs, and deriving some of them, from his innermost consciousness (damir) through the clarity of his thought.\(^{69}\)

In this way the general practice of the ʿulamāʾ has been carried out and the laws of the sciences have been laid down, so that the engineer does not learn all the things which he needs over the whole of his life, but he learns the universal [principles] of

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\(^{68}\) Lit. "The capacity of the mind to draw immediate inferences from the data which is presented to it". (Taʾrifāt, p. 73; cf. Saeed Sheikh, op. cit., p.42).

\(^{69}\) The Arabic text has "kamā yarā ʿadāt al-nāṣ, wa baʿdahu yastakhriji min ḍamīrīh biṣafāʾ fikriḥ" which is grammatically incorrect. It should be "kamā tarā ʿadāt al-nāṣ, wa baʿdahu yastakhriji min ḍamīrīhā biṣafāʾ fikriḥā" because of the feminine subject i.e. "al-nafs".
his science and its premises. Then after that, he infers and compares - likewise, the physician cannot learn the particulars of people's diseases and their remedies, but he can reflect on his general knowledge and cure each person according to his physical constitution. Likewise, the astronomer studies the universals pertaining to the stars, then he reflects and he expresses his judgement in accordance with different rules. So also the jurist (faqīh) and the man of letters ('adīb) and it is like that in the matter of marvellous works of art,70 for one [person] invented a musical instrument, which is the lute by means of his reflection, and another produced from that instrument another instrument - so too [in respect to] all the arts of the body and the soul, the first of them are obtained by study and the rest are the result of reflection.

When the door of reflection has been opened to the soul, it learns the mode of the method of reflection and the manner of attributing it by speculation to what is required. Then his [man's] heart is expanded and his insight is opened. Then what is in his soul of virtuality comes out as actuality without increased search and prolonged toil.

The second method is divine learning which [consists of] two types:

First, the recitation of divine revelation (al-wahy); that is that when the soul is perfected in its essence, the defilement of (p. 104) nature, the filthiness of greed and transient desire vanish from it. And it turns towards its Creator (Bāri') and Author (Munshi') and takes hold of the bounty of its Creator (Mubādī’) and relies on His Grace (ifādah) and the outpouring of His Light (fayd min nūrih). And God Most

70 Smith has: "so it is with the jurisconsult and the man of letters, and in the same manner up to the rare works of art". Smith, al-Risālah, p. 362.
High by His Most Excellent providence accepts that soul with full acceptance. And He looks upon it with His Divine Sight and He makes of it a Tablet, from the Universal Soul He makes a Pen and inscribes on it all [types of] His knowledge, and the Universal Intellect (al-\( aql \) al-kull\( \bar{\i} \)) becomes like a teacher and the sanctified soul (al-\( nafs \) al-qudsiyyah) becomes like a pupil. Then all [branches of] knowledge will accrue to that soul and all the images will be inscribed upon it without study and contemplation. This is confirmed by the Word of God Most High to His Prophet (P.B.U.H.):

And taught thee what thou knewest not [before]. (4:113)

The knowledge of the Prophets is more dignified in rank than all the [types of] knowledge of mankind because it has been received from God Most High, directly and without mediation. The explanation of this [matter] is found in the story of Adam (P.B.U.H.) and the angels, for they studied all their lives and acquired much in the way of knowledge by different kinds of method until they became the most learned of creatures and the most knowledgeable created things.

Adam (P.B.U.H.) was not one who had knowledge because he did not study and did not look to any teacher. So the angels were boasting with one another and were arrogant and haughty and they said:

Whilst we do celebrate thy praises and glorify thy holy [name]. (2:30)

We know the truth of things. Then Adam (P.B.U.H.) returned to the door of his Creator, and detached his heart from all created things (al-mukawwan\( \bar{\i} \)) and he
sought the help from the Lord Most High and then He taught him all the names.\(^{71}\)

Then He placed them before the angels. (2:31)

And said:

Tell Me the names of these if ye are right. (2:31)

So their state was diminished before Adam and their knowledge lessened and the ship of their power (\textit{al-jabarūt}) broke and they were sunk in the sea of weakness.

They said: "Glory to Thee, of knowledge we have none save what Thou Hast taught us. (2:32)

(p. 105) God Most High said:

O Adam! tell them their names. (2:32)

And Adam (P.B.U.H.) told them some of the constituents of knowledge and the mysteries of [Divine] command.

So the matter became established among men of reason (\textit{\text{"uqalā'}}), that the esoteric knowledge (\textit{al-\text{"ilm} al-\text{ghaybi}}) generated from revelation is stronger and more perfect than acquired sciences (\textit{al-\text{"ulūm} al-muktasabah}), and the knowledge of revelation is the heritage of prophets and the privilege of apostles. God has closed the door of revelation since the time of our Lord Muḥammad (P.B.U.H.) and he was the Apostle of God and the seal of the Prophets and he was the most learned of men and the most eloquent of the Arabs and non-Arabs and he used to say:

\footnote{\text{71} i.e. the nature of all things.}
My Lord has educated me and has instructed me well.72

He said to his people:

I am the most learned of you and the most God-fearing.73

His knowledge was more perfect and more noble and stronger only because it was attained from Divine instruction, and he had never busied himself with learning and human instruction. God Most High said:

One Mighty in power taught him. (53:5)

The second method is inspiration (al-ilhâm). Inspiration is the awakening by the Universal Soul (al-nafs al-kulliyyah) of the individual human soul (nafs al-juz'îyyah al-insâniyyah), commensurate with its purity, its receptivity and the degree of its readiness. And inspiration is the effect of revelation, for revelation is the (direct) explanation of the esoteric, and inspiration is allusion to it.

The knowledge which is acquired by revelation is called prophetic knowledge (al-îlm al-nabawi) and [the knowledge] which is attained by inspiration is called knowledge of spiritual intuition (al-îlm al-laduni). The knowledge of spiritual intuition is that which is attained without any mediation between the soul and the Creator and it is like the radiance from the lamp of the unseen, which enters into a heart which is pure, unoccupied and subtle (lajîf). That is [because] all [kinds of] knowledge are obtained and known in the substance (jawhar) of the Prime Universal

72 This Tradition is also cited by Sarrāj in al-Luma', pp. 31 and 194, and by Suhrawardî in 'Awârîf, p. 276.

73 This Tradition is in five of the canonical hadîth collections, but with slight differences. See for example, Sahîh al-Bukhârî, Kitâb al-nikâh, Vol. 4, No. 5063, p. 3. For further information see Wensinek.
Soul *(al-nafs al-kulliyah al-ūlā)*, which is [present] in the incorporeal, prime, pure substances, in relation to the First Intellect *(al-qaql al-awwal)* like the relationship of Eve to Adam (P.B.U.H.). It has been made obvious that the Universal Intellect *(al-qaql al-kullī)* is more noble and more perfect, stronger and nearer to the Creator Most High than the Universal Soul *(al-nafs al-kulliyah)*, and the Universal Soul is more powerful, more subtle and nobler than the rest of creation. From the outpouring of the Universal Intellect will emanate *(iḍādah)* revelation and from the radiation of the Universal Soul (p. 106) will radiate *(iṣhrāq)* inspiration.

Revelation is the adornment of the Prophets and inspiration is the decoration of the saints. As for knowledge of revelation, the soul without intelligence is as the saint without the Prophet. And likewise inspiration without revelation. For it is weak in relation to revelation but is strong with the addition of vision *(ru'yā)* and knowledge is the knowledge of [both] Prophets and saints. As for knowledge of revelation, it belongs exclusively to the Apostles and is set apart for them, as was [the case with] Adam, Moses (P.B.U.T.), Abraham and Muḥammad (P.B.U.T.) and others of them of the Apostles.

There is a distinction between apostolate and prophethood. For prophethood, is the acceptance by the sanctified soul of the true realities of known things and conceptions *(al-ma‘lūmāt wa al-maqqlāt)* from the substance of the Universal Intellect *(al-qaql al-kullī)*, and the apostolate is the conveyance of these known things

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74 The exegetes explain, probably under the influence of the Bible, that the wife of Adam was created in Paradise out of a left rib from her sleeping husband; an operation which did not cause him any pain. *(Tha‘labī, Qiṣṣaṣ al-Anbiyā‘, Cairo, 1312, p.18)*. She was called Ḥawwā’ because she was formed from a living being. *(Ibid.; al-Ṭabarī, Jām‘ al-Bayān ‘An Ta‘wil Ay al-Qur‘ān, Vol. 1, Cairo, 1968, p.109)*. However, Ḥawwā’ does not occur in the Qur‘ān. *(Refer to the story in the Qur‘ān, C. 7:19)*.
and conceptions to those who are able to profit and receive them.\textsuperscript{75} Perhaps it occurs to one of the souls to accept [this knowledge] but it is not able to carry out the conveyance of it because of some excuse and some reason. The knowledge of spiritual intuition belongs to the prophets and the saints as it belonged to Khîdîr\textsuperscript{76} (P.B.U.H.), as God Most High said of him:

\begin{quote}
And whom We had taught knowledge from our own presence. (18:65)
\end{quote}

The Commander of the Faithful ʿAlî b. Abî Tâlib (may God be honoured with his face) said:

I made my tongue enter my mouth,\textsuperscript{77} and then a thousand gates of knowledge were opened in my heart, every gate being [another] thousand gates.

And he said:

If a cushion (wisādah) [authority] were placed for me, and I were to sit on it, I would judge the followers of the Torah with their Torah and the followers of the Gospel with their Gospel and the followers of the Qurān with their Qurān.

This is a rank which cannot be achieved absolutely by human learning alone but

\begin{footnotes}
\textsuperscript{75} It seems that the edition has omitted a passage. The sentences remaining cannot be understood. The ms. of the India Office, f. 12, reads:

\begin{quote}
\end{quote}

"Hâdhihi al-umûr al-mâlûmât wa al-mâqûlât", is incorrect. It should be "hâdhihi al-umûr al-mâlûmât wa al-mâqûlât".

\textsuperscript{76} The immortal spiritual guide who is believed to have been the companion of Moses in a story which is mentioned in the Qurān. See Qurān C. 18: 60 - 82. For further detail about him see A. J. Wensinck, "al-Khaḍîr (al-Khîdîr)", \textit{E.I. (2)}, Vol. 4, pp. 902 - 905; A. Schimmel, \textit{Mystical Dimensions of Islam}, North Carolina 1975, Index, see "Khîdîr".

\textsuperscript{77} The ms. of the India Office, f. 12, reads: "The Apostle made his tongue enter my mouth".
\end{footnotes}
a man is adorned with this rank by the power of the knowledge of spiritual intuition.
He ['Ali] (may God be pleased with him) also said, talking about the time of Moses
(P.B.U.H.):

The elucidation of his book is forty loads. If God were to give
permission to explain the [true] meanings of the Fāṭihah, I would
begin to explain them until they reach a similar amount, [meaning
forty heavy loads].

This multitude, abundance and opening of [the gate of] knowledge can only be
inspired, Divine, heavenly.

When God Most High wants good for a servant, He raises the veil between
Himself and the soul which is the Tablet (al-lawḥ), so that the secrets of some
existents will be manifested in it and the meanings of those existents will be
engraved in it. Then the soul expresses them as it wishes, to whom He wishes from
His servants. For the truth of wisdom (p. 107) is obtained by knowledge of spiritual
intuition. As long as a man does not achieve this rank, he will not be wise because
wisdom is one of the gifts of God Most High.

He giveth wisdom to whom He wills and he to whom wisdom is
given, is given much good, but none bear it in mind save the wise of
heart. (2:269)

That is because those who have attained (al-wāṣilin) the rank of knowledge of
spiritual intuition, do not need much acquisition and toil of learning, so they study
little and learn much, their toil is light and their rest is long.

Know that when revelation is cut off and the door of apostolate is closed, men
have no need of apostles and the manifestation of the message after the authentication
of proof and the completion of religion. As God Most High said:

Today have I perfected your religion. (5:3)

It is not [a part of] wisdom to manifest additional benefit without any need. As for the door of inspiration, it is not closed, and the help (madad) of the light of Universal Soul is not cut off because of the continuation of the necessity and need of the souls for assurance, renewal and reminder.

Just as men do not need the apostolate and summons but they need the reminder and admonition because of their being absorbed in these devilish insinuations and their being engrossed in these lusts, so God Most High closed the door of revelation, which was the sign for His servants and He opened the door of inspiration as a mercy. He arranged [all] things and put [the soul] into proper order in different ranks, so that His servants might know that God is kind to them and He gives sustenance to whom He wills without limit.

1.7. Section Six: The levels achieved by the soul in acquiring knowledge ("ulûm").

Know that [the branches of] knowledge are embedded firmly in all human souls and all of them are receptive to all types of knowledge. But a soul will only miss its share of it because of an unexpected and temporary cause (p. 108) which occurs from outside. As the Prophet (P.B.U.H.) said:

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78 The use of 'ulûm here is intended to mean 'kinds of knowledge' or 'branches of knowledge' or 'types of knowledge'.
Men were created ḥunafā'⁷⁹ and devils made them haughty.⁸⁰

He (P.B.U.H.) also said:

Every child is born in natural religion⁸¹ (fiḥrah⁸²).

So the rational human soul (al-nafs al-nāfiqah al-insāniyyah) is qualified for enlightenment by the Universal Soul and is prepared to receive intelligible images from it, by the force of its original purity and its attributes, though some of it [the soul] is sick in this world, and it is restrained from apprehending the true realities [of things] by [the reason of] various illnesses and different accidents. Some of it remains in its original health (al-sīḥat al-āsliyyah) without any illness and corruption, and always receives⁸³ as long as it is alive.

Sound souls (nufūs al-ṣāhiyah)⁸⁴ are the prophetic souls which receive revelation and corroboration and which are able to manifest the miracle and freedom of action in the world of existence and corruption. For those souls continue in their original

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⁷⁹ Sing, ḥanīf, means in an Islamic context "one who follows the original and true (monotheistic) religion." The common Islamic conception of ḥanīf and the ḥanīfiyyah is derived solely from the Qurān. In it, the word ḥanīf is used especially of Abraham as the type of this pure worship of God. Cf. W.M. Watt, "Ḥanīf", E.I. (2), Vol. 3, pp. 165 - 166.

⁸⁰ The source of the Tradition cannot be traced.

⁸¹ This Tradition is in one of the canonical ḥadīth collections. See Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, "Kitāb al-jana'ī:"

⁸² It may be translated as man's "natural disposition" or "primordial disposition", i.e. his inborn purity of soul that is corrupted by the world. There is a distinction between this Islamic concept and the Christian doctrine of original sin. (See al-Ṭabarī, op. cit., Vol. 21, p. 24; D. B. Macdonald, "Fiṭra", E.I. (2), Vol. 2, p. 931 - 932).

⁸³ Smith adds: "[i.e. from Universal Soul]". Smith, "al-Risālah", p. 369.

⁸⁴ Smith has: "perfect souls" which is imprecise. Smith, "al-Risālah", p. 369.
health and their natural dispositions do not change by the corruption of illnesses and the sickness of accidents (‘ilal al-‘rād). So, the prophets become physicians of souls and those who summon mankind to the health of natural religion (fitrah).

As for sick souls (al-nufūs al-maridah) in this lower world, they have become of [different] degrees. Some of them (bā‘duhum)85 are influenced by the illness of their residence [in this world only] a little.86 When the clouds of forgetfulness pound on their minds, they occupy themselves with study. They seek [their] original health, so their illness disappears with the simplest treatment and the clouds of their forgetfulness are dissolved by the least recollection. Some of them study all their life and occupy themselves with learning and rectification all their days, but they do not understand anything because of the corruption of their natural dispositions, for when the natural disposition has been corrupted, it is unable to receive the remedy. Some of them remember and [then] forget, they perform spiritual exercises and humble themselves and they find a little light and weak illumination. This contrast [between souls] only appears as a result of the eagerness of souls for the world and their absorption in it commensurate with their strength and their weakness, like the healthy person when [he falls] sick and the sick person when he has become healthy. When this knot is untied, souls will acknowledge the existence of the knowledge of spiritual intuition and will be aware that they were cognizant in [their] original natural disposition and were pure at the beginning of creation.

85 The Arabic text has the masculine plural instead of the feminine plural as the author writes "bā‘duhum ta‘athhar bi marad.... wa daqq ghamām al-nisyān fi khawādirīhim fa yashtaghlūn bi tā‘allum. Wa yastaflūhūn al-sīhah al-‘asliyyah.... Wa bā‘duhum yata‘allamūn...." after he writes "Wa anmā al-nufūs al-maridah fi hādhīh al-dunyā al-danī‘ah fasārat ‘alā marūthīk"; perhaps because he is thinking about human beings (al-nās) instead of their sick souls (al-nufūs al-maridah).

86 Smith has: "through infirmity due to their abode [i.e. in this world] have received a weak impression [from Universal Soul]". Cf. Smith, "al-Risālah", p. 369.
Their ignorance arose only because they were sick through their association with this coarse body and their residence in this troubled abode and this dark place, and they [the souls] do not seek (p. 109) through learning to create knowledge which is non-existent, and to produce intelligence which is deficient, but rather [they seek] to restore to it the original abundant knowledge and to eliminate the unexpected arrival of sickness through their preoccupation with the adornment of the body, the facilitating of its foundation and the arranging of its bases.

The father who loves and cares for his child, when he turns to looking after his child, and occupies himself with his duties, he will forget all [other] affairs and will content himself with one affair, that is the affair of the child. And the soul, because of the strength of its passionate love and its pity, is occupied with this edifice [of the body] and has busied itself with its welfare, with caring for it and with solicitude for its interests. So the soul is submerged in the sea of nature because of its weakness and its particularity. Then it needs learning throughout its life in order to search for recollection of what it has forgotten and out of desire to find what it has lost.

Learning is nothing but the return of the soul to its [essential] substance and bringing out what is contained in its inner self to actuality, seeking for perfection of itself and the attainment of its happiness. When the souls are weak and are not rightly guided to the reality of their essential nature, they cling to and take refuge in a master who is affectionate and expert and they appeal for his succour, so that he will help them in searching for their desire and what they hope for, like the sick person who is ignorant of what will cure him but he knows that good health (al-sīḥah al-sharifah) is commendable and desirable, so he consults a compassionate physician and exposes his condition to him and takes refuge with him, so that he will treat him.
and he will remove his sickness from him.

We have seen an ‘ālim fall sick with a particular disease, such as the head and the breast, so his soul will avoid all [kinds of] knowledge and he will forget all that he has learnt and it will become obscure to him and all that he has acquired in his past life and his previous days will be hidden within his remembrance and recollection. When he recovers, health will return to him, forgetfulness will be removed from him and the soul will return to what it knows, so that it will recollect what it has forgotten in the days of illness. Thus, we have learnt that [the branches of] knowledge (‘ulūm) had not perished but were only forgotten.

There is a distinction in people between obliteration and forgetfulness. Verily, obliteration is annihilation of engraving and impressions, and forgetfulness is the obscuring of engraving. It is like the mists or clouds which veil the light of the sun from the sight of those who look; it is not like the sunset which is the departure of the sun from above the earth to [a position] below it. And the preoccupation of the soul with learning is the removal of accidental sickness from the essential nature of the soul, so that it may return to what it learned in [its] original natural disposition and to [what it] understood in the primary state (p. 110) of purity (bad’ al-tahārah).

When you know the reason and the purpose of learning and the real nature and substance of the soul, then know that the sick soul needs the [process] of learning and to spend its life in acquiring [all kinds of] knowledge. As for the soul whose sickness is insignificant, whose illness is weak, whose evil is slight, whose mist is thin and whose natural disposition is sound, it has no need for more study and long toil. Rather, very little consideration and reflection is enough because it will return
to its original [position] and will accept its beginning and its reality, and it will come upon its hidden qualities. What was potential in it will become actual and what was implanted within it will become an adornment to it. Its affair will be completed, its condition will be perfected and it will know most things in the shortest time. Then it will interpret what it knows in the right way, and it will become knowledgeable, perfect and articulate, seeking light by approaching the Universal Soul (al-nafs al-kulliyah), which will overflow through reception of the individual soul and becoming assimilated (tashabbih)\(^7\) with the original by means of passionate love. And it will cut off the root of envy and the origin of hatred and will shun the vanities and embellishments of this world. When it reaches this stage, it will become knowledgeable and [attain] salvation and victory. And this is what all men desire.

1.8. Section Seven: On the reality of knowledge of spiritual intuition and the reasons for acquiring it.

Know that the knowledge of spiritual intuition which is the diffusion of the light of inspiration comes after it has been proportioned (taswiyah). As God Most High said:

By the soul, and the proportion and order given to it. (91:7)

This recourse is composed of three phases:

The first is the attainment of all [kinds of] knowledge, and the taking of the greatest share of most of it.

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\(^7\) The individual soul becomes assimilated with the Universal Soul and becomes the same in conduct and manner of life. There is no distinction between them and also no difference. (See Rasâ'il Ikhwân al-Ṣafa, Vol. 3, p. 274; cf. Farrukh, "Ikhwân al-Ṣafâ", (ed.) Sharif, op. cit., Vol. 1, pp. 296 - 297).
The second is genuine spiritual exercise (riyāḍah) and true contemplation (murāqabah). For the Prophet (P.B.U.H.) pointed (p. 111) to this truth and said:

To him who acts in accordance with what he knows, God bestows knowledge of what he does not know.88

And he (P.B.U.H.) also said:

To him who worships God in sincerity for forty mornings, God makes springs of wisdom appear from his heart on his tongue.89

The third is reflection. When the soul has studied and exercises itself with knowledge [and] has then reflected on what it knows according to the conditions of reflection, the door of the unseen world is opened to it, like the merchant who disposes of his wealth according to the conditions of disposal, and the doors of profit are opened to him. When he follows the wrong path, he will fall in the perils of loss. And so when he who reflects, follows the right way, he will be one of those who are possessed of intellect, and a window from the unseen world will be opened in his heart, and he will become knowledgeable, perfect, judicious, inspired and victorious.

As he (P.B.U.H.) said:

To reflect for one hour is better than sixty years of devotion.90

We will enumerate the conditions of reflection in another treatise,91 since the

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88 This Tradition is also cited by al-Ghazālī in Ḩyā‘, Vol. 1, p. 71; Vol. 3, p. 13.
89 This Tradition is also cited by al-Ghazālī in Arba‘īn, p. 176 and Awārif, pp. 207 and 227.
90 This Tradition is also cited by al-Ghazālī in Ḩyā‘, Vol. p. 423; see also al-Muḥāsibī on reflection in Smith, Early., pp. 99f.
91 It is noteworthy that al-Ghazālī also has extensive discussion on the conditions of reflection in the Ḩyā‘, “Kitāb al-Tafakkur”, Vol. 4, pp. 423 - 447. But this reference to “another treatise” by the author of the Risālah cannot indicate the Ḩyā‘ itself, because the Ḩyā‘ contains many books with different discussions.
explanation of reflection and its particular circumstances and its true meaning is an obscure matter which needs more elucidation and explanation by the help of God Most High.

Now, we will end this treatise because these words are enough for those to whom they are directed:-

For any to whom God giveth not light, there is no light. (24:40)

God is the Wāli of those who believe and in Him we should put our trust. May God bless our Lord Muḥammad and his family and his companions and give them peace. For God is our sufficiency. How excellent a protector is He. There is neither might nor power save in God the Exalted, the Mighty and in Him is my confidence at all times. Praise be to God the Lord of all created things.
CHAPTER TWO

ANALYSIS OF AL-RISĀLAH

AL-LADUNIYYAH
CHAPTER TWO

ANALYSIS OF AL-RISĀLAH AL-LADUNIYYAH

2.1. Introduction

This chapter will try to analyse the Risālah al-Laduniyyah which is normally attributed to al-Ghazālī. It will aim at drawing a comparison between this work and other writings of al-Ghazālī which can be confidently attributed to him in order to assess its authenticity.

2.2. The contents of the Risālah

The contents of the Risālah are as follows:

(i) Introduction: The esoteric knowledge of spiritual intuition (al-ʿilm al-ghaybī al-laduni).

(a) The presentation of the hypothesis that the knowledge on which the select Sūfīs and followers of the mystical path rely is unreliable.¹

(b) The author's refutation of this hypothesis.

(ii) Section One: On the dignity of knowledge (al-ʿilm).²

(a) Definition of knowledge (ʿilm).

(b) Definition of the knower (ʿālim).

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¹ Risālah, pp. 87 - 88; Trans. Risālah, pp. 8 - 11.
(c) Definition of what is known (ma‘lūm).

(d) The highest knowledge is the knowledge of tawhīd.

(e) Distinction between ignorance (jahāl) and knowledge (‘ilm).

(f) Knowledge is an attribute (sifah) of the soul.

(iii) Section Two: On the explanation of the soul (nafs) and the human spirit (al-rūḥ al-insānī).³

(a) Creation of man.

(b) Definition of the faculties (quwwāt) of the human soul.

(c) The rational soul (al-nafs al-nāfīqah) is the true essence of man.

(d) Concept of the soul in the Qur'ān and the Traditions.

(e) The relation of the soul (nafs) to the body (badan).

(iv) Section Three: On the types and divisions of knowledge (‘ilm).⁴

(a) The types of knowledge:

1) Revealed knowledge (al-‘ilm al-sharīṭ):

   i. Knowledge of fundamentals (al-usūl).

   ii. Knowledge derived from these fundamentals.

2) Rational Knowledge (al-‘ilm al-aqīlīṭ):

   i. Science of mathematics (al-riyāḍ) and logic (al-mantiq).

   ii. Natural Science (al-‘ilm al-fāḥīṣ).

   iii. Science of metaphysics.

³ Risālah, pp. 91 - 96; Trans. Risālah, pp. 15 - 25.

(v) Section Four: Knowledge of the Sufis.\(^5\)

(a) Simple knowledge (‘ilm mufrad).

(b) Compound knowledge (‘ilm murakkab).

(c) Doctrine of the knowledge of Sufis.

(vi) Section Five: Explanation of the ways of acquiring [types of] knowledge (‘ulūm).\(^6\)

(a) Human learning (al-tā’allum al-insānī).
   i. Concept of learning (tā’allum).
   ii. Concept of reflection (tafakkur).
   iii. Distinction between learning and reflection.

(b) Divine learning (al-tā’allum al-rabbānī).
   1) Methods of divine learning:
      i. Concept of revelation (wahy).
      ii. Concept of inspiration (ilhām).
   2) Distinction between the state of being a Prophet (nubūwwah) and being an Apostle (risālah).
   3) Comparison between revelation and inspiration.

(vii) Section Six: Ranks of souls (nufūs) in acquiring [types of] knowledge (‘ulūm).\(^7\)

(a) How the soul receives all types of knowledge.


\(^6\) Risālah, pp. 102 - 107; Trans. Risālah, pp. 35 - 45.

\(^7\) Risālah, pp. 107 - 110; Trans. Risālah, pp. 45 - 50.
(b) Ranks of the rational soul (al-nafs al-nāfiqah).
(c) Degrees of infirm souls (al-nufūs al-marīdah).
(d) Reasons for infirm souls.
(e) Distinction between effacement (mahw) and forgetfulness (nisyān).
(f) Remedies for infirmity of souls.

(viii) Section Seven: On the reality (haqīqah) of the knowledge of spiritual intuition (al-ilm al-ladunī) and the reason for acquiring it.8

(a) True meaning of the knowledge of spiritual intuition.
(b) Means of acquiring the knowledge of spiritual intuition.

2.3. **Method of presentation and style**

The author begins his work with the *khujbat al-risālah*9 (introduction to the treatise) in the usual style of classical writers, including al-Ghazālī himself in his works. In this introduction, the author uses a technique of dialectic to explain his purpose in writing his treatise. Thus, he presents arguments put forward against Sufism and this gives him the reason for writing the treatise which follows. The author of the *Risālah* writes:

That friend said, I want you to mention some of the degrees of the religious sciences and how to verify this knowledge and to what you yourself attribute it and how you can confirm its authenticity. Then I said that the explanation of this request is very difficult, but I will start on its introduction according to my state and in conformity with my time and what occurs to my mind.10

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The organization of the sub-titles seems unsystematic in terms of theme. But it is still in some kind of logical arrangement because it answers the questions in the order in which they are raised in the introduction. An indication of the thematic disjunction is that Section One\textsuperscript{11} which is directly connected with Sections Three\textsuperscript{12} and Five,\textsuperscript{13} should not have been interrupted by Sections Two\textsuperscript{14} and Four\textsuperscript{15} which deal with the soul and knowledge of spiritual intuition (\textit{al-film al-ladun\textsuperscript{i}}). However, there are no repetitions in any of the discussions in this treatise and the development of most of the ideas from the beginning to the end of the treatise is clear.

In the \textit{Risālah}, the author uses the same method as many other classical Ş\textsuperscript{i}f\textsuperscript{f} writers,\textsuperscript{16} when he adduces Qur\textsuperscript{a}nic verses or Traditions of the Prophet which are related to the discussion.\textsuperscript{17} Sometimes the author of the \textit{Risālah} uses a simple analogy to give greater insight to his readers. He chooses plants for his images and illustrations. For example, he applies the concept of growing plants to the process of learning, as he writes:\textsuperscript{18}

\begin{quote}
The learned [man] in giving information is like the farmer and the learner in gaining profit is like the earth. The knowledge is in virtuality is like the seed, and that which is in actuality is like the plant. When the
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{13} \textit{Risālah}, pp. 102 - 107; Trans. \textit{Risālah}, pp. 35 - 45.
\textsuperscript{14} \textit{Risālah}, pp. 91 - 96; Trans. \textit{Risālah}, pp. 15 - 25.
\textsuperscript{16} Cf \textit{al-Ghazāl\textsuperscript{i}} in his \textit{Ihyā\textsuperscript{a}}, \textit{al-\textsuperscript{Ar}b\textsuperscript{a}f\textsuperscript{f} etc., al-Muhāsib\textsuperscript{i}}, \textit{Bad\' Man Anāb ilā Allāh wa Yalīh Ādāb al-Nufūs}, (ed.) M. Fā\textsuperscript{t}i\textsuperscript{i} al-Sayyid, Cairo, 1991; \textit{Q. Risālah, al-Lumd\textsuperscript{a}}.
\textsuperscript{17} For a detailed discussion, see Chapter Two, 2.4. Scriptural aspects.
\textsuperscript{18} \textit{Risālah}, p. 102; Trans. \textit{Risālah}, p. 36.
soul of the learner is perfected, it becomes like the tree which bears fruit or like the jewel which emerges from the bottom of the sea.

And he also writes:

Knowledge is implanted at the root of the soul with virtuality (bi al-guwwah), like the seed in the earth and the jewel in the bottom of the sea or in the heart of the mind.

A similar wealth of imagery is also found in al-Ghazālī’s work. Both plants and animals are used in his choice of images and illustrations.19 For example, he says in the Ḣiyā’ that the stations attained by the seeker on the Ṣūfī path consist of knowledge, feeling and action. Knowledge is like a tree, feeling like the branches and action like the fruit.20

The author of the Risālah does not quote any sayings of Companions except those of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭalib. There are at least three quotations attributed to him in this treatise explaining the esoteric sciences.21 However, in al-Ghazālī’s treatises which we know to be authentic, as for example Ḣiyā’ and Kitāb al-Arbāʾin fī Uṣūl al-Dīn, many quotations of the sayings of the Companions can be found.22

The author cites several quotations without mentioning specific names from the "mutaṣawwifah" (Ṣūfīs), the "mutakallimūn" (scholastic theologians) or the "falāṣifah"


20 Ḣiyā’, Vol. 4, p. 55.

21 Risālah, p. 106; Trans. Risālah, pp. 32 - 44.

22 As can be found in most of al-Ghazālī’s works on Ṣūfīsm, e.g. the Ḣiyā’, al-Arbāʾin etc., he quotes the sayings of many figures including the Companions of the Prophet, such as Ḥudhayfah b. al-Yamān and Muʿādh b. Jabal.; the early Ṣūfīs, such as Sahl al-Tustarī, al-Makki etc. All the names are clearly stated by him.
(philosophers) or he mentions only "ba'duhum" (some of them) and "qīla" (it is said). Often his quotations do not appear to be exact verbal ones. For example, he writes "the philosophers call this jewel-like substance the rational soul". Nevertheless, he does not use these quotations as a proof for his view but rather he alludes to their opinions about the subject matter.

Generally speaking, al-Ghazālī's presentation and style of writing in the Ihya' is more organized and systematic than that of the author of the Risālah. The former presents his discussion in a way in which the reader can easily understand the subject, particularly in the discussion of the soul, and not in the difficult way in which it is treated in the Risālah. The difficulty of understanding the Risālah lies in the fact that it uses large numbers of philosophical terms.

On one occasion, the author criticizes the philosophers when he speaks about the function of philosophical syllogisms as one of the means of gaining knowledge of tawḥīd, but he does not give a detailed explanation. He writes:

They [the philosophers] place most of the terms in the wrong place. They make use of such terms as substance (jawhar), accident (′araḍ), evidence (dalīl), inference (istidlāl), proof (burḥān) and argumentation (ḥujjah), but the meaning of each of these terms differs for each group, so that the philosophers denote by substance one thing, the Sūfī's use it to denote

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23 Risālah, pp. 91f; Trans. Risālah, pp. 15ff.


25 Because the Risālah contains many philosophical terms which are identical with the common medieval philosophical terms, especially, Neo-platonic ones. The way of writing in the Mishkār is quite similar to this Risālah which also contains philosophical terms. But the authenticity of parts of the Mishkār is questionable too. See Smith, "Risālah", pp. 178f; Watt, "A Forgery in al-Ghazālī’s Mishkār?", JRAS, Parts 1 and 2, (1949), pp. 24 - 45; H. L. Yafeh, "Philosophical Terms as a Criterion of the Authenticity in the Writings of al-Ghazālī", S.I., (25), p. 112. For a discussion of these philosophical terms see Chapter Two, 2.5. Cosmology.
another, the scholastic theologians something else...  

Al-Ghazālī himself gives the same opinion for the above matter where he writes:

Nothing in the logical sciences has anything to do with religion by the way of negation and affirmation. On the contrary, they are the study of the methods of proofs, of syllogisms... There is nothing in this which must be rejected. On the contrary, it is the sort of thing mentioned by scholastic theologians and the partisans of reasoning (ahl al-nazar) in connection with the proofs they use. The philosophers differ from them only in modes of expression and technical terms and in a greater refinement in definitions and subdivisions... To be sure, the philosophers themselves are guilty of a kind of injustice in the case of this science of logic. Since in logic they bring together, for apodeictic demonstration (li 'al-burhān), conditions known to lead undoubtedly to sure and certain knowledge. But when [they] finally come to discuss purpose on religion, they cannot satisfy those conditions, but rather are extremely slipshod in applying them. Moreover logic may be studied by one who will think it a fine thing and regard it as very clear. Consequently he will think that the instances of unbelief related from the philosophers are backed up by demonstrations such as those set forth in logic. Therefore he will rush into unbelief even before reaching the metaphysical sciences (al-'ulūm al-ilāhiyyah). Hence this evil may also befall the student of logic.27

In the Risālah, the author also mentions two books which he hopes to compose after al-Risālah al-Laduniyyah. He does not, however, mention their titles. He writes:

Their knowledge comprises the [mystic] state (al-hāl), spiritual condition and audition (al-waqt wa al-samā'), ecstasy (wajd), longing (shawq), intoxication (suḵr), sobriety (saḥw), affirmation (ithbayt) and effacement (mahw), poverty (faqr) and annihilation (fana'), saintship (wilāyah) and intention (irādah), [the position of] the shaykh and the disciple and what belongs to their states with additional things (zawā'id), characteristics (awsaf) and stations. We will discuss these three types of knowledge in a special book, if God Most High wills.28
And:

We will enumerate the conditions of reflection (al-tafakkur) in another treatise, since the explanation of reflection and its particular circumstances and its true meaning is an obscure matter which needs more elucidation and interpretation by the help of God Most High.29

These statements seem to indicate that the author intends to compose another work on mystical states (al-ḥāl) and on the elaboration of reflection (al-tafakkur). Al-Ghazālī himself in Ḩiyā' gives extensive discussions on the mystical state (ḥāl), samā', shawq, faqr, the characteristics of the teacher and the disciple and also on tafakkur.30 Similar discussions on the mystical state, wajd, shawq, sukr, saḥw, fanā' and the position of the disciple can be found in pseudo al-Ghazālī's Jāmī' al-Ḥaqā'iq bi Tajrīd al-ʿAlā'iq that will be discussed below.31

The author also says indirectly that he has mentioned Divine names (asmā' al-ḥusnā) from which may be inferred that he has written a work on this subject:

...and also His [God Most High] Essential attributes which are numbered with the Divine names as has already been discussed ('alā al-wajh al-madhkūr).32

According to Brockelmann, al-Qushayarī wrote a work entitled Sharḥ Asmā' Allāh

29 Risālah, p. 111; Trans. Risālah, pp. 51 - 52.


31 Jāmī', Chapter Five: On longing (al-Shawq), (ibid., pp. 11f), Chapter Ten: On Characteristics of the disciple, (ibid., p. 29f), Chapter Thirteen: On elucidation of the state, the station and their distinctions, (ibid., p. 48), Section: On annihilation (al-fanā') and subsistence (al-baqā'), (ibid., p. 50), Section: On ecstacy (al-wajd) and rapture (al-ghalabah), (ibid., p. 51).

al-Ḥusnā. It is possible that the author of the Risālah is referring here to this work. This statement may also refer to the work Maqṣad al-Asnāfī Sharḥ Asmā’ Allāh al-Ḥusnā which was written by al-Ghazālī. The author, however, does not mention any actual titles of books written by al-Ghazālī as the latter usually does in his writings.34

2.4. Scriptural aspects

A careful study of the Risālah shows that the author gives his views and ideas by making great use of passages and phrases from the Qurʾān. In fact, this method of citation can be found in most of the classical treatises concerning Sufism. Al-Ghazālī himself makes extensive use of the Qurʾān in his works.

The Risālah contains twenty three quotations of Qurʾānic verses. Almost all of them are introduced by the words "He said" and "God Most High said". However, sometimes there is no indication that the words are quotations of Qurʾānic verses.35 This use of Qurʾānic verses is aimed at corroborating many of the ideas and views which are discussed in the treatise. They are used regularly and sometimes followed by much more


34 For example, al-Ghazālī writes in his Munqidh:

My present aim is not to show the wrongness of their doctrine, for I have already done that: (1) in my book al-Mustaẓhirī; (2) in my book Ḥujjat al-Ḥaqq, an answer to some of their arguments proposed to me in Baghda; (3) in my book Maqṣal al-Khilaf, which contains twelve sections, and is a reply to arguments proposed to me in Hamadhān; (4) in my book al-Darj al-Maqūm bi al-Jadwīl, which deals with some feeble arguments of theirs proposed to me in Tus; (5) in my book al-Qīṣās al-Mustaqīm, an independent work aimed at explaining the scale for weighing knowledge and showing that he who fully understands it has no need of an infallible Imam.


35 For example see Risālah, p. 95; Trans. Risālah, p. 25. C. 18:46 has been used. But it has been quoted in a slightly different way from the Qurʾānic text. It states "al-maṣl wa al-banīn zīnat al-ḥayāt al-dunyā" whereas in the Qurʾān it says "... wa al-banīn ....".
explanation after the author has quoted the passage. Al-Ghazālī himself used the same method as can be found in almost all of his treatises. He also introduces his Qur'ānic verses by the words "He said" and "God Most High said"36 and sometimes there is also no indication that the words are citations of Qur'ānic verses.37

In addition to the Qur'ān, the author relies heavily for his evidence on the Traditions. There are seventeen Traditions of the Prophet in this treatise. Many of these Traditions cannot be traced in the canonical hadīth collections. However, most of them are used or quoted or explained by other outstanding Sūfī figures including al-Ghazālī himself.38

As has been mentioned earlier,39 the author cites three quotations from ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. The latter has an important role in the development of Sūfīsm, since he was the one of the Companions from whom a long chain (silsilah) of spiritual relationship is traced and he forms a spiritual link between the Sūfī disciples and the Prophet.40 In the

36 For example see Ḥilyā', Vol. 1, pp. 5ff.
37 For example al-Ghazālī writes:
Praise be to God who consolidates His servants through His Prophet, the Messenger (P.B.U.H.) and His Book, "No falsehood can approach it from before or behind it: It is sent down by One Full of Wisdom, Worthy of all Praise" (41:42). See Ḥilyā', Kitāb 'adab tilāwat al-Qur'ān, Vol. 1, p. 272.

38 For example, see Risālah, pp. 89, 92, 94, 97, 105, 111; Trans. Risālah, pp. 13, 18, 22, 27, 41, 51.
39 Cf. Chapter Two, 2.3. Method of presentation and style.
Risālah, the author writes the name of ʿAlī together with the formulae "may God honour his face" and "may God be pleased with him". Al-Ghazālī also uses the same phrase for ʿAlī. Sometimes he writes "may God be pleased with him" and sometimes he writes "may God honour his face".

2.5. Fundamental ideas of the Risālah

2.5.1. Defence of the knowledge of spiritual intuition (al-ʿilm al-ladunī)

The author of the Risālah uses the technique of dialectic by first presenting the hypothesis that esoteric knowledge is unreliable. He writes that a person who rejects esoteric knowledge will say that religious knowledge (al-ʿilm al-sharīʿīyyah) consists only of knowledge of jurisprudence (al-fiqh), the exegesis (al-tafsīr) of the Book of God and scholastic theology (al-kalām) and that knowledge can only be attained by learning (taʻallum) and study (tafaqquh). Such an argument implies that religious knowledge is limited to jurisprudence, exegesis and scholastic theology. He mentions writers of exegesis including al-Qushayrī and al-Sulamī. But he states that al-Qushayrī as an author for exoteric work, rather than a writer for esoteric work. In fact, al-Ghazālī is mentioned as being influenced by al-Qushayrī and al-Sulamī in his views on the

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41 Risālah, p. 106; Trans. Risālah, pp. 43 - 44.
42 For example see Ihyā Vol. 3, pp. 19, 86.
43 Risālah, pp. 87 - 88; Trans. Risālah, pp. 8 - 11.
44 Risālah, p. 88; Trans. Risālah, p. 10.
doctrines of the Şüfi's.45

2.5.2. Views on the soul

Al-Ghazâlî, in his *Ihyâ*, mentions that he does not wish to enter further into the subject of the heart (*qalb*), spirit (*rûh*) and soul (*nafs*). His opinion is based on two reasons:

(i) the question belongs to speculative science rather than practical science. He says that the practice of life requires consideration of the qualities of the heart, not of its essence;

(ii) it is connected with the question of the spirit on which the Prophet kept silent.46 Nevertheless, he devotes one book of the *Ihyâ*, namely Kitâb Sharh 'Ajâ'ib al-Qalb to discussing the matters of the heart, the spirit, the soul and the intellect.47 Al-Ghazâlî also devotes his *Mishkât* to a discussion about the human soul.48

Al-Ghazâlî explains his doctrine of the heart (*qalb*) by explaining that it has two meanings. According to him, the first meaning of the heart is:

It is the special flesh, pinelike in shape, positioned in the left side of the

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48 See *Mishkât*, pp. 143ff.
breast and has within it a hollow cavity. In that cavity, there is black blood which is the source and origin of the spirit (rūḥ). This kind of heart is found in beasts, and it is even found in a dead body. It is the subject studied by medical doctors.⁴⁹

Concerning the other two terms, spirit (rūḥ) and soul (nafs), he says that the spirit and the soul also have two meanings. The first meaning of the spirit is:

It is a subtle substance, the source of which is the cavity of the corporeal heart and it spreads by means of the arteries to the other parts of the body... Its coursing is in the body, and the flowing of the lights of life and the five senses from it to the limbs resembles the emanation of light from a lamp which is rotated in the corners of a house. It does not reach a part of the house but that is lit by it. Life is comparable to the light occuring on the walls, and the spirit is analogous to the lamp.⁵⁰

The first meaning of the soul is:

It is the thing which unites power of anger and sensual desire in man... This usage prevails among the Şūfīs, for they mean by the soul the seat of the blameworthy characteristics [which man must fight against].⁵¹

While the author of the Risālah refers to the heart as a pine-cone shape in the breast, his account of the animal spirit corresponds closely to that of al-Ghazālī's first meaning of the heart, the spirit and the soul, when he says:

The Şūfīs call the animal spirit, a soul... By this word they indicated only the faculty of sensual desire and anger.⁵²

⁵² Risālah, p. 92; Trans. Risālah, p. 17.
They both use the same Tradition:

The greatest of your enemies is your soul.\textsuperscript{53}

The author of the \textit{Risālah} also states:

The animal soul is a subtle body (\textit{jism lafi‘}).\textsuperscript{54} It is like a lamp which has been lit and placed in the glass of the heart. I [the author] mean that pinecone shape which is suspended in the breast. And life is that which illuminates the lamp, ...This spirit is to be found in all animals... This soul is not rightly guided to knowledge and does not know the way of the creature and nor what is due to the Creator. It is merely a servant, a captive which dies with the death of the body.\textsuperscript{55}

The author of the \textit{Risālah} also discusses the vegetative and animal souls:

I [the author] do not mean by the soul the faculty which seeks nourishment, nor the faculty which is aroused to lust and anger nor the faculty which resides in the heart, producing life, and making sensation manifest and bringing about movement from the heart to all the limbs. For this faculty is called the animal soul, and sensation, movement, lust and anger are among its troops. And that faculty which seeks nourishment which resides in the liver (\textit{kabd}) with its outflow is called natural soul and digestion and disposal are among its attributes.\textsuperscript{56}

This kind of view is equivalent to al-Ghazālī’s opinion, since he writes:

Man is in a rank between beasts and Angels, for man, in so far as he feeds and procreates, is a plant; and in so far as he senses and moves voluntarily, he is an animal.\textsuperscript{57}


\textsuperscript{54} The Sūfis tend to identify the soul (\textit{nafs}) as the animal soul and the heart as has been mentioned earlier as the one which perceives the truth and knowledge of God. That is why they assert that the soul is corporeal. Cf. Q. \textit{Risālah}, p. 103; \textit{Kashf}, p. 196.

\textsuperscript{55} \textit{Risālah}, p. 92; Trans. \textit{Risālah}, pp. 18 - 19.

\textsuperscript{56} \textit{Risālah}, p. 91; Trans. \textit{Risālah}, p. 16.

\textsuperscript{57} \textit{Ihya‘}, Vol. 3, p. 9; cf. McCarthy, \textit{op. cit.}, Appendix V, p. 375, sec. 36.
The heart has two sorts of soldiers, one seen by the eyes, and one seen only by the inner eyes... The heart's soldiers visible to the eye are hand, foot, eye, ear, tongue and the other organs, exterior and interior. For they all serve the heart and are subject to it. They were created with a natural disposition for obeying the heart... In the heart are created lusts which it needs... anger, by which it repels destructive things and take revenge upon enemies.\(^{58}\)

The second expression of the heart in al-Ghazālī's opinion is:

It is subtle (laffāfah), divine (rabbāniyyah) and spiritual and it is the essence of a man. In man, it is what perceives, knows, is aware, is spoken to, punishes, blames and is responsible. It has a connection with the corporeal heart, and the minds of most men have been baffled in trying to grasp the mode of the connection... It [the heart] is like a king and the soldiers are like servants and helpers.\(^{59}\)

Concerning spirit and soul, al-Ghazālī identifies the second meaning of them with this kind of heart.\(^{60}\) The heart, in the sense in which al-Ghazālī and other Sufis use the term, really represents the whole human personality in relation to this world and world to come. Al-Ghazālī writes:

It is the heart which enables man to attain to knowledge of God, to draw near Him, to work for Him and labour towards Him. It is the heart which rejoices in proximity to Him and prospers when man has purified it and it is the heart which is disappointed and miserable when man has defiled and corrupted it.\(^{61}\) The heart is the recipient of knowledge of God, given earlier to the prophets which does not come from revelation (al-wahy), and which is also given to the saints through the process of a direct enlightening (ishrāq al-nūr) of their hearts, who have been purified to


receive it.\textsuperscript{62}

The second meaning of spirit and soul by al-Ghazālī apparently expresses much the same knowing and perceiving subtlety of the heart.\textsuperscript{63} Yet his commentator, al-
Sayyid al-Zabidi, remarks that these meanings of heart, spirit and soul are called rational soul (al-nafs al-nātiqah),\textsuperscript{64} a term which has been used by the philosophers, and is also used by the author of the \textit{Risālah}.\textsuperscript{65}

The concept of the rational soul of the author of the \textit{Risālah} also corresponds closely to the concept of the heart of al-Ghazālī. He says:

\begin{quote}

The soul (nafs) accepts all branches of knowledge and does not grow weary of receiving abstract images,, This jewel-like substance is the leader of the spirit and the commander of the faculties and all serve it and comply with its command...\textsuperscript{66} and it does not die with the death of a man's body.\textsuperscript{67}
\end{quote}

The difference between the \textit{Risālah} and al-Ghazālī's other works in Šūfism can be seen in the use of the terms "heart" and "rational soul"; for the latter follows the Šūfis by using the word "heart" and the former follows the philosophers by using the word "rational soul" which has also been used regularly by al-Ghazālī in his philosophical works such as the \textit{Tahāfut}.\textsuperscript{68} However, the author of the \textit{Risālah} does


\textsuperscript{63} Iḥyā', Vol. 3, pp. 3-4; cf. also al-Aṣam, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 110.


\textsuperscript{65} See 2.5.2 below.

\textsuperscript{66} \textit{Risālah}, p. 91; Trans. \textit{Risālah}, p. 16.

\textsuperscript{67} \textit{Risālah}, pp. 93, 94; Trans. \textit{Risālah}, pp. 20, 22.

\textsuperscript{68} \textit{Tahāfut}, p. 209; cf. also \textit{Tahāfut} [Kamali], p. 218.
not identify his rational soul with the intellect (‘aql) as the philosophers do,\textsuperscript{69} and according to him, "the heart, the spirit, the soul at rest (al-nafs al-mujma’innah) and the spirit of the command of God (al-rūḥ al-amrī) are all names for the rational soul".\textsuperscript{70}

Al-Ghazālī also gives a similar meaning for the spirit without mentioning the rational soul when he writes:

The second meaning of the spirit... is what is explained about the second meaning of the heart. It is also what God Most High meant by His utterance: "Say: The spirit [cometh] by command of my God (al-rūḥ al-amrī)\textsuperscript{71}... When the heart is tranquil under the command of God and free from agitation because of the opposition of the lusts, it is called the soul at rest.\textsuperscript{72}

Al-Ghazālī asserts:

There is in the [human] soul a divine command (amr) - as God Most High has said: "Say: The spirit [cometh] by command of my God". It claims for itself lordship (al-rubūbiyyah) and loves mastery and superiority and being favored and monopolizing all matters and sole leadership and escape from the noose of servitude and lowliness and it desires familiarity with all [types of] knowledge - indeed it claims for itself knowledge (‘ilm) and gnosis (ma‘rifah) and the comprehension of the essences of things: it rejoices when it is linked with learning and it grieves when it is linked with ignorance.\textsuperscript{73}

\textsuperscript{69} Similarly, Ibn al-'Arabi whose Risālah fī Ma‘āni al-Nafs wa al-Rūḥ contains several passages similar to those in al-Risālah al-Laduniyyah, does not also identify his rational soul with the intellect, as the rational soul, he says, is identical with neither the intellect nor the body, although intellect is one of its subordinate "powers" (quwā) and although, during its association with the body, it functions through it. (Cf. Ibn al-'Arabi, op. cit., p. 153).

\textsuperscript{70} See Risālah, pp. 91 - 92; Trans. Risālah, pp. 16 - 17.

\textsuperscript{71} C. 17:86.

\textsuperscript{72} Iḥyā’, Vol. 3, pp. 3 - 4; cf. McCarthy, op. cit., Appendix V, p. 366, secs. 11 - 12.


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And he also says that "the heart's mount is simply the body and its provisions knowledge". This view from al-Ghazālī resembles the opinion of the author of the Risālah who presents it with more explanation. The latter says that this rational soul is a jewel-like substance belonging to the world of the command of God (min 'amr Allāh), which is a Divine Force (al-quwwah al-ilāhiyyah) like other simple jewel-like substances such as the First Intellect (al-'aql al-awwāl), the Tablet (al-lawh) and the Pen (al-qalam). According to him, the soul is derived from this Divine Force which is not subject to change and death and when the body dies, it will leave the body and then just wait to return to the body on the day of Resurrection.

By using the method of analogy, the author of the Risālah gives a quite similar view and quotes the same Qur'ānic verses with al-Ghazālī. He explains:

When God associated (adaf) the spirit with His command (amr) and sometimes with His loftiness ('izzati')... God Most High is too Lofty to bring a body or an accident into association with Himself because of their lowness and their liability to change and the rapidity of their cessation and corruption. ...Since this soul is from the Command of

76 These three terms will be discussed later, See Chapter Two, 2.4. Cosmology.
77 The author of the Risālah, p. 94, uses the Traditions as evidence that the soul is immortal, "The spirits are like troops assembled", (Sunan Abi Dawud, Kitāb al-ādāb, no. 4834, Vol. 4, p. 359), and "The spirits of the martyrs are in the crops of green birds", (Ibid, Bāb fi faḍīl al-shahādah, (864), no. 2520, Vol. 3, p. 22).
80 Risālah, p. 94; Trans. Risālah, p. 21.
Creator Most High, it is in the body like a stranger, and its direction is towards its source and its place of return. This substance does not dwell in any locus, and the body is not the locus of the soul nor is it the abode of the heart. On the contrary, the body is the instrument of the spirit and the implement of the heart and the vehicle of the soul.

And al-Ghazālī writes:

...All created things stand in relation (mansūbah) to God but the relation [of the heart] is nobler than that of any of the other organs. To God belong both the creation and the command, but the command is greater than the creation. This [is] the precious jewel like substance which carries the trust of God and which antedates the Heavens, the earth and the mountains, since [when it was offered to them] they refused its burden and feared to receive it because of the world of command (ṭālām al-amr). This should not be taken to mean that the spirits are eternal, as he who holds that the spirits are eternal is a blind fool who does not know what he says. Because this is beyond the scope of our subject, let us desist from its discussion. What is intended here is to show that this spiritual substance (lafifah) is the driving forces which presses toward God, because it has proceeded from the command of the Lord. It came from God and to God it returns. As to the body it is only the vehicle which [that spiritual substance] occupies and through which it accomplishes its work. The body serves the same purpose for it on the path of God...

In the association of the soul with the body, the author of the Risālah maintains that the only difference between the soul and the body as to corporeality is that the body is "a coarse body (jism kathīf)" and the soul is "a subtle body (jism laffīf)" which is according to him, the general position of the scholastic theologians, while he follows the philosophers and like al-Ghazālī, denies its corporeality and prefers

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81 Risālah, p. 95; Trans. Risālah, pp. 23.


83 Risālah, p. 92; Trans. Risālah, p. 18.
to call it "a simple jewel-like substance (jawhar mufrad)". On the other hand, al-Ghazālī prefers to call it "subtle (al-latifah)".

Al-Ghazālī, like other Ṣūfis, believes in the inner sight, and he cites the Qur'ānic verse:

Whatsoever mercy God opens to men, none can withhold. (35:2).

He holds:

This mercy is freely given by virtue of goodness and generosity on the part of God Most High - Praised be He - and is not withheld from anyone. But it appears only in hearts putting themselves in the way of the gusts of God Most High's mercy. As that man sees two things with his two eyes at one events, likewise the heart might be a channel (majrān) for two things as the Prophet P.B.U.H. says: "There is not a servant but that he has four eyes, two eyes in his head for seeing his worldly matters, two eyes in his heart for seeing his religious matters."

The author of the Risālah also writes of the eye of the heart. He believes that the inward eye alone can see that which is beyond thought when it is closed to all other outward eyes. When God unveils what is hidden from the outward eyes, the inward eye can comprehend the unseen world and receive knowledge of reality from God which the author of the Risālah called the knowledge of spiritual inspiration (al-ilm al-laduni).
Like al-Ghazālī, the author of the Risālah regards that human soul as the Tablet (al-lawh) for knowledge. He also holds that the soul has its original purity as the latter writes:

That knowledge is embedded firmly in all human souls and all of them are receptive to all types of knowledge... The rational soul...is prepared to receive intelligible images from it, by the force of its original purity.

And the former also writes:

Otherwise each heart has a sound natural disposition (fi'rah ṣāliḥah) to know the truths (li ma'rifat al-ḥaqīq) because it is a noble divine command (amr rabbānī sharīf) which, through this peculiarity and nobility, is different from any other worldly jewel-like substances (jawāhir)... Those responsibilities [to know the truth] are ma'rifah and tawhīd and the heart of each man is ready to bear responsibility and naturally it has ability for that.

The author of the Risālah, however, is quite different from al-Ghazālī when the former, like Plotinus, who is followed by al-Junayd, holds that the soul "is qualified for enlightenment by the Universal Soul (al-nafs al-kulliyah)" as it comes from this Universal Soul. It is prepared to receive what it has learned in its original natural disposition and what it has understood in its primary purity (bad' al-fahārah). However, this soul sometimes forgets its eternal knowledge during its temporary association with the lower world and when it experiences sickness. Nevertheless, he claims that some

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92 *Risālah*, p. 108; Trans. *Risālah*, p. 46. Plotinus writes:

The soul running away like a naughty child, it descends to the material world" and "embraces matter" and "soul is from mind and shares in reason with him and thus has virtue.

souls, like those of prophets, never forget their knowledge and never experience that sickness which befalls other souls.93

On the subject of the condition of the soul, the author of the Risālah also has a different view from al-Ghazālī, and his view corresponds with that of Plotinus. He mentions that the soul has two groups: the first group are sound souls (al-nufūṣ al-ṣaḥīḥah) which remain in their original health and receive revelation (wahy) and inspiration (ilhām), manifest miracles and are never influenced by the lower world. They are the "prophetic souls" which become the physicians of souls.94

The second group are sick souls (al-nufūṣ al-maḍīḥah) which have different degrees:

a. Sick souls because of illness due to this lower world, but they can achieve their original health through study and a little recollection.

b. Sick souls because of eagerness for and absorption in the world and they find only a little light. They learn throughout their life in order to restore the original abundant knowledge and to eliminate the unexpected arrival of sickness.95

c. Sick souls because of the corruption of their natural disposition, which are unable to receive remedy and learning and rectification cannot be used to correct them.96


94 Risālah, p. 108; Trans. Risālah, p. 47. Al-Jīlī names this type of soul as the "perfect man (al-insān al-kāmil)". See 'Abd al-Karīm al-Jīlī, al-Insān al-Kāmil, Cairo, 1334, p. 96, 131f.


96 Risālah, p. 108; Trans. Risālah, p. 47.
In al-Ghazālī’s discussion on the sickness of the soul, he gives different views compared to the author of the *Risālah*. According to him, the heart has five obstacles in gaining the truth, as below: 97

a. A natural defect of the heart as the heart of a child.

b. Impurities of sins owing to lusts (*shahawāt*).

c. When the heart is diverted to worldly matters, the brightness of truth is not reflected in it owing to the object of enquiry not being directed towards it although it is pure and clean.

d. When the heart is veiled by its lusts so that it cannot gain the truth.

e. When the heart is full of ignorance (*jahāl*).

Al-Ghazālī and the author of the *Risālah* assert that, when all these sicknesses are cured, the soul will acknowledge the existence of the knowledge of spiritual intuition (*al-ilm al-laduni*) and will be aware that they were cognizant in their original natural disposition and were pure at the beginning of creation. 98

### 2.5.3. Cosmology

A careful study of the *Risālah* shows that philosophical terms are found scattered throughout it to elaborate the author's fundamental ideas, especially in his explanation of the relationship between God, intellect and soul.

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The order of creations begins with the Creator.\textsuperscript{99} It seems that the author accepts the doctrine of creation in terms of a modified form of the emanation theory of philosophers like al-Fārābī.\textsuperscript{100} Although this is not stated specifically, the author emphasises that the communication of knowledge to the soul is by "emanation" (fayd) [or its derivative "ifādah"] and "radiation" (ishrāq).\textsuperscript{101}

In the author's cosmological structure, the next being seems to be the First Intellect (al-\textsuperscript{5}aql al-\textsuperscript{a}wāl). This is a term used by al-Fārābī in his philosophy.\textsuperscript{102} However, the author only uses this philosophical term twice in the Risālah. Instead, he frequently refers to the Universal Intellect (al-\textsuperscript{5}aql al-kullī) and this term is certainly synonymous with the First Intellect.\textsuperscript{103}

The author then refers to the Prime Universal Soul (al-\textsuperscript{n}afs al-kullīyyah al-\textsuperscript{u}lā) which he describes as "[present] in the incorporeal, prime, pure substances in relation

\textsuperscript{99} Muslim philosophers use the word al-Bārī, the Maker, the One, the Unique and One in every respect which has no partner and no peer. Cf. Ikhwan al-\textsuperscript{s}afā, Rasa'\textsuperscript{l}l Ikhwan al-\textsuperscript{s}afā, Vol. 1, p. 189, Vol. 2, pp. 107, 108ff; O. A. Farrukh, "Ikhwan al-\textsuperscript{s}afā", in (ed.) Sharif, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 294; Sharif, "Greek Thought", in (ed.) Sharif, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 12.

\textsuperscript{100} In Islamic philosophical tradition itself, al-Fārābī seems to have been the first to present a systematic treatment of the hierarchy of beings in terms of a hierarchy of intelligences and souls and their emanation (fayd) from the Creator. Cf. S.H. Nasr, An Introduction to Islamic Cosmological Doctrines, Cambridge, 1964, see chapters 12 - 14; Bakar, op. cit., p. 95; see also I.R. Netton, Allāh Transcendent, Studies in the Structure and Semiotics of Islamic Philosophy, Theology and Cosmology, Surrey, 1994, pp. 114ff.

\textsuperscript{101} Risālah, pp. 104, 105; Trans. Risālah, pp. 38, 42.


to the First Intellect like the relationship of Eve to Adam". He goes on to say: "The Universal Intellect is more noble, more perfect, stronger and nearer to the Creator Most High than the Universal Soul (al-nafs al-kulliyah)". He describes the Universal Soul as being "more powerful, more subtle and nobler than the rest of creation". Then, the Universal Soul is followed by the soul (nafs) which is different from the body (jism). The soul is "jewel-like, simple (al-nafs al-jawhari al-mufrad), illuminating, rational, acting, moving and completing instruments and bodies".

As has been mentioned earlier, the author of the Risālah also follows the philosophers by using the term al-nafs al-nāṭiqah (rational soul) regularly as being similar to the spiritual meaning of the term al-qalb (heart) which is popular among the Şūfis and is also found in al-Ghazali's Ihya', Arbā'īn, Kimiyā and other works of his. In the Risālah itself, the author says:

By the rational soul I mean that substance (jawhar) which has a

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104 Risālah, p. 105; Trans. Risālah, p. 42.
107 Risālah, p. 91; Trans. Risālah, p. 15.
108 See Chapter Two, 2.5.2. Views on the soul.
111 Iḥyā', Vol. 3, pp. 3ff; "Kitāb Sharḥ 'Ajlūb al-Qalb", Tr. McCarthy, op. cit., p. 365, secs. 8, 9, Cf. al-Arbā'īn, p. 94; Kimiyā, pp. 7f.
name among every group of people (qawm). The philosophers call this substance the rational soul (al-nafs al-nāqiqah). The Qur’ān calls it the soul at rest (al-nafs al-muqna'īnāh) and the spirit which is the command of God (al-rūḥ al-amrī). And the Sūfīs call it the heart.112

The relationship described by the author between the Creator, the First or Universal Intellect, the Universal Soul and the soul, which he sometimes refers to as the particular soul (al-nafs al-juz'iyyah) in contrast to the Universal Soul (al-nafs al-kulliyyah), seems to be one of communication. Only once does he refer to direct communication between the Creator and the soul113 and this is probably not intended literally. Communication comes to the soul from the First or Universal Intellect (al-ʿaqīl al-kullī) and the Universal Soul (al-nafs al-kulliyyah). He uses the image of the Pen (al-qalam) and the Tablet (al-lawh) and says:

He [God] looks upon it [soul] with His Divine Sight (naẓāran ilāhīyyan) and He makes of it a Tablet and from the Universal Soul a Pen.114

However, while the First or Universal Intellect has the same function as al-Fārābī’s Active Intellect in communicating with prophets,115 it is restricted in its communication to prophets. It is the function of the Universal Soul to communicate with other souls. The soul, which descended from its Source, can also ascend towards its Source again

112 Risālah, p. 91; Trans. Risālah, pp. 16 - 7.
113 Risālah, p. 105; Trans. Risālah, pp. 41.
115 Al-Fārābī identifies the active intellect with the holy spirit (Rūḥ al-Quds) or Jibrīl, the archangel of divine revelation. The active intellect is a cosmic entity which acts as a transcendent intermediary between God and man. Al-Fārābī says: “Since the active intellect emanates from the being of the First Cause (al-sabāb al-awwāl), it can be said that it is the First Cause that brings about revelation to this person through the mediation of the active intellect”. al-Fārābī: al-Fusūl al-Madaniyy, p. 173; idem, lḥsī‘ al-ʿUlūm, (ed.) U. Amīn, Cairo, 1949, p. 100; idem, Kitāb al-Ṣiyāsah al-Madaniyyah (al-Fārābī’s Political Regime), (ed.) F. Najjar, Beirut, 1964, p. 31; idem, ʿUyun al-Masā’il, in al-Fārābī’s Philosophische Abhandlungen, (ed.) F. Dieterici, Leiden, p. 1890, p. 63; cf. Bakar, op. cit., pp. 70 - 71.
through the process of purification, and the author says: "that the soul itself is facing
toward its Creator."116 In contrast, the body is "dark, coarse, coming into existence and
degenerating (al-kawn wa al-fasād), complex, made up of parts, earthy whose nature is
not perfected except by something other than it".117

Throughout the Risālah, the author only mentions the Angels twice and both times
they appear as citations from Qur'anic verses. They do not have any relevance to
communication in terms of revelation (wahy) or inspiration (ilhām).118

All terms such as First Intellect, Universal Intellect, Universal Soul and particular
soul are absent from those books which scholars have accepted as authentic works
written by al-Ghazālī119 up to the Mustasfā min 'Ilm al-Uṣūl120 which was written
towards the very end of his life; these terms occur only in those works of his which deal
with the explanation or refutation of philosophical doctrines and which he only uses in
quotations from the philosophers in order to refute them.121 Moreover, in addition to the
Risālah, there are a large number of books which contain all these philosophical terms,

116 Risālah, p. 104; Trans. Risālah, p. 38. The Creator i.e. the Maker, the Truth, the One, the Perfect, the

117 Risālah, p. 91; Trans. Risālah, p. 15.

118 Risālah, pp. 89, 104; Trans. Risālah, pp. 13, 40.

119 For example Kitāb al-iqtisīd li al-Fiṣḥūd, Ḥiyāt, al-Maqṣūd al-Asnū, Bidāyāt al-Ḥidāyah, al-Jawārīn al-
Qur'ān, Kitāb al-Abd al, Mashākil al-Arwār, Muṣūdīn.


121 For example Maqāsid, Tahāfut, Miḥālik al-Naṣr, Mīyār al-ʿIlm and Mīzān al-ʿAml whose authenticity
is doubted by Watt, but is accepted by Hourani, etc. See Watt, Authenticity, p. 30; Hourani, Chronology
p. 205. Bouyges, pp. 28 - 30; Muḥaddafūr, pp. 79 - 81; M. A. Sherif, Ghazālī’s Theory of Virtue, Albany, 1975,
pp. 6, 171; Yafeh, op. cit., pp. 211, 259, 300; M. Abul Quasem, The Ethics of al-Ghazālī: A Composite Ethics
but their authenticity as written by al-Ghazālī is doubted. Among these works are *al-Madnūn al-Ṣaghīr, Mi'raj al-Sālikīn, Rawdat al-Ṭālibīn* and *Ma‘ārij al-Quds*.

Furthermore, the theory of emanation is well-known to have been publicly rejected by al-Ghazālī in his earlier books such as *Tahāfut*, and also in his *Munqīd* which was written towards the end of his life where he states:

> The theists were the later philosophers, such as Socrates, the master of Plato, and Plato, the master of Aristotle... So they all must be taxed with unbelief, as must their partisans among the Muslim philosophers, such as Ibn Sīnā and al-Fārābī and their like.

It should also be remembered that al-Ghazālī insists on the view that communication in terms of revelation (*wahy*) and inspiration (*ilhām*) always takes place through the mediation of angels.

### 2.5.4. Classification of sciences

The author of the *Risālah* discusses sciences in three different but linked categories as
follows:\textsuperscript{127}

1. Sciences which come upon one (\textit{hudūrīyyah}) and sciences which are acquired (\textit{husūlīyyah}).

2. Revealed (\textit{sharī'iyah}) and rational (\textit{'aqliyyah}) sciences.

3. Theoretical (\textit{nazariyyah}) and practical (\textit{camaliyyah}) sciences.

\textbf{Al-Ghazālī} in his \textit{Ihya'} also classifies knowledge into three categories: sciences which come upon one and sciences which are acquired;\textsuperscript{128} revealed and non-revealed (\textit{ghayr sharī'iyah})/rational (\textit{'aqliyyah}) sciences;\textsuperscript{129} theoretical and practical sciences;\textsuperscript{130} but he makes another kind of division, \textit{fard 'ayn} and \textit{fard kifāyah}\textsuperscript{131} which is not mentioned by the author of the \textit{Risālah}.

\textbf{(1) Division into sciences which come upon one (\textit{hudūrīyyah}) and sciences which are acquired (\textit{husūlīyyah})}

A study of the ways of acquiring types of knowledge in the \textit{Risālah} and the \textit{Ihya'} shows that the means of gaining knowledge is classified into that which comes upon one

\textsuperscript{127} Of these three categories, the \textit{Risālah}'s author deals at length with the first division, i.e. sciences which come upon one (\textit{hudūrīyyah}) and acquired sciences. His discussion of this division can also be seen elsewhere, especially in Sections Five and Seven. (\textit{Risālah}, pp. 102 - 107, 110 - 111; Trans. \textit{Risālah}, pp. 35 - 45, 50 - 52). He also discusses second category, i.e. revealed and rational sciences, which he discusses in Section Three. (\textit{Risālah}, pp. 96 - 101; Trans. \textit{Risālah}, pp. 25 - 33). The author's discussion of the latter incorporates the first and also the third category, i.e. theoretical and practical sciences, of which he gives only a brief explanation. (\textit{Risālah}, p. 99; Trans. \textit{Risālah}, pp. 30).

\textsuperscript{128} \textit{Ihya'}, Vol. 3, pp. 18ff. See 2.5.4. (1) Division into sciences which come upon one (\textit{hudūrīyyah}) and sciences which are acquired (\textit{husūlīyyah}) for further discussion.

\textsuperscript{129} \textit{Ihya'}, Vol. 1, pp. 13ff, Vol. 3, pp. 16ff. See 2.5.4. (3) Division into revealed (\textit{sharī'iyah}) and non-revealed (\textit{ghayr sharī'iyah})/rational (\textit{'aqliyyah}) sciences for further discussion.

\textsuperscript{130} \textit{Ihya'}, Vol. 1, pp. 3ff. See 2.5.4. (4) Division into theoretical and practical sciences for further discussion.

\textsuperscript{131} See \textit{Ihya'}, Vol. 1, pp. 14ff.
(hudūriyyah) and that which is acquired (husūliyyah). Both accept the standard Sūfī view that sciences which are gained by the soul differ in accordance with the states of the heart. The author of the Risālah devotes one chapter to explaining 'levels achieved by the soul in acquiring knowledge.'\textsuperscript{132}

You should know for certain that each of these branches of the arts and each of these sciences requires a number of conditions so that they may be engraved on the souls of those who seek [knowledge].\textsuperscript{133}

Al-Ghazālī also writes:

Know that the cognitions which are not necessary, but simply come to be in the heart in certain states (ahwāl), differ in the way they come to be.\textsuperscript{134}

The knowledge which is obtained through revelation and inspiration in the discussion of al-Ghazālī and the author of the Risālah can be regarded as knowledge which come upon one (hudūriyyah). It embodies the prophetic knowledge (‘ilm al-nabawī) from revelation (wahy) and the knowledge of the saints from inspiration (ilhām) which is also known as knowledge of spiritual intuition (al-‘ilm al-ladunī) as in the Risālah,\textsuperscript{135} or knowledge of unveiling (‘ilm al-mukāshafah) as found in the Ihyā\textsuperscript{136}.

On the other hand, knowledge which is achieved through the process of learning and reflection can be regarded as acquired knowledge.

To purify the soul in order to attain knowledge of spiritual intuition (al-‘ilm al-

\textsuperscript{132} Risālah, p. 107; Trans. Risālah, p. 45.

\textsuperscript{133} Risālah, p. 101; Trans. Risālah, p. 35.

\textsuperscript{134} Ihyā\textsuperscript{1}, Vol. 3, p. 18.

\textsuperscript{135} Risālah, p. 105; Trans. Risālah, p. 41.

\textsuperscript{136} Ihyā\textsuperscript{1}, Vol. 1, p. 15; Vol. 3, p. 18.
the author of the *Risālah* puts forward a process of three stages. They are:

First, the attainment of all types of knowledge; the second, genuine spiritual exercise (*riyādah*) and true contemplation (*murāqabah*)... the third, reflection (*tafakkur*). When the soul has studied and exercised itself with the knowledge, then has reflected on its known things according to the conditions of reflection, the door of the unseen world is opened to it, ...he will be one of those who possess an intellect (*lubb*) and a window of the unseen world will be opened in his heart.\(^{137}\)

The first stage [i.e. the attainment of knowledge] conflicts with al-Ghazālī in the *Munqidh* who rejects the opinion that one of the processes of gaining knowledge of spiritual intuition (*al-ʿilm al-laduni*) is through the attainment of all types of knowledge:

> It became clear to me that their [the Šūfīs] most distinctive characteristic is something that can be attained, not by study (*al-taʿallum*), but rather by fruitional experience (*al-dhawq*) and the state (*al-ḥāl*) and the exchange of qualities (*tabaddul al-sifāt*). How great a difference there is between your knowing the definitions and causes and conditions of health and satiety and your being healthy and sated.\(^{138}\)

However, as far as the second stage of the *Risālah* [i.e. the spiritual exercise and true contemplation] is concerned, we find that for al-Ghazālī in the *Iḥyāʿ* it is the first stage. He says:

> They [the Šūfīs] claim that the way to [obtain inspiration] is first of all the entire cutting off of worldly attachments and emptying the heart of them... Then one retires alone with himself to some nook and confines himself to the religious duties and supererogatory duties.\(^{139}\)

The third stage of the *Risālah* [i.e. reflection (*tafakkur*)] agrees with the second stage

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\(^{138}\) *Munqidh*, p. 68 - 70; McCarthy, *op. cit.*, p. 90, sec 82.

in the *Ihya*, but al-Ghazālī in the *Ihya* describes it more fully. He says:

He sits with heart empty and attention concentrated (majmūʿ al-hamm), his reflection (fikr) not dispersed by any recital of the Qurʾān or any exegetic consideration (taʿammul) or any book of Tradition or anything else. Rather, he exerts himself that nothing may occur to his mind save God Most High. After he sits down in seclusion, he unceasingly says with his tongue "Allāh, Allāh" without interruption concomitantly with the presence of his heart until... its trace disappears from his tongue and he finds his heart steadily applied to remembrance of God... He becomes exposed to the gusts of God's mercy and it remains for him only to await the mercy which God will open to him as He opened it to the prophets and saints by this way.\(^\text{140}\)

\(\text{(2) Ways of gaining and acquiring types of knowledge}\)

Not only does knowledge vary in kind, but the channels through which knowledge is obtained are different. Like al-Ghazālī, the author of the *Risālah* also defines knowledge in this way. Both authors regard man as gaining knowledge through two methods, that is from God i.e. divine learning (*al-taʿallum al-rabbānī*) or human learning (*al-taʿallum al-insānī*). Al-Ghazālī says:

Know that the cognitions which are not necessary, but simply come to be in the heart in certain states (*ahwāl*), differ in the way they come to be. At times they surprise the heart as though cast into it from where it knows not; and at times they are acquired by way of inference and the process of learning (*al-taʿallum*).\(^\text{141}\)

And the author of the *Risālah* says:

\[\text{140} \quad Ihya', \text{ Vol. 3, p. 19; McCarthy, } \text{op. cit.}, \text{ secs. 51 - 52, p. 380.} \]

\[\text{141} \quad Ihya', \text{ Vol. 3, p. 18. Al-Ghazālī's theory of ways of acquiring knowledge, while more developed than that of al-Muḥāṣibī, resembles it very closely in its essentials. Al-Muḥāṣibī also distinguishes between types of knowledge; the knowledge which comes from the revelation made by God to the Prophets which is found in the } \text{Shari'ah}, \text{ and that which comes through the use of reason. Al-Muḥāṣibī, } \text{Kitāb al-Īlm}, \text{ Chapter 4 and 5; cf. Smith, } \text{Early}, \text{ p. 99.} \]
Know that human knowledge is acquired by two methods; first; human learning, and second; divine learning.\textsuperscript{142}

(a) Human learning (\textit{al-ta'\textsuperscript{}}allum al-ins\textsuperscript{}}\textit{nî})

In the \textit{Ris\textsuperscript{}}\textit{alah}, the author divides human learning into two types, learning (\textit{ta'\textsuperscript{}}allum) and reflection (\textit{tafakkur}). He says:

Human learning consists of two kinds, one of them from outside, which is acquisition by learning, and the other from inside which is busying oneself with reflection.\textsuperscript{143}

It is the same with al-Ghaz\textsuperscript{}}\textit{lî} who when he discusses the duties of the teacher in the \textit{Ihya}, also indirectly explains that human learning is of two types. He writes:

Man occupies four states in relation to knowledge... First, there is the state of seeking knowledge in which man is acquisitive; another is that of having knowledge in which state he would not need to inquire of others; a third is that of reflection (\textit{tafakkur}) wherein he would contemplate and enjoy his achievement; and last, there is the state of teaching wherein he imparts his knowledge to others.\textsuperscript{144}

The two works differ, however, in explaining the meaning of learning and reflection. The \textit{Ris\textsuperscript{}}\textit{alah} makes use of philosophical terms in explaining the meaning of reflection, as it is knowledge which derives from the Universal Soul (\textit{al-nafs al-kulliyyah}). He writes:

Learning is for one person to derive benefit from [another] particular person (\textit{al-shakhs al-juz\textsuperscript{}}\textit{î}), whereas reflection is for a soul to derive benefit from the Universal Soul.\textsuperscript{145}

And in the \textit{Ihya}, al-Ghaz\textsuperscript{}}\textit{lî} describes the process of reflection too. He, however, writes

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{142} \textit{Ris\textsuperscript{}}\textit{alah}, p. 102; Trans. \textit{Ris\textsuperscript{}}\textit{alah}, p. 35.
  \item \textsuperscript{143} \textit{Ris\textsuperscript{}}\textit{alah}, p. 102; Trans. \textit{Ris\textsuperscript{}}\textit{alah}, p. 35.
  \item \textsuperscript{144} \textit{Ihya}, Vol. 1, p. 55.
  \item \textsuperscript{145} \textit{Ris\textsuperscript{}}\textit{alah}, p. 102; Trans. \textit{Ris\textsuperscript{}}\textit{alah}, pp. 35 - 36.
\end{itemize}
It is no secret that reflection (tafakkur) is a key of lights and a beginning of insight (istibsär), and it is a net (shabakah) for types of knowledge and for gnosis (ma'rifah) and understanding (fuḥūm)...

Thought (fikr) means the provision of two forms of knowledge (ma'rifatayn) in the heart so that a third form of knowledge (ma'rifah) will benefit from them. For an example, to know that the hereafter is better than the present world is through taqlīd; the other way is to know that it is more appropriate to choose what is everlasting; and then to know that the hereafter is everlasting. Then, from these two pieces of knowledge, the third knowledge will be achieved, that the hereafter is better to choose than the present world. And it is impossible to achieve the knowledge that the hereafter is better to choose [than the present world] unless there are the two former types of knowledge. And the appearance of these types of knowledge in the heart is named reflection (tafakkur), consideration (fītar), remembrance (tadhakkur), speculation (nazar), contemplation (ta'ammul), meditation (tadabbur).\textsuperscript{146}

And al-Ghazālī also says:

That which eventuates through inference (istikdal) is called consideration (fītarān) and insight (istibṣārān)... It is peculiar to the 'ulamā'.\textsuperscript{147}

From the statements given above, it can be deduced that al-Ghazālī makes consideration (fītar), remembrance (tadhakkur), speculation (nazar), contemplation (ta'ammul), meditation (tadabbur) and insight (istibṣār) synonym to reflection (tafakkur). It can also be understood that learning and reflection have a mutual relationship in the process of acquiring types of knowledge. This kind of idea is also found in the Risālah when the author writes:

Study needs reflection, for man is unable to learn all particulars or universals and all known facts, but rather he learns something and gains some [types of] knowledge by reflection... For the soul cannot learn all

\textsuperscript{146} _Ihya_'*, Vol. 4, pp. 425 - 426. In al-Muḥāṣibī's work, he mentions that reflection, speculation, remembrance, consideration will lead to all types of good knowledge, for they enable man to know whether he is serving God or committing sins, and he will know which of the two duties comes first and to choose the right one. See al-Muḥāṣibī, _Rf_ayah, pp. 14f.

\textsuperscript{147} _Ihya_'*, Vol. 3, p. 18.
its particular and universal matters by study; rather [it learns] some of them through acquisition and some of them by speculation (nazar), like seeing people's customs and deriving some of them from his mind (damīrih) through the clarity of his thought.\textsuperscript{148}

The two works also have a quite similar epistemology; the author of the \textit{Risālah} writes:

[Types of] knowledge are implanted in the root of souls with virtuality (bi al-quwawah), like the seed in the earth and the jewel in the bottom of the sea or in the heart of the mine. And learning is the [process] of searching for the emergence of that thing from virtuality to actuality (al-firāt). And education is bringing it out from virtuality to actuality.\textsuperscript{149}

And al-Ghazālī in his \textit{Ihya} says:

Every human being is born with [an inherent] knowledge of reality; inherent since it is readily disposed to perceive reality... Thus, remembrance which is in accordance to the knowledge which is installed by nature (fitrah) in man is of two kinds; the one is to recall a picture which once existed in one's mind but has disappeared; while the other is to recall a picture which is inherent in one's mind by nature.\textsuperscript{150}

From the statements mentioned above, it can be seen that the two works hold that knowledge of reality can be acquired through learning and education. These kinds of processes will bring such knowledge from virtuality to actuality. The two works, however, differ in explaining the circumstances of the knowledge. The \textit{Ihya} acknowledges two kinds of circumstances: one of them is a process of recalling knowledge which has disappeared after being installed by nature; and the other is a process of recalling knowledge which exists permanently in man by nature. The \textit{Risālah} mentions only the second process of the \textit{Ihya}, i.e. a process of recalling knowledge

\textsuperscript{148} \textit{Risālah}, p. 103; Trans. \textit{Risālah}, p. 37.

\textsuperscript{149} \textit{Risālah}, p. 102; Trans. \textit{Risālah}, p. 36.

\textsuperscript{150} \textit{Ihya}, Vol. 1, p. 87; Book of Knowledge, pp. 230 - 231.
which is inherent in man by nature.

The author of the Risālah and al-Ghazālī differ in the way of explaining the examples of reflection, because the author of the Risālah illustrates his examples by giving ‘what is reflected by learned men’ instead of ‘what people should reflect’ as al-Ghazālī does. The author of the Risālah says:

The engineer does not learn all the things, ...but he learns the universal [principles] of his science and its premises... Likewise, the physician cannot learn the particulars of people's diseases and their remedies, ...Likewise, the astronomer studies the universals pertaining to the stars, ...So also the jurist and the man of letters (adib) in the matter of the marvellous works of art.151

And al-Ghazālī writes:

You should know that reflection is concerned both with religious matters and other matters. We shall confine ourselves with what is connected with religious affairs and leave the other part. We mean by religious matters the relationship (mu‘āmalah) between a servant and God; either what is connected with a servant, his characteristics and his states or what is connected with God, His attributes and His actions. It is not possible to go further than these two parts.152

It is obvious that the two works differ from each other in illustrating modes of reflection. Al-Ghazālī gives more details on reflection on religious matters, while the author of the Risālah gives details on other matters.

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152 Iḥyā‘; Vol. 4, p. 428.
Divine learning (al-تاَّللَّم الْرَّبْعَيْنِ)

Divine learning according to ِال-غزالي and the Risālah's author occurs from revelation (wahy) and inspiration (ilhâm). Revelation is regarded as the first method of gaining the esoteric knowledge which is restricted to the prophets and the apostles.¹⁵³ And inspiration is a knowledge of God which comes not from revelation but is a direct enlightening of the heart of the prophets, the apostles and the saints which is regarded as the second method of attaining esoteric knowledge.¹⁵⁴ Al-Ghazālī in his Ihyā' describes revelation (wahy) and inspiration (ilhâm):

That which [i.e. knowledge] occurs without acquisition (iktisāb) and demonstration (dalîl) is called ilhâm... The occurrence [of knowledge] in the heart without demonstration, learning (ta'âllum) and the use of reason by man is divided into [knowledge] which man does not know and from where it comes to him and [knowledge] which informs [man] at the same time of the cause (al-sabab) from which that knowledge is gathered. The latter is the direct witnessing (mushâhadâh) of the angel who alights upon the heart. [Of these two kinds of ilhâm] the former is [also] called ilhâm and it is disclosed to us in the heart (râfî). The latter is called wahy and it is peculiar to prophets, while the former is peculiar to saints (awliyā' wa asfiyā').... Indeed, knowledge [ilhâm and wahy] only occurs in our heart through the mediation of the angel.¹⁵⁵

From the above statement, it is stated that revelation can only be received by the prophets, whilst inspiration is received by the saints. Al-Ghazālī admits the difference between revelation and inspiration, even though, in one place, he mentions


¹⁵⁵ Ihyā', Vol. 3, pp. 18 - 19; McCarthy, op. cit., secs. 45., p. 378. Al-Ghazālī writes: "To this is the allusion in God Most High's utterance: It is not fitting for a man that God should speak to him except by revelation (wahyân), or from behind a vell, or by the sending of a Messenger to reveal, with God's permission, what God wills: For He is Most High, Most Wise. (42:51)". Ihyā', Vol. 3, p. 19; McCarthy, op. cit., sec. 48, p. 379.
that inspiration can also be received by the prophet. He says:

Such are prophets to whom recondite things are clarified in their inward thoughts without having learnt nor heard anything of the sort. This is expressed by the word inspiration (ilhām)... This kind of imparting information by the angels to the prophets is different from explicit revelation (wahy) which involves hearing a definite voice with an ear and seeing the angel with the eye.156

From the statements given above, it can be deduced that al-Ghazālī explains the process by which knowledge of revelation and inspiration occurs is through the mediation of the angels, even though their methods of reception are different [i.e. for example, inspiration does not involve hearing voice with an ear, while revelation involves hearing a definite voice with an ear]. Al-Ghazālī proceeds to describe that process by saying:

The light of knowledge is not made to shine upon the heart of man except through [the instrument of] the angels, and it is not possible for any man to have any communication with God except through revelation (wahy) or through a veil or through a messenger whom God sends and instructs to declare His will. Similarly, whatever knowledge is sent by the grace of God to the human heart is transmitted by the angels who have been entrusted (muwakkalūn) with this responsibility. They are angels who have been made holy, pure and free from all blameworthy traits.157

As already mentioned, the author of the Risālah describes revelation as only coming from the Universal Intellect and inspiration as coming only from the Universal Soul by a process of emanation (fayḍ).158 Even if it is possible to interpret the Universal Intellect as an angel, the author does not ever mention the angels in this context as al-Ghazālī does. He describes the revelation by saying:

It is that when the soul is perfected in its essence, the defilement of

156 Ihyā‘, Vol. 1, p. 88; Book of Knowledge, p. 234.
157 Ihyā‘, Vol. 1, p. 49; Book of Knowledge, pp. 126 - 127.
158 Watt sees this as a particular reason for rejecting the authenticity of the Risālah as a work by al-Ghazālī. Watt, Authenticity, p. 34.
nature, the filthiness of greed and transient desire vanish from it. And it turns towards its Creator (Bāri') and Author (Munshi') and takes hold of the bounty of its Creator (Mubdi') and relies on His Grace and the outpouring (fayd min) of His Light. And God Most High by His Most Excellent providence accepts that soul with full acceptance. And He looks upon it with His Divine Sight and He makes of it a Tablet and from the Universal Soul, He makes a pen and inscribes on it all [types of] knowledge, and the Universal Intellect becomes like a teacher and the sanctified soul becomes like a pupil. Then all [branches of] knowledge will accrue to that soul and all the images will be inscribed upon it without study and contemplation... And from the outpouring (ifadah) of the Universal Intellect will emanate revelation (wahy).159

And he describes the process of inspiration (ilhām) as:

The awakening by the Universal Soul of the individual human soul, commensurate with its purity, its receptivity and the degree of its readiness... and from the radiation (ishrāq) of the Universal Soul will emanate inspiration (ilhām).160

Nevertheless, the author also contradicts himself by also mentioning that knowledge of revelation and inspiration can be received directly from God without any mediation:

The knowledge of the prophets is more dignified in rank than all the [types of] knowledge of mankind because it has been received from God Most High, directly and without mediation...161 The knowledge of spiritual intuition (al-īlm al-laduni) is that which is attained without any mediation between the soul and the Creator and it is like the radiance from the lamp of the unseen, which enters into the heart which is pure, unoccupied and subtle.162

Al-Ghazālī, however, occasionally alludes to inspiration (ilhām) in terms which imply some form of communication by emanation which does not include the mediation of angels. He writes:

160 Risālah, pp. 105, 105 - 106; Trans. Risālah, pp. 41, 42.
162 Risālah, p. 105; Trans. Risālah, p. 41.
What can truly be said of it (ilhām) is that the heart is predisposed for the disclosure in it of the truth of reality (haqīqat al-haqq) present in all things. Interposition between it and them is due simply to one of the five causes previously mentioned. These are like a veil lowered and interposing between the mirror of the heart and the Preserved Tablet on which is engraved all that God has decreed until the Day of Resurrection. The irradiation (tajallā) of the realities of cognitions from the mirror of the Tablet into the mirror of the heart resembles the impression of an image from one mirror on another facing it.

(3) Division into revealed (shar'īyyah) and non-revealed (ghayr shar'īyyah)/rational ('aqliyyah) sciences

As mentioned earlier, in the Risālah, knowledge is divided into revealed (shar'īyyah) and rational ('aqliyyah). The author of the Risālah says "that knowledge is divided into two parts: The first is revealed (sharītī) and the other is rational ('aqlītī)". He says that "most revealed knowledge is rational for those who know [through study] ('ālim) and most rational knowledge is revealed for those who have intuitive knowledge ('ārif)". It appears that the author of the Risālah asserts that the one who without intuitive knowledge can look at revealed (shar'īyyah) knowledge and see it as rational ('aqliyyah), while the one who has intuitive knowledge can look at rational knowledge and see that in fact it is revealed.

This twofold division (i.e. revealed - rational) is similar to the division of knowledge

163 i.e. i) a natural defect of the heart as the heart of a child; ii) impurities of sins owing to lusts; iii) when the heart is diverted to worldly matters; iv) when the heart is veiled by its lusts; v) when the heart is full of ignorance. Cf. Ihyā', Vol. 3, pp. 13 - 14. See also p. 24 above.


165 See Chapter Two, 2.5.4. Classification of knowledge.

166 Risālah, p. 96; Trans. Risālah, p. 25.
mentioned in the third volume of the *Ihya*. Al-Ghazālī speaks of:

The heart with its nature is prepared to receive truths of known things, ...but [types of] knowledge which are held in it, divide into rational ('aqliyyah) and revealed (shar'īyyah).\(^{167}\)

In the first volume of the *Ihya*, he uses the term non-revealed (ghayr shar'īyyah) instead of the term rational ('aqliyyah). He says:

It should be known that a necessary duty (fard) is not distinguished from other duties except when the different [types of] knowledge are enumerated. These are divided into revealed (shar'īyyah) and non-revealed (ghayr shar'īyyah) knowledge.\(^{168}\)

However, al-Ghazālī's treatment of this non-revealed is similar to his treatment of rational knowledge.\(^{169}\)

The *Risālah* appears to consider that the source for attaining non-revealed/rational knowledge is through human learning (al-ta'āllum al-insānī) (i.e. learning and reflection) and the source of revealed knowledge is through divine learning (al-ta'āllum al-rabbānī) (i.e. revelation (waḥy) and inspiration (ilḥām)).\(^{170}\) Al-Ghazālī points out that the source of rational knowledge is intellect (i.e. it is not acquired through *taqlīd* and [learning through] hearing (samā')).

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\(^{169}\) Prior to al-Ghazālī, Ibn Sīnā is also known to have accepted the distinction between revealed and rational sciences. He wrote a short treatise entitled *Fi Aqsām al-'Ulūm al-'Aqliyyah* to answer someone who asked him to present a summary account of the rational sciences. (See Ibn Sīnā, "*Fi Aqsām al-'Ulūm al-'Aqliyyah*" in *Tis' Rasālī al-Ḥikmah wa al-Ṭabī'īyyā*., Cairo, 1908, pp. 105, 107 - 108; Sherif, *op. cit.*, pp. 5, 7; R. Lerner and M. Mahdi (eds.) *Medieval Political Philosophy: A Sourcebook*, Toronto, 1963, p. 96; Bakar, *op. cit.*, p. 223). Al-Fārābī also uses the term revealed knowledge in his classification of knowledge and distinguishes it from the philosophical sciences. (See al-Fārābī, *Kitāb al-Millah wa Naqīṣ Ukhraj*, (ed.) M. Mahdi, Beirut, 1968, pp. 46 - 47; *Idem*, *Ihya* al-'Ulūm, (ed.) ʻUthmān Amīn, Cairo, 1949, pp. 102 - 103; Sherif, *op. cit.*, p. 5; Bakar, *op. cit.*, p. 223).

\(^{170}\) *Risālah*, pp. 102, 103, 105; Trans. *Risālah*, pp. 35, 38, 41.
revelation (i.e. by taqlīd and samā'). Al-Ghazālī writes:

Rational [knowledge] (caqliyyah): we mean by it what the natural disposition of intellect requires and it does not obtain through blind acceptance (taqlīd) and [learning through] hearing (samā'). And religious (dīnīyyah) knowledge: is taken by the means of blind acceptance from the prophets, that is obtained by studying the Book of God Most High and the Sunnah of His Prophet and understanding their meaning after hearing [them].

He also claims that this intellect and revelation are never contradictory:

Rational (caqliyyah) knowledge is not sufficient for the safeness of the heart and it needs revealed (shar'īyyah) knowledge... but it is impossible to understand revelation after hearing it without intellect. Thus, intellect is indispensible for revelation (samā') and revelation (samā') is indispensible for intellect.

(a) Revealed (shar'īyyah) knowledge

Al-Ghazālī defines revealed knowledge as:

What has been acquired from the prophets and is not arrived at either by intellect like arithmetic, or by experimentation like medicine, or by hearing like language.

The Risālah, however, does not give any definition for revealed knowledge as al-Ghazālī does in his Ihyā' as it only divides revealed (shar'īyyah) knowledge "into two types; The first is fundamentals (usūl)... The second is knowledge of branches (furū').

Al-Ghazālī in the Ihyā' mentions that "revealed (shar'īyyah) knowledge is divided into praiseworthy (mahmūdah) and blameworthy (madhmūnah) sciences". He says that

171 Ihyā', Vol. 3, pp. 16 - 17.
"the praiseworthy sciences comprise fundamentals (usūl), branches (furiq), preludes (muqaddimāt) and supplementary (mutammimāt).\textsuperscript{175} To elaborate the science of fundamentals, al-Ghazālī writes:

Fundamentals (usūl)...are four in number: The Book of God Most High, the Sunnah of His Prophet, the Consensus (ijmār) and the sayings of the Companions (āthār).\textsuperscript{176}

From the above statement, it can be deduced that al-Ghazālī as well as other Muslim scholars mentions the primary sources of attaining revealed (sharī'īyyah) sciences are the Qurān, the Traditions, the consensus and the sayings of the Companions.\textsuperscript{177} In the Risālah, the author only mentions the sources of gaining revealed knowledge as three: the Qurān, the Traditions and the arguments of analogy (qiyyās)\textsuperscript{178} without including the sayings of the Companions and the consensus as al-Ghazālī does. The author mentions that the most important subject of revealed knowledge is tawḥīd. In tawḥīd he includes all the main themes of theology (al-kalām) (i.e. as concerned with the attributes of God, circumstances of life and death, eschatology and the states of the Prophets and the Companions).\textsuperscript{179}

In al-Ghazālī's definition of revealed (sharī'īyyah) knowledge, he appears to say that the linguistic sciences are not within revealed knowledge because they are obtained by learning. But he mentions them as the science of preludes (muqaddimāt). He writes:

\textsuperscript{175} \textit{Ihyā'}, Vol. 1, p. 16; cf. \textit{Book of Knowledge}, p. 38.

\textsuperscript{176} \textit{Ihyā'}, Vol. 1, p. 16; cf. \textit{Book of Knowledge}, p. 38.

\textsuperscript{177} \textit{Ihyā'}, Vol. 1, pp. 38 - 40; see also Ibn Khaldūn, \textit{Muqaddimah Ibn Khaldūn}, Tehran, 1315 A.H., p. 436; Bakar, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 223. As shown in Appendix 1, Figure 1.b. (Part A) (1).

\textsuperscript{178} Risālah, p. 96; Trans. Risālah, p. 26.

\textsuperscript{179} Risālah, pp. 96f; Trans. Risālah, pp. 26f. As shown in Appendix 1, Figure 1.a. (Part A) (1).
The third type of revealed (shar'iyyah) knowledge is preludes. These act as the instrument for the revealed knowledge. Thus linguistic science and syntax are but instruments for the knowledge of the Book of God and the Sunnah of His prophet.180

He also makes clear that although, in itself, linguistic knowledge is not a revealed (shar'iyyah) knowledge, inasmuch as it is one of the preludes (muqaddimāt) of revealed knowledge proper, it may, for the purpose of classification, be included under the category of the latter.181

In the Risālah itself, the author also includes linguistic sciences in revealed (shar'iyyah) knowledge where he puts it under the elucidation of the science of fundamentals (usūl),182 while al-Ghazālī describes it as the science of preludes (muqaddimāt). They both regard linguistic sciences as an instrument and a ladder to the revealed sciences. They mention that linguistic sciences is the most important source of attaining the knowledge of the Book of God and the Traditions.183

However, in the Iḥyā', al-Ghazālī adds a further classification of the revealed sciences which is not contained in the Risālah. He divides the furūʿ or the "derivatives" of the revealed sciences into two kinds. He says:

The branches (furūʿ) are of two kinds: The first pertains to the benefits of this world. It is contained in the books of jurisprudence (fiqh) and is the responsibility of the lawyers (al-fuqahāʾ)... The second pertains to the benefits of the next world; states of the heart, praiseworthy and blameworthy morals, what is pleasing and what is hateful to God. From

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181 For al-Ghazālī, linguistic science is the knowledge of the Arabic language. He says that it is appropriate to include linguistic science under the category of revealed knowledge, because Arabic is the language of the sacred Law of Islam. See Iḥyāʾ, Vol. 1, p. 17; cf. Book of Knowledge, p. 39.

182 Risālah, p. 98; Trans. Risālah, p. 28.

it is knowledge of what the heart infuses (yatarashshah) into the limbs in terms of the worship (‘ibādāt) and customary law (‘ādāt).  

Thus, al-Ghazālī seems to see the activities of the law in the branches (furū‘) as being at two levels. When they are formally carried out, they bring benefits to society (dunyāwiyyah). However, when the heart infuses these branches (furū‘), they bring the individual benefits in terms of the hereafter (ukhrāwiyyah), that is the individual will earn heavenly rewards as a result of the heart inspiring his actions with the love of God.

Although as discussed above, al-Ghazālī seems to indicate that the actions of jurisprudence when infused by the heart involve other worldliness (ukhrāwiyyah), in the main, he tends to emphasise the distinction between the revealed sciences of the world and the revealed sciences of other worldliness. He says:

The knowledge by which we approach the hereafter is divided into the knowledge of unveiling (al-mukāshafah) and the knowledge of behaviour (al-mu‘āmalah).  

Regarding the knowledge of unveiling, al-Ghazālī refuses to deal with it. He says:

That kind of knowledge is not permitted to be recorded in writing and the prophets spoke only figuratively through signs and symbols, because they realised the inability of man's intellects to comprehend it. Since the learned men are heirs of the prophets, they cannot but follow in their footsteps and emulate their ways.

However, the author of the Risālah’s treatment of this kind of revealed sciences is

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184 *Iḥyā‘*, Vol. 1, pp. 16 - 17; cf. Book of Knowledge, pp. 36. See Appendix 1, Figure 1. b. (Pt. A) (2).

185 *Iḥyā‘*, Vol. 1, pp. 3 - 4; Book of Knowledge, p. 6. Indeed, al-Ghazālī deals in the entire first half of the *Iḥyā‘* with the first part of it, i.e. exoteric knowledge which concerns knowledge of the effect of the states of the heart on the members of the body when practising acts of worship (‘ibādāt) and customary laws (‘ādāt). (Cf. *Iḥyā‘*, Vols. 1, 2). In the entire second half of the *Iḥyā‘* he deals with the second part of it, i.e. esoteric knowledge which deals with the states of the heart (‘ilm al-wa‘l al-qalb). (Cf. *Iḥyā‘*, Vols. 3, 4).

quite similar to al-Ghazālī's. He writes:

The science of branches comprises three duties: The first is the duty to God Most High which is the pillars of religious observances (tibādāt)... The second is the duty to [one's] fellow beings. This comprises the categories of customary law (ādār) and has two aspects; one of them is transactions (al-miʿāmalāt)... The second is contractual obligations (al-miʿāqadāt)... The term jurisprudence applies to these two obligations... The third is duty to oneself. This is the knowledge of moral qualities (ilm al-akhlaq), and moral qualities are either blameworthy or praiseworthy.187

In describing praiseworthy or blameworthy qualities, al-Ghazālī does not seem to have used the phrase 'ilm al-akhlaq for ethics in his Ihyā'. Rather he uses the words "knowledge of the states of the heart" (ilm ahwil al-qalb).188 This description follows the Šūfīs.189 In the Risālah, the term ethics ('ilm al-akhlaq) is clearly used.190

By regarding ethics as evolving out of obligations to the self,191 the author of the Risālah does not consider ethics as coming either within formal obligations to God or formal obligations to one's fellow men. Thus he does not regard ethics as coming within the realm of politics or family life. Similarly, al-Ghazālī in the Ihyā', by regarding knowledge of the states of the heart as the study of ethics also puts it outside the scope of politics and family life.

In the Ihyā', al-Ghazālī gives reasons for this view of his, whilst the author of the Risālah does not. Al-Ghazālī says that the ideal government in the Islamic community

190 Risālah, p. 99; Trans. Risālah, p. 31.
191 As the diagram on Appendix 1, Figure 1 (2) indicates.
is based on the rules of jurisprudence. These rules are divided through man's intellect (al-'aql) from the four roots (usūl) of the Sharī'ah, i.e. the Qur'ān, the Traditions of the Prophet, the sayings of the Companions and the consensus (ijmā'). The existence of the rules of jurisprudence is for the good ordering of worldly affairs. The jurisprudents supply the ruler with laws with which to govern the people to make justice and peace prevail in the country. However, these rules have no concern with man's well-being in the life to come (yawm al-akhirah) which is the central problem of ethics. He says that the consideration of the rightness or wrongness of actions directed towards God and towards men from the viewpoint of otherworldly well-being is outside the discussion of jurisprudence and consequently, of politics; it belongs solely to ethics. Thus the laws of politics (qawānin al-siyāsah), which are among the rules of jurisprudence are separate from ethical rules. However, they are useful to morality in the sense that by the good ordering of worldly affairs, they facilitate the cultivation of morality and religion. In this way, politics and jurisprudence have only an indirect connection with ethics.

(b) Non-Revealed (ghayr shar'iyyah)/rational ('aqliyyah) knowledge

The author of the Risālah enumerates the rational sciences as follows:

It is divided into three classes: The first class...is the knowledge of mathematics and logic. As for mathematics, it includes arithmetic... numbers and geometry... figures and cosmology... from it are derived the science of astrology and the rules for the times of births and

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192 Iḥyā', Vol. 1, p. 17.

193 Al-Ghazālī writes that however, those jurisprudents, who do not devote themselves exclusively to the science of jurisprudence but who are also employed in the science of the soul and observance, are regarded as learned men of the hereafter (ulamā' al-akhirah). He lists the five well-known and widely followed Muslim jurisprudents, Abū Ḥanīfah, al-Shāfi‘ī, Mālik, Ahmad Ibn Ḥanbal and Sufyān al-Thawrī. Ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 22 - 26.

Al-Ghazālī defines rational/non-revealed knowledge as follows:

It is divided into praiseworthy (mahmūdah), blameworthy (madhmūmah), and permissible (mubāh). Praiseworthy sciences are those on whose knowledge the activities of this life depend such as medicine and arithmetic. They are divided into sciences the acquisition of knowledge of which is fard kifayah and into science the acquisition of knowledge of which is meritorious (fadīlah) though not obligatory (farīdah). Sciences whose knowledge is deemed fard kifayah, comprise every science which is indispensable for the welfare of this world such as: medicine, arithmetic, division of legacies and inheritances, the fundamental industries such as, agriculture, weaving, politics, cupping and tailoring. The blameworthy sciences are magic, talismatic, juggling, trickery. The permissible sciences are poetry, history etc. Know that all that science of theology (‘ilm al-kalām) has become permissible... and one of the disciplines which are deemed a fard kifayah... As to philosophy, it comprises of four sciences: the first includes geometry and arithmetic, both of which are permissible. The second is logic... which is included under theology. The third is divinity (al-

195 Risālah, pp. 100 - 101; Trans. Risālah, pp. 31 - 33. As shown in Appendix I, Figure 1.a.

ilāhiyyāt) which is included under theology. The fourth is natural sciences (al-ṭabī‘iyyāt).\(^{197}\)

From the above quotations, it can be seen that the author of the Risālah and al-Ghazālī give a quite different theory of rational/non-revealed knowledge. According to the author of the Risālah rational knowledge contains three classes. He says that the first class contains the science of mathematics and logic as the lowest class in rank; the second class consists of natural science as the middle class; and the third class comprises science of metaphysics as the highest class.\(^{198}\)

However, the Iḥyā’ uses a completely different system of division. In order to distinguish between true sciences and false or dangerous sciences al-Ghazālī applies the standards of praiseworthy, blameworthy and permissible. By praiseworthy sciences he means "those on the knowledge of which the activities of this life depend, such as medicine and arithmetic". He applies the concepts of fard kifāyah to the praiseworthy forms of knowledge which comprises every science which is indispensable for the welfare of this world. He gives medicine as an example, which is necessary for the life of the body, and arithmetic, which is necessary for daily transactions and the division of legacies and inheritances, and also agriculture, weaving, politics, cupping and tailoring.\(^{199}\) He also includes logic into this category.\(^{200}\) These are the sciences the

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\(^{197}\) Iḥyā’, Vol. 1, p. 22; cf. Book of Knowledge, pp. 53 - 54. As shown in Appendix 1, Figure 1. b.

\(^{198}\) Risālah, pp. 100 - 101; Trans. Risālah, pp. 31 - 33.

\(^{199}\) Iḥyā’, Vol. 1, p. 16; Book of Knowledge, p. 37.

\(^{200}\) Perhaps this is concluded from al-Ghazālī's affirmation that logic is an essential tool of scholastic theology. (See Iḥyā’, Vol. 1, p. 22; The Book of Knowledge, p. 54).

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absence of which could reduce a community to serious straits.\textsuperscript{201} It seems that none of al-Ghazālī’s praiseworthy rational sciences is \textit{fard `ayn}.

From the ways of dividing knowledge in the \textit{Risālah} and the \textit{Ihya\textsuperscript{a}}, it appears that the \textit{Ihya\textsuperscript{a}} begins its division with practical sciences, followed by theology and ending with philosophy. In the division of philosophy, the \textit{Ihya\textsuperscript{a}} gives the order as beginning with geometry and arithmetics, followed by the science of logic and then divinity (\textit{al-ilāhiyyāt}) as the third rank which are both also included under theology. After divinity, it puts natural sciences as the fourth rank. However, the \textit{Risālah} seems to give a more systematic division. It puts the theoretical background in the first rank, followed by physical sciences and ending with metaphysics as the highest in rank.\textsuperscript{202}

Al-Ghazālī regards the praiseworthy and the permissible as similar in the sense that these two standards can be applied to the same subject. By permissible, he seems to indicate that certain sciences should only be studied in moderation in order to acquire benefit from them. He writes:

\begin{quote}
Every one of these [sciences whose knowledge is praiseworthy] has three stages: first limitation (\textit{iqtisār}) which stage is the primary, second moderation (\textit{iqtisād}) which is the intermediary, and third thoroughness (\textit{istiqsād}) which is a sequel to moderation and which goes on and on during the entire life of the seeker.\textsuperscript{203}
\end{quote}

Concerning the permissible part, al-Ghazālī defines it as:

That whose knowledge is praiseworthy within a certain limit, that of

\textsuperscript{201} \textit{Ihya\textsuperscript{a}}, Vol. 1, p. 16; \textit{Book of Knowledge}, p. 37.

\textsuperscript{202} \textit{Ihya\textsuperscript{a}}, Vol. 1, p. 22; \textit{Risālah}, pp. 100 - 101: Trans. \textit{Risālah}, pp. 31 - 33.

\textsuperscript{203} \textit{Ihya\textsuperscript{a}}, Vol. 1, p. 39; \textit{Book of Knowledge}, p. 100.
sufficiency, but beyond that it ceases to be praiseworthy.\textsuperscript{204} He includes in it the science of geometry and arithmetic,\textsuperscript{205} astronomy,\textsuperscript{206} natural sciences\textsuperscript{207} and music. He accepts music as an aid to religious life and mystical devotion. It is regarded by him as a means of pleasurable, aesthetic enjoyment and as an effective moral agent.\textsuperscript{208}

Al-Ghazālī defines blameworthy rational/non-revealed sciences as:

The knowledge of which is blameworthy, whether it be in part or in toto... The part whose partial and total knowledge is blameworthy is that which has no use either in the realm of religion or in the domain of life because its harmfulness exceeds its utility, such as the science of magic, talismans and astrology, parts of which are no use whatever and to spend one's life, the most precious thing a man possesses, in them is sheer waste; and to waste anything precious is blameworthy.\textsuperscript{209}

He says, however, that knowledge is not held to be blameworthy in itself.\textsuperscript{210} It is only regarded as such in the eyes of men for one of three reasons, as follows:

(i) When it leads to any harm, whether the harm should befall its practitioner or someone else besides, for which reason the science of magic and talismans is

\textsuperscript{204} \textit{Ihya'}, Vol. 1, p. 38; \textit{Book of Knowledge}, p. 98.
\textsuperscript{205} \textit{Ihya'}, Vol. 1, p. 22; \textit{Book of knowledge}, p. 53.
\textsuperscript{206} \textit{Ihya'}, Vol. 1, pp. 29ff; \textit{Book of Knowledge}, pp. 74ff. Al-Ghazālī's clarification of astronomy refers to mathematical astronomy as it has been defined by al-Fārābī. See McCarthy, \textit{op. cit.}, sec. 33, p. 73.
\textsuperscript{207} \textit{Ihya'}, Vol. 1, p. 22; \textit{Book of Knowledge}, p. 54; McCarthy, \textit{op. cit.}, sec. 45, p. 76.
\textsuperscript{210} This view is similar to the \textit{Risālah} which regards knowledge as noble in its essence and perfect in itself. See \textit{Risālah}, p. 89; Trans. \textit{Risālah}, p.
held blameworthy.\textsuperscript{211}

(ii) When it is usually (fi ghālib al-amr) harmful. Al-Ghazālī gives the study of the stars\textsuperscript{212} as an example which is not in itself blameworthy, because it is of two parts:

a. The first is mathematical in reference to which the Qurān has pronounced that by it the courses of the sun and the moon are reckoned, i.e. astronomy;

b. The second is astrology (ahkām), by which future events can be known.\textsuperscript{213}

(iii) When the pursuit of that kind of knowledge does not give the practitioner any real scientific benefit.\textsuperscript{214}

With regard to (ii. b) astrology, al-Ghazālī claims it as blameworthy because:

(i) It is harmful to most people, because by foretelling future events this would lead people to think that the stars influence the course of events.

(ii) Astrology is pure-guess work as the influence of the stars cannot be determined either with certainty or even with probability. Thus it could be regarded as a form of ignorance and is therefore blameworthy because of this ignorance.

(iii) It is of no use at all and it leads to useless things and is a waste of time.\textsuperscript{215}

\textsuperscript{211} \textit{Ihya'}, Vol. 1, p. 29; Book of Knowledge, p. 73.

\textsuperscript{212} The criticism of the knowledge of astrology from the point of view of the Shāfi‘īah did not first come from al-Ghazālī but al-Fārābī, followed by Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064), the Andalusian jurist and theologian. They were critical of astrology; al-Fārābī puts this discipline among the occult sciences like Ibn Ḥazm and both do not consider it as a part of natural science. Ibn Ḥazm was in fact more categorical in his rejection of astrology. He differs from Ibn Ṣīnā and al-Ghazālī in rejecting altogether the validity of astrology as knowledge. (cf. Bakar, op. cit., p. 215; see also al-Fārābī, \textit{Ihya` al-Ulūm}, p. 84; A.G. Chejne, \textit{Ibn Ḥazm}, Chicago, 1982, pp. 180 - 184).

\textsuperscript{213} Cf. \textit{Ihya'}, Vol. 1, p. 29; Book of Knowledge, pp. 72 - 73.

\textsuperscript{214} \textit{Ihya'}, Vol. 1, p. 30; Book of Knowledge, p. 77.

\textsuperscript{215} \textit{Ihya'}, Vol. 1, pp. 29 - 30; Book of Knowledge, pp. 72 - 76.
However, the author of the *Risālah* merely includes the science of astrology, the rules for the times of births and horoscopes as derivatives of mathematics without any condemnation.\footnote{Risālah, p. 100; Trans. *Risālah*, pp. 31 - 32.}

(4) Division into theoretical and practical sciences

Throughout the classification of revealed knowledge in the *Risālah* and al-Ghazālī’s works, knowledge is also divided into theoretical (nazariyyah) and practical (‘amaliyyah). In the *Risālah*, the author clearly states that knowledge is either theoretical or practical. He applies this twofold theoretical and practical division to the fundamentals (uşūl) and branches (furūḍ) of revealed knowledge. He states:

That is to say, knowledge is either theoretical or practical. And the knowledge of fundamentals is theoretical, whereas the knowledge of the branches is practical. This practical knowledge comprises three duties: The first of them is the duty to God Most High... the second of them is the duty to [one’s fellow beings...; the third of them is duty to oneself...\footnote{Risālah, p. 99; Trans. *Risālah*, p. 30.} The first type [of revealed knowledge] is in the fundamentals, and it is the knowledge of tawḥīd.\footnote{Risālah, pp. 96f; Trans. *Risālah*, pp. 26f. As shown in Appendix 1, Figure 1. a. (part A) (1) and (2).}

Like the *Risālah*, al-Ghazālī in his *Ihya’* also applies the theoretical and practical division to his definition of revealed knowledge, but he appears to refer them to the branches of revealed knowledge only, instead of referring them to both the fundamentals and the branches of revealed knowledge. Al-Ghazālī writes:

The knowledge by which we approach the hereafter is divided into the knowledge of unveiling (al-mukāshafah) and the knowledge of behaviour (al-mu‘āmalah). By the knowledge of unveiling, I mean
knowledge and only knowledge. By the knowledge of behaviour, I mean knowledge as well as action in accordance with that knowledge... The knowledge of behaviour is merely a path which leads to unveiling and only through that path did the prophet of God communicate with the people and lead them to Him. Concerning knowledge of unveiling itself, the prophets spoke only figuratively and briefly through signs and symbols, because they realised the inability of man's intellect to comprehend.219

He also says:

Furthermore, the knowledge of behaviour is divided into outward knowledge, by which is meant that of the functions of the senses, and inward knowledge, by which is meant that the function of the heart. The bodily organs perform either usages of life ("ādah) or acts of worship ("ibādah), while the heart, because it is removed from the senses and belongs to the celestial world is subject to either praiseworthy or blameworthy [influences]. Inevitably, therefore, this knowledge divides itself into two parts, outward and inward. The outward, which pertains to the senses, is subdivided into the acts to worship and usages of life; the inward, which relates to the conditions of the heart and the qualities of the soul (al-nafs) is subdivided into things which are praiseworthy and things which are objectionable.220

In regard to the above quotations, it can be seen that the author of the Risālah and al-Ghazālī's Iḥyāʿ do not give similar treatments to the theoretical division of the sciences. The Iḥyāʿ only mentions that the theoretical part is applied to the knowledge of unveiling (al-mukāshafah), but does not elaborate on it, because, according to al-Ghazālī, knowledge of unveiling (al-mukāshafah) is not permitted to be recorded in writing, although it is the ultimate aim of the saints. On the contrary, the author of the Risālah discusses this theoretical division in detail, as shown in Appendix 1, Figure 1. a.

219 Iḥyāʿ, Vol. 1, pp. 3 - 4; Book of Knowledge, p. 6.

220 Iḥyāʿ, Vol. 1, p. 4; Book of Knowledge, pp. 6 - 7. As shown in Appendix 1, Figure 1. b. (Part A) (2) (i) and (ii).
It would also appear that the author of the Risālah and al-Ghazālī in his Iḥyā‘ do not make any concerted attempt to apply the theoretical-practical division to the rational sciences. Nor do they give any reason for this omission. They seem to believe that the distinction between revealed and rational knowledge is more fundamental than the distinction between theoretical and practical knowledge. Perhaps that is the reason why both of them deal comprehensively with the former division compared with the latter division.

2.6. Authenticity of al-Risālah al-Laduniyyah

(a) The views of previous scholarship on the Risālah

The question of the authenticity of the Risālah has attracted many modern scholars. They tend to have two opinions; among the first group, who accept it as an authentic are Bouyges, Smith, McCarthy and Bakar; among the second who raised doubts as to its authenticity are Palacios, Watt, Badawi and Yafeh. Palacios was the first who drew attention to the issue of the authenticity of the Risālah. He did not believe that it was written by al-Ghazālī because the text coincides exactly with a large part of the Risālah fi Ma‘ānī al-Nafs wa al-Rūḥ of Ibn al-‘Arabi.221 However, Palacios’ argument alone does not prove that the Risālah does not belong to al-Ghazālī. It would have been possible that Ibn al-‘Arabi reproduced the Risālah al-Laduniyyah from al-Ghazālī, since he lived later than al-Ghazālī. Moreover, in addition, Ibn al-‘Arabi is mentioned as

221 Palacios translated and edited Ibn al-‘Arabi’s Risālah fi Ma‘ānī al-Nafs wa al-Rūḥ in his study, La Psicología Según Mohidin Abenarabi, published in The Acts of the Oriental Congress, Algiers, 1905, pp. 151 - 186. He found that in fact two passages are literally identical in both Risālahs; the second section of the Risālah attributed to al-Ghazālī seems to be identical with part of section one of Ibn ‘Arabi’s Risālah; section five of that of the Risālah seems to coincide with section five of Ibn ‘Arabi in various passages. Cf. Ibid., p. 388. Cf. Appendix 2 for the comparison between these Risālahs.
being influenced by al-Ghazâlî in his views on the doctrine of the Şûfîs.  

Palacios is followed by Smith who wrote *Al-Ghazali: The Mystic* and who was the first and the only scholar so far to translate the *Risâlah* into English. She, however, accepts this work as belonging to al-Ghazâlî. She remarks:

> The theory of knowledge set forth here and the psychological doctrine are almost identical with those of the *Ihya‘ Ulûm al-Dîn*.  

Watt who seems to accept Palacios' argument adds his own point to reject the whole of *al-Risâlah al-Laduniyyah* as an authentic work of al-Ghazâlî. He bases his conclusions on three general criteria of authenticity which are represented by three of his securely attributed works: the *Tahâfut, Ihya‘* and *Munqidh*. The three criteria are: first, al-Ghazâlî in the post-*Ihya‘* period asserts the superiority of revelation (*wahy*) and religious intuition over reason, consequently, no work ascribing primacy to reason can belong to that period; second, al-Ghazâlî organises his works in an orderly and logical fashion; third, al-Ghazâlî retains the same attitudes towards orthodox dogma and practice to the end of his life, thus not allowing for the possibility of an "anti-orthodox phase" and an "early Neoplatonic Period". Watt further claims that the author of the *Risâlah* was very interested in a distinction between what Prophets come to know by revelation (*wahy*) which comes from the Universal Intellect and what religious persons

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224 Watt, "Authenticity", pp. 33 - 34.


come to know by inspiration (ilhām) which comes from the Universal Soul. If al-Ghazālī had once been so interested in this distinction, says Watt, then it does not make sense that he should ignore it completely in the Munqiddh and Mishkāt. Watt then concludes that the Risālah cannot belong to any stage prior to that of the Munqiddh. Watt also claims that the Risālah ascribes the supremacy to reason. He then says that this Risālah could not belong to al-Ghazālī’s last period as claimed by those who accept its authenticity. He also argues that it does not belong to al-Ghazālī’s earlier period.227 Watt’s argument that the Risālah asserts the primacy of reason over revelation seems to be based on the opinion that the Universal Intellect (al-‘āql al-kullī) is the source of revelation. However, this rather implies that revelation is rational.

Moreover, Watt rejects Massignon who in 1929 in a chronology of al-Ghazālī’s writing puts the Risālah in his last period after Munqiddh, without discussing the authenticity of the work.228 Bouyges who gives a long list of the works of al-Ghazālī tends to accept that the Risālah is genuinely written by him. He lists the Risālah among al-Ghazālī’s works written in his period of asceticism (488 - 499 A.H.) before the writing of Mishkāt al-Anwār. He however, mentions that some scholars doubts the authenticity of this treatise.229 Badawi who also doubts the authenticity of the Risālah, only rewrites the opinions of Palacios and Watt concerning it.230

227 Ibid., p. 34.

228 See L. Massignon, Recueil de Textes Inédits, Paris, 1929, p. 93 as cited by Mu'allafāt, pp. 10 -11.


230 Mu'allafāt, pp. 270 - 271.
McCarthy found a manuscript in the Library of the American University of Beirut which contained *al-Risālah al-Laduniyyah* with the title page, "*al-Risālah al-Laduniyyah fi 'Ilm al-Laduni Taṣnīf al-Shaykh al-Imām Ḥujjat al-Islām Abī Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī Rahimahu Allāh*.\(^{231}\) He suggests that, although the manuscript was written after the death of al-Ghazālī, it predates Ibn al-ʿArabi.\(^{232}\) McCarthy writes:

> The manuscript contains the three works mentioned on the outside title page.\(^{233}\) Evidently all three were written by the same hand, at about the same time, in the same ink, and on the same kind of paper... There is no explicit mention of a date, so far as I can see, but I venture to suggest that the character of the writing indicates that it was written not later than the seventh century A.H./thirteen century A.D., and it may well have been written in the sixth century A.H./twelfth century A.D. Al-Ghazālī died in 505/1111, and the manuscript as a whole seems to have been written after his death... And if, as I believe, this manuscript antedates Ibn ʿArabi (560/1165 - 638/1240), we have another reason for believing that it is an authentic work of al-Ghazālī.\(^{234}\)

By this argument, McCarthy accepts the *Risālah* as belonging to al-Ghazālī and rejects the view of Palacios and Watt. However, McCarthy's argument of the textual evidence is not sufficient to accept the *Risālah* as a genuine work of al-Ghazālī, since the evidence of the timing does not in any way identify the author.

In response to Palacios and Watt, Bakar in *The Classification of Knowledge in Islam*\(^{235}\) rejects both their views. Bakar says that Watt is wrong in concluding that the

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\(^{233}\) i.e. *Kitāb al-Lumāʿ* by al-Ashʿari, *al-Risālah al-Laduniyyah* itself and *Masaʾil Sīʿālaʾ anhā* also by al-Ghazālī.


Risālah fails to satisfy the criteria as expounded in the Tahāfut, the Iḥyā’ and the Munqidh, since these three works comprise al-Ghazālī’s exoteric teachings, while the Risālah contains his esoteric views. However, apart from unsubstantiated theories which he attributes vaguely to al-Ghazālī, he provides no convincing evidence about his authorship of the work.

(b) The evidence of this thesis

Although external evidence from the existence of the AUB manuscript indicates that a version of the Risālah existed in the sixth century A.H., a study of its internal evidence presents problems. From the whole analysis of the Risālah in this chapter, it can be seen that there are significant similarities and differences between the Risālah and al-Ghazālī’s other works which are confidently attributed to him, especially the Iḥyā’.

An examination of the method of presentation and style shows several similarities and differences. The Risālah and al-Ghazālī other works such as the Iḥyā’ and the Arba‘īn use simple analogy, criticize the philosophers and mention the names of al-Qushayrī and al-Sulamī. However, the Risālah mentions al-Qushayrī as an author of exoteric work, while al-Ghazālī regards him as an esoteric writer. The method and style of the works differ, because the Risālah does not quote any sayings of other Ṣūfī figures as al-Ghazālī always does, and the style of presentation of the Risālah is much more difficult than the Iḥyā’ and al-Ghazālī’s other works which can be confidently attributed to him. The Risālah does not explicitly mention by name any of al-Ghazālī’s

236 Bakar, op. cit., p. 166.

books and, although the author of the *Risālah* remarks on his own writings, he does not mention any actual titles of those works.

An examination of scriptural aspects indicates that the *Risālah* and al-Ghazālī other works such as the *Ihya* have the same methods in quoting passages of the Qurān, the Traditions and also in reproducing the sayings of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.

An evaluation of the views on the soul shows some similarities and differences. The *Risālah*’s view of the rational soul (*al-nafs al-nāfiqah*) is similar to the *Ihya*’s view of the heart. The *Risālah*, the *Ihya*, the *Kīmiyāʿ* and the *Arbaʿīn* have the same opinions on the soul (*nafs*), spirit (*ruḥ*) and vegetative and animal souls, believe in the inner sight and human soul as the Tablet (*al-lawḥ*) for knowledge. The differences between the two works on the soul can be seen in the use of certain terms. The *Risālah* uses the term "rational soul" instead of the term "heart" which is used by al-Ghazālī. The discussion on the conditions of the soul in the *Risālah* is different from that of the *Ihya*.

An examination of the classification of sciences between the *Risālah* and the *Ihya* also shows a number of similarities and differences. The *Risālah* and the *Ihya* have a quite similar classification of sciences. Both divide sciences into those which come upon one (*hudūriyyah*) and those which are acquired (*husūliyyah*), into revealed (*shariyyah*) and non-revealed (*ghayr shariyyah*)/rational (*aqliyyah*) sciences, and into theoretical (*nazariyyah*) and practical (*camaliyyah*) sciences, although al-Ghazālī appears to make another division, *fardʿ ayn* and *fard kifāyah*. The two works have a similar approach on the sciences which come upon one (*hudūriyyah*) - which are acquired (*husūliyyah*) division and also on theoretical and practical division. However, the differences can be
seen in the discussion of the revealed-rational/non-revealed division. The *Ihya’* is more interested in explaining revealed knowledge by dividing it into blameworthy (*madhmūmah*) and praiseworthy (*mahmūdah*) sciences and subdividing it into the science of fundamentals (*usūl*), branches (*furūf*), preludes (*muqaddimāt*) and supplementaries (*mutammimāt*), whilst the *Risālah* only divides it into the science of fundamentals (*usūl*) and branches (*furūf*). The system of division of rational/non-revealed knowledge is also different, for the *Ihya’* uses the standards of praiseworthy, blameworthy and permissible, whilst the *Risālah* uses the categories of lowest, middle and highest classes. However, the enumeration of the sciences contained in each division is quite similar.

The appraisal of the ways of acquiring types of knowledge in the *Risālah* and the *Ihya’* also have some similarities and differences. Both works have an identical ideas on the way of attaining types of knowledge and have the same views on the human learning. They differ however, in explaining the modes of reflection, the process of acquiring knowledge through divine learning, on how the soul receives revelation (*wahy*) and inspiration (*ilhām*), and the use of the philosophical terms which indicates the theory of emanation which cannot be found in any of the works of al-Ghazālī except those which deal with the explanation or refutation of philosophical doctrines. In particular, the use of the Universal Intellect (*al-‘aql al-kullī*) and the Universal Soul (*al-nafs al-kullīyyah*) are nowhere found in the works known to be by al-Ghazālī. Al-Ghazālī always maintains angels as the medium of revelation (*wahy*) and inspiration (*ilhām*), whereas the *Risālah* does not mention them in this connection and considers the Universal Intellect to be the medium of revelation and the Universal Soul the medium of inspiration.
On present external and internal evidence, it is difficult to decide on the authorship of the *Risālah*. The traditional Muslim scholars like Ibn Rushd used to say:

Then he (al-Ghazālī) comes with his book known as *Mishkāt al-Anwār*, and mentions therein the grades of the knowers of Allāh; and says that all of them are veiled save those who believe that Allāh is not the mover of the First Heaven, He being the one from whom those mover of the first Heaven emanates: which is an open declaration on his part of the tenet of the philosophers' schools in the science of theology; though he has said in several places that their science of theology [but not their other sciences] is a set of conjectures, and follows by Ibn Ṭufayl who says:

His (al-Ghazālī's) peculiarity of teaching (i.e. esoteric teaching as contained in *Kitāb Madnūn bihā 'alā Ahlihā*) contained many symbols and signs that cannot give benefit except to those who has inner sight (*basirah*) of the heart or has master to teach him...

If the above statements that al-Ghazālī's orthodox writings contain both exoteric and esoteric teachings, are to be believed, it is conceivable that al-Ghazālī wrote this book. Moreover there are many similarities between the *Risālah* and al-Ghazālī's other works which are confidently attributed to him especially in the ideas of the soul and the theory of knowledge. Although the ideas of the soul and the theory of knowledge contained many similarities, the style of presentation of them is different from al-Ghazālī's other works such as the *Ihya'*. Because the *Risālah* uses different vocabularies which cannot be found in al-Ghazālī's securely attributed works. If Watt's argument that al-Ghazālī was not influenced by Neo-platonic teachings is acceptable, it is possible to reject this *Risālah* as being written by him. To sum up, it would appear likely that the *Risālah* was written in the close circle of al-Ghazālī but it is impossible to attribute it

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specifically to al-Ghazālī personally because it combines some of his ideas with those from other Şūfī quarters.
PART TWO
MINHĀJ AL-ʾĀRIFĪN

CHAPTER THREE
ANNOTATED TRANSLATION OF
MINHĀJ AL-ʾĀRIFĪN
(p. 67) **In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful**

### 3.1. Introduction to the treatise

Praise be to God who has enlightened the hearts of the gnostics (al-ārifīn) with remembrance of Him, and has made their tongues speak with gratitude to Him and has caused their limbs to flourish with service to Him. They pasture in the meadows of intimacy (al-uns)\(^2\) and they seek shelter in the abode of love (mahabbah). He has remembered them and they have remembered Him, and He has loved them and they have loved Him, and He has been pleased with them and they have been pleased with Him.

Their capital is need (al-iftiqār) [for God] and the method of their business is exigency (al-idṭirār) [for God]. Their knowledge is the remedy of sins, and their gnosis is the medicine of hearts. They are the lamps of the lights of His argument, and the keys of the treasuries of His wisdom. Their imām is the rising moon, and their leader is the shining light, the Lord of the mawāli and the Arabs, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and the pure fruit from the blessed tree whose

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1 The English translation of the Qur’ān which has been used in this translation is that of Abdullah Yusuf Ali, *op. cit.*

2 Intimacy is one of the states of the wayfarer who travel on the path to God. (*Cf. Kashf*, p. 376; *Doctrine* [Arberry], pp. 108 - 109).
origin is [God's] Oneness (tawhīd), and whose branch is piety (al-taqwā).

Neither of the East nor of the West, whose oil is well-nigh luminous, though fire scarce touched it: Light upon light! God doth guide whom He will to His light; God doth set forth parables for men: and God doth know all things. (24:35)

For any to whom God giveth not light, there is no light! (24:40)

(p. 68) God bless him and grant him salvation, a blessing [of God] whose traces appear in the heavens, whose lights are located high in the paradise of eternity, and whose messages are goodly in the sight of the prophets, and [blessing] upon his virtuous family and his pure companions.

3.2. Chapter of explanation to disciples

It centres around three fundamental principles: fear (al-khwāf), hope (al-rajā') and love (al-hubb). Fear is a branch of knowledge ('ilm), hope is a branch of certainty and love is a branch of gnosis (ma'rifah). The sign of fear is fleeing (al-harāb) [from the world], the sign of hope is searching (al-talāb) and the sign of love is the preference for the beloved. An example of that is the sacred sanctuary, the mosque and the Ka'bah; whoever enters the sacred sanctuary of the will will be safe from creation, whoever enters the mosque, his limbs will be safe from him using them in disobedience to God Most High, and whoever enters the Ka'bah, his heart will be safe from being occupied with other than remembrance of God, may He be praised and glorified.

It will be necessary in the morning for the servant to see into the darkness of the night and the light of the day. He will know that when one of them appears, its
counterpart will be deposed from power (wilāya), and likewise when the light of gnosis (maʿrifah) appears, it dispels the darkness of sins from the limbs. If his state is a state in which he will be content to arrive at death, he will be grateful to God Most High for His favour and protection. If his state is a state that will cause him to hate death, he will leave it with a sound determination (bi sihhat al-ʾazīmah) and perfect endeavour (kamāl al-juḥd), and he will know that [there is] no shelter from God except with Him, just as there is no arriving to Him except by Him. He will then repent for what he has ruined of his life by taking the wrong decisions, seek help from God in cleansing his outward [body] from sins and purifying his inward [soul] from defects, cut the rope of heedlessness from his heart, quench the fire of desire from his soul, go straight on the path of the truth and ride the mount of truthfulness.

Day is a proof of the Hereafter, night is a proof of this world, sleep is a sign of death. The servant is advancing on what has gone before and regretful for what has passed. God, may He be praised and glorified, said: (p. 69)

That day will man be told [all] that he put forward and all that he put back. (75:13)

3.3. Chapter of rules (al-ʾahkām)

The inflection (ʾfrūb) of the heart is of four types, raising (raf), opening (fath), decreasing (khafd) and pause (waqf). The heart is raised in remembrance of God Most High, and the heart is opened in contentment with God Most High. The heart is decreased in being occupied with other than God Most High, and the heart pauses in

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1 Lit: By the evil of his choice.
heedlessness of God Most High.

The sign of raising [the heart] are three things: the existence of compliance [with God's will], the loss of disobedience [to God] and the continuance of longing (shawq) [for God]. The sign of opening [the heart] are three things: trust, truthfulness and certainty. The sign of decreasing [the heart] are three things: pride, hypocrisy and covetousness, and that is heeding this world. The sign of pause [the heart] are three things: the cessation of the sweetness of obedience, the loss of [the awareness of] the bitterness of disobedience and the obscuring of that which is lawful (halal).

3.4. Chapter of attention (al-rî ḭâyah)

The Apostle of God (P.B.U.H.) said:

Seeking knowledge is obligatory for every Muslim,⁴

and that [knowledge] is the knowledge of souls. It is necessary that the soul of the disciple be in [a state of] gratitude or apology, so that if he is addressed, he regards himself as favoured, and if he answers, he does so with justice; so that he is obedient to movement (harakah) through being given success (tawfîq) [to move], and [he will be obedient] to motionlessness (sukûn) through being made safe (‘îsmah) [to stay still]. That will only become appropriate for him through the continual need and exigency [for God].⁵

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⁵ The actions of the wayfarer are guided by divine favour and if he does not do anything it means he wants to protect himself from any disobedience. This kind of state cannot be attained except through the practice of poverty and feeling of need for God.
And the key to that:

Is the remembrance of death because in it is repose from the prison [of the body] and safety from the enemy. Its basis is by returning life to a single day and that will only be appropriate by reflection (al-tafakkur) at certain times. The door of reflection is emptiness [from worldly distract], and the cause for emptiness is asceticism (zuhd). The support for asceticism is piety, and the hump (sanām) of piety is (p. 70) fear, and the bridle of fear is certainty, and the process of certainty is seclusion (khalwah) and hunger (al-jūf). Its attainment is endeavour (al-juhd) and patience (al-sabr) and their way is truthfulness, and the sign of truthfulness is knowledge.

3.5. Chapter of intention (al-niyyah)

The servant must have the intention at [every moment of] movement and stillness. For deeds are [judged] according to intentions and every person has [reward on the basis] what he has intended and the intention of the believer is better than his deed.

The intention varies in accordance with fluctuation of times. The soul of the possessor of intention is in toil because of it, while other people are in ease from it. Nothing is harder for the disciple than maintaining intention.

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6 i.e. physical world.

3.6. Chapter of remembrance (al-dhikr)

Make your heart the focus (qiblah) of your tongue, and perceive at the moment of remembrance shame at human state (al-‘ubūdiyyah) and awe at divinity (al-rubūbiyyah). Know that God Most High knows the secret of your heart and He sees your outward actions and He hears your secret thoughts, so wash your heart with mournfulness (bi al-huzn) and light in it the fire of fear (al-khawf).

When the veil of heedlessness (al-ghaflah) vanishes from your heart, your remembrance will be of Him together with His remembrance of you. God Most High said:

And remembrance of God is the greatest [thing in life without doubt].
(29:45)

That is because He remembers you in spite of having no need for you and you remember Him through your need for Him, and He said:

For without doubt in the remembrance of God do hearts find peace.
(13:28)

Peace of the heart comes to it by its remembrance of God and fear [in the heart] comes to it in its remembrance of God. God Most High said:

For believers are those whose hearts, when God is mentioned, feel fear.
(8:2)

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* God said:
  Remember your Lord in your heart with humility and in fear silently morning and evening and be not of the heedless. (7:205)

* God said:
  Remember Me and I will remember you. (2:152)
It is also cited in Ḥyāf, Vol. 1, p. 260.
Remembrance is of two types: sincere remembrance (*dhikr khālis*) by agreement of the heart to decline the contemplation of other than God; (p. 71) and pure remembrance (*dhikr ṣāfī*) by annihilation of any ambition for anything other than remembrance. The Apostle of God (P.B.U.H.) said:

I cannot count praise upon You Yourself as [much as] You have praised Yourself.  

3.7. Chapter of gratitude (*al-shukr*)

In every servant's soul is found the bounty (*ni'mah*) of God for which he is bound to express gratitude. The lowest gratitude (*adnā al-shukr*) is that he sees the bounty from God Most High and is content with what he has been given and he does not oppose Him in any of His bounties. The perfect gratitude (*tamām al-shukr*) is in the acknowledgement by the inmost tongue that all mankind is unable to express gratitude to Him for the smallest part of His bounties, even though they make the utmost effort, because success [granted by God] in gratitude is [another] bounty which occurs for which gratitude is incumbent.

It is requisite for you to express gratitude to an infinite degree. When God attends to the servant, He takes the burden of his gratitude on his behalf and He is pleased with a small amount from him and relieves him of what He knows that he cannot attain and for which he is too weak.


11 To express gratitude at least by tongue is to praise God under all circumstances. *Cf. Iḥyā’*, Vol. 4, p. 89.
The bounties of thy Lord are not closed [to anyone]. (17:20)

3.8. Chapter of garment (al-libās)

Clothes are a bounty (nīmāh) from God for His servant with which he covers his outer skin. The garments of piety (taqwā) are the best, and the best of your garments are those which do not distract your inner self from God Most High. When you put on your garment, remember that the love (mahabbah) of God is a covering for His servants.

Do not expose one of His creation [as having] a blemish which you know about.12 Occupy yourself with the blemish of your [own] soul and cover it with preserverance in the need for God Most High by purifying it. For when the servant forgets (nasiya) his sin, that will be a punishment (ʼuqūbah) for him and by that (i.e. forgetting your sin) the punishment for disobedience will increase.13 If he were to awake from the sleep of heedlessness, certainly he would raise up his sins before the two eyes of his heart, and surely, he would weep for it with the eyelids of his inner self and he would be overwhelmed by fear (wajal) and would melt in shame (hayā') before God.

As long as the servant (p. 72) resorts to the strengh and power of his [lower] soul, he will be cut off from the strength and power of God; so throw down your [own] ambition in front of fear and hope.

And serve thy Lord until there come unto thee the hour that is certain. (15:99)

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13 Reading jazā' instead of juzʻan.
3.9. **Chapter of waking up (al-qiyām)**

When you rise from your bed, raise your heart from the bed of inactivity, and awaken your soul from the sleep of ignorance. Rise up in your entirety to Him who gives life to you and restores your soul to you. Raise your mind from your daily preoccupations,\(^{14}\) and elevate your heart to the uppermost [divine] kingdom (al-malakūt al-a'īlā).

Do not make your heart subject to your [lower] soul, because the soul inclines to the earth, and the heart inclines to heaven. Make use of the word of God, may He be praised and glorified.

To Him mount up [all] words of purity. It is He who exalts each deed of righteousness. (35:10)

3.10. **Chapter of the toothpick (siwāk)**

Use the toothpick because it is a purifier for the mouth, [and a means of affording] gratification to God. Purify your outward and your inner [self] from the filth of disobedience, and cleanse your deeds from the dirt of hypocrisy and vanity, and polish your heart by sincere remembrance of Him, and leave aside that which does not benefit you and indeed harms you.

3.11. **Chapter of evacuation (al-tabarruz)**

When you go out to relieve yourself, take this into consideration, for relief lies in the

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\(^{14}\) Lit: Motion and motionlessness.
removal of filth. So clean yourself and lower the head of your ambition. Close the door of arrogance (al-kibr), and open the door of regret (al-nadam) and sit on the rug of repentance. Strive to prefer His command and to avoid His interdiction and to be patient (p. 73) in face of His judgement. Wash away your evil by abandoning anger and lust (al-ghadab wa al-shahwah), and use longing (al-rāghbah) and reverence (al-ruhbah) because God Most High has praised certain people and He said:

These [three] were ever quick in emulation in good works: they used to call on Us with love and reverence, and humble themselves before Us. (21:90)

3.12. Chapter of purification (al-ṭahārah)

When you purify [yourself], consider the purity of water, its mildness, its ability to purify and cleanse, because God Most High has made it blessed (mubārak); as He said:

And We send down from the sky rain charged with blessing. (50:9)

Apply it to the parts [of the body] which God has enjoined upon you to make pure, so that your purity with God is like the purity of water. Wash the face of your heart away from contemplating other than God, and wash your hand away from extending to other than Him, and wipe your head from pride in other than Him, and wash your feet away from striving for other than Him, and praise God for what He has inspired in you of His religion.

3.13. Chapter of departure (khurūj)

When you depart from your dwelling for your mosque, know that God Most High has
rights upon you which you are obliged to perform. Among them are tranquillity (sakīnah), dignity (waqūr) and consideration of the creation of God, those who are pious and those who are sinners. God Most High said:

And such are the parables we set forth for mankind, but only those who have knowledge understand them. (29:43)

Lower your sight from looking upon carelessness and desire, and always give a greeting (salām) when you speak to someone and when you answer them. Assist whoever asks for your help in right [deeds], and command the approved and forbid the forbidden if you are one of those who do good and guide the person who is straying.\(^{15}\)

(p. 74) 3.14. **Chapter of entering the mosque**

When you arrive at the door of the mosque, know that you have sought out the house of a king who is mighty in power who only accepts the pure person (al-ṭāhir) and to whom only the sincere person (al-khāliṣ) rises up. So think about yourself: who are you? for whom are you? where are you? and in which register your name will appear?\(^{16}\)

When you have considered proper to serve Him, then enter, for you have permission and protection, and if not, stop like one who is compelled, from whom [all] means have been cut off and to whom [all] paths are blocked; for when God knows from your heart that its recourse is to Him, He gives you permission [to enter] and you lose your

\(^{15}\) i.e. that if you are among those who enjoin the right and forbid the wrong.

\(^{16}\) i.e. that you should contemplate whether your name will appear among those who have committed good or bad deeds.
identity. God has mercy upon His servant, ennobles His guest and He gives to whoever requests from Him. He shows mercy to those who turn away from Him, so how [will He act to] those who come to Him.

3.15. Chapter of the beginning of prayers (*iftitah al-*salawāt*)

When you turn your face toward the *qiblah*, turn your heart to the truth and do not be light-hearted, for you should not be one of the people of light-heartedness (*ahl al-*inbisāf*), and bring to mind that you will be standing before Him on the Great Day of Judgement (*yawm al-*qad al-akbar*). Stand on the two feet of fear and hope, and raise your heart from gazing at this world and shabby [life], and direct your attention to Him, because He does not reject the fugitive (*ābiq*) and He does not disappoint the supplicant (*sā'il*).

When you say: "God is Mighty", know that He does not need your service to Him or your remembrance of Him because need is of the nature of the poor and that is the characteristic of created beings, whereas lack of need is amongst the attributes of His Essence. He has appointed duties upon His servants only to bring them close thereby to His forgiveness (*'afwih*) and His mercy (*raḥmatih*) and to make them thereby far from His wrath (*sakhṭah*) and His punishment (*'uqūbatih*). God, may He be praised and glorified, said:

And made them stick close to the command of self-restraint, for they were worthy and appropriate for it. (48:26)

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17 The text reads: *wa ant bilā ant.*
And He Most Powerful has said:

But God has endeared the faith to you, and has made it beautiful in your hearts. (49:7)

Be grateful to God because He has made you worthy to stand before Him for He is (p. 75)

worthy to be feared and worthy to forgive. (74:56)

He is worthy to be feared by His creation and Who may forgive those who fear Him.

3.16. Chapter of recitation (al-qirāʾ)

God Most High said:

When thou dost read the Qurān, seek God's protection from Satan the rejected one.¹⁸ No authority has he over those who believe and put their trust in their Lord. (16:98-99)

His authority is only over those who take him as patron. (16:100)

That whoever turns to him for friendship him, will he lead astray. (22:4)

Remember God's promise and covenant in His revelation (wahyih) and His sending down [revelation] (tanzilīh) upon you. Look how you recite His words and His Book, and recite and contemplate, and stand for its promise, its threats, its parables (amthāl), its religious exhortations, its command, its interdiction, its firm interpretation (muhkam) and its ambiguous passages (mutashābih). Verily, I fear that your observing His limit may be negligence in neglecting His Laws. God, may He be praised and glorified, said:

¹⁸ Lit: the stoned one.
In what message after this will they then believe? (7:185)

3.17. Chapter of the bowing (al-rukūf)

Bow with the bow of a person humble to God in his heart, submissive in his limbs. Complete your bow and put aside your concerns (himmah) by undertaking His command; for you are only capable of fulfilling His requirement (fardih) through His help (bi 'awnihi), and you will only reach the abode of His favour (riḍwānīhi) through His mercy (bi raḥmatīhi), and you will only be able to resist disobeying Him through (p. 76) His protection (bi 'īsmatīhi), and you will only be escape His punishment through His forgiveness (bi 'afwīhi). The Apostle of God (P.B.U.H.) said:

Nobody will ever enter Paradise through his own deeds. They asked: Not even you, O Apostle of God? He replied: Not even I unless God encompasses me with His mercy.19

3.18. Chapter of prostration (al-sujūd)

Bow down before God with the prostration of a humble servant, who knows that he was created from earth (turāb) upon which all creation tramples, and that he was made from a drop of sperm (nufūlah) which every person considers unclean (yastaqrūzūhā).20 When he thinks about his origin and considers the assembling of his substance21 from water


20 Reading 'yastaqrūzūhā' meant 'considers unclean' instead of 'yastafṣirūhā' which has no meaning.

21 Reading 'jawharīhi' instead of 'jawharīf'.
and clay, he will increase in submission to God and he say about himself: "Woe unto you, why did you raise your head from your prostration, why did you not die in front of Him, since God has made prostration the means for attaining closeness to Him?" He Most High said:

And bring thyself closer [to God]. (96:19)

And whoever gets close to Him is far from everything other than Him. Be mindful of the quality of your prostration [as] in this verse:

From [the earth] did We create you, and into it shall we return you, and from it shall We bring you out once again. (20:55)

Seek help with God from other than Him, for it is related from the Prophet (P.B.U.H.) that he said:

God Blessed And Most High said: Do not look into the heart of a servant, and know from him the love of good deeds through obedience to Me, but I take it upon myself to straighten him and manage him.22

3.19. **Chapter of confession of faith (al-tashahhud)**

*Tashahhud* is praise and gratitude to Him and a seeking for more of His favour (*fadlih*) and the continuance of His generosity (*karāmatih*). So leave behind your pretension and be His servant through your deeds as you are His servant through your words; for He created you as a servant and He commanded you to become a servant for Him as He created you. (p. 77)

It is not fitting for a believer, man or woman, when a matter has been decided by God and His Apostle to have any option about their decision.

22 The source of this saying cannot be traced.
Thy Lord does create and choose as he pleases: no choice have they [in the matter]. (28:68)

Take up servitude (ُعُبْدِیْیْیَه) in contentment with His ordinance (بِی ِیُکُمْیِی)\(^2\) and take up worship in submitting to His command. Bless His beloved [i.e. the Prophet] after praise of Him, for He joins love for him with love for Him and obedience to him with obedience to Him and following him with following Him, and He Most High said:

Say: If ye do love God, follow me, God will love you. (3:31)

And He said:

He who obeys the Apostle, obeys God. (4:80)

Verily those who pledge their fealty to thee, do no less than pledge their fealty to God. (48:10)

And He commanded His Apostle to ask [God] forgiveness for you. He Most High said:

Know, therefore, that there is no God but God, and ask forgiveness for thy fault, and for the men and women who believe. (47:19)

And He commanded you to send blessings on him [the Prophet], He Most High said:

God and His Angels send blessings on the Prophet: O, you that believe! send ye blessings on him, and salute him with all respect. (33:56)

And the Apostle of God (P.B.U.H.) said:

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\(^2\) Reading 'بِی ِیُکُمْیِی' that which meant 'with His ordinance' instead of 'بِی ِیُکُمْیِی' which means 'with His wisdom'.

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Anyone who send blessings on me once, God will send blessings on him ten times and will treat him with grace.²⁴

And He Most High said:

And We have raised high the esteem [in which] thou [art held]. (94:4)

Then He commanded him to behave justly in his dealings. He said to (p. 78) the others [Muslim]:

And when the prayer is finished, then may ye disperse through the land. (62:10)

And He said to him:

Therefore, when thou art free [from thine immediate task], still labour hard. And strive to please thy Lord. (94:7)

3.20. Chapter of peaceful salutation (al-salām)²⁵

Peace (salām) is one of the names of God Most High,²⁶ which He entrusted to His creation, so that they might use its meaning in their dealings with Him and in intercourse with His creation. If you intent [to wish someone]²⁷ peace (salāmah), He will convey peace to your friend on your behalf, and He grant mercy to those who cannot have mercy on themselves; for man is amidst trials and ordeals (fitan wa mihan), either tried by

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²⁵ This means the Flawness, the One whose essence is free from defect. Cf. Maqṣād, p. 57; Ninety-nine Beautiful Names, p. 61.

²⁶ God Most High said: "God is He, than Whom there is no other god; the Sovereign, the Holy One, the Source of Peace [and Perfection], the Guardian of Faith." (59:23)

²⁷ As in the expression "al-salām `alaykum".
bounty so that he may manifest his gratitude or tried by calamity so that he may manifest his forbearance. God Most High said:

Now as for man, when his Lord trieth him, giving him honour and gifts, then saith he [puffed up] "My Lord hath honoured me". But when He trieth him, restricting his subsistence for him, then saith he [in despair] "My Lord hath humiliated me". Nay, nay. (89:15-17)

Honour (karāmah) is through obedience to Him and humiliation (hawān) is through disobedience to Him. Those who engage in lust (hawā) will be humiliated by God.


Keep the proper rules (ṣūdāb) for invocation and consider whom you invoke, and how you invoke, and why you invoke, and why you ask. And invocation is a request for everything by you to the [ultimate] Truth (al-Ḥaqq), and if you do not fulfil the stipulation (sharf) of invocation, you should not impose the condition of an answer [to it]. Mālik b. Dīnār28 said:

You think the rain too late in coming, but I think the withholding too long.

If God, glory to Him, had not commanded invocation, it would have been incumbent on us to invoke Him. If He had not imposed the condition of answering our [invocation], He would been pleased to answer [our invocation] if we had been sincere in invoking Him. And how [could that not be so] since He has guaranteed this to anyone who carries

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28 He was the son of a Persian slave from Sijistān and became a disciple of al-Ḥasan al-Ḥaṣrī who was well-known for his asceticism. He made a living by copying the Qurʾān and was a reliable traditionist, transmitting from such early authorities as Anas b. Mālik and Ibn Sirīn. He was credited with a number of miracles, including the ability to walk on water. He died in 131/748. (al-ʿAṭṭār [Arberry], pp. 26 - 31; Kashf, pp. 89 - 90; Hilyah, Vol. 2, pp. 357 - 388.)
out the conditions of invocation. God Most High said: (p.79)

Say [to the rejectors]: "My Lord is not uneasy because of you if ye call not on him". (25:77)

He Most High said:

Call on Me; I will answer your [prayer]. (40:60)

Abū Yazīd al-Bīstāmī was asked about the greatest name of God, and he said:

Free your heart from other than Him and invoke Him with any of His names which you like.

And Yahyā b. Muʿādh said:

Seek the owner of the name.

And the Apostle of God (P.B.U.H.) said:

God does not answer invocation from a distracted heart, and when you are sincere, rejoice with one of three things: either that He is quick in answering you for what you have asked, or that He keeps for you what is greater than it, or that He turns away from you the misfortune which if He imposed it upon you, truly you would be destroyed. So call on Him with the invocation of one who asks seriously, not with the invocation of one who seeks to give [God] advise.\textsuperscript{31}

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Abū Yazīd Ṭayfūr ʿĪsā b. Surushān al-Bīstāmī (257/875) was a famous mystic known for his ecstatic utterances. (H. Ritter, "al-Bīstāmī", \textit{E.I. (2)}, Vol. 1, pp. 162 - 163).
\item i. e. One should ask God with full attention and not command God to carry out one's demand. This Tradition is in al-Tirmidhī, but with a slight difference "Lā yastaṣābi Allāh dāʿī ʿāmin qalb ghāfīl". (al-Tirmidhī, Sunan, \textit{"Kitāb al-deʿawār"}, Vol. 5, p. 517 (no. 3479)).
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
It was related from the Apostle of God (P.B.U.H.) that he said:

God Blessed and Most High said: "Whoever is distracted by remembrance of Me from requesting Me, I will give him better than what I give to those who make requests (sā'ilīn)".32

And Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Warrāq33 said:

I invoked God once, and He granted my invocation and I forgot my necessity, so remember the truth of God Most Powerful and Most Great upon you in invocation and do not occupy [yourself] with your portion for He is most knowledgeable of what is to your benefit.

3.22. Chapter of fasting (al-ṣawm)

When34 you are fasting, by your fasting restrain the soul from desires. Fasting is the annihilation of desire of the soul (murād al-nafs) and in it is the purity (ṣafā) of the heart, the thinness (damārah) of limbs, the awakening of beneficence (iḥsān) to the poor, recourse to God, gratitude for the bounties He has bestowed upon you and a lessening of the reckoning [on the Day of Judgement] (al-hisāb). The favour of God in granting you success in fasting is greater than your being thankful for it [the favour]. It is part of your fasting that you do not demand a recompense.

3.23. Chapter of alms-giving (al-zakāh)

From all of your [bodily] parts there is an alms-giving (zakāh) towards God which is


33 Unidentified figure.

34 Reading 'fa'innā' instead of 'fa'innū'.

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incumbent. The alms-giving (zakāḥ) of the heart is reflection (tafakkur) of His (p. 80) Greatness, His wisdom, His Omnipotence, His proof, His bounty and His mercy, and the alms-giving (zakāḥ) of the eye is looking with care and lowering one's eyes away from desire. The alms-giving (zakāḥ) of the ear is listening to what will give you salvation, and the alms-giving (zakāḥ) of the tongue is speaking whatever will bring you close to Him. The alms-giving (zakāḥ) of the hand is closing one's hand to evil and extending it to the good, and the alms-giving (zakāḥ) of the foot is hastening to what [will make] your heart righteous (salāḥ) and your religion sound (salāmah).

3.24. Chapter of pilgrimage (al-hājj)\textsuperscript{35}

When the disciple makes a pilgrimage, he forms an intention for fear of rejection.\textsuperscript{36} He makes the preparation of someone who does not have hope of return, he chooses the best companionship and frees himself from his [lower] soul at the moment of entering ihram. Then he washes away his sin and dons the garment\textsuperscript{37} of sincerity and loyalty. He repeats the talbiyah in accordance with God\textsuperscript{38} in answering His call, and he prohibits himself in the haram from everything that will estrange him from


\textsuperscript{36} i.e. fear is of God's rejection on account of defects in performing the pilgrimage. (Iḥyā', Vol. 1, pp. 144 - 146).

\textsuperscript{37} i.e. entering the ihram.

\textsuperscript{38} This might mean: he performs the pilgrimage in accordance with the command of God.
God Most High.

Then he walks with his heart around the throne (kursī) of His beneficence and purifies his outward and his inner self at the moment of stopping (wuqūf) at Ṣafā, and hurries\(^\text{39}\) to escape from his passion (ḥawa) and he does not wish to God for anything which is not permitted for him. He acknowledges error at "Arafāt, and he comes close to God at Muzdalifah. He throws away his desires (shahawāt) when stoning the Jamarāt and he slaughters his passion and shaves off his sins. He visits the House [of God] to glorify its owner, and he touches the [Black] Stone (al-hajar) in acceptance of His decree. He bids farewell to everything other than God in the Farewell Circumambulation (jawf al-widūf).

3.25. **Chapter of peace of mind (salāmah)**

Seek peace of mind. I wish that anyone who seeks it, will find it! And how much more for anyone who faces misfortune. At this time peace of mind is precious and it lies in obscurity (khumūl), and if not in obscurity, then in being alone (‘uzlah), though it is not the same as obscurity; and if being alone is impossible, then in silence, though it is not the same as being alone; and if it is not in silence, then talking about what is useful and is not harmful, though it is not the same as silence. If you want to have peace of mind, you should not struggle with your opponents and compete with the likes [of yourself]. Whoever says "I", you say "you" and whoever says "for me", you say "for you".\(^\text{40}\)

\(^{39}\) i.e. ⴰrawer between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwah.

\(^{40}\) i.e. become tolerable to others.
Peace of mind lies in the cessation of your customary behaviour (zawîl al-‘urf), and cessation of your customary behaviour lies in the loss of desire (irādah), and loss of desire lies in abandoning the claim to knowledge of those of your affairs whose management God has arranged to Himself. (p. 81) God Most High said:

Is not God enough for His servant? (39:36)

And He said:

He rules [all] affairs from the heavens to the earth. (32:5)

3.26. Chapter of solitude (‘uzlah)

The person who undertakes solitude (sâhib al-‘uzlah) needs ten things: the knowledge [of the distinction between] truth and falsity, asceticism (zuḥd), the choice of hardship, taking the opportunity of seclusion (khalwah) and peace of mind (salāmah), consideration (nazar) of the consequences, that he should think that others are nobler than him, that he should remove his evil from people and should not cease to perform [good] deeds, for idleness is an affliction, that he should not be conceited by his position, that he should keep his house devoid of surplus, since surplus is that which is more than the daily needs for the followers of desire (ahl al-irādah), and that more than the time needed for the people of gnosis (ahl al-ma‘rifah), and that he should cut off that which cuts him off from God Most High. The Apostle of God (P.B.U.H.) said to Ḫudhayfah b. al-Yamān: 41

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41 Ḫudhayfah b. al-Yamān al-‘Abbāsī (d. 36/656) was one of the earliest converts to Islam and became governor of Ctesiphon under Caliph ‘Umar al-Khaṭṭāb. He is particularly revered by the Śūfīs and practised asceticism. (Ḥilīyah, Vol. 1, pp. 270 - 283; al-‘Asqalānī, Tahdīb, p. 199 - 201).
Stay permanently in your house.\textsuperscript{42}

And Jesus son of Mary (P.B.U.H.) said:

Control your tongue, let your house be enough for you, and let your soul be in the position of a harmful beast and a burning fire;\textsuperscript{43} for people were leaves without thorns and they have become thorns without leaves, and they were medicine which could cure people and they have become a disease for which there are no cures.

Somebody asked Dāwūd al-Ṭāʿī:\textsuperscript{44}

"Why are you not associating with people?" And he said: "How should I associate with those who follow my defects; the old [person] who does not know creation and the young [person] who is not dignified. Whoever is intimate with God shuns other than Him.

And al- Fuḍayl\textsuperscript{45} said:

If it is possible to you to be at a place which you do not know and your whereabouts are not known, then do it.

\textsuperscript{42} The source of this Tradition cannot be traced.

\textsuperscript{43} See Abū Dāwūd, Sunan, "Kitāb al-malahim", Vol. 4, p. 175 (no. 4343).


\textsuperscript{45} Abū ʿAlī al-Fuḍayl b. ʿIyād al-Ṭalāqānī was born in Khurāsān and is said to have been a converted highwayman before he became a most popular Sīfī. After conversion, he went to Kūfah and later to Makkah where he died in 187/803. He was well-known for his sermons on the worthlessness of the world. He achieved considerable repute as an authority on the Traditions and he studied hadīth under Sufyān al-Thawrī and Abū Ḥanīfah. (al-Sulamī, T. al-Ṣūfyyah, pp. 7 - 12; al-Dhahabī, Tadhkīrat al-Huffāẓ, Vol. 1, pp. 225 - 227; Kashf, pp. 97 - 100; Hīyah, Vol. 8, pp. 84 - 140; Ibn al-ʿImād, al-Shadharāt, Vol. 1, pp. 316 - 318; Q. Risālah, p. 10; ʿAṭār [Arberry], pp. 52 - 61).
And Sulaymān⁴⁶ said:

My desire from this world is that I should wear an 'abā'ah⁴⁷ and that I should be in a village where nobody knows me and there is no lunch for me and no supper.

And the Apostle of God (P.B.U.H.) said:

There will come a time, when the person on that day who holds to his religion will be like one who grasps a live coal and he will have the reward of fifty of you.⁴⁸

In solitude there is the preservation of the limbs, the emptiness of the heart, (p. 82) the falling away of duties to mankind, the locking of the doors of this world, the breaking of the weapons of the devil and the flourishing of the outer and the inner.

3.27. Chapter of worship (‘ibādah)

Be eager to fulfil the obligatory duties (farā‘id) for if they are soundly performed by you, then all is well. Seek to protect the obligatory duties (farā‘id) by supererogatory deeds (nawāfil) and the more you increase worship, the more you should increase your gratitude (shukr) and fear (khāwaf). Yahyā b. Mu‘ādh said:

I am surprised at one who seeks excellence (fadilah) but leaves a obligatory duty (fariḍah). Whoever owes a debt (dayn) and gives the owner of the debt (sāhib al-dayn) the like of that which is due to him will be required to pay the debt when the settlement is due.

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⁴⁶ Abū Sulaymān al-Dārānī (d. 205/820 or 215/830); al-Kalābādhī quotes this saying in his Kitāb al-Ta‘arruf. (Doctrine [Arberry], p. 141). He was a great Ṣūfī of his time and well-known for his piety and renunciation. He left a number of characteristic maxims such as "the heart is ruined when fear departs from it even for one moment". (Ḥilyah, vol. 9, pp. 254 - 280; Kashf, p. 112 - 113; al-Sulami, Ṣ. Sufiyyah, pp. 68 - 73; Q. Risālah, pp. 108 - 110).

⁴⁷ 'Abā’ah plural of ‘abā, i.e. the woollen garments or cloth of goat hair. (Doctrine [Arberry], p. 7, n. 1).

And Abū Bakr al-Warrāq said:

Strive at this time four things based on four others: the voluntary acts of goodness (fadā'il) based on obligatory duties (farā'id), outward (zāhir) based on inward (bā'in), character (khuluq) based on the soul (nafs) and word (kalām) based on action (fā'il).

3.28. Chapter of reflection (tafākkur)

Reflect on His words, may He be praised and glorified:

Has there not been over man a long period of time, when he was nothing [not even] mentioned? (76:1)

Remember what your conditions are and consider what has passed of this world according to what you see. Has it spared anybody? And nothing remains of it which more resembles that which has gone by [than does] water [resemble] water. (?) The Apostle of God (P.B.U.H.) said:

Nothing but affliction and strife remain of the world.

It was said to Noah (P.U.H.):

How do you find the world, O longest-lived of the prophets? He said:
Like a house which has two doors, I entered from one of them and came out from the other.

49 Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Warrāq who was called "the instructor of the saints" (muʿaddib al-awliya') was a great shaykh who practised ascetism. He had seen Ahmad b. Khudrīya and was a disciple of Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Tirmidhī. He is the author of books on rules of discipline and ethics. (Kashf, pp. 142 - 143).

50 The Arabic edition states that "this phrase is written like this in the original". See Minhāj, p.86, n.2.

51 This Tradition is also cited by al-Ghazālī in Ihya', Vol. 3, p. 216.

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Reflection is the father of every good [thing] and it is a mirror which shows you praiseworthy and blameworthy things.

Completed with praise to God and His help and the excellence of His favour and praise be to God alone.
CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS OF MINHĀJ AL-ʿĀRIFĪN
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4.1. Introduction

This chapter will try to analyse the Minhāj al-‘Īrīfīn which is normally attributed to al-Ghazālī. It will aim at drawing a comparison between this work and other works by al-Ghazālī which can be confidently attributed to him in order to assess its authenticity.

4.2. Introduction to the treatise: Style and presentation

The Minhāj is only a short treatise on themes of asceticism and mysticism and looks like a summary of another treatise. In spite of that, the author makes a clear and systematic arrangement of his material, using sub-titles. There are no repetitions in the treatise. As usual,¹ the author of the Minhāj begins his work with khuṭbat al-risālah (introduction to the treatise). He uses rhetorical prose to mention the features of gnostics (al-‘Īrīfīn) and states that Muhammad is their leader (qā‘id).² Although this style of introduction is common in Islamic treatises including those of al-Ghazālī, its use of the term “‘Īrīfīn” so early in the treatise is not found elsewhere in al-Ghazālī’s works.

The Minhāj treats a variety of topics connected with religion very briefly, nowhere giving a detailed picture of the subjects discussed. However, in the writing which we know to be al-Ghazālī’s, we do not find any treatment of any subject quite as briefly as

¹ Cf. Chapter Two, 2.3. Method of presentation and style.
² Minhāj, p. 67; Trans. Minhāj, pp. 117 - 118.
in the Minhaj. This is the case even in a work of abridgement by al-Ghazalī, Kitāb al-Arba‘īn.\(^3\)

The sub-title of the section after the khutbat al-risālah, which is - Explanation to disciples - gives us an idea of the purpose of the treatise. It is trying to present an outline of the path to Sufi reality (haqīqah). In the main it is concerned with esoteric ideas which are presented by the author in the discussions of the devotional acts and several mystical practices. The author of the Minhaj seems only concerned with the inner meaning of the ritual acts he describes. On the other hand, al-Ghazalī is much more interested in the relationship of the inner meaning with the outward but he only gives us a description of the inner meaning after he has dealt with the outward meaning.\(^4\)

The author of the Minhaj, however, uses the same method as many other classical writers, including al-Ghazalī, to discuss his esoteric ideas concerning devotional acts and mystical practices. He adduces Qur’ānic verses or citations of the Traditions of the Prophet which are related to the topic under discussion. Like al-Ghazalī,\(^5\) he also quotes many sayings from well-known Sufi figures when he discusses mystical views. He cites two quotations from Yahyā b. Mu‘adh, to describe invocation of the greatest name of God and to explain how to fulfil obligatory religious duties (farā’id).\(^6\) There are

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\(^3\) For example the discussion of the Minhaj on intention (niyyah) contains only five lines in one paragraph compared to the Arba‘īn in which the same topic is discussed in several pages. (Minhāj, p. 70; Trans. Minhāj, p. 121; Arba‘īn, pp. 171 - 179).

\(^4\) According to al-Ghazalī, the outward aspect is as it were the body or shape (ṣūrah) of the act, and the inner aspect is its life (ḥayah) or spirit (ruḥ). If one does not perform the inner aspect, the act is merely motions of the body and is incapable of producing the desired effect on the soul. (Ihya, Vol. I, p. 206; cf. also Sherif, op. cit., p. 77; Miskawayh, Tahdhīb al-Akhlaq, pp. 79ff).

\(^5\) Cf. Chapter Two, 2.3. Method of presentation and style.

\(^6\) Minhāj, pp. 79, 82; Trans. Minhāj, pp. 135, 141.
quotations from Malik b. Dīnār to explain fulfilling the condition of invocation, from Abū Yazīd al-Biṣṭāmī to describe the invocation of the greatest name of God, from Abū Ḥusayn al-Warrāq to state the benefit of invoking God, from Dāwūd al-Ṭahī to discuss the excellence of intimation of God, from al-Fudayl b. ʿIyāḍ and Abū Sulaymān al-Dārānī to encourage seclusion and from Abū Bakr al-Warrāq to explain fulfilling obligatory religious duties (farāʾiḍ). He also cites a saying of Jesus to describe the way of seclusion. All these quotations appear once each.

From the spread of these quotations, it seems probable that the author is well-versed in some areas of Ṣūfīsm and very selective in quoting only the views of well-known Ṣūfīs. All these well-known Ṣūfī masters except Abū Ḥusayn al-Warrāq are usually referred to in al-Ghazālī’s works. Jesus, who is quoted once, is also cited by al-Ghazālī in those books of his which are confidently attributed to him.

The author of the Minhaj gives his views and ideas by making great use of passages and phrases from the Qur’ān and the Traditions of the Prophet. As has already been mentioned, this method of citation can be found in most of the classical treatises

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7 For the quotations and information on their life, see Minhaj, p. 78; Trans. Minhaj, p. 134 for Malik b. Dīnār; see Minhāj, p. 79; Trans. Minhāj, p. 134 for al-Biṣṭāmī; see Minhāj, p. 81; Trans. Minhāj, p. 140 for al-Ṭahī, al-Fudayl and al-Dārānī; see Minhāj, p. 82; Trans. Minhāj, p. 141 for al-Warrāq; see Minhāj, p. 81; Trans. Minhāj, p. 139 for Jesus.

8 We have not been able to find anything about Abū Ḥusayn al-Warrāq.


10 Yafeh, op. cit., p. 474.

11 See Chapter Two, 2.4. Scriptural aspects.
regarding Sufism and it can also be found in al-Ghazālī's short treatises such as *Munqidh* and *Arba'īn* and other works.\(^ {12} \)

The *Minhāj* contains thirty six citations of Qur'ānic verses. Almost all of them are introduced by the words, "He God 'azza wa jalla says", "He said" and "Allāh Most High said".\(^ {13} \) However, sometimes, the author does not use any indication that the words are citations of Qur'ānic verses.\(^ {14} \) This use of Qur'ānic verses is aimed at corroborating\(^ {15} \) and illustrating\(^ {16} \) many of the views and ideas which are discussed in the treatise. Al-Ghazālī himself used the same method as can be found in almost all of his works. In addition to the Qur'ān, the author relies heavily for his evidence on the Traditions. There are twelve Traditions of the Prophet in this treatise. However, three of them we have been unable to discover. Of these three citations, one concerning reflection (*tafakkur*),\(^ {17} \) is also cited by al-Ghazālī in the *Ihyā’*.

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12 *Cf. Munqidh*, p. 5; *Arba'īn*, pp. 23; Jawahir, p. 15; Qisṭās, p. 3; *Faysal al-Tafriqah bayn al-Islām wa al-Zandaqa*, (tr.) McCarthy, op. cit., Appendix 1, p. 146, secs. 4 - 5.


14 For example, the *Minhāj* cites: "He loves them and they love Him" (C. 5:54) and "The bounties of thy Lord are not closed [to anyone]". (C. 17:20). See *Minhāj*, pp. 67, 71, 72, 75, 76; *Trans. Minhāj*, pp. 118, 123, 124, 129, 131.

15 For example, the author of the *Minhāj* writes: "Your remembrance will be of Him together with His remembrance of you". He then quotes the Qur'ānic verse: "And remembrance of God is the greatest [thing in life without doubt]". (C. 29:45) *Cf. Minhāj*, p. 70; *Trans. Minhāj*, p. 122.

16 The *Minhāj* states outward acts that should be followed by inward acts in the explanation of worship and mystical virtues. The author cites Qur'ānic verses to illustrate his ideas. For example, he says: "...Because He remembers you in spite of having no need for you and you remember Him despite your lack of Him." Then he cites the Qur'ānic verse (13:28): "For without doubt in the remembrance of God do hearts find satisfaction. (Cf. Minhāj, p. 70; Trans. Minhāj, p. 122).

17 *See Minhāj*, p. 82; *Trans. Minhāj*, p. 142.
A quotation attributed to Jesus the son of Mary can also be found in the Minhāj:

Control your tongue, let your house be enough for you, and let your soul be in the position of a harmful beast and a burning fire.\(^ {18}\)

However, Abū Dāwūd cites this part of Tradition from the Prophet Muḥammad.\(^ {19}\) The rest of it:

For people were leaves without thorns and they have become thorns without leaves, and they were medicine which could cure people and they have become a disease for which there is no cure,\(^ {20}\) could not be traced as a Tradition of the Prophet. It cannot be found in the works of al-Ghazālī which are confidently attributed to him.

4.3. **Fundamental ideas of the Minhāj**

As already stated, the purpose of the Minhāj seems to be to present an outline of the path to Śūfī reality. The author of the Minhāj arranges the sub-titles of the treatise in a systematic order showing ritual acts and mystical practices.

He begins with the description of the fundamental principles for the disciple on the mystical path, that is fear (khawf), hope (rajā') and love (ḥubb). He seems to distinguish these three states into three ranks. The first rank is fear which is a sub-division of knowledge (ʿilm); the sign of it is fleeing (harab). The second rank is hope that is a sub-division of certainty (yaqīn); the sign of it is searching (jalab). The third rank is love

\(^ {18}\) Minhāj, p. 81; Trans. Minhāj, p. 139.

\(^ {19}\) See Abū Dāwūd, Sunan, "Kitāb al-malahin", Vol. 4, p. 175 (no. 4343).

\(^ {20}\) Minhāj, p. 81; Trans. Minhāj, p. 139.
that is a sub-division of gnosis (ma’rifah); the sign of it is preference for the beloved.

Here we can see that the author implies that ‘ilm is the lowest knowledge, followed by yaqin as the middle, and then comes ma’rifah as the highest. It is clearly stated that ma’rifah is a branch of love, which according to the Sufis, is the ultimate aim of the mystical path. 21 The author also gives an example for these three states; haram is an example for fear as it gives safety for one who enters it; masjid is an example for hope as it stops disobedience to God for one who steps into it; and the Ka’bah is an example for love as it occupies the heart with remembrance of God for one who enters it. 22 This style of illustration for this subject is not found in al-Ghazali’s works, although he also distinguishes between ‘ilm, yaqin and ma’rifah. He treats this subject by giving the definition of ‘ilm, yaqin and ma’rifah. 23

The author of the Minhāj uses the terms of inflection (frāb), i.e. raf, fath, khafḍ and waqf in a metaphorical sense to express the states of the heart and their signs. He uses the imagery of frāb like raf, which is the sign of the subject or indicative for raising the heart in remembrance of God and its sign as to raise the heart with compliance, no disobedience and perseverance in longing. He writes that fath, which is the sign of the object or subjunctive for opening the heart in contentment with God; its sign is to open the heart to trust, truthfulness and certainty. He mentions that khafḍ, which is the sign of the noun when in the genitive structure or governed by a preposition and also for ellipsis, means decreasing the heart by other things.

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22 Minhāj, p. 68; Trans. Minhāj, pp. 118 - 119.


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distracting attention away from God; its sign is to decrease the heart by pride, hypocrisy and covetousness. He says that *waqf*, which is the grammatical term for a pause or full stop, is the pause of the heart in heedlessness of God; its sign is to pause the heart from disobedience.24 This whole process is a clever literary device which shows the author to be a man of literary aspiration. Its use is not found in any of the works which are confidently attributed to al-Ghazālī.

Having outlined the three fundamental states (*ahwāl*) which the disciple should acquire on his path to Şūfī reality (*ma’rifah*), the author then deals in four separate sections with the duties which the disciple must carry out in order to follow this path. They are: attention (*rīʿāyah*), intention (*niyyah*), remembrance [of God] (*dhikr*) and gratitude [to God] (*shukr*).

By attention (*rīʿāyah*) the author seems to mean that the disciple should be constantly aware of the possibility of spiritual instruction. In order to emphasise that awareness he quotes the Tradition from the Prophet:

Seeking knowledge is obligatory for every Muslim.25

Nowhere in the works which can be confidently attributed to al-Ghazālī is this term (*rīʿāyah*) used. Although al-Ghazālī has encouraged the seeking of knowledge, he has not used this particular aspect elsewhere.26

24 Minhāj, p. 69; Trans. Minhāj, pp. 119 - 120.


26 For an example see Iḥyāʾ, Vol. 1, pp. 4ff; Book of Knowledge, pp. 10ff.
In order to make sure that the disciple is deliberately pursuing the path, after attention the author mentions intention. This is an essential duty for the disciple even though it is difficult. Al-Ghazālī also discusses intention but treats it more generally. He says in Kitāb al-Arba‘īn:

Indeed, an intention of your heart will not succeed except you have a firm faith and you banish your eagerness for the baseness of the pleasure of this world and consider the importance of the reward of the Hereafter... If you cannot do this, you cannot maintain your intention.  

Having recommended attention and intention as necessary duties to follow the Ṣūfī path, the author then turns to remembrance of [or constantly mentioning] God (dhikr). The author stresses that this duty is of great importance on the Ṣūfī path. He divides remembrance of God into two categories:

Remembrance is of two types: sincere remembrance (dhikr khālis) by agreement of the heart to decline the contemplation of other than God; and pure remembrance (dhikr ṣafī) by annihilation of any ambition for anything other than remembrance. The Apostle of God said: "I cannot count praise upon You Yourself as [much as] You have praised Yourself."  

Remembrance (dhikr) is one of the basic features of Ṣūfīsm and al-Ghazālī also deals with it, however, somewhat differently. He writes:

Constant remembrance with the presence of the heart is profitable and fruitful. And remembrance with the tongue together with heedlessness of the mind brings lesser rewards... And the presence of the heart in remembering God is only for a moment but then its neglect of God is [because] of its distraction by worldly matters which also bring lesser rewards. And the presence of the heart constantly with God is above all other devotional acts. Indeed it is nobler than the rest of devotional acts.

27 Al-Arba‘īn, pp. 174 - 175.
and this is the ultimate form of worship with regard to [bodily] actions... When there is eagerness for remembrance, man forgets other things except God.\textsuperscript{29}

By this, man may reach the state of closeness to God. At this stage his heart is only preoccupied with Him.\textsuperscript{30} From the quotation given above, it can also be deduced that al-Ghazālī divides remembrance into three grades:

a) The remembrance of God completely takes possession of the heart and it does not remember other than Him. The heart forgets all things except God and it cannot easily be deflected. This is the highest grade of remembrance.

b) The heart remembers God only at a moment and then it turns from remembrance of God because of being disturbed by worldly affairs. This is the second grade of remembrance.

c) The heart is not together with the tongue, i.e. the tongue alone is used to remember God, where this remembrance cannot produce any effect on the soul. This is the lowest grade of remembrance.\textsuperscript{31}

Thus al-Ghazālī gives three grades whereas the \textit{Minhāj} briefly alludes only to two.

The fourth fundamental duty of the disciple on the Sūfī path is gratitude to God because of His bounty (\textit{nīmrāh}). The author of the \textit{Minhāj} divides it into two types, the lowest gratitude (\textit{adnā al-shukr}) and perfect gratitude (\textit{tamām al-shukr}). The former is to express gratitude externally where one sees the bounties of God and the latter is to

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{29} \textit{Ihya}, Vol. 1, p. 301; cf. al-\textit{Arbāʾīn}, pp. 42-43.
\item \textsuperscript{30} Cf. al-\textit{Arbāʾīn}, p. 58. Nevertheless, in his \textit{Iljām al-\textsuperscript{3}Awāmm \textsuperscript{4}an \textsuperscript{5}Ilm al-Kalām}, on the margin of Abd al-Karīm al-\textit{Jīlī}, \textit{al-Insān al-Kāmil}, Cairo, 1949, p. 76, al-Ghazālī mentions that the \textit{tahajjud} prayer i.e. a supererogatory prayer which is assumed as a mean of gaining closeness to God, is regarded as the best of all acts of worship.
\item \textsuperscript{31} See \textit{Ihya}, Vol. 1, p. 301.
\end{itemize}
express it through the inmost tongue.\textsuperscript{32} For the Minhāj, true gratitude is only achieved through the further bounty which God conveys to the disciple. Thus the duty of gratitude is never ending. This is an idea which al-Ghazālī would accept but we have not found it so neatly expressed in any of the works which are confidently attributed to him. In the \textit{Ihya‘}, al-Ghazālī gives an illustration of the states of mind of gratitude which indirectly explain its types. He says:

When a king gives a horse to someone, the latter feels joy for three reasons: first, for getting a horse which will be useful for him, second, for getting it from the head of the state, third, for getting enjoyment by riding on it.\textsuperscript{33}

The author of the Minhāj, after expressing the fundamental principles and the fundamentals duties of the disciple, then turns to the subject of garments.\textsuperscript{34} In this he may perhaps be referring to the donning of the \textit{khirqaḥ} which is the garment that a Şūfī takes from his master as an acknowledgement of his commitment to the Şūfī path. He refers to the garment as a bounty from God. In describing them as the garments of \textit{taqwā}, which is usually translated as piety, the author may be alluding to one of the root meanings of the word which is to give protection. Thus in donning the garment of \textit{taqwā}, the Şūfī is seeking protection from God as he follows the Şūfī path. Again this seems to be a subtle image not found in al-Ghazālī. However al-Ghazālī does allude to clothes, either in the description of the Prophet’s clothes or in invocations when dressing.\textsuperscript{35}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{32} i.e. the heart. \textit{Cf. Minhāj}, p. 71; Trans. Minhāj, p. 123.
\textsuperscript{33} \textit{Ihya‘}, Vol. 4, p. 83.
\textsuperscript{34} Minhāj, p. 72; Trans. Minhāj, p. 124.
\textsuperscript{35} \textit{Ihya‘}, Vol. 2, pp. 374 - 377. Al-Ghazālī does not deal with this topic in his \textit{Arba‘īn}.
\end{flushright}
The author of the Minhāj then appears to describe the beginning of the day on the Šūfī path. Perhaps he is using the images of rising from sleep (al-qiyām), using the toothpick (al-siwāk), evacuation (al-tabarruz) and ritual purity (al-tahārah)\(^{36}\) - all actions ordinarily practised at the beginning of every day - as the beginnings and preparatory actions for the disciple on the Šūfī path. All four are only briefly discussed and the spiritual dimension of each is emphasised.\(^{37}\) For the esoteric feature of the use of the toothpick, he writes:

> Use the toothpick because it is a purifier for the mouth, [and a means of affording] gratification to God. Purify your outward and your inner [self] from the filth of disobedience, cleanse your deeds from the dirt of hypocrisy and vanity, polish your heart by sincere remembrance of Him.\(^{38}\)

From this quotation, it can be deduced that the Minhāj states two functions of the toothpick. The first is to purify the mouth and the second is to purify the outward and inner self from blameworthy characteristics. In al-Ghazālī’s work, he only deal with the first function. He writes:

> The purpose of using the toothpick is to purify his mouth for the reading of the Qur’ān and the invocation of God in prayer...The Apostle says: "Use the toothpick: it is a purifier for the mouth and well-pleasing unto God."\(^{39}\)

However, in his brief discussion of purity (jahārah), the author describes it as preventative.\(^{40}\) There have been many descriptions of the rituals associated with purity

\(^{36}\) Like al-Ghazālī, the author of the Minhāj regard the act of ritual purity as a precondition of the ritual prayer (salah). Cf. Minhāj, p. 72; Trans. Minhāj, p. 126; Iḥyā', Vol. 1, p. 126.

\(^{37}\) Minhāj, pp. 72 - 73; Trans. Minhāj, pp. 125 - 126.

\(^{38}\) Minhāj, p. 72; Trans. Minhāj, p. 125.

\(^{39}\) Iḥyā', Vol. 1, p. 132.

\(^{40}\) Minhāj, p. 73; Trans. Minhāj, p. 126.
(tahārah) being effective against sins already committed. Al-Ghazālī, himself, does this in Kitāb Asrār al-Ṭahārah in the Iḥyā‘. He writes:

The Apostle of God said: "When a Muslim, during the act of ablution, rinses his mouth, the sins leave it; when he washes his hands, the sins, even those beneath his finger nails are removed; when he washes his head, he rids it of its sins, even those in and behind his ears; when he washes his feet, he cleanses them from sins, even those beneath his toe nails".

However, rarely are the actions of ritual purity (tahārah) alluded to in terms of preventing sins from being committed. This is an interesting image and it fits very well with the earlier image of the garment of taqwā being a garment of protection.

The imagery of following the Šūrī path is then taken up by a section on leaving the house to go to the mosque. Again the disciple is instructed to act with dignity and consideration towards his fellows, who are the creation of God. In this way the Šūrī disciple embarks on the spiritual journey that is to be his life.

Perhaps the next chapters which are all concerned with the rituals of worship (‘ibādah) give the picture of the full Šūrī life using the imagery of ‘ibādāt, ṣalāt: iftīāḥ al-ṣalawāt, qirā’, ṛukū’, sujud, ṭashāḥhud and ṣalām. In describing these actions, the author gives a brief meditation on the spiritual implications of these actions. The same

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42 Iḥyā‘, Vol. 1, p. 135; Mysteries of Purity, p. 49.

43 Minhāj, pp. 73 - 74; Trans. Minhāj, pp. 126 - 128.

is the case with the other ʿibādāt. In effect, the author produces a brief but very effective spiritual commentary on the formal religious rituals of Islam. Only in his discussion on prayer (ṣalāt) does al-Ghazālī's treatment of the rituals have similarity with the Minhāj. The Minhāj states that prayer starts with standing and facing towards the qiblah. When performing this act, the author says:

Turn your heart to the truth and do not be light-hearted., bring to mind that you will be standing before Him on the Great Day of Judgement.45

In the Ihya', al-Ghazālī states the inner features of this act which are quite similar to the Minhāj:

So let the face of your heart be with the face of your body. Know that as a face does not turn toward the direction of the qiblah except by turning away from everything else, so the heart does not turn towards God except being free of all else besides.46

As for the act of bowing (al-rukūf), the author of the Minhāj suggests that it should be completed by submitting the heart and the limbs to God. The prayer should even hope for God's help, favour, grace, safeguarding and forgiveness.47 In the Ihya', al-Ghazālī describes a similar perception of the act of bowing, that it reflects the renewal of remembrance of the mightiness of God. He writes:

In your bowing, make a fresh beginning for God as to lowliness and humbleness, and strive to move your heart, and renew your humbleness, and you should feel that as well as the might of your

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45 Cf Minhāj, p. 74; Trans. Minhāj, p. 128. According to al-Muḥāsibī, when performing this act, one should abandon what is not befitting to prayer, of the activities of the world and the desire for worldly profit. (Cf. al-Muḥāsibī, Fahm al-Ṣalāt, p. 364). And al-Hujwiri says: "The outward qiblah being the Kaʿbah and the inward qiblah being the throne of God, by which is meant the mystery of Divine contemplation." (Cf. Kashf, p. 301).


47 Minhāj, pp. 75 - 76; Trans. Minhāj, p. 130. This view is similar to that of other Sūfis who say that the act of bowing in the prayer should be done with humility. Cf. al-Muḥāsibī, Fahm al-Ṣalāt, p. 371; Qūṭ, Vol. 2, p. 194; al-Lumā', pp. 205, 207; Kashf, p. 300; Ihya', Vol. 1, p. 167.
Lord together with your own lowliness and the highness of your Lord, and you seek aid in establishing that in your heart by means of your tongue. Then you say the praise of your Lord and bear witness to Him of His greatness, and say, "O the praise of my great Lord! He is greater than every great one!" Reiterate that in your heart, that you may confirm it by your reiteration.48

Concerning the act of prostration, the Minhâj opines that one praying must think about his creation which was made from a drop of sperm in order to become a humble servant. For God has made prostration as the means for attaining closeness to God.49 A quite similar notion is given by al-Ghazâlî:

You bend down for prostration which is the highest degree of submission. For the dearest of your members which is your face gets hold of the humblest thing which is the dust... So that your prostration on the ground produces greater humbleness and is more conducive to lowliness. Know that you have placed it in its proper place., for of the dust were you formed and to it you return... Then, when your heart is moved, let your hope find assurance in the mercy of God, for His mercy makes haste towards weakness and lowliness, and not towards pride and conceit.50

The confession of faith (tashahhud) which is performed before salutation (al-salam) at the end of prayer is described by the author of the Minhâj as praise and gratitude to God, seeking for more of His favour and His generosity, submitting to His command, blessing His Apostle.51 The Ihyâ' writes:

As for confession of faith (tashahhud), when you sit for it, sit down in a proper manner and state that all the performances of the prayer and good things by which you seek access are Allah's... Then remember the Prophet in your heart, and also his noble personality and say: "Peace be upon you, O Prophet, and the mercy and blessing of God!" Let your expectation be firm that it will reach him, and that will return to you one

48 Ihyâ', Vol. 1, p. 169; Mysteries of Worship, p. 65.

49 Minhâj, p. 76; Trans. Minhâj, p. 130. Other Sâîî figures also consider that such a position can take the place of self knowledge which is done with abasement. (Cf al-Muḥâṣibi, Fāhm al-Salāt, p. 271; Qūṭ, Vol. 2, p. 193; al-Lumâc, pp. 207 - 208; Kashf, pp. 300 - 301; Ihyâ', Vol. 1, p. 167).


51 Minhâj, pp. 76 - 77; Trans. Minhâj, pp. 131 - 133.
more perfect than it.52

In discussing the rites of the pilgrimage (hajj), the Minhāj and the Ihya’ have very
different approaches. The Minhāj appears to concentrate more on cleansing the soul from
blameworthy qualities and getting near to God. The author writes:

[He] frees himself from his [lower] soul at the moment of entering ihram. Then he washes away his sin, dons the garment of sincerity and
loyalty...prohibits himself in the Haram from everything that will
estrange him from God Most High,53

whilst al-Ghazālī describes such acts as for remembering the Hereafter. He states:

When you put the garment of the ihram on, remember the garments of
the shroud with which you will be clothed... As there is no stitching on
the shroud, so there is no stitching on the garment of the ihram.54

Regarding circumambulation (tawāf) and stopping (wuqūf) at ‘Arafāt, the Minhāj goes
further in describing the way of purifying the soul, as he says:

[He] walks with his heart around the throne (kursī) of His beneficence
and purifies his outward and his inner self at the moment of stopping
(wuqūf) at Safā, and hurries to escape from his passion, [and]
acknowledges his errors at ‘Arafāt.55

On the other hand, the Ihya’ goes on to explain that the actions reflect the Hereafter and
encourage man to get close to God. He writes:

Do not think that the object of your circumambulation is the
circumambulation of your body around the Ka‘bah, but its object is the
circumambulation of your mind to the remembrance of God... Think that
Safā is the scale of good deeds and Marwah of bad deeds. By running
between this two hillocks, think which of the scales becomes heavy. To

52 Ihya’, Vol. 1, p. 169; Mysteries of Worship, p. 66. The Sufis admit that the act of witnessing can take the

53 Minhāj, p. 80; Trans. Minhāj, p. 137.

54 Ihya’, Vol. 1, p. 268; al-Arba’in, p. 34.

55 Minhāj, p. 80; Trans. Minhāj, p. 137.

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wait (wuqūf) in Ḥaarūf...you will remember the case of the great gathering on the Day of Resurrection that people will gather there with their Prophet...and they remain eager to know whether his intercession was accepted or not.\textsuperscript{56}

By waiting (wuqūf) at Muzdalifah, stoning (ramā), slaughter (dhabh) and shaving (ḥalaq), the Minhāj says that the acts should be done in order to get close to God and purify the soul from passion and sins:

He who comes close to God at Muzdalifah, throws away his desires when stoning Jamarāt and he slaughters his passion and shaves off his sins.\textsuperscript{57}

In the Ḥiyā', however, al-Ghazālī does not mention the esoteric quality of shaving (ḥalaq) and waiting (wuqūf) at Muzdalifah explicitly, rather he states the invocation which should be recited by the pilgrim:

When you reach Muzdalifah, recite the following: "O God, this is Muzdalifah, people of different tongues have gathered here seeking different necessary things from You. Make me one of those who have sought from You and You have granted them."... When you shave, recite the following: "O God, maintain my good deeds, wipe off my sins and raise my rank close to You".\textsuperscript{58}

He then only mentions that the act of throwing (ramā) stones at Jamarāt is following the action of Abraham:

Obey God's command by throwing stones and show sincerity and honesty... Then intend to follow the deeds of Abraham who drove away the Devil by throwing stones at him when the latter wanted to misguide him.\textsuperscript{59}

The Minhāj clarifies the visit to the Ka'bah, touching the Black Stone and performing the Farewell Circumambulation as something revealing the relationship between God

\textsuperscript{56} Ḥiyā', Vol. 1, pp. 269 - 270.

\textsuperscript{57} Minhāj, p. 80; Trans. Minhāj, p. 137.

\textsuperscript{58} Ḥiyā', Vol. 1, p. 256.

\textsuperscript{59} Ḥiyā', Vol. 1, p. 270.
and man. He says:

He visits the House of God to glorify its owner, touches the [Black] Stone in acceptance of His decree, bids farewell to everything other than God in the Farewell Circumambulation (†awāf al-Widāf).60

The *Ihya’* too presents the same idea relating to visiting the Ka’bah and touching the Black Stone. Al-Ghazālī states:

When you look at the Ka’bah, remember its glory and hope to meet its owner... When you kiss the Black Stone, think that it is a sign of allegiance and kissing His hand.61

However al-Ghazālī does not clearly mention the esoteric feature of the Farewell Circumambulation; rather he says:

Recite the following words: "O God, truly, this house is Your house, this servant is Your servant... If You are content with me, then add on me more contentment... before I leave this house and at the time I depart from it. If You give me permission not to change my attitude to You and to Your house, then I will not leave You and Your house away [from my heart].62

As one of the concluding sections, the author discusses "*salāmah*" which has been translated as "peace of mind". It is an important state which the Sufi disciple must endeavour to attain on his path to God. This peace of mind comes about by the abrogation of self and total trust in God. A particular way of attaining this is by the process of isolation of the self from worldly matters (‘uzlah).63 However, the ultimate attainment of this ‘uzlah is only accomplished after the Sufi disciple has acquired peace of mind (*salāmah*). Although al-Ghazālī has discussed ‘uzlah many times and

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60 Minhāj, p. 80; Trans. Minhāj, p. 138; *Ihya’*, Vol. 1, pp. 239 - 240, 191. See also, Kashīf, p. 326.


62 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 258.

63 Minhāj, pp. 80 - 81; Trans. Minhāj, p. 138.
particularly in the *Ihya*’, nowhere does he seem to combine it with peace of mind (*salāmah*) in such a neat explanation.

After peace of mind (*salāmah*), the author of the *Minhāj* states that the practices of solitude are ten:

(i) Seeking the knowledge of truth and falsity, (ii) asceticism, (iii) the choice of hardship, (iv) seclusion and peace of mind (*salāmah*), (v) consideration of the consequences, (vi) think that others are nobler, (vii) remove evil from people and not cease to perform [good] deeds, (viii) not be conceited by position, (ix) keep his house devoid of surplus, (x) and that he should cut off that which cuts him off from God Most High.64

Al-Ghazālī in the *Ihya*’, however, puts forward the practices of solitude as twelve:

[The Sufi should] (i) intend to save himself from the harms of men, (ii) seek safety (*salāmah*) from bad deeds, (iii) free [himself] from faults in fulfilling his duties to the Muslims, (iv) prefer loneliness to perform [other forms of] worship, (v) engage himself in learning, remembrance, reflection and other acts of worship, (vi) not allow the people to mix with him, (vii) not allow others to put questions to him, (viii) not ask about other places or other people, (ix) satisfy [himself] with little, (x) remain patient, (xi) not hear the praise of others, (xii) know the merits of the path to the Hereafter.65

As far as the practices of solitude are concerned, it can be seen that both works, the *Minhāj* and the *Ihya*’, approach several similar practices, i.e. seeking knowledge of the truth, seeking safety, practicing asceticism and seclusion and consideration of the benefits of solitude. They differ in mentioning other practices as the *Minhāj* seems, even for one in solitude, to emphasise a relationship with other people (i.e. think that others are nobler, remove evil from people). However, the *Ihya*’ appears to restrict the relationship between the one in solitude and others (i.e. to save himself from the harms

64 *Minhāj*, p. 81; Trans. *Minhāj*, p. 139.

of men, not allow the people to mix with him, not allow others to put questions to him, not ask about other places or other people, not hear the praise of others).

The Minhāj sums up the general outline of the Islamic rituals with a short section on worship (‘ibādah). In this he indicates that these forms of Islamic worship are fundamental to the Šūfī path and form an essential and fundamental element in Šūfī worship.66 These are sentiments strongly supported by al-Ghazālī in the whole of his Iḥyā'

The Minhāj culminates with the final section on the reflection. It emphasises the need to reflect on the transitory nature of mankind and the world. The author of the Minhāj also cites the verse of the Qur'ān67 that urges man to reflect on the greatness of God. This same verse is also quoted by al-Ghazālī when he discusses the method of reflection on the creation of God.68 According to al-Ghazālī’s view, the most important kind of reflection that man must engage in is the reflection on God and on himself. He says:

The most important reflection of the servant in respect to himself is to reflect upon his character traits and states and in respect of his God it is to reflect upon the attributes and actions of God and His beautiful names.69

This kind of reflection is similar to that mentioned in the Minhāj, although the author

66 Minhāj, p. 82; Trans. Minhāj, p. 141.

67 God Most High says: “Has there not been over man a long period of time, when he was nothing [not even] mentioned?” (76:1). (Minhāj, p. 82; Trans. Minhāj, p. 142; Iḥyā’, Vol. 4, p. 439).


69 Ibid., Vol. 4, p. 428.
expresses it indirectly. He writes:

Remember what your conditions are and take heed of what has passed of this world according what you see. Has it spared anybody?\(^7\)

4.6. **Authenticity of Minhāj al-Ārifīn**

(a) **The views of previous scholarship on the Minhāj**

Some scholars such as Brockelmann, Massignon and TāshKöprüzāde accept the authorship of the Minhāj, while others such as Palacios, Watt and Badawī have raised doubts about its authenticity. Palacios does not believe that the Minhāj was written by al-Ghazālī as he claims that the treatise which consists of twenty-eight very short articles on themes of asceticism and mysticism does not justify the title of the work. He also says that the treatise does not have a prologue in which the author sets forth in the customary manner the reason for the book, nor does it gave any mention of the other works of al-Ghazālī. For these reasons, he says that its authenticity is very doubtful.\(^7\) Palacios is followed by Watt who does not pursue his own argument, but rather agrees with Palacios's evaluation.\(^7\)

In response to Palacios and Watt, it is not enough to prove their argument by textual facts alone. Their claim that the contents of the Minhāj do not justify the title of the work is not sufficient to reject its authenticity. This treatise seems to provide a knowledge of Sūfīsm for those ordinary people who want to begin their journey in exploring the

\(^{70}\) Minhāj, p. 82; Trans. Minhāj, p. 142.

\(^{71}\) Palacios, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 385; Watt, *"Authenticity*, pp. 32 - 33.

\(^{72}\) Watt, *"Authenticity*, p. 33.
mystical path. Thus, a very short treatise is suitable for them. A careful examination of it shows that the contents do correspond to the title of the work. In fact, the Minhāj has a prologue which the author calls as "khwaṭat al-risālah" (introduction to the treatise).

Badawi, who also rejects the Minhāj's authenticity, accepts Palacios's argument. He, however, says that the latter's claim that the Minhāj does not even mention al-Ghazālī's other works is not strong enough to support Palacios' argument. Badawi suggests that al-Ghazālī sometimes in his securely attributed works does not mention his other works. Nevertheless, Badawi does not give any example to support his claim.73

(b) The evidence of this thesis

The analysis of the Minhāj which has been presented in this chapter can be summed up as follows. It can be deduced that there are significant similarities and differences between the Minhāj and al-Ghazālī's other works which are securely attributed to him, especially the Iḥyā'.

The evaluation of the method of presentation and style shows several similarities and differences. They both use rhetorical prose for their introduction to the treatise and they also have similar attitudes to citing many sayings of well-known Şūfī figures. On the other hand, they differ from each other because in al-Ghazālī's writing, he is used to giving an explanation of his discussion in order to help the reader's understanding, while the author of the Minhāj gives only very brief clarification. However, this brief clarification always gives an adequate instruction to any person seeking to follow the

73 Mu'allafat, p. 249.
Sufi path. The Minhāj never uses the method of analogy and syllogism as the latter often does in his securely attributed books.

Our appraisal of the scriptural aspects indicates that both authors have similar methods and ideas in quoting the passages of the Qur'ān and the Traditions. Many such passages from the Minhāj are found in al-Ghazālī's works.

As far as the fundamental ideas of the Minhāj and al-Ghazālī's works are concerned, they show that there are some similarities and differences. The similarities can be seen in their ideas on the mystical path which are concerned with how the disciple should perform devotional acts and mystical practices in order to achieve closeness to God. In fact, the contents of the Minhāj could be presumed to be a summary of the Ihya' or the Arba'īn. The works differ however, in the mode of elaboration of these devotional acts and mystical practices; for the author of the Minhāj only emphasises their esoteric features, while al-Ghazālī, in most of his works on devotional acts and mystical practices, combines their outward actions with their esoteric features. This aspect of the Minhāj does not look like al-Ghazālī's other abridgements such as the Arba'īn. In addition, there are several discussions in the Minhāj which cannot to be found in al-Ghazālī's works which are securely attributed to him, such as the description of the fundamental principles for the disciple, i.e. fear (khawf), hope (rajā') and love (mahabbah); the metaphorical sense to explain the states of the heart; the style of using the term "ri'āyah"; the category of remembrance (dhikr) of God; the illustration of the concept of gratitude (shukr); the subject of garments; the elucidation of actions ordinarily practised at the beginning of the day; the ritual purity as a preventative of sins; the esoteric features of the rite of pilgrimage; the descriptions on peace of mind

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(salāmah) and solitude (ʿuzlah).

From the above discussion, it seems that the internal evidences of the Minhāj present problems. Even though the author of the Minhāj's ideas on the esoteric features of devotional acts and mystical practices are similar to those of al-Ghazālī, the style of presentation and writing of the former is different from al-Ghazālī's style of presentation and writing. On present evidence, it is difficult to decide on the authorship of the Minhāj. If the statements that al-Ghazālī composed works on esoteric knowledge and that sometimes his literary style in his short works is simple enough for the understanding of ordinary people,74 are to be believed, it may be suggested that al-Ghazālī wrote this work, because there are many similarities between ideas presented in this work and al-Ghazālī's works. It appears that the Minhāj contained some of al-Ghazālī's ideas which are presented in a different style from that of al-Ghazālī. To sum up, it is probable that the author of the Minhāj came from circles close to al-Ghazālī. It would also be fair to say that al-Ghazālī might well have been very happy with the contents of this simple but beautiful introduction to the Śūfī path.

74 Smith, al-Ghazālī, p. 67.
PART THREE

JĀMIʿ AL-ḤAQĀ'IQ BI TAJRĪD
AL-ʿALĀ'IQ

CHAPTER FIVE
ANOTATED TRANSLATION OF JĀMIʿ AL-ḤAQĀ'IQ BI TAJRĪD AL-ʿALĀ'IQ
CHAPTER FIVE
ANNOTATED TRANSLATION OF JĀMF AL-ḤAQĀʾIQ BI
TAJRĪD AL-ʾALĀʾIQ

THE COLLECTION\(^{1}\) OF TRUTHS BY THE STRIPPING AWAY OF
WORLDLY ATTACHMENTS\(^{2}\)

(p. 3) By the high-minded Imām, the Proof of Islām, Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, may God have mercy upon him. This is the Jāmīʿ al-Ḥaqāʾiq bi Tajrīd al-ʾAlāʾiq.

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful, and in Him we seek help.

Praise be to God for His perfect bounties (mīmāʾih) and His complete blessing. I praise Him with the praise of one who confesses His Divinity and I thank Him with the gratitude of one who admits homage to Him. Blessing and peace be upon the best of His creation and the noblest among His Apostles Muḥammad and his family and his Companions.

Now to our subject. When I saw [those who claim to be] ascetics (mutazahhidīn) not occupying themselves with seclusions (al-khalawāt), denying and disowning [them], and busying themselves rather with social relations (al-muʾṣāmalah), I wished to compile a collection in explanation of seclusion and its

\(^{1}\) Lit. compiler.

\(^{2}\) The English translation of the Qurʾān which has been used in this translation is that of Abdullah Yusuf Ali, op. cit.
secrets of solitude (al-'uzlah) and its intricacies. I composed this compilation to explain them and to expose their benefits and their special features and I named it "The Collection of Truths" and I described it in terms of "The Stripping Away of Worldly Attachments," arranging it in chapters and sections. May God give help in every wish.

(p. 4) 5.1. Chapter One : On repentance (al-tawbah)

God Most High said:

And O ye Believers! Turn ye all together towards God. (24:31)

And the Prophet (P.B.U.H) said:

O people! Repent to your Lord before you die.3

Know that repentance literally means recourse (al-rujū') and returning repentantly (al-inābah) [to God]. It is of two parts, the repentance of the common people (al-'awāmm) and the repentance of the elect (al-khawāss). As for the first part, it is of three stages:

The first stage is the repentance of the ordinary believers and their repentance is for small sins which were committed by them out of inadvertance (sahw), absentmindedness (ghuflah), ignorance (jahl) or forgetfulness (nisyān). God Most High said:

God accepts the repentance of those who do evil in ignorance and repent soon afterwards. (4:17)

And this is the station (maqām) of the ordinary believers and the elect of the sinful (khawāṣṣ al-fāsiqīn) who are in the third rank of souls.

The second stage is the repentance of the ordinary sinful people (‘awāmm al-fāsiqīn) which has six meanings: the first of them is regret (al-nadam) for sins which have passed; the second of them is resolution (al-‘azm) not to return to them just as milk does not return to the udder; the third of them is restitution for wicked deeds to those who have suffered them (ahlihā); the fourth of them is making up (Fādah) the obligatory religious duties which have been missed; the fifth of them is dissolution (idhābah) of the soul in obedience just as it was drowned (dhuyyibat) in the sweetness of disobedience; the sixth of them is weeping at dawn in the presence of the Omnipotent Sovereign (al-Mālik al-Jabbār) because of fear of sins and of the insolence (p. 5) which evaporates in the presence of the Watcher (al-Muhaymin) from whom nothing is concealed and from whom the weight of a tiny ant is not hidden.

The third stage is the repentance of unbelievers and their repentance is a return to faith and Islām, because the duty of the servant is to know himself in servitude [and worship] (‘ubūdiyyah) [to God] and to know his Lord in [His] [being worshipped] and being served (ma‘būdiyyah). Everyone who knows [himself] in servitude [and worship] knows his Lord in servitude [and worship], and everyone who neglects servitude [and worship] to the Lord and allows the world to distract him from the final outcome, will not attain knowledge (al-‘irfān) and that which

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4 The knowledge of the recognition of the great harmfulness of sins, and of the fact that they are the veil between man and all he loves. If one's knowledge of this is certain and sure, and one's heart is convinced, there springs from this knowledge a heartfelt pain for the loss of what one loves. The name we give this pain caused by an action which results in the loss of the beloved, is nadam. (Ihya', Vol. 4, p. 3).
distinguishes the Compassionate from the Devil. Woe unto those who abandon servitude [and worship], show disobedience and sell the Hereafter for this world. God Most High said:

Then for such as had transgressed all bounds and had preferred the life of this world, the abode will be Hell-fire. (79:37-39)

As for the second part, it is of two stages, the first stage is the repentance of the select elite (khāṣṣ al-khāṣṣ). Their repentance is for the heart having been preoccupied with other than God Most High. This is the station (maqām) of the elect of prophets and saints who are in the first rank of souls. He [the Prophet] (P.B.U.H) has referred to this station by his words:

That it is to enrich my heart and ask God's forgiveness seventy times a day.  

The second stage is the repentance of the elect. Their repentance is for thoughts and ideas of worldly matters and their devilish insinuation and this is the station (maqām) of common saints ('awāmm al-awliyā') and elect believers (khāṣṣ al-mu'minin) who are in the second rank of souls.

(p. 6) 5.1.1. Section : On the repentance (al-tawbah) of disciples (al-muridin)

Know that repentance is the origin of every station (maqām), the foundation (qiwām)

5 i.e. They repent sincerely and their hearts remember God constantly which makes them avoid committing the sins.

6 This Tradition is also cited by al-Ghazālī in Ḩiyā', Vol. 4, p. 10 and Arba'īn, p. 145; al-Luma', p. 547; Awārif, p. 475.
of every station and the key of every state (ḥāl). It is the first of the stations and it is like the ground for a building. Whoever does not have ground has no building and whoever has no repentance, has no state (ḥāl) and station (maqām).

Repentance is of two sorts, repentance of returning (inābah) and repentance of answering (istijābah). As for repentance of returning, it is that you fear God Most High on account of His power over you. As for repentance of answering, it is that you should feel ashamed before God Most High because of His nearness to you. And it is said that repentance is returning from everything other than God Most High.

5.2. Chapter Two: On belief (al-ītiqād)

Know that belief is of two sorts, specific (khāṣṣ) belief and general (ʿāmm) belief. As for specific belief, it is that someone believes in the madhhab of a specified imām and he acts according to his teachings, holds back according to his teachings, and that he does not pay any attention to the teaching of anyone other than him. (p. 7) As for general belief, it is that someone acts with firm intentions (ʿazāʿim) according to the teachings of all the imāms but he does not accept their lenient judgements (rukhṣihim). Al-Manṣūr was asked about belief, and he said:

7 Most of the Sūfis agree that repentance is the first station of the maqāmāt. Cf. Kashf, p. 181; al-Luma', p. 68; Q. Risālah, p. 49; ʿAwārif, p. 338; al-Kashānī, Muʿjam, p. 192.

8 Lit: it is in the likeness of the ground for the building.

9 Perhaps he is Ḥusayn b. Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj who was a prominent Sūfi figure of Baghdad. His Sūfi teachers included al-Junayd (d. 298/910), Abū Bakr al-Shibli (d. 334/940), ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān al-Makkī (d. 279/903) and Sahl al-Tustārī (d. 282/900). Known for ecstatic utterances (shaqāḥāt), such as "I am God" which proceeded from him “while in the state of annihilation in the Divine Presence”, he was cruelly executed in 309/915 on heresy charges. (L. Massignon, The Passion of al-Ḥallāj, Mystic and Martyr of Islam, (tr.) Herbert Mason, Princeton, 1982, pp. 21ff; Atṭār [Arberry], p. 264; Kashf, pp. 150 - 151).
I have not chosen the madhhab of anyone specifically but I am practising what is most difficult in all madhhab.

Then let the disciple adopt the belief of the pious ancestors (al-Salaf), free from the belief of Shi‘ism (al-rafd),10 absolute determinism (al-jabr),11 anthropomorphism (al-tashbih),12 limitation of God’s power (al-tahdid) and corporealism (al-tajsim)u and [let him] not defame either pious ancestors or all the madhhabs.

5.3. Chapter Three : On pure devotion (al-ikhlas)

God Most High said:

Is it not to God that pure devotion is due? (39:3)

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10 Al-rafd comes from the verb rafada, probably with the meaning “desert”. From this word comes the name Rafidah or Rawafid that could be rendered as “deserters”. It is a nickname applied by their opponents and is used by al-Khayyat, for example in his Kitāb al-Intisār, (ed.) H. S. Nyberg, Cairo, 1925, p. 178. It was used to denote those later known as Imamites. Al-Ash’arī, Maqālat al-Islāmiyyin wa Ikhtilāf al-Muṣallīn, (ed.) H. Ritter, Istanbul, 1929 - 30, p. 17 (hereafter referred to as Maqālat al-Islāmiyyin); W.M. Watt, The Formative Period of Islamic Thought, Edinburgh, 1973, pp. 157 - 162 (hereafter referred to as The Formative).

11 The name given by opponents to those whom they alleged to hold the doctrine of compulsion (jabr), that man does not really act but only God. It was also used by later heresiographers to describe a group of sects. The Miʿtaṣṣālīh applied it usually in the form Mujbirah to traditionists, Ash‘arite theologians and others who denied their doctrine of free will (qadar). (al-Ash’arī, Maqālat al-Islāmiyyin, p. 430; Watt, "Djabriyya", EI(2), Vol. 2, p. 365; idem, Free Will and Predestination in Early Islam, London, 1948, pp. 96 - 99. A.A.A. Fyzee, A Shi‘ite Creed, London, 1947, p. 32).


13 i.e. “the doctrine of corporealism” and the persons to whom it was applied were called mujassimah. The term mujassimah was applied to men who held that God was a jism, “body”, these included Hisham b. al-Ḥakam, Hishām al-Jawālīqī, Muqāṭil b. Sulaymān, etc. (Al-Ash’arī, Maqālat al-Islāmiyyin, pp. 207 - 217; Watt, The Formative, pp. 246 - 249.)
And He said:

And they have been commanded no more than this, to worship God, offering Him pure devotion. (98:5)

And it was related from the Prophet (P.B.U.H.) that he said:

When the Day of Resurrection comes, pure devotion and polytheism will fall on their knees before the Lord Most High, and the Lord will say to pure devotion (al-ikhlas): "Depart, you and your people into Paradise" and He will say to polytheism (al-shirk): "Go away, you and all your people into Hell".14

Pure devotion is an action of the heart, of which none will be aware other than God Most High. It is that you are worshipping God Most High with your entire being and you are not associating anything in it other than God Most High. God Most High said:

And in the worship of his Lord, let him admit no one as partner. (18:110)

(p. 8) And it was said, [that it is] purification (tasfiyyah) of deed from any blemish.

It was related from Abū ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Sulami15 that he [said]:


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15 Abū ‘Abd al-Rahmān Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn. For information about him, see Chapter One, 1.1. Introduction to the treatise, p. 10, f.n. 7.
16 All these figures are unidentified.
Wāḥid b. Zayd\textsuperscript{17} about pure devotion. He said, I asked Ḥasan al-Baṣrī about pure devotion. He said, I asked Ḥudhayfah\textsuperscript{18} about pure devotion. He said, I asked the Prophet (P.B.U.H) about pure devotion. He said, I asked Gabriel (P.B.U.H.) about pure devotion and he said, I asked the Lord Almighty about pure devotion. He said, it is one of my secrets which I have placed in the heart of those whom I love among My servants.\textsuperscript{19}

It is said that the opposite of pure devotion is hypocrisy (\textit{riyā}). And whoever performs a deed and does not have any hypocrisy, this is pure devotion. The sum total of pure devotion is that everyone who performs a deed and cuts off any regard for anything other than God Most High, he is pure in his devotion and that is pure devotion.

(p. 9) 5.4. Chapter Four: On love (\textit{al-mahabbah})

God Most High said:

He will love them and they will love Him. (5:54)

And He said:

Say, if ye do love God, follow me, God will love you. (3:31)

\textsuperscript{17} A companion of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110 AH.) and Abū Sulaymān al-Dārānī (d. 205 AH.). Known for the importance which he attached to solitude. According to Abū Nu'aym, he was partially paralysed and only released from this affliction at the time of prayer. (\textit{Iḥyā}, Vol. 6, pp. 155 - 165; L. Massignon, \textit{Essai sur les Origines du Lexique Technique de la Mystique Musulmane}, Paris, 1954, p. 194; Ibn Kathīr, \textit{al-Bidayah wa al-Nihayah}, Vol. 10, Cairo, 1351, p. 171; T. J. Winter, \textit{al-Ghazālī, the Remembrance of Death and the Afterlife}, Cambridge, 1989, p. 279).

\textsuperscript{18} For information about him, see Chapter Three, 3.26. Chapter of solitude (\textit{uzlah}), p. 139, f.n. 41.

\textsuperscript{19} This Tradition is also cited by al-Ghazālī in \textit{Iḥyā'}, Vol. 4, p. 376 and \textit{Arba'īn}, p. 175; \textit{Qūf}, p. 104.
The Prophet (P.B.U.H) said:

God Most Powerful and Most Great says: "O! Gabriel, I love so and so, so love him." Therefore Gabriel loved him. Then he called out to the people of heaven, "God Most High loves so and so, so love him." Therefore the people of heaven love him. Then he places the love for him on earth.20

Know that the truth of love (mahabbah) is that you will give all of yourself to the one you love and nothing will remain of you. It was said, that it [love] is that you love God with your entire being to such an extent that nothing will remain for anything other than Him. The truth of love cannot be achieved except after the heart is free of all turbidities (kudurāt) of the soul and when love is firmly established in the heart, the love of any other than God will depart, because love is a burning quality which will burn up everything which is not of its kind.21

(p. 10) The serpent of desire has bitten my liver and there's no remedy for it and no magic spell except for the Lover with whom I am madly in love and with Him is my spell and my antidote.

It was said that the sign of love is the cutting off of desire for the world and the life to come. Rābi'ah22 (may God have mercy upon her) said:

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21 Lit. of its category.

22 Rābi'ah bint Ismā'īl al-'Adawiyyah, the most famous woman Sūfī. It is said that she was stolen during her childhood and sold into slavery, but was released on account of her piety (warā'). She then lived in Baṣra where she attained great fame as a saint and a preacher and was highly esteemed by many of her pious contemporaries. She taught Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161/777) and Shaqiq al-Balkhi (d. 194/810), especially about the importance of divine love (al-hubb). (`Aṭṭār [Arberry], pp. 39 - 51; Ibn al-'Imād, Shadharāt, Vol. 1, p. 193; M. Smith, Rabī'a the Mystic and her Fellow-saints in Islam, Cambridge, 1928).
My heart had dividing desires
   and my desires were gathered together when my soul saw you
and those whom I had envied came to envy me
   and I became the friend of mankind when you became my friend
I left for other people their world and their religion
   because of my distraction with loving you O! my religion and my
world!

And she said:

What a wonder! How can the lover (al-habīb) be patient for the
Beloved (al-mahbūb) and how can the lover (al-habīb) forget to
remember the Beloved (al-mahbūb).

And she recited:

And I put You into my heart, my interlocutor
   and I made my body permissible to Him who wants to sit with me
And my body is intimate for the one who sits with me
   and the beloved of my heart is my intimate companion in my heart.

Yaḥyā b. Muʿādh23 said:

The patience of lovers (muhibbin) is more intense than the patience
of ascetics (zāhidin). (p. 11) I am amazed how someone claims to
love (mahabbah) God Most High without avoiding those things which
He has forbidden.

And it is related by one of the pious:

Whoever claims to love God without avoiding those things which He
has forbidden is a liar and whoever claims the love of Paradise
without spending what is in his possession is a liar and whoever
claims the love of the Apostle of God (P.B.U.H.) without loving the
poor is a liar.

23 Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā b. Muʿādh b. Jaʿfar al-Rāzī. For information about him, see Chapter Three, 3.21.
Rābi‘ah used to recite:

You disobey God and you make a show of loving Him
Upon my life! This is an amazing deed!
If your love were true, you would obey Him
Truly the lover is obedient to the one whom he loves.

It has been said:

Love has an outward and inward [aspect]. Its outward aspect is following the satisfaction of the Beloved and its inward aspect is giving the heart to the Beloved in such a way that nothing remains in him for anything other than Him.

I love you, I do not hope for Paradise in that,
nor do I fear Hell when You are the intended object.
When You are my Master, then what Paradise is there?
What Hell is there to be feared, when You are the desired?

5.5. Chapter Five: On longing (al-shawq)

Know that longing is the consequence of love, and when love is firmly-established, longing will appear. (p. 12) Abū 'Uthmān24 said:

Longing is the fruit of love, and whoever loves God will long to meet Him.

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24 Abū 'Uthmān al-Ḥirī b. Sa‘īd b. Ismā‘īl (d. 298/911) was born in Rayy. He was an ascetic and disciple of Shāh al-Kirmānī who lived most of his life at Nishapur, where he followed the Malāmatiyyah way. (Al-Khaṣībī, T. al-Baghdādī, Vol. 9, pp. 99 - 102; Ḥīlyah, Vol. 10, pp. 244 - 246; Shu‘rānī, T. al-Kubrā, Vol. 1, p. 74; Q. Risālah, p. 21; Kashf, pp. 132 - 135; Sulami, T. al-Ṣāḥīyah, pp. 159 - 165.
Dhū al-Nūn25 said:

Longing is the highest stage and the highest station, and when man achieves it, he will find death delightful [because of] longing for his Lord and his hope to meet Him.

One group has denied the station (maqām) of longing and they have said:

Longing is only for that which is absent and [it occurs] when the lover (al-habib) is absent from the Lover (al-Ḥabīb), so that He will be longed for.

Poetry

Your love (hawāka) is a love (hawā) in which the heart is intimate with nothing else
and in the secret of my heart ....26
I love You with all my heart, alive and dead
and for me life is sweet and for me death is sweet.

Al-Anjāki27 was asked about longing (shawq), and he said,

Only the one who is absent feels longing, but I have not been absent from Him since I found Him.

Know that the hearts of those who long [for God] (mushtaqīn) are shining with the light of God Most High, and when they move [with] longing, light will illuminate


26 There is a lacuna in the text.

that which is between east and west and God Most High will present them to the angels and He will say:

These are the people who long for Me and I bear witness to you that I am longing for them.28

(p. 13) Truly, love is of a higher grade than longing because longing is produced by love and only those who are overcome by love long. Love is the root and longing is the branch. Al-Nasrābādhī29 said:

All creation has the station (maqām) of longing (shawq), but not the station of ardour (al-īshtiyāq). Whoever is in the state (ḥāl) of ardour of love (īshtiyāq), will be in ecstasy in it until nothing remains of him.

The heart was in ecstasy in remembrance of God and the hems of this ecstasy (al-wajd) were trailed over it when it became complete. Truly the heart is constantly occupied with ecstasy as long as it is distracted and not vacant.

5.6. Chapter Six: On ardent love (al-īshq)

Know that when love (mahabbah) reaches its ultimate, it is called ardent love (īshq). It was said that ardent love is the boiling of love. Love is a general quality and ardent love is a specific quality. Its place is the inmost heart. Love may be [achieved through] acquisition but ardent love can only happen as a present and gift from God Most High. The indication of ardent love, when it enters the heart and becomes

28 The source of the saying cannot be traced.

established in it, is the exhibition (ṣarad) of confusion (tahayyur) in ardent love. As al-Manṣūr\textsuperscript{30} (may God have mercy upon him) said:

I became confused in You. Take my hand,  
O proof for those who are confused in You.

(p. 14) It has been said that the sign of ardent love is the leaving of the pleasure and desires of this world. It has been said that the truth of the ardent lover (al-‘āshiq) is that he is occupied with the remembrance of the ardently Beloved (al-ma’ṣhūq), he does not forget to remember Him for a single moment\textsuperscript{31} and he does not mind abandoning himself for His sake. As al-Manṣūr\textsuperscript{32} (may God have mercy upon him) said:

Kill me, o! my Reliance; verily in my killing is my life.  
My life is in my death and my death is in my life.

5.6.1. Section

Know that some of the ‘ulamā’ deny ardent love (‘ishq) and love (mahabbah). They say: How can someone become an ardent lover (‘āshiqan) and lover (mahābban) of God Most High, because ardent love and love are begotten from lust (shahwah) and God is much too High and Great for that? I say: Love is of two types, love existing in the soul (rūḥ) and love begotten from lust. Lust is an attribute which exists in the [human] nature (nafs) but when love of the soul predominates, it is called ardent love (‘ishq), and when lust of the [human] nature predominates, it is called lower desire

\textsuperscript{30} i.e. al-Ḥallāj.\textsuperscript{31} Lit. for the twinkling of an eye.\textsuperscript{32} i.e. al-Ḥallāj.
God Most High said:

And for such as had entertained the fear of standing before the Lord's [tribunal] and had restrained [their] [human] nature (nafs) from lower desires. (79:40)

He praised lovers (muḥibbin), saying:

Whom He will love as they will love Him. (5:54)

Love that is begotten from lust of the [human] nature (nafs) is different from the love which is a quality (sifah) existing in the soul (rūḥ). Love which is applied exclusively to God Most High is this love; and those who deny it do not distinguish the love of the soul from the love of the [human] nature.

(p. 15) If ardent love and love were the result of lust and are begotten from it, then when the body (jism) weakens and its lust lessens, ardent love and love would not remain. However, the opposite of that is known to be true, because in [spiritual] exercises (riyāḍāt), love is achieved and reaches its extreme [of intensity], while the body is at its nadir of weakness.

5.6.2. Section

Know that the causes of love (mahabbah) in mankind are varied, and among them is love of the soul (al-rūḥ), love of the heart (al-qalb), love of the [human] nature (al-nafs) and love of the intellect (al-ʿaql).

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33 It is suggested that [human] nature for "nafs" when it does not regard soul. Quite clearly in this work "rūḥ" when used of an individual means soul (nafs) is something like [human] nature, except occasionally where it also mean soul (or sometimes self).
As for the first, it is of two types, general (‘āmm) love and specific (khāṣṣ) love. General love is interpreted [to mean] submission to command. This love is awakened by attributes (al-ṣifāt) [of the Beloved] and it can be obtained by the servant [of God] [through individual effort].

As for specific love, it is the love of the essence (al-dhāt) through the illumination of the soul. It is the love that has intoxications in it and it is the creation of God Most-High, the Beneficent, for His servant and He has selected him for it. This love is one of the states (ahwāl) because it is purely (mahd) a gift and individual effort has no access to it.

As for the love of the heart, it is the choosing of the love of the Beloved (al-mahbūb) over everything other than Him. As for the love of the [human] nature, it is a love which is begotten from lust (shahwah). It is that you prefer love of the world above love of God Most High. God Most High has mentioned it in seven things. He said:

(p. 16) Fair in the eyes of men is the love of things they desire (shahawāt), women and sons, heaped up hoards of gold and silver, horses branded [for blood and excellence] and [wealth of] cattle and well-tilled land, such are the possessions of this world's life. (3:14)

And it is the source of every mistake, as the Prophet (P.B.U.H.) said:

Love of the world is the source of every mistake and whoever kills lust with struggle (mujāhadah), this love will rush away from it.

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34 Lit. in it is an entrance for acquisition by the servant.

35 Lit. His selecting of him for it.

36 This Tradition is also cited by al-Ghazālī in Ḥiyā', Vol. 3, p. 202 and Arba‘īn, p. 99; cf. also Qūf, Vol. 1, pp. 523 and 516
As for the love of intellect, this is a quality by which the intellect is characterised because of its love of something that which is beneficent, kind, just, etc.

5.7. Chapter Seven: On [spiritual] exercises (al-riyāḍāt) and how to do them

God Most High said:

By the soul (nafs) and the proportion and order given to it and its enlightenment as to its wrong and its right. Truly he succeeds that purifies it and he fails that corrupts it. (91:7-10)

Know that arrival at the stations (al-wuṣūl ilā al-maqāmāt) cannot be attained except by purification of the [human] nature (nafs), cleansing of the heart and embellishment of the soul (rūḥ). The essential purpose (al-maqṣūd bi al-dhāt) is the embellishment of the soul (rūḥ). Its embellishment cannot be attained except by cleansing of the heart, and its cleansing cannot be attained except by purification of the [human] nature (nafs) and purification is a necessary preliminary.

[However,]37 one of the shaykhs was of the opinion that "purification of the [human] nature (nafs) will be achieved by cleansing of the heart because whoever occupies himself with purification the [human] nature cannot attain its purification completely (p. 17) and perfectly [except] in [a long period of time and whoever occupies himself with cleansing the heart can attain its purification] in a short period of time".

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37 This statement disagrees with previous statement, thus contrasting word is needed here.
5.7.1. Section : On purification of the [human] nature (al-nafs)

God Most High said:

The [human] nature is certainly prone to evil. (12:53)

And the Prophet (P.B.U.H.) said:

The worst of your enemies is your [human] nature that is between your two sides.\[38\]

The [human] nature is a lustful force (quwwah shahwāniyyah) connected to the whole body (al-badan) jointly and it is the place of origin of the blameworthy characteristics. Its purification is a clearance of all blameworthy characteristics and its taking on the attributes of the praiseworthy characteristics.

Know that the soul (nafs) has two intrinsic qualities which are lower desire (hawā) and anger (ghadab), and all the blameworthy characteristics are begotten from them. Its purification can be achieved by their equilibrium (bi ṭīdālahimā), because when lower desire is excessive, it will produce the quality of lust (shahwah), covetousness (hīrṣ), expectation (amal), vileness (khissah), baseness (dana'ah), (p. 18) avarice (bukhl), cowardice (jubn), back-biting (ghībah) and calumny (buhtān).

When the quality of anger is excessive, it will produce arrogance (takabbur), antagonism (ʿadāwah), rage (hidāh), vanity (ʿujub), pride (fakhr), conceit (khuyalā) and lying (kadhb). If it is able to act, it will produce rancour (ḥiqd) and if it is unable

\[38\] This Tradition is also cited by al-Ghazālī in Iḥyāʾ, Vol. 3, p. 4 and Fadāʾil al-Bāṭiniyyah, p. 200; see also al-Lumāʿ, p. 29.
to do so, it will produce the quality of weakness (‘ajz) and idleness (kasl). If both [these states] become excessive, they [will produce] envy (hasad).

When the quality of lower desire is moderate, modesty (hayā'), liberality (jūd), generosity (sakhāwah), love (mahabbah), compassion (shafaqah), respect (ta'zīm) and patience (ṣabr) will appear in the [human] nature (nafs). If the quality of anger is moderate, humbleness (tawadā'), gentleness (hilm), sense of honour (muruwwah), contentment (qanā'ah), courage (shajā'ah), generosity (badhl) and affection (ithār) will appear in it. If they are both moderate, purification [will appear] in it and purification can be achieved by the moderation of these two qualities.

(p. 19) 5.7.2. Section : On cleansing of the heart (al-qalb)

God Most High said:

The day whereon neither wealth nor sons will avail, but only he [will prosper] that brings to God a sound heart. (26:88-89)

The Prophet (P.B.U.H.) said:

Truly, in the body is a chunk of meat, when it is good, the whole body will be good by it, and when it is ruined, the whole body will be ruined by it, indeed it is the heart, a chunk of meat suspended beneath the chest to the left side.

Know that the heart can have rightness and wrongness; its rightness is in its purity and its wrongness is in its turbidity. Its purity is in the soundness of its senses

and its turbidity is in the deficiency of its senses. When the senses are sound, the heart will be sound.

Know that the senses of the heart are five just as the senses of the body are five. It has hearing to hear the speech of the people of the unseen world (ahl al-ghayb); it has eyesight to see glimpses of the unseen world; it has a sense of smell to smell the scent of the unseen world; it has taste to find thereby the sweetness of love; it has touch to understand rational concepts (al-ma‘qūlāt). When its senses are sound, its soundness will be obtained, and when soundness is obtained, the soundness of the soul (nafs) will be obtained. When its senses are unsound, the heart will be unsound and the rest of the body will be unsound because of it. God Most High said:

(p. 20) Many of the jinns and men we have made for Hell, they have hearts wherewith they understand not, eyes wherewith they see not and ears wherewith they hear not. They are like cattle, nay more misguided: for they are heedless [of warning]. (7:179)

And God Most High said:

It is not their eyes that are blind, but their hearts, which are in the chests. (22:46)

And God Most High said:

Seeing that it is He that has created you in diverse phases? (71:14)

Know that the heart has seven phases (afwār) just as the body has seven organs. The first phase is called the "chest" (ṣadr). 40 It is the source (ma‘dan) of Islam as

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40 In treating the breast (ṣadr) as an aspect of the heart. The author of Jāmī follows an earlier Sufi, al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhi (d. 320/932), who also concerned himself with the morphology of the inner being. (Al-Tirmidhi, Bayān al-Fārq bayn al-Ṣadr wa al-Qalb wa al-Fu‘ād wa al-Lubb, (ed.) Nicolas Heer, Cairo, 1378/1958, pp. 40 - 46 (hereafter referred to as Bayān al-Fārq).
God Most High said:

Is one whose heart God has opened to Islam, so that he has received enlightenment from God. (39:22)

And if it is not attributed with the characteristics of Islam, it is the source of unbelief as God Most High said:

Such as open their breast to unbelief, on them is wrath from God, (16:106)

and a centre of devilish insinuations and the seduction of the soul, as God [Most High] said:

[The same] who whispers into chests of mankind among jinns, (114:5)

and it is the skin of the heart.

The second phase is called the "outer heart" (qalb) and it is the source of faith as God Most High said:

For such He has written faith in their hearts, (58:22)

and the centre of the light of the intellect, as God Most High said:

So that their hearts [and minds] may thus learn wisdom, (22:46)

and the centre of vision (ru'yah), as God Most High said:

Truly it is not their eyes that are blind, but their hearts. (22:46)

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41 The expression "the source of faith" is also used by al-Tirmidhi and Najm al-Din Daya Razi. (Tirmidhi, Bayân al-Farq, p. 53; Mirzâd, p. 83).
The third phase is called "pericardium" (shaqhaf) and it is the source of love, ardent love and compassion (shafaqah) towards creation, as God Most High said:

Truly hath he inspired her with violent love, we see her. (12:30)

(p. 21) The fourth phase is called the "inner heart" (fu'ād)\textsuperscript{42} and it is the source of seeing (mushāhadah) and the centre of vision of the Divinity (al-ru'yah al-ilāhiyyah), as God Most High said:

The [Prophet's mind and] heart in no way falsified that which he saw. (53:11)

The fifth phase is called the "grain of the heart" (habbat al-qalb)\textsuperscript{43} and it is the source of love of the presence of the Divinity.

The sixth phase is called the "inmost heart" (suwaydā' al-qalb)\textsuperscript{44} and it is a source of unveilings of the unseen (al-mukāshafah al-ghaybiyyah) and the centre of the sciences of spiritual intuition (al-ulūm al-laduniyyah) and the origin of the secrets of the Divinity (al-ilāhiyyah).

The seventh phase is called the "core of the heart" (muhjat al-qalb)\textsuperscript{45} and it is

\footnotetext[42]{No word suggests itself as a translation for fu'ād, which is conventionally rendered as "heart", but is here merely an aspect of the heart, its organ of vision. (Tirmidhi, Bayān al-Faqā, p. 62; Mīrsād, p. 83).}

\footnotetext[43]{This aspect of the heart like the suwaydā' and muhjat al-qalb is not suggested by any Qur'ānic verse, nor is it mentioned by the early Sufis, but it is found in Dayā Rāzī's Mīrsād, p. 83.}

\footnotetext[44]{Lit. means "small spot".}

\footnotetext[45]{Blood of heart. Al-Ghazālī speaks of the black blood in the ventricle of the corporeal heart as being the source of the spirit (soul). (Ihyā', Vol. 3, p. 3). On the other hand, Dayā Rāzī in the Mīrsād al-Ibād considers it as the hidden meaning of Qur'ānic verse, (17:70) as God says: "We have enabled the sons of Adam", for this nobility was not conferred on any other species of being. (Mīrsād, p. 83).}
the source of the appearance of the lights of manifestation (\textit{anwār al-tajalli}).

5.7.3. Section

Know that God Most High created the heart like a mirror and it grows rusty like iron as the Apostle of God (P.B.U.H.) said:

Hearts become rusty as iron becomes rusty. It was said: "With what can it be polished, O Apostle of God?" He said: "The remembrance of God Most High and the recitation of the Qur'ān".46

Its polishing cannot be achieved except by seclusion, solitude and continual remembrance (\textit{dhikr}). We shall mention later, if God Most High is willing, the mode of remembrance in our explanation of seclusion and solitude. When its rust is uncovered, the soul will be manifested in it and the visions of lights (\textit{mushāhadāt al-anwār}), the unveilings (\textit{mukāshafāt}) of the unseen and the manifestations of divinity (\textit{al-tajalliyyāt al-rubūbiyyah}) will appear in it, commensurate with the stations and the states, and we will talk about its explanation, if God Most High is willing.

(p. 22) 5.7.4. Section: On ornamentation of the soul (\textit{al-rūh})

God Most High said:

They ask thee concerning the soul [of inspiration]. Say: The spirit [cometh] by command of my Lord. (17:85)

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item[46] Ibn Ḥanbal, \textit{Musnad}, Vol. 3, p. 82.
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And the Prophet (P.B.U.H.) said:

The souls are a recruited army,\(^{47}\)

and those of them who know each other are united and those of them who are estranged differ from one another.

The soul is a substance, subtle and luminous (\textit{jawhar la\={i}f n\={u}r\={a}niyyah}) [which can be dispense with nourishment and it was said] formed in the image [of a human being. The soul of everything is formed in the image of its body (\textit{jasadih})], as the Apostle of God (P.B.U.H.) said:

God Most High created Adam in his image,\(^{48}\)

meaning that He created his form according to the image of his soul which is from the world of command. The world of command (\textit{'alam al-amr}) is an expression of the world which does not possess quantity, quality and area because it became existence through \textit{al-kaf} and \textit{al-nun}.\(^{49}\) It is the opposite of the world of creation because that appears through the means of matter and the extension of the days, as God Most High said:

Who created the heavens and the earth in six days. (7:54, 10:3, 11:7, 57:4)

\(^{47}\) Abū Dāwūd, \textit{Sunan}, "Kitāb al-ādāb", Vol. 4, p. 359 (no. 4834). It is related by Muslim and also by Suhayl b. Šālih from his father who related from Abū Hurayrah.


\(^{49}\) The letters that make up the word \textit{kun}, "be": The creative fiat:

His command, when he desires aught, is to say to it, "be", and it is. (36:82)
It has five states (ḥālāf): the state of non-existence (al-ṣ-ṣadām), as God Most High said:

Has there not been over man a long period of time, when he was nothing [not even] mentioned? (76:1)

the state of existence (al-wujūd) in the world of the souls, as the Prophet (P.B.U.H.) said:

Truly, God Most High created the souls two thousand years before the bodies,50

the state of its connection with the body (jasād), as God Most High said: (p. 23)

And I have breathed into him My spirit (rūḥ), (15:29, 38:72)

the state of separation, as God Most High said:

Every soul (nafs) shall have a taste of death, (3:185)

and the state of returning, as [God] Most High said:

We shall return it at once to its former condition. (20:21)

As for the benefit of the state of non-existence, it is to attain knowledge of the creation (bi ḥudūth) of his soul (nafs) and the eternity of his Creator. As for the benefit of the state of existence in the world of the souls (ʿālam al-arwāḥ), it is to know God Most High through the essential attributes (al-ṣifāt al-dhātiyyah) such as being Omnipotent, Omniscient, Living, Existent, All-Hearing, All-Seeing, All-Speaking and All-Willing.

50 The source of this Tradition cannot be traced.
As for the benefit of connection with the body, it is to acquire perfect knowledge (kamāl al-maʿrifah) concerning the world of the unseen and to become aware of particulars and universals. As for the benefit of breathing the spirit into the body, it is to obtain knowledge through the active attributes (bi al-ṣifāt al-fīliyyah) such as being Provident, Ever-Repenting, All-Forgiving, Gracious, Merciful, Beneficent, Charitable and Bestowing. As for the benefit of the state of separation, it is to remove wickedness which was acquired by the soul (rūḥ) through the companionship of bodies, and drinking and tasting in the station of nearness (maqām al-ʿindiyyah). As God Most High said:

In an Assembly of truth in the presence of a Sovereign Omnipotent.
(54:55)

As for the benefit of returning, it is to obtain the bounties of the Hereafter [of which] He has said:

I prepared for My pious servants what the eye cannot see and the ear cannot hear and the heart of the human being cannot expect.51

(p. 24) 5.7.5. Section

Know that when [human] nature (nafs) is occupied with disobedience and following the Devil, a black dot will appear in the soul (rūḥ). When the disobedience of [human] nature increases, the blackness of the soul will increase until it becomes wholly black and the doors of the benevolence of God Most High will be closed to it; because it has two aspects, one in the world of the unseen and one in the world of seeing. Every emanation (jayd) which reaches it from the presence (ḥadārāh) of

51 This saying is not in the Qurʿān. Perhaps it is a ḥadīth al-qudsi, however it is cited by the Mīrṣād, p. 220 and the ʿAwārif, p. 301.

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God Most High, will lead to the heart and from the heart, it will divide up to (p. 25) the rest of the limbs, and an action appropriate to that emanation will manifest itself in the limbs. When that becomes black and the doors of emanation are closed against it, an action appropriate to that blackness will appear in the limbs. The clearing away of its blackness will be accomplished through faith. As the Commander of Faithful, 'Ali (may God be pleased with him) said:

Verily, faith will commence as a white spot in the heart and when faith increases, the white spot will increase and when faith increases, its clearness will increase until it is wholly clear and its veils vanish and when it is wholly clear, visions of spirituality and visions of the unseen will appear.

5.8. Chapter Eight: On the explanation of seclusion (khalwah), its conditions and practices

God Most High said:

We appointed for Moses thirty nights and completed [the period] with ten [more]. Thus was completed the term [of communion] with his Lord, forty nights. (7:142)

And the Prophet (P.B.U.H.) said:

Whoever [worships] God sincerely for forty mornings, the springs of wisdom will appear from his heart onto his tongue.52

Know that "arrival" (al-wusūl)53 cannot be achieved except through seclusion and solitude and severance (al-inquiṭār) from created beings. It is built on ten conditions (sharā'īt) and four practices (ādāb). As for the first condition, it is sitting in a dark,

52 This Tradition is also cited by al-Ghazālī in Arbā'īn, p. 176; Awārīf, pp. 207 and 227.

53 i.e. the process of achieving the union with God.
narrow house; the second [condition] is continuous ablution; the third is continuous remembrance (dhikr) and this is the phrase "There is no god but God"; the fourth is emptying the minds (khawā'it) of (p. 26) all distractions; the fifth is continuous fasting; the sixth is continuous reticence; the seventh is close observation (murāqabah) of the heart of the master to acquire determination (himmah)\(^5\) and succour (mu'āwanah); the eighth is leaving opposition (fīrād) to God Most High by acquiring control (al-qabd) and expansion (al-basf),\(^5\) pain and ease, health and sickness; and the ninth is the cutting off of vision (naẓar) from everything other than God Most High, and the tenth is patience in adversities.

As for the practices, the first is decreasing food in such a manner that it does not weaken the body and there remains for it [the body] the power of remembrance (quwwah al-dhikr); the second is paucity of sleep in such a way that one does not lay down on the ground; the third is occupying the heart with remembrance so as not to stop doing it for a single moment; and the fourth is remaining in seclusion in such a way as not to leave it except for ablution, relieving oneself, praying in congregation and the jum'ah prayer.

\(^5\) Directing the heart with all its powers toward God in order to obtain a certain purpose for oneself or another. (Sajjadi, Seyyed Ja'far, Farhang-e Maṣṭalhā-ye 'Urašāh wa Mutāsavīfah, Tehran, 1339/1960, p. 426; cf. Mirṣād, p. 23).

\(^5\) See Chapter 5, 5.14.1. for an explanation of control (al-qabd) and expansion (al-basf).
5.9. Chapter Nine: On the mode of remembrance (al-dhikr), its conditions and practices

God Most High said:

Celebrate the praise of God, and do this often. (33:41)

And the Prophet (P.B.U.H.) said:

Take the lead like those who are set apart. They said: "Who are they O Apostle of God?". He said: "Those who are infatuated with the remembrance of God Most High until remembrances set down their burdens from them and they reach the resurrection lightly [burdened].".

Know that the chosen thing in the remembrance of seclusion is the phrase "there is no god but God", because in it is a meaning of denial and affirmation. It denies (p. 28) with "there is no god" anything other than God Most High and it affirms with "but God" the presence of the Almighty, may He be praised and glorified.

When one wants to occupy oneself with remembrance, one performs the major ritual ablution (yaghtasil) and repents from all sins, one washes one's clothes thoroughly, sits in seclusion with legs crossed facing the qiblah, puts one's hands on one's knees, closes one's eyes and commences remembrance with exaltation (bi al-tazim) and with such force that the words "there is no god" rise up from below the navel and the words "but God" strike the heart, so that its effect reaches all the limbs, hiding its sound. As God Most High said:

And do you [O reader!] bring thy Lord to remembrance in thy [very]

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56 This Tradition is also cited by al-Ghazālī in Ḥiyā', Vol. 3, p. 21; 'Awārīf, p. 67.
soul with humility and in reverence without loudness in words, (7:205)

without stopping one's tongue from remembrance, pondering on its meaning in one's heart until remembrance encompasses all one's limbs and it becomes established in them. If an extraneous thought (warīd) comes to one's mind, one will deny it with "There is no god" and cut off love for it. One will affirm with "but God" in one's station of one's love of God until one is emptied of imaginings of [human] nature (al-khayālāt al-nafsiyyah) and one is occupied with spiritual visions (bi al-mushāhādat al-rūḥiyyah).

(p. 29) 5.10. Chapter Ten: On the characteristic of disciples (al-muridin)

God Most High said:

And God only wishes to remove all abomination from you, ye members of the family, and to make you pure and spotless. (33:33)

When the desire for treading the mystical path (sulūk) takes place, the disciple should be characterised by twenty attributes until his affair is perfected: the first is repentance and we have already spoken of this; the second is asceticism (zuhd), which is leaving the world wholly such that neither a little nor much of it remains; the third is stripping away (tajrid), which is cutting off the connections of the world in as much as one does not occupy one's heart with them; the fourth is sincere faith, and one should follow the faith of the early (salaf) Companions and the Successors, free of the dogma of the Shi'ites (rafī), Mu'tazilites (rīzāl), compulsion (jabr) and anthropomorphism (tashbih), far from fanaticism and disputation; the fifth is piety

57 Knowledge of the truth (ḥaqqah) from the unseen that comes to the heart without any deliberate intent on the part of the recipient. (Al-Kāshānī, Mu'jam, p. 73; Tdrīfāt, p. 269).
(taqwā), and one should be God-fearing (taqīyyan), humble (mutawwarṭan), abstemious (mutafarrizan), cautious in word and clothing, acting with resolution; the sixth is patience and one should be steadfast, enduring, patient with severe commands and interdictions; the seventh is (p. 30) individual struggle (majāḥadah) and one should be a fighter in the way of obedience, bridling one’s nature (nafs) with the bridle of struggle without gratifying its wish, acting contrary to its opinion; the eighth is courage (shajā’ah) and one should be courageous, strong, resisting the intrigues of the [human] nature (nafs) without being tempted by the speech of the devils of mankind and the jinn; the ninth is generosity (badhl) and one should be liberal, giving generously without greed and not over-munificent; the tenth is nobleheartedness (futuwwah) and one should be gracious, magnanimous, giving others their due whilst giving oneself one’s due; the eleventh is truthfulness (ṣidq) and one should be truthful, sincere, totally cutting off [obstacles] to God Most High, without turning to created beings; the twelfth is knowledge (ʿilm) and one should be expert in obligatory duties (al-faraʿād) and supererogatory duties (al-nawāfīl) and in what is needed in terms of the duties imposed [by God] concerned with the fundamentals and branches of religion (uṣūl al-ʿān wa furūʿih); the thirteenth is hope (raja’) and one should be hoping for the grace (fādīl) of God Most High in every station, not running from struggle [with one’s nature] through control (qabd) and not content with the lowest rank, without it occurring to one’s mind that one will not achieve nearness (al-qurbah) and "arrival" (wusūl) but rather turning one’s determination [to the hope] that one will achieve the highest states and stations; [the fourteenth of them is trust in God (tawakkul) and one should trust in God Most High and throw oneself into the course of jihād and not pay attention to the words of anyone else]; the fifteenth is rebuke (malāmah) and one should, acquire the characteristic of rebuke and not pay
any attention to what other people say, nor to rejection or acceptance, nor to enmity and love; the sixteenth is reason (*al-*'aql) and one should be rational, (p. 31) perfect, gentle, enduring, compliant, wretched and humble, one's motions regulated and one's motionlessnesses fixed; the seventeenth is courtesy (*adab*) and one should acquire the characteristic of courtesy before the presence of God Most High, not revealing His secret, nor wishing anything from Him except Him, nor being bold in the service of one's master (*shaykh*), nor raising one's voice above his voice, nor opposing him, nor talking about one's state except with him and one should keep one's tongue from foul language and vain boasting and only speak when one is asked; the eighteenth is good natural disposition and one should be excellent in nature and sound of soul, far from arrogance and haughtiness, free from seeking glory and high rank, wary of competitions and contentions; the nineteenth is submission (*al-taslim*) and one should be obedient to the judgement of God Most High, whether [it brings] good, harm, tribulation or calamity, satisfied with His decree, grateful for His bounties and patient in the face of His calamities, because God Most High has said to His Prophet:

> Whoever is not satisfied with My judgement, is not grateful for My bounties and he is not patient of My calamities, then let him find a God other than Me.  

The twentieth is [total] delegation (*al-tawfiq*) and one should delegate one's affairs to God Most High, seeking His forgiveness, returning to Him to seek His nearness and the truth of the gnosis of Him, not because of Paradise and the fear of Hell.

If any of these characteristics are deficient, one will not achieve one's intention

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58 i.e. one's master (*shaykh*).

59 This Tradition is is also cited by al-Ghazālī in *Iḥyā‘*, Vol. 4, p. 345 and *Arba‘īn*, p. 199; cf. also *Qūl*, Vol. 2, pp. 50 and 81.
Completely and perfectly.

(p. 32) 5.11. Chapter Eleven: On the benefits of seclusion (al-khalwah)

Know that the benefits of seclusion are five: realities (al-waqīāt), visions (al-mushāhadāt), unveilings (al-mukāshafāt), manifestations (al-tajallīyāt) and "arrival" (al-wuṣūl) and we shall mention in detail every benefit in one section, if God wills.

5.11.1. Section: On explanation of realities (al-waqīāt)

Know that when the one who follows the [Sufi] path (al-sālik) engages in the spiritual exercise (riyādah) of the soul (nafs) and purification of the heart, the passage and path in the world of kingship and sovereignty (‘ālam al-mulk wa al-malakūt) appear to him. And in every station, states will unveil themselves to him and realities (waqīāt) will appear to him.

Realities (waqīāt) are those things which [manifest] themselves from the states between wakefulness and sleep. They have in the view of the wayfarer three benefits:

[In] the first he becomes aware of the states of his soul (nafs) by way of increase and decrease of lassitude (fatrah), desire (raghbah), rapture (wajd) and longing (shawq), by way of stopping places (manāzil), stations, high ranks (darajat) and low levels (darakāt) from sublimity and lowness, truth and falsehood. He stops at the realities (waqī‘) of [human] nature (nafsāniyyah), bestiality, devilishness,

60 See Chapter One, 1.1. Introduction to the treatise, p. 9, f. n. 3.
savageness, cordiality, spirituality, royalty and mercifulness. If they are dominated by blameworthy characteristics of the [human] nature such as avidity, (p. 33) envy, cupidity, hatred, arrogance, anger, desire and so on, every one of these will appear in reality (wāqī‘ah) in the form of animals.

If the characteristic of avidity (al-hirs) takes possession of it, it will appear in the form of a mouse or an ant. If the characteristic of cupidity (bukhl) is dominant over it, it will appear in the form of a dog or of apes. If the characteristic of hatred (hiqd) is dominant over it, it will appear in the form of snakes or scorpions. If the characteristic of arrogance (kibr) is dominant over it, it will appear in the form of a leopard. If the characteristic of lust (shahwah) takes possession of it, it will appear in the form of an ass. If the characteristic of brutishness (al-bahimiyyah) is dominant over it, it will appear [in the form] of sheep. If the characteristic of savageness (al-sabifiyyah) takes possession of it, it will appear in the form of predatory animals. If the characteristic of devilishness (al-shaytaniyyah) takes possession on it, it will appear in the form of devils or demons. If the characteristics of deceitfulness and trickery (al-makr wa al-ḥilah) are dominant over it, it will appear in the form of a fox or a rabbit. If he [the wayfarer] sees that these things are taking possession of it [his soul], then he knows that these characteristics are dominant over it.

If he sees that they have been overcome, then he knows that he has passed beyond these characteristics. If he sees flowing limpid rivers and seas, ponds, reservoirs, gardens, palaces, pure mirrors, stars, moons and a serene heaven, then he knows that these characteristics are among the characteristics of the heart. If he sees lights, rising, ascending, traversing the earth quickly, going up to heaven, (p. 34) the atmosphere, and the unveiling of meanings and the sciences of spiritual intuition (al-
"ulûm al-laduniyyah) and realisations (al-mudrakât) without the medium of senses, then he knows that it [his soul] is in the station of spirituality (maqâm al-rûhâniyyah). If he sees meditation of the heavenly kingdom, the vision (mushâhadah) of angels, inner voices (al-hawâtîf), celestial spheres, stars, the throne (al-‌arš)\(^{61}\) and the seat (al-kursî),\(^{62}\) then he knows that it has reached the attributes of the angels and attained praiseworthy characteristics. If he sees visions of lights of the unseen world and the unveilings of the attributes of the divinity (sifât al-ulûhiyyah), inspirations (al-ilhâmât), signs (al-‌ishârât), revelation (al-wahy) and manifestation of the attributes of divinity (sifât al-rûbûbiyyah), then he knows that it [his soul] is in the station of being shaped (takhalluq) by the characteristics of the Merciful.\(^{63}\)

The second is that the realities (waqâtî') of the heart (al-qalbiyyah), the soul (al-rûhîyyah) and the angels (al-malakiyyah) exist together with direct experience (dhawq).\(^{64}\) Drinking, force and longing (shawq) will be obtained from them by the soul, and it will appear [good] to turn away from [lower] creation and from the delight of the world of ordinary vision and from corporeal objects of desire. It will obtain an intimate acquaintance (al-isti'nâs) of the concealed things and the world of spirituality, and the meanings of secrets and realities (al-haqa'iq) will be unveiled to


\(^{62}\) The Seat (kursî): cf. Q. 2:255. On the basis of a Tradition, the Seat is said to be the threshold of the Throne and to encompass the seven heavens. The Seat has been identified as the locus of divine command and prohibition. (Sajjadi, op. cit., p. 326; cf. Mirsad, p. 291)

\(^{63}\) i.e. qualify oneself with the qualities of God and it can be achieved through constant mental struggle exchange one's own base qualities for the praiseworthy qualities by which God has described Himself in the Qur'anic revelation. Schimmel, op. cit., p. 142

it and it will devote itself wholly to the concealed world and will know their drinking place (mashrab). God Most High said:

Each group knew its own place for water. (2:60)

The third is that when the wayfarer reaches one of the stations of the realities (fi ba'd al-maqâmât al-waqâ'ît) of which he is unaware and he is cut off from the path, then he will need the master, because when his path is in the characteristics of [human] nature and the heart, perhaps he will not need a master but when he reaches the stations of spirituality, he will not be able to cross from them except by means of the master of guidance and guardianship.

(p. 36) 5.11.2. Section: On the explanation on visions (al-mushâhadât)

God Most High said:

The [Prophet's mind and] heart in no way falsified that which he saw. Will ye the dispute with him concerning what he saw? For indeed he saw him at a second descent. (53:11-13)

And the Prophet (P.B.U.H.) said:

Beneficence is that you worship God Most High, as if you see Him, and if you do not see Him, He sees you.65

Know that the mirror of the heart, when it is purified by the phrase "there is no god but God", and it attains polishing (ṣaqālah) and the rust departs from it, the lights of the concealed world will appear according to the polishing. This will happen

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at the beginning of the state, similar to a flash of lightning, gleamings and sparklings. If its polishing is increased, it will appear similar to a lamp, a candle and a torch. When its polishing is increased, its lights will increase until it will appear in the form of stars, the new moon, the full moon and the sun. And after that lights, which are separated from the imagination, will appear; some of them blue, some of them green, some of them like smoke and some of them white.

If the light of the soul is mixed with purity of the heart, a green light will appear and when [the heart] is wholly pure, a light like the radiation of the sun will be produced. When the light of truth is reflected with the light of the soul, seeing (mushāhada) will be mixed with the direct experience (dhawq) of [real] vision (shuḥūd). And the light of truth (nūr al-ḥaqiq) may appear without the intermediary of the soul and the heart. At that time [concepts of] quality (kayfīyyah), similarity (mithliyyah), oppositeness (p. 37) and fixed time and place (al-tamkin wa al-tamakkun) will become among his inseparable attributes (lawāzin) and there will be no sunrise, sunset, right, left, above, below, place, time, nearness and farness, night or day, for God does not have morning and evening, and the veils will be lifted and the meaning of His words, may He be praised and glorified, will appear:

Everything [that exists] will perish except His own face. To Him belongs the command. (28:88)

These are the lights of the attributes of beauty (ṣifāt al-jamāl)\(^\text{66}\) that appear in the world of grace (al-lutf).

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\(^{66}\) See Ṣifat al-Jalāl below, p. 204, f.n. 67.
As for the lights of the attributes of sublimity (al-jalāl)\(^{67}\) that appear in the station of [real] vision (shuḥūd), they necessitate the annihilation of annihilation (fanā' al-fanā')\(^{68}\) and initially a burning light will appear, which necessitates the meaning of the words of the Most High:

Naught doth it permit to endure, and naught doth it leave alone!.  
(74:28)

If it appears in the station of annihilation of annihilation, it will necessitate the removal of existence and the breaking of forms. Know that the lights of the attributes of sublimity are burning and the lights of the attributes of beauty are shining. The lights of the attributes of sublimity may be black and the intellect does not know the quality of this, and its explanation is extremely difficult and hard.

(p. 38) 5.11.3. **Section: Explanation on unveilings (al-mukāshafat)**

God Most High said:

Now have We removed thy veil and sharp is thy sight this Day!.  
(50:22)

And the Prophet (P.B.U.H.) said:

His veils are from light, and if He were unveiled, the unveiling would

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\(^{67}\) Jamāl and Jalāl are the divine names and attributes which are frequently divided by Šūfī writers into two categories of beauty (jamāl) and sublimity (jalāl). These two qualities forming 'poles' of complementarity within manifestation. To the category beauty belong, for example, Merciful (rahim), Oft-giving (‘affw), Loving (wadūd); while to that of sublimity belong, Just (‘adl), Vengeful (Muntaqim), Wrathful (Qahhar), etc. The duality of beauty and sublimity is to be found in the teaching of the early Šūfīs such as Dīhū al-Nūn al-Misrī and is followed by al-Ghazālī. (Schimmel, op. cit., p. 44). For the teaching of al-Ghazālī, (cf. C. Hillenbrand, "Some Aspects of al-Ghazālī's Views on Beauty", in God is Beautiful and He Loves Beauty, ed. by A. Giese and J. C. Burgel, New York, 1994, pp. 249 - 265).

\(^{68}\) For information on this, see 5.14.2. Section: On annihilation (fanā') and abiding (baqā'), pp. 218 - 219.
burn us.

Unveiling (al-kashf) is emergence from veils in such a way that the recipient of unveiling perceives something which he has not perceived before. Veils are an expression of the hindrances by reason of which the servant is veiled from the presence of God Most High. That is the sum total of the different worlds, consisting of this world and the life to come. As was related from the Apostle of God (P.B.U.H.):

Truly God has seventy thousand veils of light and darkness.\(^6\)

Know that unveiling is of five types; unveiling of the intellect, unveiling of the heart, unveiling of the soul, secret unveiling (sirri) and unveiling of the unknown (khafī). As for unveiling of the intellect, it is that when the one who follows the (Ṣūfī) path is occupied with [spiritual] struggles and exercises, a veil will be raised (p. 39) from him on account of his struggles. In every veil that is raised from him the meanings of intelligible things (al-maqūlāt) will be unveiled to him because of it, and the secrets of possible things (al-mumkināt) will appear; this is called theoretical unveiling. As for unveiling of the heart, various lights will be unveiled in it; as we have mentioned an explanation of some of them in the section of visions (mushāhadāt) and this is called visual (shuhūdiyyah) unveiling.

As for the secret unveiling it is that in the first place the secrets of created beings and the wisdom of the creation of existent things will be unveiled and this is called [divine] inspirational (ilhāmi) [unveiling]. As for [the unveiling of] the soul,

\(^6\) The source of these two Traditions cannot be traced.
it is an exposition of Paradises, Hells and ascents (al-maʿārij) and the vision of the angels. When it is wholly pure and [is clean] from the filthinesses of [human] nature, infinite universes will appear; the veils of time and place will be raised, and an awareness with the events of the past and the states of the future will be attained. The veils of time, place and the life to come and the veils of dimensions will also be raised. Miracles (al-karamāt), such as awareness of concepts, acquaintance with concealed things, walking over water and fire and swiftly traversing the earth and so on will appear; and this is called unveiling of the soul.

As for unveiling of the unknown, it is that God Most High will be unveiled through His attributes, either the attributes of beauty (bi muʿīṭ al-jamāl) or the attributes of sublimity (bi muʿīṭ al-jalāl) according to the stations and the states. The unknown is a luminous spirit, abstract, particular (rūḥ nurānī mujarrad khāṣṣ), a gift from God Most High unto whom He wants among His servants. As (p. 40) God Most High said:

For such He has written faith in their hearts and strengthened them with a spirit from Himself. (58:22)

It is the spirit of the unknown and God Most High said:

By His command doth He send the spirit [of inspiration] to any of His servants He pleases, (40:15)

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70 See Chapter One, 1.4. Section Three: On the types of knowledge and its divisions, p. 33, f.n. 60.

71 The author seems to put the secret unveiling and the unveiling of the soul in the wrong order.

72 Hujwiri writes of knowing God by means of His attributes of perfection and sublimity and says that those who know Him through His perfection are always longing for vision, and longing is the result of love, while those who know Him through His sublimity are filled with awe. (Kashf, pp. 288, 376; Smith, al-Ghazālī, p. 131).
and this unveiling is called that of attribution (ṣifāʿīyyah). If it is unveiled by the attribute of knowing (al-ʿālimiyyah), the sciences of spiritual intuition (al-ʿulūm al-ladunīyyah) will appear. If it is unveiled by the attribute of hearing (al-samʿīyyah), listening to talking and speaking will appear. If it is unveiled by the attribute of seeing (al-baṣāriyyah), viewing (al-ruʿyah) and vision (mushāḥadah) will appear. If it is unveiled by the attribute of sublimity, the annihilation of annihilation (fanāʿ al-fanāʿ) will appear. If it is unveiled by the attribute of everlastingness (al-qayyūmiyyah), abiding of abiding (baqāʿ al-baqāʿ) will appear. If it is unveiled by the attribute of Oneness (al-wāḥidīyyah), Oneness (al-Wahdah) will appear.

(p. 41) 5.11.4. Section: On explanation of manifestation (al-tajallī)

God Most High said:

When His Lord manifested His Glory on the mount, He made it as dust, and Moses fell down in a swoon. (7:143)

The Prophet (P.B.U.H.) said:

When God manifested Himself to anything, anything (kull shaiʿ) would submit to Him.73

Manifestation is an expression of the appearance of the essence of divinity and its attributes (dhāt al-ilāhiyyah wa ṣifāṭihā). The spirit may have manifestation and not every wayfarer distinguishes between manifestation of the spirit (al-tajallī al-rūḥī) and manifestation of the divinity (al-tajallī al-ilāhiyyah). The distinction

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73 This Tradition is in al-Nasāʾī, Sunan, "Kitāb al-kusūf", Vol. 1, p. 361, but with slight differences.
between them is that manifestation of the spirit is characterised by the blemish of the created [world] (hudūth) and it does not have the power of annihilation (quwwat al-ifnā'). If at the time of appearance, the removal of the attributes of mankind takes place, well and good, and as for when it is veiled, the soul (nafs) will return to its nature and will not attain its tranquillity.

Manifestation of divinity (al-tajallī al-rabbānī) is in contrast with it because the annihilation of annihilation will appear in it and the soul (nafs) will die entirely and it will obtain its tranquillity. Manifestation of the spirit (al-tajallī al-rūhānī) may come from the overcomings of the lights of spirituality. It may come from the overcomings of the lights of remembrance and the lights of obedience. Then, the lights of the sea of spirituality will undulate on the shore of the heart.

Manifestation of divinity (al-tajallī al-rabbānī) is of two types: essential (dhātī)\(^{24}\) and [active] attributional (ṣifātī). The essential is of two types: manifestation of the Godhead (tajallī al-uluhiyyah) and manifestation of divine Lordship (tajallī al-rububiyyah). Manifestation of the Godhead (tajallī al-uluhiyyah) was for Muḥammad (P.B.U.H.). As God Most High said:

Verily those who plight their fealty to thee do no less than plight their fealty to God: the hand of God is over their hands. (48:10)

(p. 42) Manifestation of divine Lordship (al-tajjali al-rubūbiyyah) was for Moses (P.B.U.H.). As God Most High said:

When his Lord manifested His Glory on the mount, He made it as dust and Moses fell down in a swoon. (7:143)

\(^{24}\) Presumably he means by "dhātī", the divine essence that excludes the essential attributes.
As for the [active] attributional, it is of two types, beautiful and sublime, and each one of them is essential and active.

If manifestation is with the attribute of existence (al-mawjūdiyyah), the annihilation of annihilation will appear, as for Junayd75 when he said:

Nothing is in existence other than God Most High.

If manifestation is with the attribute of Oneness, unity will appear, as for Abū Sa‘īd76 when he said:

Nothing is in the jubbah (robe) other than God Most High.

If manifestation is with the attribute of self-existence (al-qā‘imīyyah), self-existence will appear, as for Abū Yazīd when he said:

Praise be upon me, how great is my rank.

If manifestation is with the attribute of knowing, the sciences of spiritual intuition (al-‘ulūm al-laduniyyah) will appear as for Khidr (P.B.U.H.). God Most High said:

And whom We had taught knowledge from our own presence. (18:65)


76 Abū Sa‘īd Ahmād b. ‘Isā al-Kharrāz (d. 286/899) was a friend of al-Junayd and also one of the most distinguished Sūfīs of the school of Baghdād. He met Dhū al-Nūn and was a disciple of Sarī al-Saqātī and Bishr b. al-Ḥārīth al-Ḥāfī (d. 227/842). Abū Sa‘īd was one of the earliest Sūfīs to write books on Sūfism. (Q. Risālah, p. 29; Ibn al-‘Imād, Shadharāt, Vol. 2, pp. 132 - 133; al-Khaṭīb, T. al-Baghdād, Vol. 4, pp. 276 - 278; Kāshī, pp. 143, 241 - 246; al-Sulami, Ī. al-Ṣūfīyyah, pp. 228 - 232).
If manifestation is with the attribute of will (al-muridiyyah), will (al-irādah) appears, [it will be] as for Abu ‘Uthmān [al-Iḥīrī] when he said:

The will of God most High has been in my will for thirty years.

If manifestation is with the attribute of powerfulness (al-qādiriyyah), power will appear, as for Muṣṭafā (P.B.U.H.) when God Most High said:

When thou threwest [a handful of dust], it was not thy act, but God's. (8:17)

If manifestation is with the attribute of abiding (al-baqā'), it will demand the removal of egocentricity, as for Manṣūr'' when he said: (p. 43)

Between me and You, "I" presses upon me; so with your generosity, remove "I" from existence.

If manifestation is with the attribute of the provider (al-rāziqiyyah), the granting of sustenance will appear, as for Mary when God Most High said:

And shake towards thyself the trunk of the palm-tree, it will let fall fresh ripe dates upon thee. (19:25)

If manifestation is with the attribute of the Creator, the creation of the created being will appear, as for Jesus (P.B.U.H.) when God Most High said:

And behold! thou makest out of clay, as it were the figure of a bird, by My leave, and thou breathest into it, and it becometh a bird by My leave. (5:110)

If manifestation is with the attribute of Grandeur and Magnificence, the elimination

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'' i.e. al-Ḥallāj.
of the traces of existence will appear, and this will entail the abiding of abiding (baqā' al-baqā'). If manifestation is with the attribute of the Omnipotent (al-jabarūt), lights with the utmost dignity will appear. If manifestation is with the attribute of the Subduer (al-qahhāriyyah), the annihilation of annihilation will appear. If manifestation is with the attribute of the Mighty (al-azīziyyah), the happiness of the two worlds [will appear] and manifestation with the attribute of sublimity will be permanent because it is the station of fixed time and place (tamkin). Manifestation with the attribute of beauty will be impermanent because it is the station of changing (talwīn). The End (khātimah).

Know that vision (mushāhadah) may be with manifestation (tajallī) and without manifestation and manifestation may be with vision (mushāhadah) and without vision and both of them can only come with unveiling (mukāshafah) and unveiling exists without either of them.

(p. 44) 5.11.5. Section: On explanation of "arrival" (al-wuṣūl)

God Most High said:

And was at a distance of but two bow-lengths or [even] nearer. (53:9)

He said:

That to thy Lord is the final goal. (53:42)

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78 Tamkin is the last station, beyond which it is impossible to pass, because it is "repose within the shrine" and those who attain tamkin are of two classes, those who retain the attributes of the self, i.e. still have some individual personality, and those who have no personal attributes, for one of this class is completely absorbed in the contemplation of God (shāhid al-Haqq). (Kashf, p. 369; cf. also Q. Risālah, p. 44; al-Ḥifnī, op. cit., pp. 48 - 49; Smith, al-Ghazālī, p. 131).

79 To indicate the end of the examples of different kinds of manifestation.
The Prophet (P.B.U.H.) said:

It was revealed by God Most High to Moses and He said: O! Moses, starve and you will see Me, isolate yourself and you will reach Me.\(^8\)

Know that "arrival" (\(wu\text{\(\text{sul}\)) before the presence of God Most High is not like the arrival of a body (\(al\text{-\(jism\)}) at a body or of an accident (\(al\text{-\(ara\text{\(d\)}) at an accident or of knowledge (\(al\text{-\(ilm\) at what is known or of reason at what is rational. May God be greatly exalted above that.

Arrival (\(wu\text{\(\text{sul}\)) is of two types; the arrival of the beginning and arrival of the end. As for the first, it is that the ornament of truth (\(hilyat\text{-\(al\text{-\(haqq\) is unveiled to the servant so that he becomes absorbed in it. If he examines his knowledge (\(macrifah), he does not know anything except God, and if he examines his intention, he has no intention other than Him so that all of him becomes preoccupied with all of Him in vision (\(mush\text{-\(hadah\) and intention and he does not turn in that [state] to his [human] nature (\(nafs\), so that externally he flourishes in this with worship and internally with refinement of morals. As for the second, it is that the servant sheds his [human] nature (\(nafs\) wholly and he devotes himself to Him and he becomes as if he is He.

Arrival (\(wu\text{\(\text{sul}\)) before the presence of God Most High is not on the part of the servant but rather by the help of God Most High and by [His] making available the attractions of the divinity (\(jadhab\text{-\(at\text{-\(ul\text{-\(ul\text{-\(aiyyah\))\)}\)}\) and the servant's acquisition of the reason to obtain it. As God Most High said:

\(^8\) Bukhārī, \textit{Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī,} "Tafsīr sūrah 18:66", Vol. 6, p. 73.

\(^9\) God's drawing His bondsmen near to Himself through His pre-eternal grace; His providing him with all that he needs in traversing the stages of the path without any effort on his part. al-Kāshānī, \textit{Mu\text{\(jum\),} p. 65; Sajjadi, op. cit., p. 132.
And those who strive in Our cause, We will certainly guide them to Our paths. (29:69)

As for the arriver (al-wāṣil), he is of three kinds; absolute attracted (majdhub mutlaq), wayfarer attracted (majdhub sālik) and absolute wayfarer (sālik mutlaq). As for the first, it is he who is attracted by God Most High with His help and He guides him to His path and causes him to arrive in proximity to Him. He gives him the honourable stations and high ranks without pains, struggles and occupying himself with seclusion (p. 46) and spiritual exercises. As for the second, it is he who busies himself with self-struggle and sits in seclusion and cuts himself off wholly to God Most High. God Most High looks at him mercifully and He supports him with benevolence and bounty and He brings him to the high stations and the eminent ranks in a short period and with little self-struggle. As for the third, it is he who traverses the sea of self-struggles and self-exercises and is aware of all realities (waqā'i') and states until he ends by means of rigorous self-struggles and long periods of forty days at the great stations and splendid ranks.

5.12. Chapter Twelve: On the explanation of knowledge (al-ma'rifah) and its mode

God Most High said:

Know, therefore, that there is no god but God. (47:19)

Know that knowledge (ma'rifah) is of two kinds: knowledge for the common people and knowledge for the chosen people. As for the first, it is knowledge which is obtained through examination (al-nażar) and argumentation (al-istidlāl) and it is
named knowledge of certainty ('ilm al-yaqīn).

As for the second, it is of two types: knowledge of the essence of certainty (mā'rifat 'ayn al-yaqīn) and knowledge of truth of certainty (mā'rifat haqq al-yaqīn). As for the first type, it is knowledge which is obtained through vision (shuhūd) and it is the station of select saints. As for the second type, it is knowledge which is achieved by the soul through the eye of vision (mushāhadah). This comes about when the senses of the heart (ḥawāss al-qulūb) are safe from all human (nafsāniyyah) turbidities, isolated from bodily (p. 47) attachments and are free from human characteristics. Here, there will appear to the soul the knowledge of God Most High through the eye of vision (mushāhadah). As the Apostle of God (P.B.U.H.) showed with his saying:

Starve your bellies and strip your backs, perhaps you will see your God through your hearts.82

The Commander of the Faithful, ʿAlī (may God have mercy upon him), was asked about seeing [God] (ru'yah), and he said after saying [something first]:

Eyes cannot see Him through the vision (mushāhadah) of one's own eyes but hearts see Him with the truths of faith.

ʿUmar (may God have mercy upon him) said:

My Lord has seen my heart, and it is the station of prophets and the elite of the select saints.

It has been said that knowledge of certainty ('ilm al-yaqīn) is what comes

82 The source of this Tradition cannot be traced.
through [the method] of examination and argumentation and the essence of certainty (‘ayn al-yaqin) is what comes [through] the method of unveiling (kashf) and gift (nawāl), and truth of certainty (haqq al-yaqin) is what comes through realising separation from the pollution of [human] clay through the coming [of the visitation (wafād) of reunion (wisāl). Know that knowledge of certainty (‘ilm al-yaqin) is that which contains no confusion and the essence of certainty (‘ayn al-yaqin) is that in which God Most High has deposited secrets. When knowledge is separated from the quality of certainty, it is knowledge with uncertainty and when certainty is added to it, it is knowledge without uncertainty. The truth of certainty (haqq al-yaqin) is what knowledge of certainty (‘ilm al-yaqin) and the essence of certainty (‘ayn al-yaqin) have indicated. Al-Junayd said: 

The truth of certainty (haqq al-yaqin) is that by which the servant has been made sure and it is that he sees unseen things as he sees visible things through the vision of eyes and he decides on unseen things, then he tells about them with truthfulness.

And it has been said that certainty is a name, an illustration, knowledge, (p. 48) essence and truth. The name and illustration are for the common people, knowledge of certainty is for saints, the essence of certainty is for select saints, and the truth of certainty is for prophets and the full truth of certainty is specific for our Prophet (P.B.U.H.).

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83 Lit: The truth of the truth of certainty.
5.13. Chapter Thirteen: On the explanation of the state (ḥāl) and the station (maqām) and the distinctions between them

Know that the state is something which changes and does not remain constant and immovable. The state is called ḥāl [because of] its changeability and the station is called maqām [because of] its constancy and its immovability. And a thing may be in its essence a state (bi ʿaynīh ḥālān), and then become a station.

For instance, the motive of self-accounting (al-muhāsabah) will spring from within the servant, then the motive will disappear due to the predominance of the attributes of [human] nature (nafs), then it will come back, then it will vanish and the servant will always be in the state of self-accounting until he gains help from God Most Beneficent. Then self-accounting will be his homeland, his abode and his station and he will achieve the station of self-accounting after the state of self-accounting. (p. 49)

5.14. Chapter Fourteen: On the mentioning of the signs of the masters concerning some of the stations (al-maqāmāt); in it [the chapter] are several sections

5.14.1. Section: Control (al-qabd) and expansion (al-basṭ)

Know that control [of human nature] (qabd) and expansion [of the good qualities

\[\text{84 The cessation through temporary severance of the heart's pleasure. (See Kāshānī, Mu'jam, p. 352.) And Hujwīrī says that qabd denotes the contraction of the heart in the state at being veiled (ḥijāb). (See Kashf, p. 374.)}\]
of human nature] (bast) are noble states (hālān sharīfān). They have a known season (mawsim) and a determined time (waqt), and they do not exist before it and do not exist after it. Their time and season are at the beginning of the state (hāl) of specific love (mahabbah), not at its end, and not before the state (hāl) of general love (mahabbah). Whoever is in the station of general love (mahabbah), will not have control [of his nature] (qabd) and expansion [of the good qualities of his nature] (bast), but he will only have fear and hope.

The existence of control (qabd) is because of the appearance and predominance of human nature, and the appearance of expansion (bast) is because of the appearance and predominance of the heart which has been purified. Control (qabd) and expansion (bast) may come into the inner self without the reason for them [coming] being known. As a result of absence of [the need for] control (qabd) and expansion (bast) and [what] rises up from them, one’s soul (nafs) will be at rest, without fire being kindled from its substance (jawhar) necessitating control (qabd), and the sea of [the soul’s] nature will not clash with the abyss of desire until expansion (bast) appears from it.

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85 God’s manifestation of Himself through the working of His attributes as contrasted with control, the non-manifest state of the essence in its immutable transcendence. (See Kāshānī, Mu‘jam, p. 354.) And Hujwirī says that bast denotes the expansion of the heart in the state of revelation. (See Kashf, p. 374.)

86 i.e. the reason for the existence of qabd is in order to control human nature which would otherwise prevail.

87 i.e. the reason for the existence of bast is in order to expand the good qualities which arise out of a pure heart.

88 Emending the text to read wa-[mā] ʿirṣaḥā.

89 i.e. [it seems to indicate that] when there is no longer a need for controlling human nature and expanding the good qualities of the pure heart, the soul will be tranquill. In other words one will have gone beyond this stage in one’s spiritual development.
Section: On annihilation \((\text{al-fanā'}\))\(^90\) and abiding \((\text{al-baqā'}\))\(^91\) [in God]

Annihilation \((\text{fanā'})\) is when [all] shares are annihilated from one and one has no share in anything, on the contrary, one is annihilated from all things through one's preoccupation with the One in whom one is annihilated. \(\ddot{A}\text{mir b. } \dot{A}\text{bd Allāh}^92\) said:

I do not care whether I see a woman or a wall.

This is the station of annihilation, and it will be followed by abiding \((\text{baqā'})\) [in God]. It is that one will be annihilated from that which is one's own and one will remain in that which is God's. It has been said that annihilation is absence from all things, like the annihilation of Moses (P.B.U.H.) when his Lord manifested Himself to the mountain. Al-Junayd said:

Annihilation \((\text{fanā'})\) is the obscuring of all \((\text{istfjām al-kulli})\) your characteristics and the preoccupation of everything in you in His entire being \((\text{bi kullīyyatihi})\).

Know that annihilation \((\text{fanā'})\) is divided into external annihilation and inner annihilation. As for external annihilation, it is that the Truth [may He be Praised and

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\(90\) The falling away of reprehensible qualities, whilst the counterpart of annihilation is abiding \((\text{baqā'})\). Annihilation is of two kinds: the first that which has just been described, which is attained by an abundance of ascetic striving, and the second, non-awareness of the world of realms and of Divine Kingdom through immersion in the magnificence of the Creator and the witnessing of God. \((\text{Tā'rifāt, p. 176}).\)

\(91\) Abiding within God, clothing oneself in divine attributes and losing consciousness of one's separate existence. \(\text{Sajjadi, op. cit., p. 90; cf. Mīrşād, p. 218.}\)

\(92\) \(\ddot{A}\text{mir b. } \dot{A}\text{bd Allāh b. al-Zubayr b. al-Awwām} (d. 121/738/9)\) was an ascetic of Medina, who is recorded as having kept hands raised in supplication between the night and morning prayers. He is said to have died in prayer. He also transmitted a number of Traditions which are recorded by both al-Bukhārī and Muslim. \((\text{Ṣafādī, al-Wāfi, Vol. 15, p. 589; Ḥīyāh, Vol. 3, p. 166 - 168}).\)
Glorified] is manifested by the path of actions (bi ṭariq al-afāl) and the servant is deprived of his choice and will, so that he does not see any action either of himself or of anyone else except through the Truth. As for inner annihilation, [it is] that sometimes He is unveiled with attributes (al-ṣifāt) and at other times with the vision (mushāhadah) of the effects of the sublimity of His essence. The matter of the Truth overwhelms one's inner self until neither anxiety nor doubt remain in oneself. External annihilation is for the people of hearts and states (arbāb al-qulūb wa al-ahwāl) and inner annihilation is for the one who is free from the bonds of the states and has became with God and not with the states (al-ahwāl) and who comes out from the [tie] of the heart and is with God [the converter of hearts] (muqallib al-qulūb) and not with his own heart.

(p. 51) 5.14.3. Section: On ecstasy (al-wajd) and rapture (al-ghalabah)

Ecstasy is what reaches the inner self (al-bāṭin) from God Most High and one acquires it joyfully or mournfully and it changes one from one's form (hay'atih) and one aspires to God Most High. It is delight which is felt by the person who is overwhelmed (al-maghliḥ) by the attributes of his soul and he looks from them to God Most High. Rapture is a continuous ecstasy (wajd), for ecstasy is like lightning which appears and rapture is like continuous, uninterrupted lightning which cannot be explained.

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93 i.e. the one who is still at the beginning of annihilation, i.e. the saint.
5.14.4. Section: On intoxication (al-suṣr) and sobriety (al-sahw)

Intoxication (suṣr) is when the force of the state (al-ḥāl) predominates and sobriety (ṣahw) returns to the ordered arrangement of deeds and the refinement of words. It has been said that intoxication is a boiling of the heart, with continuous remembrance of the Beloved (al-māḥūb). Intoxication is for the people of hearts (arbaḥ al-qulūb) and sobriety is for those who uncover the realities of unseen things (bi ḥaqāʾiq al-ghuyūb).

(p. 52) 5.14.5. Section: On being absent (al-ghaybah) and being present (al-shuhūd)

Being present (shuhūd) is presence at one time with the quality of observation (murāqabah) and at another time with the attribute of vision (mushāḥadah). As long as the servant is characterized by being present and watching, he is present. When he loses the state of vision and observation, he comes out of the circuit of presence and he is absent. They mean by being absent (ghaybah), absence from all things except the Truth.

The explanation of spiritual exercises (riyāḍāt) has been perfected with the help of God Most High and His Benevolence; now we shall set about explaining acts of worship (‘ibādāt), with success granted by God Most High.
5.15. Chapter Fifteen: On explanation of acts of worship (al-
ibādāt)

God Most High said:

To worship God, offering Him sincere devotion. (98:5)

Know that God Most High created man on account of worship and on account of knowledge (ma‘rifah) because He Most High has explained the cause of creation when He said:

I have only created Jinns and men, so that (li) they may serve Me, (51:56)

and the particle li is to denote reason. Worship is what is desired by one's essence (al-dhāt) and knowledge is one of its conditions. It takes place for its own reason. Its absence will bring about absence of knowledge, because knowledge occurs for the soul in the world of the divine kingdom (‘ālam al-malakūt). The reason for its connection to the body is on account of worship, (p. 53) and worship is required by one's essence (al-dhāt).

The fact that the words of attestation of faith (kalimat al-shahādah) precedes the acts of worship is the same as the fact that ablution precedes the prayer. Know that God Most High created creation; as the Apostle of God (P.B.U.H.) said:

A story from God Almighty: I was a hidden treasure, and I wished to be known, and I created creation and the creation of souls came before bodies.94

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94 This Tradition is also cited by al-Kāshānī in the Mu‘jam, p. 116.
They were in the Divine presence in the world of the divine kingdom, and they know God Most High through His Divinity (*bi rubūbiyyatih*), when God Most High said:

Am I not your Lord [who cherishes and sustains you]? They said: Yea!, (7:172)

but they were not in a position to perform worship (*al-‘ubūdiyyah*) because worship is not valid except by means of bodily organs. Limbs are the bodily organs, and then [before creation] it was not possible. Thereafter God Most High created the body from earth in the world of perception (*‘ālam al-shahādah*) and He made it the instrument of worship for the soul. He then blew the spirit into it and strengthened it and said to it:

And serve thy Lord until there come unto thee the hour that is certain. (15:99)

As God Most High said:

We have indeed created man in the best of moulds, (95:4)

meaning, the souls:

Then do We abase him [to be] the lowest of the low, (95:5)

meaning, in the mould (*qālib*) of mankind. It is obvious that the intention of the creation of man is worship.
It has been said that God Most High created creation for the sake of knowing [Him]. However, perfect knowledge (ma'rifah) cannot be attained by the soul in the world of the divine kingdom because perfect knowledge can only be obtained through stopping (al-wuqūf) in the world of the unseen and seeing. God Most High wished (p. 54) to send the soul (al-rūh) to the world of seeing for the sake of perfect knowledge. The soul was like a subtle, spiritual and luminous substance which is not in conformity with the world of seeing and it must have an instrument in the world of seeing, so that knowledge (ma'rifah) can be achieved by reason of it. So God Most High created the body in the world of seeing and sent the soul (rūh) and blew into it and the soul and body become as one thing. The soul forgot that knowledge because of its distance from the presence (al-hādrah) of God and its attachment to the bodily organs. Then God Most High commanded it to worship (‘ibādah), when He said:

And serve thy Lord, (15:99)

until the veils were uncovered because of it, and knowledge (ma'rifah) with its perfection occurs, because perfect knowledge occurs by means of worship. As the Apostle of God (P.B.U.H.) said:

The faith of one of you will not be straight until his heart is straight, and his heart will not be straight until his tongue is straight, and his tongue will not be straight until his deeds are straight.⁹⁵

It is obvious that straightness of faith cannot be achieved except by means of worship, and whoever does not have worship, does not have knowledge (ma'rifah), and whoever does not have knowledge, does not have worship, and worship is what

is desired by one's essence.

5.15.1. **Section: On ablution (al-wuḍū’)** and its mysteries

When one wants to perform ablution, one begins with the toothpick (ṣiwāk) and it is a commendable tradition because of what was related from the Apostle of God (P.B.U.H.). He said: (p. 55)

> Were it not for the fact that it would be more difficult for my people, I would have delayed [the prayer of] ‘Ishā’ to one third of the night and I would have commanded them to clean their teeth at every prescribed [prayer].96

When one has finished with the toothpick, one asks for forgiveness; sits facing the qiblah and begins "In the name of God" and says: "God! I seek refuge with You from the defamatory insinuations of devils (hamazāt al-shayāfīn) and I seek refuge with You, O Lord, lest they should come".

The heart is present in washing the four limbs because when the heart is present in ablution, it will be present in prayer, and when inadvertance (ṣalāf) enters it, devilish insinuation will enter prayer. One does not wash more than three times and does not talk during an ablution. And one gathers one's water and pours it onto a clean, pure place because it will bear witness on the Day of Resurrection. One avoids extravagance (isrāf) in pouring the water and one is not over emphatic in the matter of cleanness; rather one keeps to the limit of [one's] knowledge, because it is


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related from the Apostle of God (P.B.U.H.) that he said:

Ablution has a devil called *Walāhān*. So fear the devilish insinuations (*wisāwas*) of water.97

One does not wipe away the water of ablution with a cloth and the like because the water of ablution will be weighed on the Day of Resurrection.

(p. 56) Persistence (*muwāzábah*) in ablution is commendable (*mustahabbah*) because of what has been related from the Apostle of God (P.B.U.H.) when he said:

Ablution is the weapon of the believer, and when the limbs are under the protection of ablution, the coming of the devil upon them will be diminished.98

[It is related] from Anas (may God have mercy upon him)99 that the Apostle of God (P.B.U.H.) said:

Whoever is visited by death while he is in ablution will be given martyrdom.100

When one finishes ablution, one raises up his head to heaven and says: "I attest that there is no god but God alone, Who has no associate and I attest that Muḥammad is His servant and His Apostle. Praise and glory be upon You O God. I attest that there is no god but You. I have done evil and I have wronged myself. I ask Your


98 This Tradition is cited by *Awārif*, p. 297.

99 Anas b. Mālik b. al-Nadr (d. 91/709) was a celebrated Companion of the Prophet. After the Prophet's death he participated in the wars of conquest. 128 Traditions on his authority are to be found in the collections of al-Bukhārī and Muslim. al-Asqalānī, *al-Īṣābah*, Vol. 1, pp. 84 - 85; A.J. Wensinck and J. Robson, "Anas ibn Mālik", *EI* (I), Vol. 1, 1913, p. 482

100 This Tradition is cited by *Awārif*, p. 297.
forgiveness and I repent to You. Give me forgiveness and grant pardon to me, verily, You are The Forgiving and Merciful".101

5.15.2. Indication (ishārah)

Know that God Most High created limbs to become an instrument for the soul, so that one may thereby worship God Most High. When one uses them for other than worship of God Most High, it is as though one commits a crime and gains a sin because of using them for [purposes] other than that. When one wants to use them for worshipping God Most High, it is incumbent on one to wash them until filthiness is removed by God Most High from them. One makes them clean from the offensive matters of the world (khabā'īth umūr al-dunyā) until they are suitable to worship God Most High and perform obedience to Him.

It would have been (p. 58) proper for one to be commanded to wash all the parts of one's body, but because it would lead to inconvenience (kulfah), great hardship (mashaqqah 'azīmah) and the imposition of a burden (taklīf) that one could not bear, God Most High decreased it and He commanded [man] to wash the four limbs which are the chief of all the parts of the body. By washing these four limbs,102 the washing of all parts of the body will be obtained, because when the head (ra'īs) of the people is pious (ṣāliḥān), they will become followers of it in its piety (ṣalāḥīh). The etiquette (adab) is that one will wash completely for every prescribed prayer (ṣalāh

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102 i.e. face, hands, head and feet.
maktūbah). It is related from al-Ḥusayn b. Mansūr that he washed for every prescribed prayer for thirty years. Therefore, the religious scholars (ʿulamāʾ) said that the Apostle (P.B.U.H.) [even] recommended the renewal of purity for those who have been distracted from it by other permissible actions (mubāḥāt). And God knows best.

5.15.3. **Section: About the mode of prayer (al-ṣalah)**

God Most High said:

For prayer restrains from shameful and unjust deeds. (29:45)

The Apostle of God (P.B.U.H.) said:

When God Most High created the Paradise of Eden and created in it what cannot be seen by the eye, cannot be heard by the ear and cannot occur to the heart of man,103 He said to it, "Talk to Me". And it said, "The believers who are humble in their prayers will be successful."104

(p. 58) Know that the word ʿalāt (prayer) is derived from the word ʿilah (relationship) and prayer is named ʿalāt because of the continuous relationship of the servant to God Most High through his secret conversations (munājāt) with Him. Prayer is everything which is a relationship between the servant and God Most High.

It is the duty of the servant that he become submissive to the force of divinity (rubūbiyyah) through the subservience of worship (ʿubūdiyyah). Whoever is serious about the relationship [with God] in prayer, the appearances of manifestation (jawālī

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104 The last part of this Tradition quotes Q. 23:1-2.
*al-tajallī*\(^{105}\) will flash for him, and he will be submissive. Success (*al-falāḥ*) is for those who in their prayer are submissive and lack of submission will deny success.

God Most High said:

> And establish regular prayer for celebrating My praise. (20:14)

And if prayer is for remembrance, how can heedlessness (*nisyān*) be contained in it? God Most High said:

> Approach not prayers with a mind befogged until ye can understand all that ye say. (4:43)

\(^{105}\) The definition of Jurjānī: "lights of the unseen that are unveiled to heart". *Ta'rīfāt*, p. 53.
CHAPTER SIX

ANALYSIS OF JĀMIʿ AL-ḤAQĀʾIQ BI TAJRĪD AL-ʿALĀʾIQ
6.1. Introduction

This chapter will try to analyse the Jāmī‘ al-Ḥaqā‘iq bi Tajrīd al-‘Ālā‘iq which is normally attributed to al-Ghazālī. Like the analysis of the Risālah and the Minhāj, it will aim at drawing a comparison between this work and certain works by al-Ghazālī which can be confidently attributed to him, in order to assess its authenticity.

6.2. Method of presentation and style

The author of the Jāmī‘ begins his work with the introduction, but unlike al-Risālah al-Laduniyyah and Minhāj al-‘Ārifin, he does not refer to his introduction as "khutbat al-risalah" (introduction to the treatise). Even though al-Ghazālī usually begins his works with a sub-heading indicating his introduction as "muqaddimah" or "khutbah al-risalah" or the like,1 he sometimes does not refer his introduction as such.2

The author of the Jāmī‘ in his introduction explains the aim of his writing which is, he says, because "[those who claims to be] ascetics (mutazahhidin) are not occupying themselves with seclusions (al-khalawāt), denying and disowning [them], [but they] are busying themselves with social relations (al-mu‘āmalah)". For that

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1 For example cf. al-Maqsad, p. 5; Munqidh, p. 23; Iḥyā‘, Vol. 1, p. 1.
reason, he wrote this treatise which is an "explanation of seclusion and its truth and
to reveal the secrets of solitude (al-‘uzlah) and its intricacies". Furthermore, he wants
"to explain...and to expose their benefits and their special features". Mentioning the
reason for composition of a work is al-Ghazālī’s usual style. For example, he clarifies
the purposes of writing the Munqidh, by writing:

Now then, you have asked me, my brother in religion, to communicate
to you the aim and secrets of the sciences and the dangerous and
intricate depths of the different doctrines and views... Convinced of
the sincerity of the desire, I am losing no time in answering your
request.3

Throughout the Jāmi‘, it can be seen that the organization of the sub-titles is
systematic because the author discusses the topic in some kind of logical
arrangement. For example, he begins his discussion with the topic of "Repentance
(al-tawbah)" as a First Chapter, perhaps because it is regarded by most of the Şūfis
as the first and important state on the mystical path.5 Then the author goes on to
discuss the "Repentance of the disciple" where he explains in more detail the
importance of repentance to the disciple who travels on the mystical path.6 Moreover,
the development of ideas from the beginning to the end of the treatise is smooth and
clear. There is no repetition in any of its discussion.

Like the Risālah and the Minhāj, the author, like classical Şūfī writers, uses the

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5 Cf. Ihyā‘, Vol. 4, p. 3; Arba‘īn, p. 143; Kashf, p. 294; Q. Risālah, p. 49; al-Lumā‘, p. 68. The author of
the Jāmi‘ also writes: "That repentance is the origin of every station (al-maqām) and the foundation
of every station and the key of every state (al-ḥāl)". (Jāmi‘, p. 6; Trans. Jāmi‘, pp. 170 - 171).

6 For a detailed discussion cf. Chapter Six, 6.4. Fundamental ideas.
same method when he also adduces Qur'anic verses and Traditions of the Prophet which are related to the discussion of the subject matter, either to elaborate his ideas or as a corroboration.7

Sometimes, the author of the Jāmi‘, like al-Ghazālī and the author of the Risālah, uses a simple analogy to give an example for some of his ideas. He chooses animals and objects for his illustration. For example, he writes that God knows everything, including the weight of a tiny ant.8 The author also compares the repentance which he considers as the first of the stations to the ground for a building and the heart with the mirror which can be polished to obtain its purity.9 These kinds of analogy are very familiar to al-Ghazālī. He also uses the analogy of the ant, the mirror and the ground; for example, he writes:

Men are apt, like the ant, to concern themselves with the means rather than the final cause.10

And:

The heart is like the mirror.11

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7 For a detailed discussion, see, Chapter Six, 6.3. Scriptural aspects.

8 The author writes (Jāmi‘, pp. 4 - 5; Trans. Jāmi‘, p. 169) that the sixth meaning of the repentance of the ordinary people (al-awāmm) “is weeping at dawn in the presence of the Ominipotent Sovereign (al-Mālik al-Jabbār) because of fear of sins and of the insolence which evaporates him in the presence of the Watcher (al-Muhaymin) from whom nothing is concealed and from whom the weight of a tiny ant is not hidden”.


10 Iḥyā‘, Vol. 4, p. 213; Smith, al-Ghazālī, p. 150.

11 (Iḥyā‘, Vol. 3, p. 12). This illustration of the heart as a mirror is also given by al-Muḥāṣibī. (Muḥāṣibī, Rī‘āyah, p. 91).
As already mentioned,12 al-Ghazālī quotes many sayings of the Companions and the early Sufi figures in his writing. This kind of style is found in the Jāmiʿ which can be considered as a genuine Sufi work containing eighteen quotations from the Companions and outstanding Sufis. Of these quotations, three are attributed to al-Junayd, and two quotations each from al-Manṣūr and Abū Ḥusayn al-Ḫirī.13 Also included are quotations from Rābiʿah al-ʿAdawiyah, Yahyā b. Muʿādh, Dhū al-Nūn al-Miṣrī, al-ʾAntākī, Abū ʿAbd al-Kharrāz, Abū Yazīd al-Bīṣṭāmī, al-Naṣrābādī and ʿĀmir b. ʿAbd Allāh which appear once each.14 ʿUmar al-Khaṭṭāb is also cited once and ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib twice.15

From these scattered quotations, it appears probable that the author is very selective in choosing the views and ideas for his discussion on Sufism. He only cites outstanding Sufi figures, almost all of whom are cited in other works on Sufism, including the works of al-Ghazālī.16 Al-Ghazālī himself mentions that he has consulted the works of al-Junayd and al-Bīṣṭāmī.17 The author chooses quotations from ʿAlī and ʿUmar among the Companions, perhaps because they are held in high

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12 See Chapter Two, 2.3. Method of presentation and style, and Chapter Four, 4.3. Method of presentation and style.


16 Most of these figures are also cited by al-Ghazālī’s predecessors like al-Muḥāsibī in his Rfāʾyah, al-Makki in his Qūṭ al-Qulūb, al-Qushayrī in his Risālah, and Sarrāj in his al-Lūmāʿ.

17 See Munqidh, p. 68; McCarthy, op. cit., p. 90, se. 81.
regard by the Şūfīs including al-Ghazālī himself.¹⁸

One of the interesting points in the Jāmīr is that it contains a number of poems concerning mystical experiences. It cites three poems which are attributed to the famous woman Şūfī Rābi‘ah¹⁹ and another three which are attributed to al-Manṣūr.²⁰ There are four unattributed poems but the author does not give any indication that they are his own poems.²¹ Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Suhrawarī (d. 632/1234) who also cites the poem:

The serpent of desire has bitten my liver
and there's no remedy for it and no magic spell
except for the Lover with whom I am madly in love
and with Him is my spell and my antidote.

in the ‘Awārif only mentions the poem was said by one of the Şūfīs.²²

In fact, the style of citing the poems is not alien to the Şūfī writers because many of them were poets and their spiritual experience often expressed itself in poetry.²³ Al-Ghazālī himself is among such Şūfīs. He devotes one book of the Ihyā’ i.e. the book of the manners of audition and ecstasy (kitāb ādāb al-samā’ wa al-wajd) to a discussion of singing and poems.²⁴ He writes:

¹⁸ Cf. Shaʻrānī, Ṭ. al-Kubrā, Vol. 1, p. 22. Al-Ghazālī in the Ihyā’ and his other works quotes many sayings of ʿAli and ʿUmar. For example, see Ihyā’, Vol. 4, pp. 27, 44, 57, 74.
²¹ Jāmīr, pp. 10, 12, 13; Trans. Jāmīr, pp. 175, 178, 179.
²² ‘Awārif, p. 160.
²³ Smith, al-Ghazālī, p. 82.
The heart and the mind (sara’ir) are the hidden treasuries and the mine of jewel like substance. The most valuable substance (jawhar) lies in it, just as fire lies [secretly] in iron and stone... There is no means of waking it up from secrecy (khafayāḥā) except with sweet sounds. There is no path [of sound entering] into the heart without the door of the ear. The feelings that lie hidden in the heart are brought out by sweet, melodious and rhymed sounds... Melodious song takes out what is hidden in the heart and creates a wonderful feeling.25

Al-Ghazālī cites Ṣūfī poems, for example those found in the Iḥyā’ and the Maqṣad, though almost variably without any reference to their source.26

Throughout the Jāmi’, the author does not mention any works by other writers nor any other works by al-Ghazālī as the latter usually does in his writing.

6.3. Scriptural aspects

As already mentioned,27 the author of the Jāmi’, as well as the writer of the Risālah and the Minhāj makes great use of Qur’ānic verses to elaborate his views and ideas in this treatise. In fact, the style of citations presented in the Jāmi’ is similar to al-Ghazālī’s usual practice in the Iḥyā’. They both begin their presentation with a collection of passages of the Qur’ān, the Traditions and the dicta of the early Ṣūfīs which are relevant to their theme.28 The Jāmi’ cites sixty-five passages of Qur’ānic verses. Almost all of them are introduced by the words "God Most High said" and

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26 For example see Iḥyā’, Vol. 1, p. 103; Vol. 2, p. 82; Vol. 3, 239; Vol. 4, p. 331; Maqṣad, p. 75.

27 Chapter Six, 6.3. Method of presentation and style.


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"He said". This use of Qur'anic verses is aimed at corroboration of many ideas and views discussed in his treatise.29 They are used regularly and sometimes followed by more explanation after the author has quoted the passage.30 As already mentioned, al-Ghazâlî himself used the same method as can be found in almost all of his treatises.31

Concerning the Traditions of the Prophet, there are twenty-eight quotations, fifteen of which we have been unable to identify, even with the help of the Wensinck's Concordance. The author does not cite the authority for the Traditions which he quotes in this treatise, except for two Traditions, each of which is attributed to Anas b. Mâlik32 and Hûdhayfah b. al-Yamân.33 For the Tradition which is attributed to Hûdhayfah, the author of the Jâmî mentions narrators who are well-known Şûfî figures including Âbu 'Abd al-Rahmân al-Sulâmî who related from 6Âlî b. Sa'id, and then from Ibrâhîm al-Shaqiqî, who related from Muḥammad b. Ja'far

29 For example, the author says that man will get woe from God when he abandons servitude [and worship] ('ubûdiyyah) to God and shows disobedience. The author then supports this view by citing the following passage from the Qur'ân: "Then for such as had transgressed all bounds and had preferred the life of this world, the abode will be Hell-fire". (79:37-39). Cf. Jâmî, p. 5; Trans. Jâmî, p. 170.

30 For example, the author says that the love (mahabbah) of the [human] nature is a love which is begotten from lust where a man prefers to love the world above love of God. To elaborate this view, the author cites the verse from the Qur'ân: "Fair in the eyes of man is the love of things they desire, women and sons, heaped up hoards of gold and silver, horses branded [for blood and excellence] and [wealth of] cattle and well-tilled land, such are the possessions of this world's life". (3:14) Cf. Jâmî, p. 16; Trans. Jâmî, p. 182.

31 See Chapters Two and Four, 2.4. Scriptural aspects and 4.4. Scriptural aspects.

32 For information on his life see Jâmî, p. 56; Trans. Jâmî, p. 225. Anas was ten years old when the Prophet moved to Madinah, and he served the Prophet his entire life in his city. He was among the narrators of Traditions from the Prophet. There is a long list of his students who transmitted Traditions or made their own collection from him. As he lived till the end of the first century of the Hijrah, his circle of students became very wide. (Al-Asqâlânî, Isâbah, Vol. 1, no. 277; see also Ibn Sa'ad, T. al-Kubrâ, Vol. 7, p. 14; M. M. Azâmi, Studies in Early Hadith Literature, with a Critical Edition of Some Early Texts, Indiana, 1978, p. 49).

al-Khāṣṣāf, who related from Ahmad b. Bashshār who heard from Abū Ya‘qūb al-Shurqī, who narrated from Ahmad b. Ghassān, who related from Ahmad b. ʿAlī al-Ḥujaymī, who then related from ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Zayd, who heard from Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, who related from Ḥudhayfah, who related from the Prophet himself. However, most of these figures cannot be identified. As far as this Tradition [i.e. the one which is attributed to Ḥudhayfah] is concerned, al-Ghazālī does not cite it in the Iḥyāʾ or any other works of his.

6.4. Fundamental ideas of the Jāmīʾ

Since many subjects are elaborated in this treatise, they will be discussed together with a consideration of their relationship to each other for the purpose of an analysis of the fundamental ideas of the work.

6.4.1. On repentance (al-tawbah), belief (al-ʿtiqād) and pure devotion (al-ikhlāṣ)

The general concept of repentance presented in the Jāmīʾ is the same as the concept of it in the Iḥyāʾ. Both works quote the same Qur’ānic verses and cite the same Traditions and both accept the Ṣūfīs’ view that repentance is the origin of every station (maqām) and the key for every state (ḥāl).


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The Jāmi's definition of repentance as "recourse and returning repentantly to God" corresponds to the definition which is given by al-Ghazâlî who writes:

Repentance for a sin [by making a promise] not to commit the same faults (‘uyûb) and to return to God.

The Jāmi divides repentance into two parts. The first part is the repentance of the common people, which has three stages: the repentance of ordinary believers and the elect of the sinful, the repentance of the ordinary sinful people and the repentance of unbelievers. The second part is the repentance of the elect which has two stages: the repentance of the "select" elite and the repentance of the elect. Al-Ghazâlî in the Ihyâ' appears to describe the classes of servant in their performance of repentance by dividing them into four groups:

The first class is the sinner who continuously repents for his sins up to the end of his life and he becomes aware of his past sins and takes care not to commit sins in the future...this is sincere repentance (tawbah al-našûh)...the nature of such a repentant is called the [human] nature at rest (al-nafs al-muţma’innah)... The second class is the penitent who keeps himself firm to perform acts of obedience and gives up major sins except he commits sins unintentionally...He does not have a firm will to do that sin but if he commits it, he becomes repentant and sorrowful...this nature is called the censuring [human] nature (al-nafs al-lawwâmah)... The third class is that he keeps his repentance upright for some time and then his passion becomes strong for committing sins. As a result, he advances toward sin, being unable to control his passion...but then he grieves and repents...This nature is called the questioning [human] nature (al-nafs al-musawwilah)... The fourth class is one's who repents for some time and then returns to commit sins, without feeling sorrow for his sins, without regretting committing them...Such a nature is called the nature which incites [to

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38 (Ihyâ’, Vol. 4, p. 1; Ihyâ’ [Karim], Vol. 4, p. 3). This definition is also given by an earlier fellow Şûfî Abû al-Ḥusayn al-Nūrî. (Cf. Doctrine [Arberry], p. 92).

It can be seen that the author of the Jāmiʾ gives a more detailed division than al-Ghazālī. Al-Ghazālī does not include in his division the stage of select elite (khāṣṣ al-khāṣṣ) which is the station of prophets and saints. He also does not mention the stage of repentance of unbelievers who repent to return to the faith. The author, however, does not include the fourth class of al-Ghazālī’s division (i.e. the nature which incites [to evil] (al-nafs al-ammārah)). Nevertheless, the first stage of the first part of the Jāmiʾ (i.e. the stage of ordinary believers and elect of the sinful) corresponds to the second class (i.e. the censuring nature (al-nafs al-lawwāmah)) of al-Ghazālī’s division. The second stage of the first part of the Jāmiʾ (i.e ordinary sinful) parallels the third class (i.e. the questioning nature (al-nafs al-musawwilah)) of al-Ghazālī.

In order to follow the Sūfī path, the author of the Jāmiʾ also gives clear guidance that the disciple should “adopt the belief of the pious ancestors (al-salaf)” and rejects a belief in Shiʿism (al-rafḍ), absolute determinism (al-jabr), anthropomorphism (al-tashbih), limitation of God’s power (al-tahdīd) and corporealism (al-tajsim).41 His belief is similar to that of al-Ghazālī who himself professed belief in Muslim orthodoxy. Al-Ghazālī was an Ashʿarite and a Shāfiʿite.42 His orthodox views can be seen throughout his writings. In the Munqidh he says:

He would scrutinize the creed of every sect and seek to lay bare the


41 Jāmiʾ, p. 7; Trans. Jāmiʾ, p. 172.

secrets of each faction’s teaching with the aim of discriminating between the proponent of truth (muḥiqq) and the advocate of error (muḥtīl), and between the faithful follower of tradition (mutasannin) and the heterodox innovator (mubtadī).43

Pure devotion (al-ikhlāṣ)44 is also important and becomes a basis for the disciple in following the Šūfī path. The author of the Jāmiʾ looks at pure devotion as "an action of the heart, of which none will be aware other than God Most High". He means that one should worship God with one’s entire being and should not associate with anything other than God.45 The same definition of it can be seen in al-Ghazālī’s Iḥyāʾ. He says:

... Pure devotion in the Oneness of God is to admit no partnership (al-tashrīk) in Divinity... Pure devotion as well as its opposition is an accidental identity of ideas of the heart and its place is the heart which occurs through intention and will.46

6.4.2. On love (mahabbah), longing (shawq) and ardent love (ʿishq)

After mentioning the basic stages of the Šūfī path, the author then enters on the elucidation of the last stages of the mystical path which mean the attainment of the

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43 (Munqidh, pp. 24 - 25; McCarthy, op. cit., p. 62, sec. 5). Mutasannin is one who follows the sunnah and commonly considered follow the Sunnites (ahl al-sunnah) as opposed to the Shi’ites. And mubtadī is the opposite of the Sunnites, i.e. one who embraces an innovation (bid‘ah). Cf McCarthy, op. cit., p. 117.

44 We have translated “ikhlāṣ” as “pure devotion” rather than “sincerity” because this seems to be closer to the author’s intention and also closer to its meaning in Sūrat al-Ikhlas where the emphasis is on God’s detachment, and therefore purity, from all other things.

45 Jāmiʾ, pp. 7 - 8; Trans. Jāmiʾ, p. 173.

46 Iḥyāʾ, Vol. 4, p. 379.
goal: i.e. love (al-maḥabbah), longing (al-shawq) and ardent love (al-ʾishq).\(^{47}\)

The author of the Ḫāmi\(^{4}\) defines the general meaning of love and love of God as giving one's entire being to the Beloved so that nothing will remain of the lover.\(^{48}\) He uses the image of fire to describe love which will burn up everything which is not of the same type as it.\(^{49}\) We cannot find such imagery in those works of al-Ghazālī which are confidently attributed to him. He only defines the love of God in the Ḫiyā\(^{50}\) as:

The inclination of man's nature (nafs) produced when his soul feels pleasure by apprehending His beautiful attributes.\(^{51}\)

To achieve the station of love, the author of the Ḫāmi\(^{4}\) suggests several procedures to be followed by the disciple. He says that one should achieve "soundness of the heart from all turbidities of the soul," one should "cut off the desire for this world and the life to come", "avoid things which God has forbidden", "not forget to remember the Beloved", "follow the satisfaction of the Beloved" and


\(^{48}\) (Ḫāmi, p. 9; Trans. Ḫāmi, p. 175). Such a definition is also similar to that of al-Qushayrī. (Cf. Q. Risālah, p. 159).

\(^{49}\) Ḫāmi, p. 9; Trans. Ḫāmi, p. 175.

\(^{50}\) (Ḫiyā', "Kitāb al-Maḥabbah wa al-Šawq wa al-Uns wa al-Riḍā", Vol. 4, pp. 293 - 361). It is the sixth book of the section of the qualities leading to salvation (al-munjiyāt). In this book, al-Ghazālī gives a detailed elucidation of love and longing.

\(^{51}\) Ḫiyā', Vol. 4, p. 367; Ḧimyā', p. 831.
"give the heart to Him". In explaining these procedures, he makes use of the poems recited by Rābi‘ah who is well-known for her doctrine of love of God and also a saying by Yahyā b. Mu‘ādh. Regarding these procedures, al-Ghazālī seems to go much further than the author of the Jāmi‘. He, however, does not mention them as the author of the Jāmi‘ does, i.e. by reciting poems from other Ṣūfī figures, rather he states the procedures of love one by one. Among them are the love of God and the love of meeting with God through unveiling (kashf) and vision (mushāhadah) which lead to the feeling of loving the next world; preference, inwardly and outwardly for what God likes rather than what one desires; refraining from following one’s passions and committing sins which are incompatible with perfect love but not with basic love; and predominance of remembrance of God in mind and tongue, because a true lover cannot forget his Beloved.

After an explanation of the love of God, the author of the Jāmi‘ continues with longing (shawq). Like other Ṣūfī figures including al-Ghazālī, he considers it as a consequence of love when love is dominant in the heart, and it [i.e. longing] is the highest stage and the highest station. He cites the well-known Ṣūfī figures, Dhu al-Nūn and al-Anjākī, who say that the one who longs for his Lord will find death

52 Jāmi‘, pp. 9 - 10; Trans. Jāmi‘, pp. 175 - 177.
53 Perhaps Rābi‘ah was the first to emphasise the doctrine of love together with the doctrine of unveiling (kashf). She is described as "the woman on fire with love and ardent love...consumed with her passion [for God]". ʿAṭṭār [Arberry], p. 40; cf. M. Smith, Rabi‘a the Mystic and Her Fellow-Saints, Cambridge, 1928, pp. 88 - 110.
55 In addition to these signs of love of God, al-Ghazālī gives another ten signs including satisfaction and contentment; taking the bitterness of calamity as a gift; feeling happy in performing worship; loving all people obedient to God etc. (Ihya‘, Vol. 4, pp. 329 - 337)
delightful and sweet because in it one can meet Him.\(^57\) He then uses the imagery of shining light to show the characteristic of the hearts of those who long for God.\(^58\)

Al-Ghazālī who also speaks about longing (\(shawq\)) does not discuss it in the same way as the author of the \(Jāmi‘\). Instead, he divides longing into two types. For the first type, he deals with the beauty of God. Although one who longs for God has an extremely clear (\(ghāyat al-wuḍūh\)) perception of divine beauty, it is not perfectly clear because one's mind wants one's Beloved to be present before one's eyes to see His beauty with perfect clearness. Al-Ghazālī mentions such desire as vision (\(ru'yah\)) of God, meeting (\(liqā‘\)) with God and seeing (\(mushāhādah\)) God, and it is longing for God, which one will only achieve in the next world. The second type of longing is that which will not end even in the next world. A lover, al-Ghazālī says, perceives only some divine matters (\(al-umūr al-ilāhīyyah\)); many of them are still totally unveiled to him. Thus his mind is restless because it knows that it cannot as yet perceive all. Al-Ghazālī mentions such a desire in the heart to know the sublimity of God, His attributes, His wisdom and His actions which are well known to God, as longing for Him. Knowing all these are impossible and will not end, because they are unlimited, thus its [the heart] longing for knowledge will remain eternally in it.\(^59\)

\(^{57}\) (\(Jāmi‘\), p. 12; Trans. \(Jāmi‘\), p. 178; cf. \(al-Luma‘\), p. 66), where al-Sarrāj also says that the highest degree of longing is attained by the one who beholds his God near at hand and sees that He is present and not absent, so his heart rejoices in His worship and says to itself [i.e. the heart] that longing is only for the absent, but He is present, not absent. (Cf. also Smith, \(Rabi‘a the Mystic\), p. 91).

\(^{58}\) (\(Jāmi‘\), p. 12; Trans. \(Jāmi‘\), p. 178). Al-Sarrāj also discusses this kind of light. He says that longing is "the fire of God Most High which He has kindled in the hearts of His saints, so that it may burn up all vain desires, wishes, hindrances and needs which are in their hearts." (\(al-Luma‘\), p. 64; cf. also Smith, \(Rabi‘a the Mystic\), p. 91).

\(^{59}\) \(Ihyā‘\), Vol. 4. p. 323.
After the elucidation of love (*mahabbah*) and longing (*shawq*) for God, the author of the *Jami* goes on to an explanation of ardent love which he, as well as other Sufi figures including al-Ghazâlî,\(^{60}\) regards as an extreme, excessive and ultimate form of love which is different from love of God because it can only happen as a present and gift from God.\(^{61}\) Concerning the nature of love and ardent love, the author mentions that some of the ‘ulamâ’ deny them because they say that it is impossible for someone to experience ardent love and love of God, since they are begotten from lust and He is much too High and Great for that.\(^{62}\) The author, however, refutes their opinions by mentioning two types of love: love which exists in the spirit; and love which is begotten from lust. He explains that:

Lust is an attribute which exists in the [human] nature (*nafs*) but when love of the soul (*rûh*) predominates, it is called ardent love (*cishq*), and when lust of the [human] nature predominates, it is called lower desire (*hawâ*). Love that is begotten from lust of the [human] nature (*nafs*) is different from the love which is a quality (*sifâh*) existing in the soul (*rûh*). Love which is applied exclusively to God...is this love.\(^{63}\)

Al-Ghazâlî also deals with this discussion, but he only discusses the love of God, without mentioning ardent love, and he puts forward an argument in a different way.

Al-Ghazâlî says:

Some of the ‘ulamâ’ say: "Love of God is not concerned except to be engaged in submission to God. The truth of love [of God] is impossible except it grows for a being of equal status". Thus, when they deny the love of God, they also deny the intimacy, longing and

\(^{60}\) Al-Ghazâlî, does not however devote a special chapter to ardent love. He only mentions it in a few sentences in *Kitâb al-Arba‘în*, p. 189.


the sweetness of secret conversation [with God] (munājāt).\textsuperscript{64}

From the above statements, we can see that according to the author of the \textit{Jāmī}, the reason for the rejection of love and ardent love is because it is thought that love and ardent love are begotten from lust, whereas, according to al-Ghazālī, those who deny the love of God seem to deny it because the servant of God is not of the same status as God Most High.\textsuperscript{65}

\section*{6.4.3. Spiritual exercises (al-riyāḍāt)}

After mentioning the aims of the mystical path, the author then explains the means of arriving at the stations (\textit{al-maqāmāt}) which should be practised by the disciple who wants to arrive at such stations. Such spiritual exercises are divided by the author into three phases. He begins with the purification of the [human] nature (\textit{nafs}). In this regard, he follows other Sūfī figures by mentioning that the "\textit{nafs}" is "a lustful force and is the place of origin of the blameworthy characteristics".\textsuperscript{66} He then says that the purification of the \textit{nafs} should be followed by cleansing the heart (\textit{qalb}) which he describes as being able to ruin the whole body when it [i.e. the heart] is ruined.\textsuperscript{67}

\textsuperscript{64} \textit{Ihya}', Vol. 4, p. 294.

\textsuperscript{65} To deny this opinion, al-Ghazālī devotes one section of the chapter of love (\textit{Ihya}', Vol. 4, pp. 294 - 296) to mentioning Qur'ānic verses, Traditions and sayings of the 'ulamā' approving the love of God. For example, he cites the Qur'ānic verse: "Soon will God produce a people whom he will love as they will love Him" (5:54). Then he comments: "This verse proves that love of God is possible". (\textit{Ibid.}, Vol. 4, p. 294, 322).


\textsuperscript{67} (\textit{Jāmī'}, p. 19; Trans. \textit{Jāmī'}, pp. 185 - 186). The \textit{Jāmī'} cites the popular Tradition from the Prophet: "Truly, in the body is a chunk of meat, when it is good, the whole body will be good by it, and when it is ruined, the whole body will be ruined by it, indeed it is the heart, a chunk of meat suspended beneath the chest to the left side".
the ornamentation of the soul (*ruh*) which is "the command of God".68

Particularly his discussion of the effect which spiritual exercises will achieve, but also throughout his work, the author of the *Jāmī* is concerned with an understanding of two Arabic terms "*nafs*" and "*ruh*", between which he makes a definite distinction. This distinction is paralleled by al-Ghazālī in his *Ihyā*. Al-Ghazālī defines his general use of the term "*nafs*" in the following way:

The first is that it means the thing (*ma'nan*) which unites the irascible and concupiscible power in man... This usage is that which prevails among the Śūfis. For they mean by *nafs* the principle (*aṣl*) which unites the reprehensible qualities of a man. They affirm: One must strives against the *nafs* and break it. To this is the allusion in the Prophet’s utterance -Peace be upon him- "Your worst enemy is your nafs which is between your two sides".69

As in the *Ihyā*, the author of the *Jāmī* also uses, but only occasionally *nafs* to mean what we would describe as "the soul". Thus in the *Ihyā*, al-Ghazālī says:

The second thing [designated by *nafs*] is the subtle thing which we have spoken of and which in reality is man. It is man’s soul and essence (*dhat*). But it is characterized by different qualities according to the difference of its states. When it is tranquil under the command [it is in tranquil subjection to God’s command] and free from agitation because of the opposition of the passions, it is called "the soul at peace".70

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69 The *Jāmī* and the *Ihyā* cite the same Tradition: "The worst of your enemies is your nafs that is between your two sides". (Cf *Jāmī*, p. 17; Trans. *Jāmī*, p. 184; *Ihyā*, Vol. 3, p. 4; McCarthy, *op. cit.*, Appendix V, p. 366, sec. 12). See also Chapter Two, 2.5.2. Views on the soul.

In the *Jāmiʿ*, the author defines *nafs* as:

The *nafs* is a lustful force connected to the whole body jointly and it is the place of origin of the blameworthy characteristics...Know that *nafs* has two intrinsic qualities which are lower desire (*hawā*) and anger (*ghadāb*), and all the blameworthy characteristics are begotten from them. Its purification can be achieved by their equilibrium.71

We have chosen to translate this use of *nafs* as "[human] nature" as we feel that this term is a better means of expressing what both al-Ghazālī and the author of the *Jāmiʿ* meant by *nafs* when generally used by them. The term *rūḥ* which is closely associated in meaning with "spirit" and "breath" is clearly meant to be "the soul" in the *Jāmiʿ* and we have translated it as such except in cases where it means "the breath of God" or "the spirit from God which gives command (*al-rūḥ al-amrī)*.

Al-Ghazālī's explanation of the *qalb* is parallel to the *Jāmiʿ*’s description because the former describes the *qalb* as "the heart that perceives, knows, is aware, is spoken to, punishes, blames and is responsible".72 Al-Ghazālī also says that the *rūḥ* is the command of God (*al-rūḥ al-amrī*).73

From the author of the *Jāmiʿ* and al-Ghazālī’s descriptions of the *nafs*, it appears that both accept the theory of the faculties of the *nafs* which are two in number.74 The author refers to its first faculty as lower desire (*hawā*), while al-Ghazālī refers

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74 The theory of the faculties of the soul was introduced by the Greek philosophers who were followed by the Muslim philosophers. (Umaruddin, *The Ethical Philosophy of al-Ghazali*, Aligarh, 1962, p. 30; Quasem, op. cit., p. 50; Sherif, op. cit., p. 15).
to it as desire (*shahwah*) and they have a similar name for their second faculty, i.e. anger (*ghadab*). 75 Both remark that the purification of these faculties is necessary and it can only be achieved by their equilibrium.

However, the elucidation of the theory of the faculty of desire as expounded by the author of the *Jāmi* and al-Ghazālī is quite different. The former divides it into two: moderate and excessive. On the other hand, al-Ghazālī divides it into three: moderate, excessive and defective. For the moderation of the desire, they do not give similar qualities except three, which are generosity (*sakhwah*), modesty (*hayā*) and patience (*sabr*). They also do not mention similar qualities for excessive desire except for the quality of covetousness (*hirs*). Moreover, the author of the *Jāmi* seems to include the quality of cowardice (*jubn*) produced from an excess of desire, while al-Ghazālī lists it as a quality which is produced from the faculty of anger. 76 In describing the theory of moderation and excess of the faculty of anger, both authors mention several qualities which are produced by anger but only three of them are similar: gentleness (*hilm*), arrogance (*takabbur*) and conceit (*khuyalā*). The author of the *Jāmi* says that qualities of contentment (*qandfah*) and envy (*hasad*) are produced by moderation and excess of the faculty of anger, while al-Ghazālī

75 In al-Ghazālī’s discussion on the faculties of *nafs*, he often referred the two faculties (i.e. desire (*shahwah*) and anger (*ghadab*) which are taken jointly as lower desire (*hawā*). He believes that they are faculties of the animal soul. (*Meyār*, pp. 55 - 56) Although these faculties are created in man for his benefit, he remarks that they also the sources of evil in man which are regarded as the touch of evil, i.e. every act to which they are inclined must be regarded as evil. (*Kīmiyā*, pp. 10, 624 - 625; cf. Quasem, op. cit., p. 50) Al-Makki calls the *nafs* the treasure of evil (*khizānat al-sharr*) and also the house of the Devil. (*Qūb*, Vol. 1, pp. 233, 234).

76 (*Jāmi*, pp. 17 - 18; Trans. *Jāmi*, pp. 184 - 185). Al-Ghazālī says that when the faculty of desire is sound, it is known as temperament (*'iffah*) and it gives rise to generosity, modesty, patience, tolerance, contentment, scrupulousness, wit, helping others, cheerfulness and absence of craving. When it deviates towards excess or defect, it gives rise to covetousness, cupidity, obscenity, extravagance, stinginess, hypocrisy, immorality, triviality, flattery, envy, malice, self-abasement before the rich and disdain for the poor. (*Ihya*, Vol. 3, pp. 54 - 55; Winter, *Disciplining*, pp. 20, 22).
maintains that they are produced by moderation and excess of the faculty of desire.\textsuperscript{77}

After the purification of the \textit{nafs} is achieved, the disciple should then busy himself with cleansing the heart (\textit{qalb}). The author of the \textit{Jāmi\textsuperscript{c}} and other Śūfī masters including al-Ghazālī regard the \textit{qalb} as being like a mirror which grows rusty like iron. Such a \textit{qalb} may be polished by struggling against desires, acquiring good characteristics and continually remembering (\textit{dhikr}) God.\textsuperscript{78} Through polishing the \textit{qalb}, the author of the \textit{Jāmi\textsuperscript{c}} says that the \textit{qalb} will manifest "visions of lights (\textit{mushāhadāt al-anwār}), unveilings (\textit{mukāshāfāt}) of the unseen and manifestations of divinity (\textit{al-tajallīyyāt al-rubūbiyyah})." On the other hand, al-Ghazālī only states that "the true nature of the matter which is sought in religion is revealed in it," but does not mention this topic in detail.\textsuperscript{79}

The author of the \textit{Jāmi\textsuperscript{c}} mentions that the \textit{qalb} has five senses like the senses of the body, which should be purified in order to achieve the sound \textit{qalb}. He explains such senses as follows:

- It has hearing to hear the speech of the people of the unseen world;
- it has eyesight to see glimpses of the unseen world;
- it has a sense of smell to smell the scent of the unseen world;
- it has taste to find thereby the sweetness of love;
- it has touch to understand rational...
concepts (al-mā'qūlāt).⁸⁰

Al-Ghazālī in his works which are confidently attributed to him such as the Iḥyā’ never mentions the senses of the qalb in detail. Rather he states that the qalb perceives the true nature of things through inner sight (baṣīrāh).⁸¹

The author of the Jāmi‘ also states that "the qalb has seven phases just as the body has seven organs", i.e. the "chest" (ṣadr), the "outer heart" (qalb), the "pericardium" (shaqha‘f), the "inner heart" (fu‘ād), the "grain of the heart" (ḥabbat al-qalb), the "inmost heart" (suwaydā‘ al-qalb) and the "core of the heart" (muhjat al-qalb). He uses the terms "ma‘dan" (source) and "mahall" (centre) to show the activities of each phase.⁸² The terms used by the author, especially "ḥabbat al-qalb", "suwaydā‘ al-qalb" and "muhjat al-qalb", cannot be found in Al-Ghazālī’s works which are confidently attributed to him such as the Iḥyā’ and the Maqṣad. He does not seem ever to have had such a discussion.

The cleansing of the qalb should be followed by the embellishment of the soul (rūḥ). In this regard, the author of the Jāmi‘ mentions that the rūḥ has five states which begin with the state of non-existence (al-ṣadam)⁸³ where the spirit attains knowledge; the second is the state of existence (al-wujūd) in the world of the souls where it knows God through the essential attributes (al-sifāt al-dhātiyyah); the third

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⁸¹ Iḥyā’, Vol. 3, p. 53; Winter, Disciplining, p. 16. See also Chapter Two, 2.5.2. Views on the soul.


⁸³ This state of non-existence seems to reflect the idea of the soul existing in a state of potentiality before its actual existence.
is the state of its connection with the body (jasad) where it acquires perfect knowledge concerning the world of the unseen, becomes aware of particulars and universals and obtains knowledge through the active attributes (bi al-ṣifāt al-fīliyyah); the fourth is the state of separation where it removes wickedness which was acquired by the soul in the state of its connection with the body; and the fifth is the state of returning where it returns to its former condition and it obtains the bounties of the hereafter.84

Relating to this discussion, al-Ghazālī never goes into such detail on the subject of rūh except in a work which is not confidently attributed to him, the Maʿārij al-Quds.85 He frequently mentions that "he does not wish to enter further into the subject of the rūh".86 He mentions three worlds, i.e. the world of sovereignty (ʿālam al-malakūt), the world of power (ʿālam al-jabarūt) and the world of perception (ʿālam al-shahādah) to explain the relationship between the rūh and the body. He writes:

The Kaʿbah is an outward symbol in this material world of the Presence, not seen by the eye which dwells in the Divine World, just as the body is an outward symbol in this visible, perceptive world of the heart which cannot be seen by the eye, for it belongs to the world of the unseen, and this material, visible world is a means of ascent to the invisible, spiritual world for him to whom God has opened the door.87


86 (Iḥyāʾ, Vol. 3, p. 3; Vol.1, p. 5; cf. McCarthy, op. cit., Appendix V, p. 365). For the reason why he hesitates to have a detailed discussion on this subject, see, 2.5.2. Views on the soul.

After an elucidation of how to attain the purification of the nafs, the qalb and the rūḥ, the author then continues with an explanation of seclusion, remembrance (dhikr) and the characteristics of disciples. These are also a continuation of the process of achieving the ultimate aims of the Śūfī path, i.e. love (mahabbah), longing (shawq) and ardent love of God (‘ishq). In order to arrive at these aims, the author lists the conditions and practices of seclusion which indicate how to purify the nafs by means of constantly mentioning God (dhikr) and emptying the heart from other than God. However, in al-Ghazālī’s works such as the Ihya’, he emphasises the conditions and practices of seclusion more in terms of avoiding a relationship with society. Nowhere does he mention in the works which are confidently attributed to him that one who is in seclusion should leave opposition to God by acquiring control [of human nature] (al-qabd) and expansion [of the good qualities of human nature] (al-basf), as the author of the Jāmi‘ does.

In order to make sure that the disciple is pursuing the mystical path, after describing the conditions and practices of seclusion, the author of the Jāmi‘ states the characteristics of the disciple by listing them one by one: repentance, asceticism, stripping away, sincere faith, piety, patience, individual struggle, courage, generosity, nobleheartedness, truthfulness, knowledge, hope, trust in God, rebuke, courtesy, good


89 (Jāmi‘, pp. 25 - 26; Trans. Jāmi‘, pp. 193 - 194; Ihya’, Vol. 2, pp. 243 - 244). For example, among the Jāmi‘s conditions of seclusion is emptying the minds of all distractions and continuous fasting, while among the Ihya’s conditions of seclusion is to seek safety from the harm of other people and the intention to be free from the faults in fulfilling one’s duties to the Muslims.

natural disposition, submission and total delegation. However, al-Ghazālī, in such works as the *Ihya‘*, has discussed these characteristics in general without listing them one by one as the author of the *Jāmi‘* does. For example, al-Ghazālī also discusses repentance, asceticism, sincere faith, piety, individual struggle, courage, generosity, nobleheartedness, truthfulness, knowledge, hope, trust in God, courtesy, good natural disposition and submission, in the *Ihya‘*, the *Kimiyā* and the *Arba‘īn*.

After mentioning the practices of seclusion, the author gives a discussion of its benefits, i.e. realities (wāqi‘āt), visions (mushāhadāt), unveilings (mukāshafāt), manifestation (tagāllī) and arrival (wusūl). While in the works which are confidently attributed to him like the *Ihya‘* and the *Maqṣad*, al-Ghazālī does not have a separate section on realities, visions, unveilings, manifestation and arrival, he does in fact deal in detail with many of these topics, particularly wusūl which will be discussed later. In al-Ghazālī's book of solitude ('uzlah) in the *Ihya‘*, he only says that the benefits of seclusion, either worldly (duniyāwiyyah) or religious (dīniyyah), are engagement in devotional acts, acquiring leisure for meditation or religious thoughts and relief from prohibited sins such as hypocrisy. Nowhere does he mention such benefits which are presented by the author of the *Jāmi‘*.

Owing to the purification of the nafs and the qalb and the rūh, realities (wāqi‘āt) will appear to the disciple which the author of the *Jāmi‘* puts forward as three

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92 Al-Ghazālī mentions six benefits of seclusion: 1) one will get sufficient leisure for divine service and deep contemplation of God's glory; 2) one can obtain relief from the sins to be committed by living in a society; 3) one can obtain relief from quarrels, disputations and useless talk; 4) one can save oneself from the harms of the people; 5) the hopes of the people from you and your hopes from the people will vanish because it is impossible to please all the people; 6) one can secure oneself from foolishness and heinous character. See *Ihya‘*, Vol. 2, pp. 226 - 236.
benefits. To discuss these benefits, he mentions the awareness of the states of [human] nature (nafs) where he deals with blameworthy characteristics such as avidity, hatred, arrogance, bestiality (bahimiyyah), savageness (sabu'iiyyah) and devilishness (shaytaniyyah) and he mentions the form of animals for each characteristic. The author describes them as forms of the mouse, ant, dog, apes, snakes, scorpions, leopard, ass, sheep, predatory animals (al-sibâ'), fox and rabbit and he also mentions the form of devils and demons. Then when these blameworthy characteristics have been overcome, the author acknowledges four kinds of states of [human] nature: the first is the characteristics of the heart when one sees rivers, seas and other kinds of perceptible objects; the second is the soul which is in the station of spirituality (maqâm al-rūhâniyyah) when to it are unveiled the sciences of spiritual intuition (al-`ulûm al-laduniyyah) and realisation without the intermediary of the senses; the third is when the soul reaches the attributes of the angels when one has the vision of angels, seeing the throne and other kinds of divine kingdom; the fourth is the soul which is in the station of being shaped (takhalluq) by the attributes of the Merciful when one has visions of the light of the unseen world, has inspirations, revelation and other such things. The author of the Jâmî then mentions the realities of the heart (qalbiyyah), of the soul (rūhâniyyah) and of the attributes of angels (malakiyyah) which are gained through direct experience (dhawq). Then he goes on to mention that one needs a master to guide one when one reaches the station where one is unaware, and that is the third benefit of realities.

Nowhere does al-Ghazâlî, in his works which are securely attributed to him,

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mention realities (waqfāt) in this sense. He does, however, discuss the states of the heart which he enumerates as savageness (sabu‘iyyah), bestiality (bahi‘miyyah), devilishness (shayfaniyyah) and lastly divinity (rabbaniyyah). These are not mentioned by the author of the Jāmī. The likeness of the forms of animals presented by the author of the Jāmī is similar to the method of al-Ghazālī in Fada‘iḥ al-Bāṭiniyyah wa Fada‘il al-Mustazhiriyyah. Al-Ghazālī says:

One can recognise that man is compounded of angelic and bestial qualities and is perplexed between angel and beast... One who directs his ardour to knowledge and action and worship is worthy to be joined to the angels and to be called an angel and "divine" (rabbānī).... But one who directs his ardour to following passions and pleasures... is worthy to be joined to the beasts and to become either gullible like the ox, or greedy like the pig, or weak like the dog, or spiteful like the camel, or proud like the leopard, or wily and hypocritical like the fox or he unites all that and becomes like the rebellious devil. To that alludes the Most High's saying: "And He made of them [objects of His anger] apes and pigs and the idol-worshiper". (5:60)

After the discussion of realities, the author of the Jāmī mentions visions (mushāhadāt) which can be achieved by polishing the heart. He uses the term "nūr" (light) to illustrate the concept of visions which he says are the appearance of the light of the concealed world. In order to elaborate vision, he mentions four kinds of lights: the light which is similar to a flash of lightning appears at the beginning of the state; the light which is similar to the lamp, a candle and a torch; the light which is similar to the form of stars, the new moon, the full moon and the sun; and the light which is separated from the imagination, either blue, green, like smoke or white. He then turns to the visions of the lights of the attribute of beauty (al-jamāl)
and sublimity (al-jalāl) of God. Relating to this subject, al-Ghazālī who is well-known for the teaching of "lights", in the securely attributed works like the Ihyā', usually makes use of the imagery of the same kinds of light to explain visions as the author of the Jāmi' does. However, he never mentions the fourth kind of light which is separated from imagination. For example, al-Ghazālī uses the imagery of lightning to describe vision (mushāhādah). He writes:

The winds of [divine] graces may blow and the veils are raised from the eyes of the hearts and there is disclosed in them some of what is written on the Preserved Tablet. That sometimes occurs during sleep and what will be in future is known. The complete lifting of the veil takes place at death when by it the covering is lifted. But it may also be lifted during wakefulness to the point that the veil is removed by a hidden grace from God Most High and there shines in hearts from behind the curtain of the invisible some of the wonders of knowledge, at times like the swift lightning and again with a limited sequence, but its abiding is extremely rare.

Al-Ghazālī is well-known for his teaching on beauty and sublimity of God. The similarity between his teaching and the author of the Jāmi'"s teaching can be seen because sometimes al-Ghazālī also uses the image of light by which one can see His beauty and His sublimity. He writes:

No beauty or sublimity may be compared with the beauty and sublimity of the Divine Being. Anyone to whom something of this is revealed becomes so dazzled by it that he becomes insensible and faints and no longer sees what is happening to him.

After visions (mushāḥadāt), the author comes to the explanation of unveilings (mukāšhafāt) which he says are the unveiling of veils and the perceiving of something which one has not perceived before, consisting of this world and the next world. He mentions five types of unveiling: unveiling of intellect as theoretical unveiling; unveiling of the heart as visual (shuhādiyyah) unveiling; secret unveiling as divine inspirational unveiling; unveiling of the soul as spiritual unveiling; and unveiling of the unknown as unveiling of attribution (ṣifātiyyan). He also quotes the famous Tradition:

Truly God has seventy thousand veils of light and darkness.

This is quoted in the Mishkāt al-Anwār in its last section. Because of the Mishkāt's elucidation of this subject, some of the scholars reject that part as al-Ghazālī's authentic work. Al-Ghazālī in the works which are confidently attributed to him never deals with such divisions as presented by the author of the Jāmī. He only describes unveiling in a general way using the imagery of lights. He writes:

Unveiling (mukāšhafah) stands for a light which shines in the heart when it is cleansed... Through this light is revealed the truth of several things...which are clarified until the true knowledge of the essence of God is attained together with that of His eternal and perfect attributes, His works and wisdom in the creation of this world and the next world... Through it also is attained the knowledge of the meaning of prophecy and prophet, the import of revelation...the truth about Satan, the meaning of the words angel and devils, the cause of the enmity between Satan and man...how the Angel appeared to the prophets and how they received the revelation...the knowledge of the kingdom of heaven and earth, the knowledge of the heart...the knowledge of the hereafter, paradise, hell-fire... Through this same light is revealed the


104 The source of this Tradition cannot be traced, but is mentioned in the final part of the Mishkāt. Cf. Gairdner, "Al-Ghazālī's Mishkāt", p. 122.

meanings of meeting God and seeing His gracious face; the meaning of being close to Him and of occupying a place in His proximity...106

After unveilings (mukāshafāt), the author of the Jāmī then deals with manifestation (tajallī) which he says that manifestation can only come with unveilings (mukāshafah).107 By dividing manifestation into two types, the author mentions the passages of the Qur'ān, the Traditions and the sayings of the Śūfī masters as examples. He reproduces controversial sayings by Abū Sa'īd al-Kharrāz [attributed to Abū Yazīd al-Biṣṭāmī by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī].108

Nothing is in the jubbah (robe) other than God Most High, al-Biṣṭāmī:

Praise be upon me, how great is my rank,

and al-Mansūr:

Between me and You, "I" presses upon me; so with Your generosity, remove "I" from existence.109

Al-Ghazālī comments on this subject by saying:

The first [meaning of ecstatic utterances (shāṭāhāt)] comprises long pretentious claims of ardent love (‘ishg) of God and union (wisāl)... They [who experienced ardent love and union] thus say that they were told such and such and that they have said such and such and imitate thereby al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥallāj who was gibbeted for letting slip from his lips certain words of this type... Similarly, it has been related that Abū Yazīd al-Biṣṭāmī once said, "Praise be to me!... This is, in truth, a type of speech which to the common people is of great harm... Such

107 Jāmī', p. 43; Trans. Jāmī', p. 211.
speech, moreover, is attractive to human nature for it offers relief from work as well as self justification through the attainment of certain stations (maqāmāt) and the experience of certain states (ahwāl)... while their words are not understood except from within through revelation by the light of the Truth. These and similar other words have spread like fire...and their harm to the common people has become great. To destroy the person who comes out with such words is according to the religion of God better than sparing ten lives.\footnote{Ihya', Vol. 1, p. 32; Book of Knowledge, pp. 92 - 93.}

However, al-Ghazālī goes on to say:

As to Abū Yazīd, what has been ascribed to him of such words cannot be true. Even if he were heard saying them, most probably he must have been repeating to himself words about God; for example, he might have been heard quoting the words of God, "Verily, I am God: there is no God but Me: therefore worship Me." (20:14) These words should not have been taken in any other way besides that of a quotation.\footnote{Ihya', Vol. 1, p. 32; Book of Knowledge, p. 93; cf. also. Maqṣad, pp. 144 - 151.}

After mentioning manifestation (tajallī) as the benefit of seclusion, the author then mentions "arrival" (wusūl). The discussion of wusūl in the Jāmīr is extremely interesting. In the Munqidh, al-Ghazālī denounces the concept of wusūl. Presumably the concept of wusūl which he is denouncing is that which means that the Sūfī may at some stage reach the state where he is totally immersed in God, so that he identifies himself with God. In the Munqidh, al-Ghazālī states that he has explained wusūl in the Maqṣad al-Asnā.\footnote{Munqidh, p. 61; McCarthy, op. cit., p. 95.} When we refer to the Maqṣad, we find that al-Ghazālī has not totally rejected the concept of wusūl but has reinterpreted it so that wusūl comes to mean that the Sūfī arrives at the state where he feels that he is as if he is God. This passage is quoted word for word in the Jāmīr. It reads as follows:

Arrival (wusūl) is of two types; the arrival of the beginning and arrival...
of the end. As for the first, it is that the ornament of truth (hilyat al-haqq) is unveiled to the servant so that he becomes absorbed in it. If he examines his knowledge (ma'rifah), he does not know anything except God, and if he examines his intention, he has no intention other than Him so that all of him becomes preoccupied with all of Him in vision (mushahadah) and intention and he does not turn in that to his [human] nature (nafs), so that externally he flourishes in this with worship and internally with refinement of morals. As for the second, it is that the servant sheds his [human] nature (nafs) wholly and he devotes himself to Him and he becomes as if he is He.113

However, in the Maqṣad, al-Ghazālī goes on to qualify wuṣūl by explaining its meaning in the following way:

If you say: The words of the Sufis are based on mystical visions revealed to them in the stage of friendship [with God]. But reason [man's intellect] fails to grasp that, whereas what you have mentioned is an exercise of intellectual wares. Know that there cannot appear in the stage of friendship anything which reason judges to be impossible. To be sure, there can be manifest what reason fails [to grasp] in the sense that there can be disclosed to a friend [of God] that so and so will die tomorrow: and that cannot be perceived by the wares of reason...But it cannot be disclosed that God Exalted and Blessed tomorrow will create the like of Himself, for reason declares that impossible... More far fetched than this is that a man say: "God Exalted and Blessed will make me become Himself, i.e. I shall become He," because it means that I am an incipient and God Exalted and Blessed will make me pre-eternal, and that I am not the Creator of the heavens and the two earths, but God will make me the Creator of the heavens and the two earths.114

This explanation is not contained in the Jāmi'.

After discussing arrival (wuṣūl), the author of the Jāmi' presents a systematic and explicit division of knowledge and mentions knowledge of certainty (‘ilm al-yaqīn)

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114 Maqṣad, 76; McCarthy, op. cit., p. 360; Ninety-Nine Beautiful Names, p. 157.
as the lowest rank because it is for common people, knowledge of the essence of certainty (ma'rifat 'ayn al-yaqin) as the middle because it is for the station of select people, and knowledge of truth (ma'rifat haqq al-yaqin) as the highest because it is for the Prophet.\textsuperscript{115} In his works, which are confidently attributed to him, al-Ghazālī does not give any similar arrangement and discussion like this author does. In the \textit{Ihya'} and the \textit{Maqṣad}, al-Ghazālī appears to emphasise his discussion of knowledge (ma'rifah) of God by explaining that the first meaning of the word certainty (yaqīn) is used by the philosophers and scholastic theologians to signify "lack of doubt",\textsuperscript{116} whereas the second meaning of it is used by the jurists and the Sūfis as well as most of the learned men to signify that "no attention is paid either to conjecture or doubt but rather to the fact that it takes hold of and prevails over the mind".\textsuperscript{117} He then says:

The yaqīn of the first meaning, [i.e. certainty] is found among all believers while that of the second meaning [i.e. faith] is characteristic of the favourites of God (al-muqarrabin). The fruits of this faith (yaqīn) are genuine observation (murāqabah) of the heart in its moments of groping (harakāt), tranquility (sākināt) and passing thoughts (khaṭārat), as well as extreme emphasis on piety and determined resolve to avoid all evils.\textsuperscript{118}

6.4.5. Discussion on states (ahwāl) and stations (maqāmāt)

After the benefits of seclusion and the explanation of knowledge, the author of the \textit{Jāmī'} goes on to explain the differences between the state (al-hāl) and station (al-
maqām). He writes:

The state is something which changes and does not remain constant and immovable. The state is called ḥāl [because of] its changeability and the station is called maqām [because of] its constancy and its immovability. And a thing may be in its essence a state, and then become a station.119

Thus for the author there is not always a clear distinction between a state and station. This is the case for Šūfīs generally where some doctrines are described as states and stations.120 However, al-Ghazālī seems to make a clear distinction between state and station. He says that "the state is something that descends into [the heart of] the servant which is not permanent and the station can be acquired by the servant's own effort".121

The author of the Jāmī then devotes a special chapter to explaining control (al-qabd) and expansion (al-basf), annihilation (al-fānā') and abiding (al-baqā'), ecstasy (al-wajd) and rapture (al-ghalabah), intoxication (al-sukr) and sobriety (al-ṣahw), and being absent (al-ghaybah) and being present (al-shuhūd). The elucidation of these subjects is very simple and short, and the author does not cite any saying from other Šūfī figures who were well-known on these doctrines except the sayings of al-Junayd and ʿĀmir b. ʿAbd Allāh on annihilation.122

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120 Jāmī, p. 48; Trans. Jāmī, p. 216; Kashf, pp. 181, 242; al-Lumā', p. 66; Q. Risālah, p. 34; Doctrine [Arberry], pp. 82, 131.

121 Imlā', p. 16. Some of the Šūfīs deny that the state can be permanent and among them are al-Muḥāṣibī. (Cf. Kashf, p. 182.) Almost all of the Šūfīs accept that the station can be acquired and mastered through one's own efforts. (Cf. Kashf, pp. 180 - 182; al-Lumā', p. 65; Q. Risālah, p. 34; al-Muḥāṣibī, ...Rīḍāyah, p. 59; Doctrines [Arberry], p. 85.)

Although the author of the Jāmi’s understanding of qabd and bast is similar to that of other Ṣūfis, it will be noted that in our translation we have chosen the words control and expansion for these terms. Thus it would indicate that qabd is to control human nature and it ends with the expansion (bast) of good qualities which arise out of a pure heart. They (qabd and bast) he says, only exist in the beginning of the state of specific love, because those who are still in the station of general love only have fear and hope". Regarding this subject, al-Ghazālī in the Imlā’ only states that "bast is an expression of hope and qabd is an expression of fear".

Annihilation (fanā’) for the author of the Jāmi’s appears to signify an annihilation of the mind from all external objects, thoughts, actions and feelings through its preoccupation with the thought of God. He mentions two types of annihilation: external annihilation as an annihilation of deeds which is for the common saints and inner annihilation as an annihilation of qualities and of essence which is for the elect saints. Annihilation, then, will be followed by abiding (baqū’) which is considered by the Ṣūfī as the final stage reached through annihilation. To abide in God [eternity] after having annihilated oneself from selfhood (fanā’) is regarded by the Ṣūfī as the mark of the perfect man (al-insān al-kāmil). Al-Ghazālī, in the works

124 (Jāmi’, p. 49; Trans. Jāmi’, p. 217). In the Kashf al-Mahjūb, al-Hujwīrī also writes that "the contraction of gnostics is like the fear of novices, and the expansion of gnostics is like the hope of novices". (Kashf, p. 374). And al-Suhrawardī says that in the first phase of contraction and expansion, the Ṣūfī only has fear and hope and in the last phase of the contraction and expansion, the Ṣūfī will have annihilation and eternity. (‘Awārif [Clarke], p. 194).
125 Imlā’, p. 17.

which are confidently attributed to him, never mentions a division of annihilation as the author of the Jāmī does, but he does generally discuss annihilation in a similar way. He mentions that one can achieve annihilation by full absorption in remembrance (dhikr) of God. In the Arbaʾīn, al-Ghazālī writes:

When the worshipper no longer thinks of his remembrance (dhikr) or himself, but is wholly absorbed in Him Whom he remembered... This state, by the gnostics, is called annihilation (fanaʾ). That is when a man has passed away from himself that he feels nothing of his bodily members, nor of what is passing without, nor what passes within his inner self. He is absent from all that, and all that is absent from him: he is journeying first to his Lord, then [at the end] in his Lord.128

Concerning abiding (baqāʾ), al-Ghazālī only reproduces the saying of Bundar129 who said:

He [i.e. the Şüfi] who draws near to God is consumed by the flaming splendour of the tawḥīd and becomes an essence of infinite worth.130

Regarding the other doctrines, i.e. ecstasy and rapture, intoxication and sobriety, and being present and being absent,131 the author of the Jāmī only gives short definitions which are similar to these of the other Şūfis, without further explanation. However, for ecstasy, he says that it "is what reaches the inner self from God...and one acquires it joyfully or mournfully",132 whilst most of the Şūfis consider that it is

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128 Arbaʾīn, p. 42; cf. also Smith, al-Ghazālī, p. 190. See also Arbaʾīn, pp. 44 - 45; Smith, al-Ghazālī, p. 191.

129 Ibn al-Ḥusayn (d. 353/964), a pupil of Shibli. (Cf. al-Lumāʾ, pp. 269, 273, 278; Smith al-Ghazālī, p. 193).

130 Iḥyāʾ, Vol. 3, p. 183; cf. also Smith, al-Ghazālī, p. 193 from where the translation is taken; Imlāʾ, p. 17.

131 Jāmī, pp. 51 - 52; Trans. Jāmī, pp. 219 - 220.

a state which is connected to the feeling of grief.\textsuperscript{133} With regard to the above doctrines, al-Ghazālī does not discuss them explicitly in any of his securely attributed works such as the \textit{Iḥyā‘}; the \textit{Munqidh} and the \textit{Arba‘īn}.

6.4.6. Acts of worship

The author of the \textit{Jāmī} ends his treatise with a section which refers to acts of worship (\textit{al-‘ibādāt}). However, he only discusses ablution (\textit{al-wuḍū‘}) and prayer (\textit{al-ṣalāh}). He plainly mentions that man is created for worshipping God and for the sake of knowledge (\textit{ma‘rifah}) of Him. He then explains the relationship between worship and knowledge as "the reason for its [i.e. the soul] connection to the body is on account of worship,"\textsuperscript{134} because he says that "worship is not valid except by means of bodily organs."\textsuperscript{135} This is the only place where the author of the \textit{Jāmī} gives a reason for God's creating the human body. It would seem that otherwise the body is a hindrance to spiritual attainment and is closely associated with the \textit{nafs} or [human] nature. Although the author does not discuss the resurrection of the body, this is the only passage in the work which would provide any justification for it.

The author then writes that "perfect knowledge occurs by means of worship".\textsuperscript{136} Al-Ghazālī in his \textit{Faysal} also has the same view. He says:

In the case of one in whom worship (\textit{‘ibādah}) persists until the achievement of genuine piety...there are revealed to him the lights of

\textsuperscript{133} \textit{Kashf}, p. 413; \textit{Tahānawi, Iṣṭilāḥāt}, Vol. 2, 1454; \textit{Ḥifnī, op. cit.}, p. 264; \textit{Nādir, op. cit.}, pp. 37, 59 - 60.

\textsuperscript{134} \textit{Jāmī}, p. 52; Trans. \textit{Jāmī}, p. 221.

\textsuperscript{135} \textit{Jāmī}, p. 53; Trans. \textit{Jāmī}, p. 222.

\textsuperscript{136} \textit{Jāmī}, p. 54; Trans. \textit{Jāmī}, p. 223.
knowledge and for him the things which he had accepted through servile conformism become like [objects of] seeing and direct vision. That is the real meaning of knowledge (ma'rifah) which comes to be only after...the expansion of the breast by the Light of God.137

Concerning ablutions, the author and al-Ghazâlî put forward the same etiquettes, although al-Ghazâlî has a more detailed explanation of it. They mention cleaning the teeth with a toothpick (siwâk), reciting invocations, not being extravagant in using water, not talking, not washing more than three times, not wiping away the water of ablution with a cloth and being persistent in ablution.138 They also have the same concept of ablution as being a means for the removal of filthiness and sins when it is carried out on the limbs.139

In the discussion of the ritual prayer (salah) by the author of the Jâmî, the idea that one who performs prayer should submit his heart in remembrance of God140 is similar to that of al-Ghazâlî. The latter says:

The presence of the heart means that the heart is free from everything but what the worshipper is engaged in and what he utters [i.e. remembrance of God].141

From the above discussion of worship, we can deduce that the whole idea concerning it is similar between the author of the Jâmî and al-Ghazâlî.

137 Faysal, p. 17; cf. McCarthy, op. cit., p. 169, sec. 86.
141 Ihyâ', Vol. 1, p. 136; cf. Mysteries of Worship, p. 44.
6.5. The authenticity of the *Jāmi' al-Ḥaqāʾiq bi Tajrīd al-ʾAlāʾiq*

As far as we are aware, there has been no discussion by earlier or modern scholars concerning the authenticity of the *Jāmi'*, except by Badawi who lists the *Jāmi'*, amongst with other doubtful works which are commonly attributed to al-Ghazāli. He does not, however, does not give any reason. He only mentions that the topics of the *Jāmi'*, are identical to those of Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿArabī's (d. 634/1240) *Tuhfah*.\(^{142}\)

In this regard, it is not only the topics of the *Jāmi'*, which are identical to the *Tuhfah*, but almost all the passages of the *Jāmi'*, are identical to it.\(^{143}\) The similarity, however, cannot indicate that the *Jāmi'*, was written by Ibn al-ʿArabī because it would have been possible that Ibn al-ʿArabī reproduced the *Jāmi'*, from al-Ghazāli, since he lived later than al-Ghazāli. And as already mentioned,\(^{144}\) Ibn al-ʿArabī is mentioned as being influenced by al-Ghazāli in his views on the doctrine of the ʿṢūfīs.\(^ {145}\) Thus it is possible to say that Ibn al-ʿArabī could reproduce the *Jāmi'*, from al-Ghazāli.

Certainly the author of the *Jāmi'*, has one passage which seems to be a direct quotation from al-Ghazāli's *Maqṣad*. This passage is also contained in exactly the same form in the *Tuhfah*.

As already indicated in the thesis, several of the topics of the *Jāmi'*, have been dealt with al-Ghazāli, in such works as the *Iḥyāʾ*, the *Arbaʿīn*, the *Maqṣad* and the

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\(^{142}\) *Mu'allafāt*, pp. 253 - 254.

\(^{143}\) It is also the same with regard to Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī's (d. 632/1234) work *ʿAwārīf al-Maʿārif* and to Najm al-Dīn Rāzī's (d. 654/1256) *Mīrṣād al-ʾIbād*. The similarity between them can be seen in Appendix 3 below.

\(^{144}\) See 2.6. Authenticity of al-Risālah al-Laduniyyah.

Munqidh in a similar way. On the other hand, it has been noted that some of the topics and discussions in the Jāmi‘ do not seem to have been treated in the works of al-Ghazālī previously mentioned.

An evaluation of the method of presentation and style shows several similarities and differences. The Jāmi‘ is similar to the works of al-Ghazālī which are confidently attributed to him such as the Ihyā‘, the Maqṣad and the Munqidh because they all mention the reason for the composition of the works. As in al-Ghazālī’s works, the development of the author of the Jāmi‘ is smooth and clear. Both authors also use simple analogies to explain some of their ideas, and quote many sayings of the Companions and well-known Sufis. Most of the sayings cited by the Jāmi‘ are found in al-Ghazālī’s securely attributed works. Both also reproduce poems from other Sufis expressing their mystical experiences. Besides these similarities, however, the authors differ in the description of the introduction, because the author of the Jāmi‘ does not describe his introduction as "khutbat al-risālah" as al-Ghazālī usually does. He also never mentions any other works written by al-Ghazālī as the latter always does in his writings.

An examination of scriptural aspects shows that the Jāmi‘ and al-Ghazālī’s works such as the Ihyā‘, the Arba‘in and the Munqidh have the same methods in citing Qur’ānic verses and the Traditions. The Jāmi‘, however, reproduces a saying of Jesus which is in fact a Tradition of the Prophet Muḥammad. Al-Ghazālī himself never cites such a saying in his works.

An appraisal of fundamental ideas shows some similarities and differences. The Jāmi‘, the Ihyā‘ and the Arba‘in have the same concept of repentance, although the
former's division of repentance is more detailed than that of al-Ghazālī. Both the author of the Jamī' and al-Ghazālī state their acceptance of the faith of pious ancestors (al-salaf) and reject other dogmas.146 Their view concerning pure devotion (ikhlās) that it is an action of the heart which refutes any partnership with God is also similar.

For the discussion on the ultimate aim of the Śūfīs, i.e. love (mahabbah), longing (shawq) and ardent love (ishq), both authors also have similarities and differences. Although similarities can be found in their discussion of love (mahabbah), the symbol of love as a burning fire cannot be found in al-Ghazālī's works. They differ from each other in describing longing (shawq), for the author of the Jamī' describes this doctrine as the feeling of delight in death because one can meet God, while al-Ghazālī describes the vision of the beauty (al-jamāl) and the sublimity (al-jalāl) of God which can be reached by the one who longs for God. Their treatment of presenting the refutation of these ultimate aims of the Śūfīs is also different, for the author of the Jamī' shows the difference between love and lust, while al-Ghazālī looks into the problem of the status of man and God.

The ideas of spiritual exercises practised by the Śūfī in purifying the nafs, the qalb and the rūḥ are treated similarly by the author of the Jamī' and al-Ghazālī, and particularly their respective views of the nafs, the qalb and the rūḥ. Al-Ghazālī, however, gives in the Iḥyā' a very systematic treatment in describing the theory of purification of the nafs compared to the author of the Jamī'. Al-Ghazālī never mentions the seven phases of the heart as well as the five states of the rūḥ.

The author of the *Jāmi* and al-Ghazālī also have similarities and differences in their treatment of seclusion (*khalwah*), especially in their elucidation of its benefits. Even though al-Ghazālī does not discuss the realities (*wāqīāt*), their ideas of the states of the *qalb* are similar. The illustrations of the light (*nūr*), beauty (*al-jamāl*) and sublimity (*al-jalāl*) of God in the explanation of visions (*mushāhādāt*) are also similar. Nevertheless, they differ in their clarification of unveilings (*mukāshafāt*), because al-Ghazālī never mentions any types of unveiling as the author of the *Jāmi* does. The latter never uses any imagery of light in explaining such a doctrine.

Both authors also give a similar and different treatment on "arrival" (*wusūl*). The identical passage which is used by the author of the *Jāmi* and al-Ghazālī concerning *wusūl*, as has been mentioned earlier, could not have been accidental. However, it is difficult to say who is copying the other, because we do not know which work precedes the other, for the exact date of writing the *Jāmi* is unknown. If the *Jāmi* belongs to al-Ghazālī, it is possible to say that he used the same passage in both works. On the other hand, if the *Jāmi* is not written by him, it could be said that either the author of the *Jāmi* or al-Ghazālī copied it from the other.

There is also a difference between the *Jāmi* and al-Ghazālī's other works with regard to ecstatic utterances. The author of the *Jāmi* does not give any comment on the ecstatic utterances which had became a controversial issue among the Şūfis, while al-Ghazālī appears to have an opinion that it is not right to expose such utterances to the common people.

The author of the *Jāmi* and al-Ghazālī also have a quite different treatment of
knowledge (ma‘rifah). Both understand the concepts of the states (ahwāl) and stations (maqāmāt) in much the same way but there are some differences about which are states and which are stations.

From the above discussion, it seems that the internal evidence of the Jāmi‘ presents problems. Even though similarities in the elucidation of the doctrines of the Šūfis between the Jāmi‘ and al-Ghazālī’s works which are confidently attributed to him like the Ihyā’, the Maqṣad, the Arba‘īn are found throughout the text, explicit differences can also be seen between them. Moreover, al-Ghazālī appears to state elsewhere in the Ihyā‘ that he does not want to discuss subjects relating to rūh, visions (mushāhadāt), unveilings (mukāšafāt), manifestation (tajallī), arrival (wusūl), control (qabd) and expansion (baṣṭ), annihilation (fanā‘) and abiding (baqā‘), ecstasy (wajd) and rapture (ghalabah), intoxication (sukr) and sobriety (ṣahw), and being absent (ghaybah) and being present (shuhūd), "because of the inability of man’s mind to comprehend”¹⁴⁷ However, as Ibn Ṭufayl has explained, the Ihyā‘ was meant for all to read, while such works of al-Ghazālī as the Mishkāt are more concerned with the theosophic type of mysticism which was not intended for the general public.¹⁴⁸

On present evidence, it is difficult to decide the authorship of the Jāmi‘. If al-Ghazālī’s own statement in the Ihyā‘ is reliable, it is conceivable that we could reject this work as written by him. On the other hand, if the statement from Ibn Ṭufayl is to be accepted, it may be suggested that al-Ghazālī wrote this work, because there are many similarities between ideas presented in this work and al-Ghazālī’s works

¹⁴⁷ Ihyā‘, Vol. 1, p. 2; Book of Knowledge, p. 6.

which are confidently attributed to him, particularly in the purification of the *nafs*, the *qalb* and the *rūḥ*. However, the strong similarities between the *Tuḥfah* of Ibn al-ʿArabi and the *Jāmiʿ* must give further cause for doubt about authenticity. It seems very likely as a result of the parallel passages on *wuṣūl* that both works, i.e. *Tuḥfah* and *Jāmiʿ*, were written after the *Maqṣad*. It may well be that different copyists attributed them to the two different alleged authors.
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Introduction to the treatise.</th>
<th>Raye be to God who has adorned the hearts of His chosen servants with the light of saintliness, has instructed their spirits with excellent solitude and has opened the door of knowledge to the genetics among the religious scholars (&quot;ulama&quot;) with the key of knowledge. I pray to God to bless and grant salvation to our Lord Muhammad, the Lord of Apostles, the Lord who summons and protects and the Guide of the community to the right path, and to his family, who dwell in the sanctuary of protection. (p. 86)</th>
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### Section One: A Proof that the Substance of the soul (nafs) is different from the substance of the body and on brief explanation of the soul (nafs).

Know that God Most High has created man from two different things: one of them, the body which is dark, coarse, coming into existence and degenerating, complex, made up of parts, earthly whose nature is not perfected except by something other than it; and the other is the soul which is jewel-like, simple (al-nafs al-jawhari al-mufjarad), illuminating, rational, acting, moving and completing instruments and bodies. And God Most High compounded the body with the components of nutrient and developed it with the components of blood (dunam) and prepared its rules, arranged its principles and set down its limits, and made the (inner) substance of the soul apparent by the command of Him, the One, the Perfect, the Benefactor. (p. 91)

I do not mean by the soul the faculty (quwwah) which seeks nourishment, nor the faculty which is aroused (masar) to lust and anger, nor the faculty which resides in the heart, producing life, and making sensation manifest and bringing about movement from the heart to all the limbs. For this faculty is called the animal spirit (nafs mufrad), and sensation and movement (quwwah) and lust and anger are among its troops. And that faculty which seeks for nourishment, and which resides in the liver (kabd) with its outflow is called the natural spirit (ruh pahpiriy) and digestion and disposal are among its attributes. And the imaginative faculty (al-quwwat al-mufrad), the procreative one, the growing one and the rest of the natural faculties are all the servants of the body. And the body is the servant of the animal spirit because it accepts the faculties from it and works in accordance with its motion. (p. 91)

But I mean by the soul only that perfect, simple jewel-like substance whose only business is recollection, memorization, contemplation, discrimination and careful consideration, and it accepts all branches of knowledge and does not grow weary of receiving abstract images, free of matter. This jewel-like substance is the leader of the spirits and the commander of the faculties and all serve it and comply with its command. I mean the rational soul, that jewel-like substance (jowhar), which has a special name among every group of people (quwam). The philosophers call this substance the rational soul. The Qur'an calls it the soul at rest (al-nafs al-mufradd) and the spirit created by the command of God (al-chil al-anmi). And the Sufis call it the heart. The difference is only in the names but the meaning is one, and there is no difference concerning it. (p. 91).

So, in our opinion, the heart, the spirit and the soul at rest are all of them names for the rational soul. The rational soul is the jewel-like substance (jowhar) which is living, active and comprehending, and whenever we use the expressions "the absolute spirit" (al-chil al-mufrad) or "the heart", we mean by it only this substance (jowhar). (p. 92).

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<tr>
<th>Section One: A proof that the substance of the soul (nafs) is different from the substance of the body and on brief explanation of the soul (nafs).</th>
<th>Know that God Most High has created man from two different things: one of them, the body which is dark, coarse, coming into existence and degenerating, complex, made up of parts, earthly whose nature is not perfected except by something other than it; and the other is the soul which is jewel-like, simple (al-nafs al-jawhari al-mufjarad), illuminating, rational, acting, moving and completing instruments and bodies. And God Most High compounded the body with the components of nutrient and developed it with the components of blood and prepared its rules, arranged its principles and set down its limits, and made the (inner) substance of the soul apparent by the command of Him, the One, the Perfect, the Benefactor. (pp. 152 - 153).</th>
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| I do not mean by the soul the faculty (quwwah) which seeks nourishment, nor the faculty which is aroused (masar) to lust and anger, nor the faculty which resides in the heart, producing life, and making sensation manifest and bringing about movement from the heart to all the limbs. For this faculty is called the animal spirit (nafs mufrad), and sensation and movement (quwwah) and lust and anger are among its troops. And that faculty which seeks for nourishment, and which resides in the liver (kabd) with its outflow is called the natural spirit (ruh pahpiriy) and digestion and disposal are among its attributes. And the imaginative faculty (al-quwwat al-mufrad), the procreative one, the growing one and the rest of the natural faculties are all the servants of the body. And the body is the servant of the animal spirit. (p. 91).

But I mean by the soul only that perfect, simple jewel-like substance whose only business is recollection, memorization, contemplation, discrimination and careful consideration, and it accepts all branches of knowledge and does not grow weary of receiving abstract images, free of matter. This jewel-like substance is the leader of the spirits and the commander of the faculties and all serve it and comply with its command. I mean the rational soul, that jewel-like substance (jowhar), which has a special name among every group of people (quwam). The philosophers call this substance the rational soul. The Qur'an calls it the soul at rest (al-nafs al-mufradd) and the spirit created by the command of God (al-chil al-anmi). And the Sufis call it the heart. The difference is only in the names but the meaning is one, and there is no difference concerning it. (p. 153). |

So, in our opinion, the heart, the spirit and the soul at rest are all of them names for the rational soul. The rational soul is the jewel-like substance (jowhar) which is living, active and comprehending, and whenever we use the expressions "the absolute spirit" (al-chil al-mufrad) or "the heart", we mean by it only this substance (jowhar). (Ibn al-'Arabi, p. 153). |

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**Appendix 1**

Comparison Between al-Risalah al-Laduniyyah and Risalah fi 'Adrifat al-Nafs wa al-Ruh by Muhy al-Din Ibn al-'Arabi
The Sufis call the animal spirit a soul. Divine Law (shor) has mentioned that, saying: (The greatest of your enemies is your soul). And the Lawgiver (the Prophet) has used the name of the soul, and indeed has strengthened it with an addition, for he (P.B.U.H.) said: (Your soul which is between your two sides).

By this word he indicated only the faculty of sensual desire and anger, for both of them arise from the heart which is situated between the two sides. Thus when you know the difference between the names, you should know that (al-shaylaq (al-Bisharin) express this valuable jewel-like substance (al-jawhar al-nafa'is) by different expressions and they relate different views concerning it. The scholastic theologians, who are acquainted with the science of dialectics, reckon the soul to be a body. They say that it is a subtle body (jism lafiq) which is opposed to that coarse body (al-jism al-kathif). They do not consider the difference between the spirit and the body to consist of anything other than that subtlety and grossness. Some of them reckon that the spirit is an accident (tablath), and some of the physicians tend towards this opinion, and some of them consider that blood is a spirit. All of them are convinced that their opinion is limited by their imaginative powers, and they do not seek the third division. And you should know that the divisions are three kinds; the body, the accident (tablath) and the simple jewel-like substance (al-jawhar al-fard).

For the animal soul is a subtle (lafiq) body. It is like a lamp which has been lit and placed in the glass of the heart; I mean that pine-cone shape which is suspended in the breast. At life is that which illuminates the lamp, and blood is its oil, and sense and movement [reflect] its light, and lust is its heat and anger is its smoke. The faculty which seeks nourishment and which is located in the liver is its servant and its guardian. This spirit is to be found in all animals.

(p. 92)

Man is a body and its impressions (akhshir) are accidents. And this soul is not rightly guided to knowledge and does not know the way of the creature and nor what is due to the Creator. It is merely a servant, a captive which dies with the death of the body. If the blood were to be increased, that lamp would be extinguished by the excess of heat and if it were to be decreased, it would be extinguished by the excess of cold and its extinction is the reason for the death of the body. [This has nothing to do either with] the judgement of the Creator, praise be to Him, nor (is it a responsibility (tablath) imposed by the Lawgiver on this soul, because [dumb] beasts and the rest of the animals are not required to observe the precepts of religion] and nor are they told to obey [the ordinances of the Law].

(p. 92 - 93)

Man is obligated and told to obey because of another concept which can be found in himself as something additional and especially applicable to him. That concept is the rational soul and the soul at rest. This soul (al-nafs) neither a body nor an accident because it is from the command of God Most High as He said: (Say! the soul (nafs) [comes] by command of my Lord). He said: (To the righteous soul (nafs) will be said) O (thou) soul in [complete] rest and satisfaction! Come back thou to Thy Lord, well pleased (styself) and well pleasing unto Him!)

(p. 93)

The command of the Most High Creator is not a body nor an accident, but rather it is a Divine force (jawwar il-hayyaq) like the First Intellect and the Tablet and the Pen. They are simple jewel-like substances which are separate from matter, indeed they are pure form, rationally conceivable and intangible. The soul and the heart in our usage are equivalent to those jewel-like substances, they are not susceptible to corruption and do not disappear or perish or die, rather they leave the body and wait to return to it on the Day of Resurrection as has been declared in the Revelation.

(p. 93)

It has been authenticated in the sciences of wisdom by categorical proof and clear pieces of evidence that the rational soul is not a body nor an accident, but fixed jewel-like substance, eternal, incorruptible. We have no need to repeat the proofs and multiply the pieces of evidence because they are established and recorded. And whoever wants to verify them should consult the appropriate books for that branch of knowledge. As for our method, it will not be attained by proofs, rather we rely on direct insight and depend on the vision of faith.

(p. 93)

The command of the Most High Creator is not a body nor an accident, but rather it is a Divine force (jawwar il-hayyaq) like the First Intellect which is the Pen and the Universal Soul which is the Tablet... They are simple jewel-like substances which are separate from matter, indeed they are pure form, rationally conceivable and intangible. The soul and the heart are equivalent to those jewel-like substances; they are not susceptible to corruption and do not perish or die, rather they leave the body and wait to return to it on the Day of Resurrection as has been declared in the Revelation.

(pp. 154 - 155)

It has been authenticated in the sciences of wisdom by categorical proof and clear pieces of evidence that the rational soul is not a body nor an accident, but fixed jewel-like substance, eternal, incorruptible. We have no need to repeat the proofs and multiply the pieces of evidence. And whoever wants to verify them should consult the appropriate books for that branch of knowledge.
When God associated the spirit with His command and sometimes with His loftiness, He said: "And I breathed into him My spirit." And He said: "(Say the spirit [cometh] by command of my Lord)." And He said: "(And We breathed into it [the body] of Our spirit)." (pp. 93 - 94).

When God associated the spirit with His command and with His loftiness, He said: "And I breathed into him My spirit." And He said: "(Say the spirit [cometh] by command of my Lord)." And He said: "(And We breathed into it [the body] of Our spirit)." (p. 155).

God Most High is too Lofty to bring a body or an accident into association with Himself because of their lowliness and their liability to change and the rapidity of their cessation and corruption. And the Lawgiver (P.B.U.H.) said: "The souls are like troops assembled." And he said: "(The souls of martyrs are in the crops of green birds)." (p. 94).

God Most High is too Lofty to bring a body or an accident into association with His essence because of their lowliness and their liability to change and the rapidity of their cessation and corruption. (p. 155).

As has been said, the composition of matter and form are as is mentioned in books, and so when we found these verses and Traditions and intellectual proofs, we learned that the spirit is a simple jewel-like substance, perfect, living in itself (النوراني), and from it are generated the soundness and corruption of the religious and the natural spirit and the animal spirit, and all the bodily forces are all among its troops. (p. 94).

When we found these verses and intellectual proofs, we learned that the spirit is a simple jewel-like substance, perfect, living in itself, and from it are generated the soundness and corruption of the religious and the natural spirit and the animal spirit, and outward and inner bodily forces are all among its troops. (p. 155).

[We have learned also that] this jewel-like substance accepts the images of known things and the truths of existent things without burying itself with their individual selves and corporeal forms. For the soul is capable of knowing about the truth of humanity without seeing a man, just as it knows about angels and devils and has no need to see their actual selves because the senses of most of the people are unable to reach them. One group of the Sufis says that the heart has an eye just as the body has. And it sees outward things with the outward eye, and it sees the [inner] truths with the eye of the mind The Apostle of God (P.B.U.H.) said: "There is not a servant but that his heart has two eyes." These are two eyes by which he comprehends the unseen world. Whenever God Most High wishes well to a servant, He opens the two eyes of his heart so that he may see what is hidden from his sight. (p. 94).

This jewel-like substance accepts the images of known things and the truths of existent things without burying itself with their individual selves and corporeal forms. For the soul is capable of knowing about the truth of humanity without seeing a form, just as it knows about angels and devils and has no need to see their actual selves. One group of the Sufis says that the heart has an eye just as the body has. And it sees outward things with the outward eye, and it sees the [inner] truths with the eye of the heart. The Prophet (P.B.U.H.) said: "(There is not a heart but that it has two eyes)" which he comprehends the unseen world. Whenever God Most High wishes well to a servant, He opens the two eyes of his heart so that he may see what is hidden from his sight. (p. 155).

The people of the path, I mean the Sufis, depend upon the soul more than they depend on the corporeal form. Since the soul is from the command of the Creator Most High, He is in the body like a stranger, and its direction is towards its source and its place of return. (Ibn al-'Arabi, p. 156).

The people of the path, I mean the Sufis, regard the soul as the heart. Since the soul is from the command of the Creator, it is in the body like a stranger, and its direction is towards its source and its place of return. (Ibn al-'Arabi, p. 156).

Section One: On the types of knowledge and its division

The first thing on which its light is manifested is the brain because the brain is the special place of manifestation of the essence of the spirit, it takes a guard from the front of the body, and a minister and ruler from its middle, and a treasurer and a treasurer from its back, and from all its parts infantry and cavalry, and from the animal spirit a servant, and from the natural spirit a representative, and from the body a vehicle, and from the world a sphere of activity, and from life goods and wealth, and from movement merchandise, and from knowledge profit, and from the next world a destination and a place to return, and from the shahid path and a method, and from the commanding soul a guard and a leader, and from the censoring [soul] an admonisher, and from the senses spies and aides, and from religion a coat of mail, and from the mind an instructor, and from sensibility a pupil. (p. 95).

Section Two: On the elucidation of the modes of its disposition in the body

The first thing on which its light is manifested is the brain because the brain is the special place of manifestation of the essence of the spirit, it takes a guard from the front of the body, and a minister from its middle, and a treasurer from its back, and from all its limbs infantry and cavalry, and from the animal spirit a servant, and from the body a vehicle, and from the world a sphere of activity, and from life wealth, and from movement merchandise, and from knowledge profit, and from the next world a destination and a place to return, and from the shahid path and a method, and from the senses spies and aides, and from religion a coat of mail, and from the mind an veil. (p. 156).
The soul, with this attribute, together with this equipment, did not accept this gross body and is not attached to its essence, but it brings it a benefit and causes it to face towards its Creator and its Creator has commanded it to attain benefit until an appointed end. Along this journey, the soul does not engage itself in anything except the acquisition of knowledge because the knowledge will be its adornment in the world of the hereafter because the adornment of wealth and children are the ornament of life in this world.

(pp. 95 - 96)

Section: The levels achieved by the soul in acquiring knowledge

Know that [the branches of] knowledge are embedded firmly in all human souls and all of them are receptive to all types of knowledge. But a soul will only miss its share of it because of an unexpected and temporary cause which occurs from outside. As the Prophet (P.B.U.H.) said: (Men were created hafif and devils made them haughty). He (P.B.U.H.) also said: (Every child is born in natural religion (fitnah)).

(p. 107 - 108)

So the rational human soul is qualified for enlightenment by the Universal Soul and is prepared to receive intelligible images from it, by the force of its original purity and its attributes, though some of it [the soul] is sick in this world, and it is restrained from apprehending the true realities [of things] by [the reason of] various illnesses and different accidents. Some of it remains in its original health without any illness and corruption, and always receives as long as it is alive.

(p. 108)

Sound souls are the prophetic souls which receive revelation and corroboration and which are able to manifest the miracle and freedom of action in the world of existence and corruption. For those souls continue in their original health and their natural dispositions do not change by the corruption of illnesses and the sickness of accidents. So, the prophets become physicians of souls and those who summon mankind to the health of natural religion.

(pp. 109 - 110)

As for sick souls in this lower world, they have become of [different] degrees. Some of them are influenced by the illness of their residence [in this world] only a little. When the clouds of forgetfulness pound on their minds, they occupy themselves with study. They seek [their] original health, so their illness disappears with the simplest treatment and the clouds of their forgetfulness are dissolved by the least recollection. Some of them study all their life and occupy themselves with learning and recollection all their days, but they do not understand anything because of the corruption of their natural dispositions, for when the natural disposition has been corrupted, it is unable to receive the remedy. Some of them remember and [then] forget, they perform spiritual exercises and humble themselves and they find a little light and weak illumination. This contrast [between souls] only appears as a result of the eagerness of souls for the world and their absorption in it in commensurate with their strength and their weakness, like the healthy person when [he falls] sick and the sick person when he has become healthy. When this knot is untied, souls will acknowledge the existence of the knowledge of spiritual intuition and will be aware that they were cognizant in [their] original natural disposition and were pure at the beginning of creation.

(p. 108)

The soul, with this attribute did not accept this gross body and it faces towards its Creator. Along this journey, the soul does not engage itself in anything except the acquisition of knowledge because the knowledge will be its adornment in the world of the hereafter because the adornment of wealth and state (had) are the ornament of life in this world.

(pp. 156 - 157)

Section Four: On the elucidation of its receptivity and necessity for acquiring types of knowledges

Know that [the branches of] knowledge are embedded firmly in all human souls and all of them are receptive to all types of knowledge. But a soul will only miss its share of it because of an unexpected and temporary cause which occurs from outside. As the Prophet (P.B.U.H.) said: (God Most High has created men in batnif and devil made them haughty).

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So the rational human soul is qualified for enlightenment by the Universal Soul and is prepared to receive intelligible images from it, by the force of its original purity and its attributes, though some of it [the soul] is sick in this world, and it is restrained from apprehending the true realities [of things] by [the reason of] various illnesses and different accidents. Some of it remains in its original health without any illness and corruption, and always receives as long as it is alive.

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Sound souls (nafs al-tayyibah) are the prophetic souls which receive revelation which are able to manifest the miracle and freedom of action in the world of existence and corruption. So, the prophets become physicians of souls and those who summon mankind to the health of natural religion.

(pp. 159 - 160)

As for sick souls in this lower world, they have become of [different] degrees. Some of them are influenced by the illness of their residence [in this world] only a little. When the clouds of forgetfulness pound on their jewel-like substances (jawahirihim), they occupy themselves with study. They seek [their] original health, so their illness disappears with the simplest treatment and the clouds of their forgetfulness are dissolved, means unveiled by the least recollection. Some of them study all their life and occupy themselves with learning and recollection all their days, but they do not understand anything because of the corruption of their natural dispositions, for when the natural disposition has been corrupted, it is unable to receive the remedy. Some of them remember and [then] forget, they perform spiritual exercises and humble themselves and they find a little light and weak illumination. This contrast [between souls] only appears as a result of the eagerness of souls for the world and their absorption in it in commensurate with their strength and their weakness. When this sickness is untied, souls will acknowledge the existence of the knowledge of spiritual intuition and will be aware that they were cognizant in [their] original natural disposition and were pure at the beginning of creation.

(p. 160)
Their ignorance arose only because they were sick through their association with this coarse body and their residence in this troubled abode and this dark place, and they [the souls] do not seek (p. 109) through learning to create knowledge which is non-existent, and to produce intelligence which is deficient, but rather [they seek] to restore to it the original abundant knowledge and to eliminate the unexpected arrival of sickness through their preoccupation with the adornment of the body, the facilitating of its foundation and the arraying of its bases.

(pp. 108 - 109).

The father who loves and cares for his child, when he turns to looking after his child, and occupies himself with his duties, he will forget all [other] affairs and will content himself with one affair, that is the affair of the child. And the soul, because of the strength of its passionate love and its pity, is occupied with this edifice [of the body] and has busied itself with its welfare, with caring for it and with solicitude for its interests. So the soul is submerged in the sea of nature because of its weakness and its particularity. Then it needs learning throughout its life in order to search for recollection of what it has forgotten and out of desire to find what it has lost.

(p. 109).

Learning is nothing but the return of the soul to its [essential] substance and bringing out what is contained in its inner self to actuality, seeking for perfection in itself and the attainment of its happiness. When the souls are weak and are not rightly guided to the reality of their essential nature, they cling to and take refuge in a master who is affectionate and expert and they appeal for his succour, so that he will help them in searching for their desire and that they may hope, for, like the sun, he will go to them, as the sun will cure him but he knows that good health is commendable and desirable, so he consults a compassionate physician and exposes his condition to him and takes refuge with him, so that he will treat him and he will remove his sickness from him.

(p. 109).

We have seen an 'Islam fall sick with a particular disease, such as the head and the breast, so his soul will avoid all [kinds of] knowledge and he will forget all that he has learnt and it will become obscure to him and all that he has acquired in his past life and his previous days will be hidden within his remembrance and recollection. When he recovers, health will return to him, forgetfulness will be removed from him and the soul will return to what it knows, so the soul will recollect what it has forgotten in the days of illness. Thus, we have learnt that [the branches of] knowledge had not perished but were only forgotten.

(p. 109).

There is a distinction in people between obliteration and forgetfulness. Verily, obliteration is annihilation of engraving and impressions, and forgetfulness is the obscuring of engraving. It is like the mists or clouds which veil the light of the sun from the sight of those who look, it is not like the sunset which is the departure of the sun from above the earth to [a position] below it. And the preoccupation of the soul with learning is the removal of accidental sickness from the essential nature of the soul, so that it may return to what it learnt in [its] original natural disposition and to what it understood in the primary state of purity.

(pp. 109 - 110).

When you know the reason and the purpose of learning and the real nature and substance of the soul, then know that the sick soul needs the [process] of learning and to spend its life in acquiring [all kinds of] knowledge. As for the soul whose sickness is insignificant, whose illness is weak, whose evil is slight, whose mind is thin and whose natural disposition is sound, it has no need for more study and long toil. Rather, very little consideration and reflection is enough because it will return to its original [position] and will accept its beginning and its reality, and it will come upon its hidden qualities. What was potential in it will become actual and what was implanted within it will become an adornment to it. Its affair will be completed, its condition will be perfected and it will know most things in the shortest time. Then it will interpret what it knows in the right way, and it will become knowledgeable, perfect and articulate. For, it is like approaching the Universal Soul, which will overflow through reception of the individual soul and becoming assimilated with the original by means of passionate love. And it will cut off the root of envy and the origin of hatred and will shutter the vilenesses and embellishments of this world. When it reaches this stage, it will become knowledgeable and [attain] salvation and victory. And this is the all men desire.

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(p. 161 - 162).
### Section Five: On the eluciation of the ways of attaining [the types of] knowledge.

Know that human knowledge is acquired by two methods; first, human learning, and second, Divine learning. As for the first method, it is a well-known method and a perceptible procedure which all men of reason may approach. And as for the human learning, it consists of two kinds, one of them from outside, which is acquisition by learning, and the other from inside which is using oneself with reflection. Reflection from within occupies the same position as learning from without. Learning is for one person to derive benefit from another insignificant person, whereas reflection is to derive benefit from the Universal Soul. The Universal Soul is stronger in influence and more powerful in teaching than all the “ulamād” and men of reason. (p. 162)

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<tr>
<th>This recourse is composed of three phases:</th>
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When the soul has studied and exercises itself with knowledge [and] has then reflected on what it knows according to the conditions of reflection, the door of the unseen world is opened to it, like the merchant who disposes of his wealth according to the conditions of business, and the doors of profit are opened to him. When he follows the wrong path, he will fall in the perils of loss. And so when he who reflects, follows the right way, he will be one of those who are possessed of intellect, and a window from the unseen world will be opened in his heart, and he will become knowledgeable, perfect, judicious, inspired and victorious. As he (P.B.U.H.) said: To reflect for one hour is better than seventy years of devotion. (p. 162)

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When the bodily powers overcome the soul, the learner needs to increase his study and [to spend] more time on it, and he has to endure difficulty and weariness and has to search [to gain] benefit. When the light of the mind overcomes the qualities of the senses, the seeker can dispense with much study through a little reflection. For the soul of the receptive person will gain benefits through a single hour’s reflection, that which the soul of the inert person cannot gain in a [whole] year’s learning. (p. 162)

So some people attain [types of] knowledge by study and some through reflection. Study needs reflection, for men is unable to learn all particulars and universals and all known facts, but rather he learns something and gains some [types of] knowledge by reflection. Most [branches of] theoretical knowledge and practical arts are gained by the souls of the wise through the clarity of their intellect and the power of their thought and the keenness of their conjectures without an increase [in the process of] study and acquisition. (p. 163)

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Were it not for the fact that man gains some of what is first known to him through reflection, the matter would be prolonged for men, and the darkness of ignorance would not vanish from [men’s] hearts, for the soul cannot learn all its particular and universal matters, by study. (p. 163)

The second method is divine learning which [consists of] two types: First, the recitation of divine revelation, that is that when the soul is perfected in its essence, the defilement of nature, the filthiness of greed and transient desire vanish from it. And it turns towards its Creator and Author and takes hold of the bounty of its Creator and relies on His Grace and the outpouring of His Light. And God Most High by His Most Excellent providence accepts that soul with full acceptance. And He looks upon it with His Divine Sight and He makes of it a Tablet, from the Universal Soul. He makes a Pen and inscribes on it all [types of] His knowledge, and the Universal Intellect becomes like a teacher and the sanctified soul becomes like a pupil. Then all [branches of] knowledge will accrue to that soul and all the images will be inscribed upon it without study and contemplation. This is confirmed by the Word of God Most High to His Prophet: (P.B.U.H.): [And taught thee what thou knewest not [before]]. (p. 113)

The second method is divine learning which [consists of] two types: First, the recitation of divine revelation, that is that when the soul is perfected in its essence, the defilement of nature, the filthiness of greed and transient desire and it out off from this worldly desire. And it turns towards its Creator and Author and takes hold of the existence of its Creator and relies on His Grace and the outpouring of His Light. And God Most High by His Most Excellent providence accepts that soul with full acceptance. And He looks upon it with His Divine Sight and He makes of it a Tablet, from the Universal Intellect. He makes a Pen and inscribes on it all [types of] His knowledge, and the Universal Intellect becomes like a teacher and the sanctified soul becomes like a pupil. Then all [branches of] knowledge will accrue to that soul and all the images will be inscribed upon it without contemplation and contemplation. This is confirmed by the Word of God Most High to His Prophet: (And taught thee what thou knewest not [before]). (p. 113)
The knowledge of the Prophets is more dignified in rank than all the [types of] knowledge of mankind because it has been received from God Most High, directly and without mediation. The explanation of this [matter] is found in the story of Adam (P.B.U.H.) and the angels, for they studied all their lives and acquired much in the way of knowledge by different kinds of method until they became the most learned of creatures and the most knowledgeable created things.

Adam (P.B.U.H.) was not one who had knowledge because he did not study and did not look to any teacher. So the angels were boasting with one another and were arrogant and haughty and they said: [Whilst we do celebrate thy praises and glorify thy holy [name].] (2:30)

We know the truth of things. Then Adam (P.B.U.H.) returned to the door of his Creator and detached his heart from all created things and he sought the help from the Lord Most High and then He taught him all the names. (Then He placed them before the angels.) (2:31) And said: [Tell Me the names of these if ye are right.] (2:31)

So the state was diminished before Adam and their knowledge lessened and the ship of their power broke and they were sunk in the sea of weakness. (They said: "Glory to Thee, of knowledge we have none save what Thou Hast taught us.) (2:32) God Most High said: (O Adam! tell them their names.) (2:32) And Adam (P.B.U.H.) told them some of the constituents of knowledge and the mysteries of [Divine] command.

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So the state was diminished before Adam and their knowledge lessened and the ship of their power broke and they were sunk in the sea of arrogance. (They said: "Glory to Thee, of knowledge we have none save what Thou Hast taught us.) (2:32) God Most High said: (O Adam! tell them their names.) (2:32) And Adam told them the constituents of knowledge and the mysteries of [Divine] command.

So the matter became established among men of reason, that the esoteric knowledge generated from revelation is stronger and more perfect than acquired sciences, and the knowledge of revelation is the heritage of prophets and the privilege of apostles. God has closed the door of revelation since the time of our Lord Muhammad (P.B.U.H.) and he was the Apostle of God and the seal of the Prophets and he was the most learned of men and the most eloquent of the Arabs and non-Arabs and he used to say: (My Lord has educated me and has instructed me well.) He said to his people: (I am the most learned of you and the most God-fearing.) (p. 165)

The second method is inspiration. Inspiration is the awakening by the Universal Soul of the individual human soul, commensurate with its purity, its receptivity and the degree of its readiness. And inspiration is the effect of revelation, for revelation is the (direct) explanation of the esoteric, and inspiration is allusion to it.

The knowledge which is acquired by revelation is called prophetic knowledge and [the knowledge] which is attained by inspiration is called knowledge of spiritual intuition. The knowledge of spiritual intuition is that which is attained without any mediation between the soul and the Creator and it is like the radiance from the lamp of the unseen, which enters into a heart which is pure, unoccupied and subtle. That is [because] all [kinds of] knowledge are obtained and known in the substance of the Prime Universal Soul which is [present] in the incorporeal, prime, pure substances, in relation to the First Intellect like the relationship of Eve to Adam (P.B.U.H.). It has been made obvious that the Universal Intellect is more noble and more perfect, stronger and nearer to the Creator Most High than the Universal Soul, and the Universal Soul is more powerful, more subtle and nobler than the rest of creation. From the outpouring of the Universal Intellect will emanate revelation and from the radiation of the Universal Soul will emanate inspiration.

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### Revelation is the adornment of the Prophets and inspiration is the decoration of the saints.

**As for knowledge of revelation, the soul without intelligence is as the saint without the Prophet. And likewise inspiration without revelation. For it is weak in relation to revelation but is strong with the addition of vision and knowledge. The knowledge of [both] Prophets and saints. As for knowledge of revelation, it belongs exclusively to the Apostle and is set apart for them, as was [the case with] Adam, Moses, Abraham and Muhammad (P.B.U.T.) and others of them of the Apostles.**

(p. 106)

### There is a distinction between apostolate and prophethood. For prophethood, is the acceptance by the sanctified soul of the true realities of known things and conceptions from the substance of the Universal Intellect, and the apostolate is the conveyance of these known things and conceptions to those who are able to profit and receive them. Perhaps it occurs to one of the souls to accept [this knowledge] but it is not able to carry out the conveyance of it because of some excuse and some reason. The knowledge of spiritual intuition belongs to the prophets and the saints as it belonged to Khidr (P.B.U.H.), as God Most High said of him: (And whom We had taught knowledge from our own presence.) (18:65)

(p. 106)

### The Commander of the Faithful ʿĀli b. Abi Ṭālib (may God be honoured with his face) said: “I made my tongue enter my mouth, and then a thousand gates of knowledge were opened in my heart, every gate being [another] thousand gates.” And he said: “If a cushion (viscidly) [authority] were placed for me, and I were to sit on it, I would judge the followers of the Torah and their Torah and the followers of the Gospel with their Gospel and the followers of the Qur’ān with their Qur’ān.”

(p. 106)

### When God Most High wants good for a servant, He raises the veil between Himself and the soul which is the Tablet, so that the secrets of some existents will be manifested in it and the meanings of those existents will be engraved in it. Then the soul expresses them to Him, whom He wishes from His servants. For the truth of wisdom is obtained by knowledge of spiritual intuition. As long as a man does not achieve this rank, he will not be wise because wisdom is one of the gifts of God Most High. (He gives) wisdom to whom He wills and He to whom wisdom is given, is given much good, but none bear it in mind save the wise of heart.) (2:269)

(pp. 106 - 107)

### That is because those who have attained the rank of knowledge of spiritual intuition, do not need much acquisition and toil of learning, so they study little and learn much, their toil is light and their rest is long.

(p. 107)

### Know that when revelation is cut off and the door of apostolate is closed, men have no need of apostles and the manifestation of the message after the authentication of proof and the completion of religion. As God Most High said: (Today have I perfected your religion.) (5:3)

(p. 107)

### It is not [a part of] wisdom to manifest additional benefit without any need. As for the door of inspiration, it is not closed, and the help of the light of Universal Soul is not cut off because of the continuation of the necessity and need of the souls for assurance, renewal and reminder.

(p. 107)

### Just as men do not need the apostolate and summons but they need the reminder and admonition because of their being absorbed in these devilish inducements and their being engrossed in these lusts, so God Most High closed the door of revelation, which was the sign for His servants and He opened the door of inspiration as a mercy. He arranged [all] things and put [the soul] into proper order in different ranks, so that His servants might know that God is kind to them and He gives sustenance to whom He wills without limit.

(p. 107)

### Revelation is the adornment of the Prophets and inspiration is the decoration of the saints. As for the soul without intelligence is as the saint without the Prophet. And likewise inspiration without revelation. For it is weak in relation to revelation but is strong with the addition of vision and knowledge. The knowledge of [both] Prophets and saints. As for knowledge of revelation, it belongs exclusively to the Apostle and is set apart for them, as was [the case with] Adam, Moses, Abraham and others of them of the Apostles.

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### There is a distinction between apostolate and prophethood. For prophethood, is the acceptance by the sanctified soul of the true realities of known things and intelligible things. The knowledge of spiritual intuition belongs to the prophets and the saints as it belonged to Khidr (P.B.U.H.) when God Most High said of him: (And whom We had taught knowledge from our own presence.) (18:65)

(p. 165)

### The Commander of the Faithful ʿĀli b. Abi Ṭālib (may God be upon him) that the Prophet (P.B.U.H.) puts his tongue into my mouth, and then a thousand gates of knowledge were opened in my heart, every gate being [another] thousand gates.

(p. 165)

### When God Most High wants good for a servant, He raises the veil between Him and the Universal Soul which is the Tablet, so that the secrets of some existents will be manifested in it and the meanings of those existents will be engraved in it. Then the soul expresses them to Him, whom He wishes from His servants. For the truth of wisdom is obtained by knowledge of spiritual intuition. As long as a man does not achieve this rank, he will not be wise because wisdom is one of the gifts of God Most High. (He gives) wisdom to whom He wills and He to whom wisdom is given, is given much good, but none bear it in mind save the wise of heart.) (2:269)

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### Just as the souls do not need the apostolate and summons but they need the reminder and admonition because of their being absorbed in these devilish inducements and lusts, so God Most High closed the door of revelation and He opened the door of inspiration.

(p. 166)
### Appendix 3

#### Comparison between Jāmi` al-Ḥaqīq bi Taǧrīd al-`Iqāq, `Awārif al-Ma`rūf, Miṣrād al-`Ibad and Tuhfat al-Safarah ilā Ḥafṣrat al-Barahah

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jāmi`</th>
<th>`Awārif, Miṣrād and Tuhfat</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Section One: On the repentance (al-tawbah) of disciples (al-murādiin)</strong></td>
<td>Know that repentance is the origin of every station and the foundation of every station and the key of every state. It is the first of the stations and it is like the relationship between the ground and the building. Whoever does not have ground has no building and whoever has no repentance, has no state and station. (p. 6)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Repentance is of two sorts, repentance of returning and repentance of answering. As for repentance of returning, it is that you fear God Most High on account of His power over you and as for repentance of answering, it is that you should feel ashamed before God Most High because of His nearness to you. And it is said that repentance is returning from everything other than God Most High. (p. 6)</td>
<td>Al-Iyyās al-Maghāzī has been asked about repentance. He said: &quot;I have been asked about repentance of returning and repentance of answering. Then I say, as for repentance of returning, it is that you fear God Most High on account of His power over you and as for repentance of answering, it is that you should feel ashamed before God Most High because of His nearness to you. And it is said that repentance is returning from everything other than God Most High. (`Awārif, pp. 475 - 476; Tuhfat, p. 23 - 24)</td>
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#### Chapter Two: On belief (al-`Iqād) | As for general belief, it is that someone acts with firm intentions according to the teachings of all the imāms but he does not accept their lenient judgements. Al-Mansūr was asked about belief, and he said: "I have not chosen the madhhab of anyone specifically but I am practicing what is most difficult in all madhhabs." Then let the disciple adopt the belief of the pious ancestors, exempted from the belief in abandoning [the true faith], compulsion, anthropomorphism, defined limitation and corporealism and not defaming either pious ancestors or all the madhhabs. (p. 7) |

#### Chapter Three: On pure devotion (al-`ikhdād) | As for general belief, it is that someone acts with firm intentions according to the teachings of all the imāms but he does not accept their lenient judgements. Al-Mansūr was asked about belief, and he said: "I have not chosen the madhhab of anyone specifically but I am practicing what is most difficult in all madhhabs." Then let the disciple adopt the belief of the pious ancestors, exempted from the belief in abandoning [the true faith], compulsion, anthropomorphism, defined limitation and corporealism and not defaming either pious ancestors or all the madhhabs. (`Awārif, p. 209; Tuhfat, p. 31) |

God Most High said: "Is it not to God that pure devotion is due?" (39:3) And He said: "And they have been commanded no more than this, to worship God, offering Him pure devotion." (98:5) (p. 7) |

And it was related from the Prophet (P.B.U.H.) that he said: "When the Day of Resurrection comes, pure devotion [and polytheism] will fall on their knees before the Lord Most High, and the Lord will say to pure devotion: 'depart, you and your people into Paradise' and He will say to polytheism: 'Go away, you and all your people into Hell!'" (p. 7) |

It was related from Abū `Abd al-Rahmān al-Sulami that he said: "I heard 'Aṭīya b. Sā'id, when I asked him about pure devotion, say, I heard Ibnul-Ḥaqiqi when he asked him about pure devotion, say, I heard Muhammad b. Ja`far al-Khaqāqī, when I asked him about pure devotion, say, I heard Ahmad b. Bāthshāhīr about pure devotion, saying, I asked Abī Ya`qūb al-Shārūrī about pure devotion. He said, I asked [Abhd b. Ghassān about pure devotion. He said, I asked Ahmad b. Jāṣirī about pure devotion. He said, I asked `Alī al-Ḥaqqānī about pure devotion. He said, I asked Abī al-Wāhid b. Zayd about pure devotion. He said, I asked `Abdul-Karim al-Baṣrī about pure devotion. He said, I asked Hūdshāfah about pure devotion. He said, I asked the Prophet (P.B.U.H.) about pure devotion. He said, I asked Gabriel (P.B.U.H.) about pure devotion and he said, I asked the Lord Almighty about pure devotion. He said, it is one of my secrets which I have placed in the heart of those whom I love among My servants." (p. 8) |

Abū `Abd al-Rahmān al-Sulami said: "I heard 'Aṭīya b. Sā'id, when I asked him about pure devotion, say, I heard Ibnul-Ḥaqiqi when he asked him about pure devotion, say, I heard Muhammad b. Ja`far al-Khaqāqī, when I asked him about pure devotion, say, I asked Ahmad b. Bāthshāhīr about pure devotion, saying, I asked Abī Ya`qūb al-Shārūrī about pure devotion. He said, I asked [Abhd b. Ghassān about pure devotion. He said, I asked Ahmad b. Jāṣirī about pure devotion. He said, I asked `Alī al-Ḥaqqānī about pure devotion. He said, I asked Abī al-Wāhid b. Zayd about pure devotion. He said, I asked `Abdul-Karim al-Baṣrī about pure devotion. He said, I asked Hūdshāfah about pure devotion. He said, I asked the Prophet (P.B.U.H.) about pure devotion. He said, I asked Gabriel (P.B.U.H.) about pure devotion and he said, I asked the Lord Almighty about pure devotion. He said, it is one of my secrets which I have placed in the heart of those whom I love among My servants." (`Awārif, p. 210, Tuhfat, pp. 32 - 33) |

#### Chapter Four: On Love (ma`āshāhāh) | God Most High said: "Whom will love as they will love Him?" (5:54), and He said: "Say, if ye do love God, follow me, God will love you." (3:31). (p. 9) |

God Most High said: "Whom will love as they will love Him?" (5:54), and He said: "Say, if ye do love God, follow me, God will love you." (3:31). (`Awārif, p. 504; Tuhfat, p. 37)
The Prophet (P.B.U.H) said: "God Most Powerful and Most Great will say: "O! Gabriel, I love so and so, so love him", Therefore Gabriel love him. Then he called out to the people of heaven, "God Most High loves so and so, so love him" Therefore the people of heaven love him. Then he places the love for him on earth."  

(p. 9)

Know that the truth of love is that you will give all of yourself to the one you love and nothing will remain of you.  

(p. 9)

It was said, it is that you love God in your entire being in as much as nothing will remain for anything other than Him.  

(p. 9)

Because love is a burning characteristic which will burn up everything which is not of its category  

(Jâmî', p. 9)

The serpent of desire has bitten my liver and there’s no remedy for it and no magic spell except for the Lover with whom I am madly in love and with Him is my spell and my antidote.  

(Jâmî', p. 10)

Râbi’ah (may God have mercy upon her) said: My heart had divided desires and my desires were gathered together when my soul saw you and those whom I had envied came to envy me and I became the Lord of mankind when you became my Lord I left for other people their world and their religion because of my distraction with loving you O! my religion and my world  

(p. 10)

And she said: "What a wonder! How can the lover be patient for the Lover and how can the lover forget to remember the Beloved"  

(Yâbîyû b. Mu’âshîd says: "What a wonder! How can the lover be patient for the Lover"  

(Awrâf, p. 507)

She recited:  

And I put You into my heart, my interlocutor and I make my body permissible to He who wants to sit with me and my body is intimate with the intimate companion and the beloved of my heart is my intimate companion in my heart.  

(Râbi’ah says: And I put You into my heart, my interlocutor and I make my body permissible to He who wants to sit with me and my body is intimate with the intimate companion and the beloved of my heart is my intimate companion in my heart.  

(Awrâf, p. 512; Tuhfat, pp. 28 - 39)

Yâbîyû b. Mu’âshîd said: "The patience of the lovers is more intense than the patience of ascetics"  

(Yâbîyû b. Mu’âshîd said: "The patience of the lovers is more intense than the patience of ascetics"  

(Awrâf, p. 507; Tuhfat, p. 39)

And it is related by the pious: "Whoever claims to love God without avoiding those things which He has forbidden, he is a liar and whoever claims the love of Paradise without spending what in his possession, he is a liar and whoever claims the love of the Apostle of God (P.B.U.H.) without loving the poor, he is a liar".  

(p. 11)

Râbi’ah recited:  

You disobey God and you make show of loving Him upon my life! This is an amazing deed  

If your love were true, you would to obey Him  

Truly the lover is obedient to the one whom he loves.  

(p. 11)

It has been said: "Love has an outward and inward [aspect], its outward is following the satisfaction of the Beloved and its inward is giving the heart to the Beloved in such a way that nothing remains in him for anything other than Him.  

(p. 11)

Chapter Five: On longing (al-shawq)  

Know that longing is the consequence of love, and when love is firmly-established, longing will appear.  

(p. 11)

And when love is firmly-established, longing will appear  

(Awrâf, p. 509; Tuhfat, p. 43)
Abū 'Uthmān said: "Longing is the fruit of Love, and whoever loves God, he will be eager to meet Him."

(Dhū al-Nūn has said: "Longing is the highest stage and the highest station, and when man achieves it, he will feelfind death delightful because of longing for his Lord and his hope to meet Him."

One group has denied the station of longing and they say: "Longing is only for the unseen and when will the lover be absent from the Lover, so that He will be longed for?"

Al-ʿĀntākī was asked about longing, and he said: "Only the absent feels longing, but I have not been absent from Him since I found Him."

Know that the hearts of the longers are shining with the light of God Most High, and when you move them (with) longing, light will illuminate that which between east and west and God Most High will present them to the angels and He will say: "These are the mushāqānīn to Me, and I bear witness to you, that I am their longing."

Truly, the grade of love is higher than longing because longing is produced by love and there are no mushāqānīn except for those who are overcome by love, and love is the root and longing is the branch. Al-Ḥaḍībī has said: "All creation has the station of longing, but not the station of ardent love and whoever in the state of ardour of love, [he will be] crazy in it until nothing remains of him."

Know that the causes of love in mankind are varied, and among them is love of the spirit, love of the heart, love of the soul and love of the intellect. As for the first, it is of two types, general love and specific love. General love is interpreted (to mean) obedience to command. This love is awakened by attributes and it can be obtained by the servant of God through individual effort. As for specific love, it is the love of the essence through the illumination of the spirit. It is the love that has intoxications in it and it is the choice of God Most High, the Beneficent, for His servant and He has selected it for him. This love is one of the states because it is set aside as a gift and individual effort has no access to it.

Chapter Seven: On [spiritual] exercises (al-rūḍādī) and how to do them

God Most High said: "By the soul and the proportion and order given to it and its enlightenment as to its wrong and its right. Truly he succeeds that purifies it and he fails that corrupts it." (91:7-10) (p. 16)

One of the shāfiʿīs was of the opinion that purification of the [human] nature will be achieved by cleansing of the heart because whoever occupies himself with purification the [human] nature cannot attain its purification completely and perfectly except in a long period of time and whoever occupies himself with cleansing the heart can attain its purification in a short period of time. (p. 16)

Section: On purification of the [human] nature (al-nafs)

And the Prophet (P.B.U.H) said: "The worst of your enemies is your [human] nature that is between your two sides." (p. 17)

The [human] nature is a lustful force connected to the whole body jointly and it is the place of origin of the blameworthy characteristics. Its purification is a clearance of all blameworthy characteristics and its taking on the attributes of the praiseworthy characteristics (p. 17)
Know that the soul has two intrinsic qualities which are lower desire and anger, and all the blameworthy characteristics are begotten from them. Its purification can be achieved by their equilibrium, because when lower desire is excessive, it will produce the quality of lust, covetousness, expectation, wiles and baseness, avarice, cowardice, back-biting and calumny.

(pp. 17 - 18)

When the quality of anger is excessive, it will produce arrogance, antagonism, rage, vanity, pride, conceit and lying. If it is able to escape, it will produce rancour and if it is unable to do so, it will produce the quality of weakness and idleness. If they go beyond (this), they [will produce] envy.

(p. 18)

When the quality of lower desire is moderate, modesty, liberality, generosity, love, compassion, respect and patience will appear in the soul. If the quality of anger is moderate, humbleness, gentleness, sense of honour, contentment, courage, sacrifice and affection will appear in it. If they are both moderate, purification [will appear] in it and purification can be achieved by the moderation of these two qualities.

(p. 18)

Section: On cleansing of the heart (al-qalb)

The Prophet (P.B.U.H.) said: "Truly, in the body is a chunk of meat, when it is good, the whole body will be good by it, and when it is ruined, the whole body will be ruined by it, indeed it is the heart, a chunk of meat suspended beneath the chest to the left side."

(p. 19)

God Most High said: "Many of the Jinns and men we have made for Hell, they have hearts wherewith they understand not, eyes wherewith they see not and ears wherewith they hear not. They are like cattle, nay more misguided: for they are heedless of [warning]." (7:179) And God Most High said: "It is not their eyes that are blind, but their hearts." (22:46) which are in the chests and God Most High said: "Seeing that it is He that has created you in diverse phases!" (71:14)

(p. 20)

Know that the heart has seven phases just as the body has seven organs. The first phase of them is named "chest" (qurūd). It is the source of Ihlam as God Most High said: "Is one whose heart God has opened to Ihlam, so that he has received enlightenment from God?" (39:22) And if it is not attributed with the characteristics of Ihlam, it is the source of unbefalul as God Most High said: "Such as open their breast to unbefalul, on them is wrath from God", (16:106) and a centre of devilish insinuations and the seduction of the soul as God Most High said: "[The same] who whispers into chists (qurūd) of mankind among Jinns," (114:5) and it is the skin of the heart.

(p. 20)

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(p. 20)

The second phase is named "outer heart" (qalb) and it is the source of (mi'dam) of faith as God Most High said: "For such He has written faith in their hearts", (58:22) and the centre of light of the intellect as God Most High says: "So that their hearts [and minds] may thus learn wisdom", (22:46) and the centre of vision (ru'ā'ah) as God Most High said: "Truly it is not their eyes that are blind, but their hearts" (22:46)

(p. 20)

The third phase is named "pericardium" (shaqfay) and it is the source of love, ardent love and compassion upon creation as God Most High said: "Truly hath he inspired her with violent love, we see her" (12:30)

(p. 20)

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(Mirzâd, pp. 207 - 208; Tuhfat, pp. 56 - 57)

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(Mirzâd, p. 209; Tuhfat, p. 57)
Section: On ornamentation of the soul (al-maqām)

God Most High said: "They ask thee concerning the soul (al-insān), [say] Say: The soul is a substance, subtle and luminous (needless of nourishment and it is said) formed in the image (of a human being and the soul of everything is formed in the image of its body), as the Apostle of God (P.B.U.H.) said: "God Most High created Adam in his image", meaning that He created his form according to the image of his soul and he is from the world of command and the world of command consists of the world which does not possess quantity, quality and area because it exists through al-albāf and al-māin. (p. 22)

Chapter Eight: On explanation of seclusion, its conditions and practices

God Most High said: "We appointed for Moses thirty nights and completed [the period] with ten [more]. Thus was completed the term [of communion] with his Lord, forty nights" (7:142) and the Prophet (P.B.U.H.) said: "Whoever worships God sincerely for forty mornings, the spring of wisdom will appear from his heart onto his tongue". Know that the foundation of wayfaring on the path of religion and of arrival to the stations of certainty is seclusion, solitude and seclusion from the creation.

1) The first is sitting in a dark, narrow house.
2) The second is continuous abstinence.
3) The third is continuous remembrance and this is the phrase "There is no God but God".
4) The fourth is emptying the mind.
5) The fifth is continuous fasting.
6) The sixth is continuous silence.
7) The seventh is contemplation of the heart of the master. The disciple must continuously join his heart to that of the master and seek succour from him.
8) The eighth is leaving the opposition to God Most High through acquisition of control and expansion, suffering, repose, health and sickness. (p. 24 - 26)

The fourth phase is named "inner heart" (khudā) and it is the source of vision and the centre of vision of the Divinity as God Most High said: "The [prophet's mind and] heart in no way falsified that which he saw" (53:11). (Mirsad, p. 209; Tuhfat, p. 57)

The fifth phase is named "branch of the heart" (suyūn al-qalb) and it is the source of love of the presence of the Divinity. The sixth phase is named "omost heart" (sawāyd al-qalb) and it is a source of unveilings of the unseen and the centre of the sciences of spiritual intuition and the origin of the secrets of the Divinity. The seventh phase is named "core of the heart" (muhjat al-qalb) and it is the source of the appearance of the lights of the manifestation. (Mirsad, p. 210; Tuhfat, pp. 57 - 58)

The soul is a substance, subtle and luminous (needless of nourishment and it is said) formed in the image (of a human being and the soul of everything is formed in the image of its body), as the Apostle of God (P.B.U.H.) said: "God Most High created Adam in his image", meaning that He created his form according to the image of his soul and he is from the world of command and the world of command consists of the world which does not possess quantity, quality and area because it exists through al-albāf and al-māin. (Mirsad, p. 220; Tuhfat, p. 59)

There are many manners connected with seclusion, but the conditions are the light set forth here:

1) The first is to sit alone in an empty room, facing the qiblāh with the legs crossed and the hands placed on the top of each other.
2) The second is to be continuously in state of ritual purity.
3) The third is continuously recite the words "There is no God but God".
4) The fourth is emptying the minds of distractions.
5) The fifth is continuous fasting.
6) The sixth is continuous silence.
7) The seventh is contemplation of the heart of the master. The disciple must continuously join his heart to that of the master and seek succour from him.
8) The eighth is leaving the opposition, whether to God or the master, leaving the opposition to God means being content with whatever God sends him from the unseen, whether control or expansion, suffering, repose, sickness or health. (Mirsad, p. 283; Tuhfat, pp. 67 - 69)

Chapter Nine: On the seclusion of the heart (al-maqām al-qalb)

God Most High said: "When we appointed for Moses thirty night" The Prophet (P.B.U.H.) said: "Whoever worships God sincerely for forty mornings, the springs of wisdom will appear from his heart onto his tongue". Know that the foundation of wayfaring on the path of religion and of arrival to the stations of certainty is seclusion, solitude and seclusion from the creation.

1) The first is sitting in a dark, narrow house.
2) The second is continuous abstinence.
3) The third is continuous remembrance and this is the phrase "There is no God but God".
4) The fourth is emptying the mind.
5) The fifth is continuous fasting.
6) The sixth is continuous silence.
7) The seventh is contemplation of the heart of the master. The disciple must continuously join his heart to that of the master and seek succour from him.
8) The eighth is leaving the opposition, whether to God or the master, leaving the opposition to God means being content with whatever God sends him from the unseen, whether control or expansion, suffering, repose, sickness or health. (Mirsad, p. 284; Tuhfat, pp. 68 - 69)

The manners connected with seclusion:

1) The first is decreasing food in such a manner that it does not weaken the body and returns for him the power of remembrance.
2) The second is littleness of sleep in such a way that he does not lie down his side on the earth.
3) The third is occupying the heart with remembrance so as not to stop doing it for a moment.
4) The fourth is remaining in seclusion in as much as not to go out from it except for ablution, relieving oneself and praying communally and for the Friday prayer. (p. 266)
Chapter Nine: On the mode of remembrance (ad-dhikr), its conditions and practices

God Most High said: "Celebrate the praise of God, and do this often" (33:41) And the Prophet (P.B.U.H.) said: "Take the lead like those who are set apart. They said: "Who are they O Apostle of God?" He said: "Those who are infatuated with the remembrance of God Most High until remembrances set down their burdens from them and they reach the resurrection lightly [burdened]."

(p. 27)

God Most High said: "Celebrate the praise of God, and do this often" (33:41) And the Prophet (P.B.U.H.) said: "Take the lead like those who are set apart. They said: "Who are they O Apostle of God?" He said: "Those who are infatuated with the remembrance of God Most High until remembrances set down their burdens from them and they reach the resurrection lightly [burdened]."

(Mirzād, p. 271, Tuhfat, pp. 60 - 70)

Know that the chosen thing in the remembrance of seclusion is the phrase "there is no god but God", because in it is a meaning of denial and affirmation. It denies with "there is no god" anything other than God Most High and it affirms with "but God" the presence of the Almighty, praise be to Him and Most High.

(pp. 27 - 28)

When he wants to occupy himself with remembrance, he bathes and repents from all sins, he washes his clothes thoroughly, he sits in seclusion with legs crossed facing the qiblah, puts his two hands on his knees, closes his two eyes and engenders remembrance with glorification and with such force that the words up "there is no god" rise up from below the navel and the words "but God" strike the heart, so that its effect reaches all the limbs, hiding its sound as God Most High said: "And do you [O reader!] bring thy Lord to remembrance in thy [very] soul with humility and in remembrance without loudness in words", (7:205) without discontinuing his tongue from remembrance, pondering on its meaning in his heart until remembrance encompasses all his limbs and he remains in it. If an extraneous thought comes to his mind, he will deny it with "There is no god" and cut off love for it. He will affirm with "but God" his station of love of God until he is emptied from mental imaginations and he is occupied with spiritual visions.

(pp. 28)

Chapter Ten: On the characteristic of disciples (al-muridin)

God Most High says: "And God only wishes to remove all abomination from you, ye members of the family, and to make you pure and spotless" (33:33) When a desire for mystical path takes place, the disciple should be qualified with twenty attributes until he perfects his matter, the first is repentance and we have spoken of this.

(p. 29)

The second is asceticism, and it is leaving the world wholly such that neither a little nor much of it remains.

(Mirzād, p. 261, Tuhfat, p. 75)

The third is denudation, and it is cutting off the connections of the world in as much as he does not occupy his heart with it.

(p. 29)

The fourth is sincere faith, and he should be in the faith of the ancestors of the Companions and the followers, free from the faith of Shi'tism, Mu'tazilite, compulsion and anthropomorphism, far away from fanatical enthusiasm and argumentation.

(Mirzād, p. 261, Tuhfat, p. 75)

The fifth is piety, and he should be God-fearing, humble, abstemious, cautious in word and clothing, acting with resolution.

(p. 29)

The sixth is patience and he should be steadfast, enduring, patient of severe commands and interdictions.

(Mirzād, p. 261, Tuhfat, p. 75)

The seventh of them is individual struggle and he should be a fighter in the way of obedience, bridling his soul with the bridle of self-struggle without giving (for it) its wish, acting contrary to its opinion.

(p. 30)

The eighth is courage and he should be courageous, strong, resisting the intrigues of the spirit without being tempted by the devils of mankind and Jinns.

(p. 30)

The ninth is generosity and he should be liberal, giving generously without greed and not munificent.

(Mirzād, p. 262, Tuhfat, p. 76)
| The tenth is nobleheartedness and he should be gracious, magnanimous, giving the right of others and the right of himself.  
(p. 30) |
| The eleventh is truthfulness and he should be truthful, sincere, cutting off everything to God Most High, without turning to created beings.  
(p. 30) |
| The twelfth is knowledge and he should be expert in obligatory duties and supererogatory duties and what is needed in the chapter of commandments [of God] by way of the fundamentals of religion and its branches.  
(p. 30) |
| The thirteenth is hope and he should be hoping for the grace of God Most High in every station, not running from self-struggle through contraction and not content with the lowest rank, without it occurring to his mind that he will not achieve nearness and arrival but rather turning his determination to the hope that he will achieve the highest states and stations.  
(p. 30) |
| The fourteenth is trust in God and he should trust in God Most High and throw himself into the course of self-struggle and not pay attention to the words of anyone else.  
(p. 30) |
| The fifteenth is rebuke and he should acquire the characteristics of rebuke and not pay any attention to what other people say, nor to rejection and acceptance, nor to enmity and love.  
(p. 30) |
| The sixteenth is intelligence and he should be intelligent, perfect, gentle, enduring, compliant, wretched and humble, his motions regulated and his motionlessnesses fixed.  
(pp. 30 - 31) |
| The seventeenth is manner and he should acquire the character of manner before the presence of God Most High, not reveal his secret, not wish anything from Him except Him, nor be bold in the service of His master, nor raise his voice above his voice, not oppose him, he only imitate his state with him, keep his tongue from foul language and vain boasting and he only speak when he is asked.  
(p. 31) |
| The eighteenth is good natural disposition and he should be an excellent of nature and sound of soul, far away from arrogance and haughtiness, clear from seeking for glory and high rank, wary of competitions and contentions.  
(p. 31) |
| The nineteenth is submission and he should be obedient to the judgement of God Most High whether good, harm, tribulation or calamity, satisfied with His decree, grateful for His bounties and patient with His calamities because God Most High has said to His Prophet:  
*Whoever is not satisfied with My judgement, is not grateful for My bounties and he is not patient of My calamities, then let him find a God other than Me*  
(p. 31) |
| The twentieth is commitment and he should be committed in his affairs to God Most High, seeking His forgiveness, returning to Him to seek His nearness and the truth of His gnosis, not because of Paradise and the fear of Hell. If any of these characteristics are deficient, he will not achieve his intention completely and perfectly.  
(p. 31) |
| Section: On explanation of realities (al-waqâyîj)  
Know that when the disciple engages in exercise of the soul and purification of the heart, passage and path appear to him in the world of kingship and sovereignty. And in every station, states will unveil themselves to him and realities will appear to him.  
(p. 32) |
| Know that when the wayfarer engages in exercise of the soul and purification of the heart, passage and path appear to him in the world of kingship and sovereignty. And in every station, states will unveil themselves to him and realities will appear to him.  
(Mi'râj, p. 286; Tuhfât, p. 79) |
The realities are those things which [manifest] themselves from the states between wakefulness and sleep. They have in the view of the wayfarer three benefits. In the first he becomes aware of the states of his soul by way of increase and decrease such as lassitude, desire, rapture and longing as regards stopping places, stations, ranks and lower levels (such as sublimity, lowness, truth and falsehood). He stops at the relites of the lower soul, animality, devilishness, savageness, cordiality, spirituality, royalty and mercifulness. If they are dominated by blameworthy characteristics of the soul such as avidity, envy, cupididity, hatred, arrogance, anger, desire and so on, every one of these will appear in the reality in the form of animals (pp. 32 - 33).

If the characteristic of avidity is taking possession of it, it will appear in the form of the mouse or the ant. If the characteristic of cupididity is dominant over it, it will appear in the form of the dog or of apes. If the characteristic of hatred is dominant over it, it will appear in the form of snakes or scorpions. If the characteristic of arrogance is dominant over it, it will appear in the form of a leopard. If the characteristic of lust is taking possession of it, it will appear in the form of an ass. If the characteristic of brunthness is dominant over it, it will appear [in the form] of sheep. If the characteristic of savageness is taking possession of it, it will appear in the form of predatory animals. If the characteristic of devilishness is taking possession on it, it will appear in the form of devils or demons. If the characteristics of decrepitude and trickery are dominant over it, it will appear in the form of a fox or a rabbit. If it sees that these things are taking possession of it, then it knows that these characteristics are dominant over it (p. 33).

If it sees that they have been overcome, then it knows that it has crossed from these characteristics. If it sees flowing limpid rivers and seas, ponds, reservoirs, gardens, palaces, pure mirrors, stars, moons and a serene heaven, then it knows that these characteristics are among the characteristics of the heart. If its senses, rising, ascending, traversing the earth quickly, going to heaven, the atmosphere and the unveiling of meanins and sciences of spiritual intuition and realizations without the medium of senses, then it knows that it is in the station of spirituality. If it sees meditation of the heavenly kingdom, a vision of angels, inner voices, celestial spheres, stars, the throne and the seat, then it knows that it is among the attributes of the angels and the achieving of praiseworthy characteristics. If it sees visions of lights of the unseen world and the unveiling of the attributes of the divinity, inspirations, signs, revelations and manifestation of the attributes of divinity, then it knows that it is in the station taking on the manner of the Merciful. (pp. 33 - 34)

The second is that realities of the heart, the soul and the angels exist together with taste. Drinking, force and longing will be obtained from them by the soul, and there will appear to it a turning away from creation and taking delight in the world of perceptible and corporeal objects of desire. It will obtain intimacy together with the concealed things and the world of spirituality and the meanings of secrets and the realities will be unveiled to it and it will devote itself wholly to the concealed world and will know their drinking place. God Most High said: "Each group know its own place for water" (2:60) (p. 34).

The third is that when the disciple reaches one of the stations of the realities of which he is unaware and he is cut off from the path, then he will need the master, because when his path is in the characteristics of the soul and the heart, perhaps he will not need a master but when he reaches the stations of spirituality, he will not be able to cross from them except through the master of guidance and guardianship. (p. 34)

Sections: Explanation on visions (ul-mashākhadah)

God Most High said: "The [Prophet's mind and] heart in no way falsified that which he saw. Will ye the dispute with him concerning what he saw? For indeed he saw him at a second descent" (53:11-13) And the Prophet (P.B.U.H.) said: "Beneficence is that you worship God Most High, as if you see Him, and if you do not see Him, He sees you" (p. 36).

God Most High said: "The [Prophet's mind and] heart in no way falsified that which he saw. Will ye the dispute with him concerning what he saw? For indeed he saw him at a second descent" (53:11-13) And the Prophet (P.B.U.H.) said: "Beneficence is that you worship God Most High, as if you see Him" (Mirdād, p. 294, Tuhfī, p. 81).

If it sees that they have been overcome, then it knows that it has crossed from these characteristics. If it sees flowing limpid rivers and seas, ponds, reservoirs, gardens, palaces, pure mirrors, stars, moons and a serene heaven, then it knows that these characteristics are among the characteristics of the heart. If its senses, rising, ascending, traversing the earth quickly, going to heaven, the atmosphere and the unveiling of meanins and sciences of spiritual intuition and realizations without the medium of senses, then it knows that it is in the station of spirituality. If it sees meditation of the heavenly kingdom, a vision of angels, inner voices, celestial spheres, stars, the throne and the seat, then it knows that it is among the attributes of the angels and the achieving of praiseworthy characteristics. If it sees visions of lights of the unseen world and the unveiling of the attributes of the divinity, inspirations, signs, revelations and manifestation of the attributes of divinity, then it knows that it is in the station of taking on the manner of the Merciful. (Mirdād, pp. 291 - 292, Tuhfī, pp. 80 - 81)

The second is that realities of the heart, the soul and the angels exist together with taste. Drinking, force and longing will be obtained from them by the soul, and there will appear to it a turning away from creation and taking delight in the world of perceptible and corporeal objects of desire. It will obtain intimacy together with the concealed things and the world of spirituality and the meanings of secrets and the realities will be unveiled to it and it will devote itself wholly to the concealed world and will know their drinking place. God Most High said: "Each group know its own place for water" (2:60) (Mirdād, p. 292, Tuhfī, p. 81).

The third is that when the wayfarer reaches one of the stations of the realities of which he is unaware and he is cut off from the path, then he will need the master, because when his path is in the characteristics of the soul and the heart, perhaps he will not need a master but when he reaches the stations of spirituality, he will not be able to cross from them except through the master of guidance and guardianship. (Mirdād, p. 293, Tuhfī, p. 81)
Know that the mirror of the heart, when it is purified by the phrase "there is no god but God", and it attains polishing and the rust departs from it, the lights of the concealed world will appear according to the polishing. This will happen at the beginning of the state, similar to a flash of lightning, gleamings and sparklings. If its polishing is increased, it will appear similar to a lamp, a candle and a torch. When its polishing is increased, its lights will increase until it will appear in the form of stars, the new moon, the full moon and the sun. And after that lights, that which are separated from imagination will appear, some of them blue, some of them green, some of them like smoke and some of them white.

(pp. 36 - 37)

If the light of the spirit is mixed with purity of the heart, a green light will appear and when the heart is wholly pure, a light like the radiation of the sun will be produced. When the light of truth is reflected with the light of the spirit, vision will be mixed with the taste of real vision. And the light of truth may appear without the intermediary of the spirit and the heart, and at that time, quality, similarity, oppositeness will disappear. At that time, fixity and self control will become among his separable attributes and there will be no sunset, sunrise, right, left, above, below, place, time, nearness and farness, night or day, and God does not have morning and evening, and the veils will be lifted and the meaning of His words, may He be praised and glorified will appear. "Everything [that exists] will perish except His own face. To Him belongs the command". (28:88) These are the lights of the attributes of beauty that appear in the world of benevolence.

(pp. 36 - 37)

And as for the lights of the attributes of sublimity that appear in the station of real vision, they necessitate annihilation of annihilation and for the first thing, burning light will appear which necessitates the meaning of His Most High words: "Naught doth it permit to endure, and naught doth it leave alone!". (74:28)

If it appears in the station of annihilation of annihilation, it will necessitate the removal of the existence, and breaking of forms. Know that the lights of the attributes of sublimity are burning and the lights of the attributes of perfection are repulsed. The lights of the attributes of sublimity may be black and intellect does not know the quality of this, and its explanation in extremely difficult and hard.

(pp. 37)

If the light of the spirit is mixed with purity of the heart, a green light will appear and when the heart is wholly pure, a light like the radiation of the sun will be produced. When the light of truth is reflected with the light of the spirit, vision will be mixed with the taste of real vision. And the light of truth may appear without the intermediary of the spirit and the heart, and at that time, quality, similarity, oppositeness will disappear. At that time, fixity and self control will become among his separable attributes and there will be no sunset, sunrise, right, left, above, below, place, time, nearness and farness, night or day, and God does not have morning and evening, and the veils will be lifted and the meaning of His words, may He be praised and glorified will appear. "Everything [that exists] will perish except His own face. To Him belongs the command". (28:88) These are the lights of the attributes of beauty that appear in the world of benevolence.

(Mirzâd, pp. 295 - 296; Tuhfat, p. 83)

Know that when the mirror is purified by the phrase "there is no god but God", and it attains polishing and the rust departs from it, the lights of the concealed world will appear according to the polishing. This will happen at the beginning of the state, similar to a flash of lightning, gleamings and sparklings. If its polishing is increased, it will appear similar to a lamp, a candle and a torch. When its polishing is increased, its lights will increase until it will appear in the form of stars, the new moon, the full moon and the sun.

(Mirzâd, p. 294; Tuhfat, pp. 82 - 83)

And as for the lights of the attributes of sublimity that appear in the station of real vision, they necessitate annihilation of annihilation and for the first thing, burning light will appear which necessitates the meaning of His Most High words: "Naught doth it permit to endure, and naught doth it leave alone!". (74:28)

God Most High said: "Now have We removed thy veil and sharp is thy sight this Day!". (50:22) And the Prophet (P.B.U.H) said: "His veils are from light, and if He were unveiled, the unveiling would burn us".

(pp. 38)

Unveiling is emergence from veils in such a way that the recipient of unveiling perceives something which he did not perceive before. Veils consist of hindrances by reason of which the servant is veiled from the presence of God Most High and that is the whole of various worlds pertaining to this world and the life to come as was attained from the Apostle of God (P.B.U.H). "Truly God has seventy thousand veils of light and darkness"

(pp. 38)

Know that unveiling is of five types; unveiling of the intellect, unveiling of the heart, unveiling of the spirit, secret unveiling and unveiling of the unknown. As for unveiling of the intellect, it is that when the wayfarer is occupied with individual struggles and spiritual exercises, a veil will be raised from him in accordance with his self-struggle. In every veil that is raised from him the meanings of intelligible things will be unveiled to him because of it, and the secrets of possible things will appear and it is named theoretical unveiling. As for unveiling of the heart, various lights will be unveiled in it as we have mentioned an explanation of some of them in the section of visions and it is named real visual.

(pp. 28 - 29)

As for secret unveiling, it is that in the first place the secrets of created beings and wisdom of the creation of existent things will be unveiled and it is named divine inspiration. As for the unveiling of the spirit, it is the accident of Paradises, Hells and the Stairs and the vision of the angels. When it is pure wholly and is clean from spiritual filthiness, infinite universes will appear and the veils of time and place will be raised and acquaintance with the events of the past and the states of the future will be attained. The veils of time, place and the life to come and the veils of dimension will also be raised. Miracles (al-Amârât) such as awareness of minds, acquaintance with concealed things, walking over water and fire and swiftly traversing the earth and so on will appear and it is named spiritual unveiling.

(pp. 30)

As for secret unveiling it is that in the first place the secrets of created beings and wisdom of the creation of existent things will be unveiled and it is named divine inspiration. As for the unveiling of the spirit, it is the accident of Paradises, Hells and the Stairs and the vision of the angels. When it is pure wholly and is clean from spiritual filthiness, infinite universes will appear and the veils of time and place will be raised and acquaintance with the events of the past and the states of the future will be attained. The veils of time, place and the life to come and the veils of dimension will also be raised. Miracles (al-Amârât) such as awareness of minds, acquaintance with concealed things, walking over water and fire and swiftly traversing the earth and so on will appear and it is named spiritual unveiling.

(Mirzâd, pp. 306 - 307; Tuhfat, pp. 85 - 86)

Section: Explanation on unveilings (al-mukhâshîfât)

God Most High said: "Now have We removed thy veil and sharp is thy sight this Day!". (50:22) And the Prophet (P.B.U.H) said: "His veils are from light, and if He were unveiled, the unveiling would burn us"

(Mirzâd, p. 204; Tuhfat, p. 84)

Unveiling is emergence from veils in such a way that the recipient of unveiling perceives something which he did not perceive before. Veils consist of hindrances by reason of which the servant is veiled from the presence of God Most High and that is the whole of various worlds pertaining to this world and the life to come as was related from the Apostle of God (P.B.U.H). "Truly God has seventy thousand veils of light and darkness"

(pp. 304, Tuhfat, pp. 84 - 85)

Know that unveiling is of five types; unveiling of the intellect, unveiling of the heart, unveiling of the spirit, secret unveiling and unveiling of the unknown. As for unveiling of the intellect, it is that when the wayfarer is occupied with individual struggles and spiritual exercises, a veil will be raised from him in accordance with his self-struggle. In every veil that is raised from him the meanings of intelligible things will be unveiled to him because of it, and the secrets of possible things will appear and it is named theoretical unveiling. As for unveiling of the heart, various lights will be unveiled in it as we have mentioned an explanation of some of them in the section of visions and it is named real visual.

(Mirzâd, p. 305; Tuhfat, pp. 84 - 85)

God Most High said: "Now have We removed thy veil and sharp is thy sight this Day!". (50:22) And the Prophet (P.B.U.H.) said: "His veils are from light, and if He were unveiled, the unveiling would burn us"

(Mirzâd, pp. 304, Tuhfat,pp. 84 - 85)
This unveiling is named that of attribution. If it is unveiled by the attribute of knowing, the knowledge of spiritual intuition will appear. If it is unveiled by the attribute of hearing, listening, talking and speaking will appear. If it is unveiled by the attribute of seeing, viewing and vision will appear. If it is unveiled by the attribute of sublimity, annihilation of annihilation will appear. If it is unveiled by the attribute of everlastingsness, abiding of abiding will appear. If it is unveiled by the attribute of Oneness, Oneness will appear.

(p. 40)

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(Mirsâd, p. 309, Tuhfat, p. 87)

Section: On explanation of manifestation (al-najâhil)

God Most High said: "When His Lord manifested His Glory on the mount, He made it as dust, and Moses falldown in a swoon" (7:143) The Prophet (P.B.U.H.) said: "When God manifested Himself to something, everything submitted to Him" (p. 41)

God Most High said: "When His Lord manifested His Glory on the mount, He made it as dust, and Moses fell down in a swoon" (7:143) The Prophet (P.B.U.H.) said: "When God manifested Himself to something, everything submitted to Him" (Mirsâd, p. 310, Tuhfat, p. 88)

Manifestation consists of appearance of the essence of divinity and its attributes. The spirit may have manifestation and every wayfarer does not distinguish between manifestation of the spirit and manifestation of the divinity. The distinction between them is that manifestation of the spirit is characterised by the blemish of accident and it does not have the force of annihilation. If at the time of appearance, the removal of the attribute of mankind takes place, well and good, and as for when it is veiled, the spirit will return to its nature and will not attain its satisfaction.

(p. 41)

Manifestation of the godship is in contrast with it because annihilation of annihilation will appear in it and the spirit will die wholly and it will obtain its satisfaction. Manifestation of spirituality might come from the overcoming of the lights of spirituality. It might come from the overcoming of the lights of remembrance and the lights of obedience. Then, the lights of the sea of spirituality will undulate on the coast of the heart.

(p. 41)

Manifestation of godship is of two types, essential and attributional. The essential is of two types: manifestation of divinity and manifestation of godship. Manifestation of divinity was for Muhammad (P.B.U.H.) as God Most High says: "Verily those who plight their fealty to thee do no less than plight their fealty to God: the hand of God is over their hands" (48:10) Manifestation of godship was for Müsâ (P.B.U.H.) as God Most High says: "When his Lord manifested His Glory on the mount, He made it as dust and Moses fell down in a swoon" (7:143) As for the attributional it is of two types, perfection and sublimity and each one of them is essential and actual.

(p. 41 - 41)

If manifestation is with the attribute of existence, annihilation of annihilation will appear as for Junayd when he said: "Nothing is in existence other than God Most High." (p. 42)

If manifestation is with the attribute of existence, annihilation of annihilation will appear as for Junayd when he said: "Nothing is in existence other than God Most High." (Mirsâd, p. 310, Tuhfat, p. 90)

If manifestation is with the attribute of Oneness, unity will appear as for Abû Saîd when he said: "Nothing is in the jubâh (robe) other than God Most High." (p. 42)

If manifestation is with the attribute of Oneness, unity will appear as for Abû Saîd when he said: "Nothing is in the jubâh (robe) other than God Most High." (Mirsâd, p. 310, Tuhfat, p. 90)

If manifestation is with the attribute of self-existence, self-existence will appear as for Abî Yazîd when he said: "Praise be upon me, how great my rank." (p. 42)

If manifestation is with the attribute of self-existence, self-existence will appear as for Abî Yazîd when he said: "Praise be upon me, how great my rank." (Mirsâd, p. 310, Tuhfat, p. 90)

If manifestation is with the attribute of knowing, knowledge of spiritual intuition (al-šûm al-ladâmiyyah) will appear as for Khodîr (P.B.U.H.), God Most High says: "And whom We had taught knowledge from our own presence." (18:65) (p. 42)

If manifestation is with the attribute of knowing, knowledge of spiritual intuition (al-šûm al-ladâmiyyah) will appear as for Khodîr (P.B.U.H.), God Most High says: "And whom We had taught knowledge from our own presence." (18:65) (Mirsâd, p. 310, Tuhfat, p. 90)

If manifestation is with the attribute of willing, will will appear as for Abî Úmân when he said: "The will of God most High is in my will for thirty years." (p. 42)

If manifestation is with the attribute of willing, will will appear as for Abî Úmân when he said: "The will of God most High is in my will for thirty years." (Mirsâd, p. 310, Tuhfat, pp. 90 - 91)

As for unveiling of the unknown, it is that God Most High will be unveiled through His attributes, either the attributes of beauty or the attributes of sublimity according to the stations and the states. The unknown is a luminous spirit, abstract, particular, a gift from God Most High unto whom He wants among His servants as God Most High said: "For such He has written faith in their hearts and strengthened them with a spirit from Himself" (18:22) It is the spirit of the unknown and God Most High said: "By His command doth He send the spirit [of inspirations] to any of His servants He pleases" (40:15) (Mirsâd, pp. 308, Tuhfat, pp. 86 - 87)

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If manifestation is with the attribute of powerfulness, the power will appear as for Musa (P.B.U.H) when He says: "When thou dost tread [a handful of dust], it was not thy act, but God's." (p. 42)

If manifestation is with the attribute of powerfulness, the power will appear as for Musa (P.B.U.H) when He says: "When thou dost tread [a handful of dust], it was not thy act, but God's." (8:17) (Miratul, pp. 310 - 311, Tafhid, p. 91)

If manifestation is with the attribute of eternity, it will demand the removal of egoism as for Manasik when he said: "Between me and You, "I" press upon me, so with your generosity, remove "I" from existence." (pp. 42 - 43)

If manifestation is with the attribute of eternity, it will demand the removal of egoism as for Manasik when he said: "Between me and You, "I" press upon me, so with your generosity, remove "I" from existence." (Miratul, p. 311, Tafhid, p. 91)

If manifestation is with the attribute of the provider, granting of sustenance will appear as for Maryam when God Most High said: "And shake towards thyself the trunk of the palm-tree, it will let fall fresh ripe dates upon thee." (19:25) (p. 43)

If manifestation is with the attribute of the provider, granting of sustenance will appear as for Maryam when God Most High said: "And shake towards thyself the trunk of the palm-tree, it will let fall fresh ripe dates upon thee." (19:25) (Miratul, p. 311, Tafhid, p. 92)

If manifestation is with the attribute of the creator, creation of the created being will appear as for Jesus (P.B.U.H) when God Most High said: "And behold! thou makest out of clay, as it were the figure of a bird, by My leave, and thou bearest it into it, and it becometh a bird by My leave." (5:110) (p. 43)

If manifestation is with the attribute of the creator, creation of the created being will appear as for Jesus (P.B.U.H) when God Most High said: "And behold! thou makest out of clay, as it were the figure of a bird, by My leave, and thou bearest it into it, and it becometh a bird by My leave." (5:110) (Miratul, p. 311, Tafhid, p. 92)

If manifestation is with the attribute of Grandeur and Magnificence, elimination of the trace of existence will appear and this will entail abiding of abiding (baqii’ al-baqii’). If manifestation is with the attribute of the Omnipotent, lights of the utmost dignity will appear. If manifestation is with the attribute of the Subduer, annihilation of annihilation (fand al-fand’) will appear. If manifestation is with the attribute of the Mighty, happiness of two worlds [will appear] and manifestation with the attribute of substitution will be permanent because it is the station of fixed time and place (unwair), and manifestation with the attribute of beauty will be impermanent because it is the station of changing (taawir). The End. Know that vision may be with manifestation and without manifestation and manifestation may be with vision and without vision and both of them are only with unveiling and unveiling exists without either of them. (p. 43)

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Section: On explanation of arrival (al-muwadd)

God Most High said: "And was at a distance of but two bow-lengths or [even nearer]" (53:9) He says: "That to thy Lord is the final goal." (53:42) The Prophet (P.B.U.H) says: "It was revealed by God Most High to Moses and He said: Of Moses, starve and you will see Me, isolate yourself and you will reach Me." (p. 44)

Know that arrival (wajh) before the presence of God Most High is not like the arrival of a body at a body or of an accident at an accident or of knowledge at that which is known or of reason at what is rational. May God be greatly exalted above that. (pp. 44 - 45)

Know that arrival (wajh) before the presence of God Most High is not like the arrival of a body at a body or of an accident at an accident or of knowledge at that which is known or of reason at what is rational. May God be greatly exalted above that. (Miratul, p. 324, Tafhid, p. 94)

Arrival (wajh) is of two types, arrival of the beginning and arrival of the end. As for the first, it is that the ornament of truth is unveiled to the servant, so that he becomes absorbed in it. If he examines his knowledge, he does not know anything except God, and if he examines his care, he has no care other than Him, so that all of him becomes preoccupied with all of Him in vision and care and he does not turn in that [state] to his [human] nature, so that externally he flourishes in this with worship and internally with refinement of morals. As for the second, it is that the servant sheds his [human] nature wholly and he devotes himself to Him and he becomes as if he is He. Arrival (wajh) before the presence of God Most High is not on the part of the servant but rather with the help of God Most High and the disposal of the attractions of the divinity and the servant's acquisition of the reason to obtain it. As God Most High said: "And those who strive in Our cause, We will certainly guide them to Our paths." (29:69) (p. 45)

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Chapter Twelve: On explanation of knowledge (al-ma‘rīj) and its mode

It has been said that knowledge of certainty (i’lim al-yaqin) is what comes through the method of examination and argumentation and necessary certainty (‘ayn al-yaqin) is what comes through the method of unveiling and gift and absolute certainty (baqii’ al-yaqin) is what comes through the realization of separation from the pollution of [human] clay through the appearance [of the delegation] of arrival (wajh). Know that knowledge of certainty is that which has not any confusion and necessary certainty is that in which God Most High has deposited secrets. When knowledge is separated from the quality of certainty, it is knowledge with uncertainty and when certainty is added to it, it is knowledge without uncertainty. Absolute certainty is what knowledge of certainty and necessary certainty has indicated. (‘Awarif, p. 431, Tafhid, pp. 101 - 102)
Chapter Thirteen: On explanation of the state (al-hāl), station (al-maqām) and their distinctions

Know that the state is something which changes and does not remain constant and immovable. The state is named hāl [because of] its changeability and the station is called maqām [because of] its constancy and its immovability. And a thing may be in its essence a state, and then become a station.

(p. 48)

For instance, a motive of self-accounting will spring from within the servant, then the motive will disappear due to the predominance of the attributes of the soul, then it will come back, then it will vanish and the servant will always be in the state of self-accounting until he gains help from God Most beneficent. Self-accounting will be his homeland, his abode and his station and he will achieve the station of self-accounting after the state of self-accounting.

(p. 48)

Chapter Fourteen: On remembrance of the signs of the masters on some of the stations (al-maqāmāt), which has several sections

Section: Control (qabd) and expansion (basf)

Know that control (qabd) and expansion (basf) are noble states. They have a known season and a determined time, and they do not exist before it and do not exist after it. Their time and season is in the beginning of the state of specific love, not at its end, and not before the state of specific love. Whoever is in the station of general love, will not have control and expansion, but he will only have fear and hope.

(p. 49)

The existence of control is for the appearance of the soul and its predominance. The appearance of expansion is for the appearance of the purification of the heart and its predominance. Control and expansion may come to the inward self without their reason being known. From the absence of control and expansion, and it may rise up from them, and his soul will be at rest without fire being kindled from its substance which will necessitate contraction, and the sea of its nature will not clash from the abyss of desire until expansion appears from it.

(p. 49)

Section: On annihilation (al-janā'ūd) and abiding (al-baqā'ī)

Annihilation is that [all] shares are annulled from him and he has no share in anything, rather he is annulled from all things through his distraction with the One in whom he is annulled. 'Amir b. 'Abd Allah said: "I do not care whether I see a woman or a wall."

(p. 50)

This is the station of annihilation, and it will be followed by eternal. It is that he will be annulled from that which is in his and he will remain in that which is God's. It has been said that annihilation is absence from all things like the annihilation of Mūsā (P.B.U.H.) when his God manifested Himself to the mountain. Al-Junayd said:

"Annihilation is the obscurity of all of your characteristics and the distraction of all in you in His entire being.

(p. 50)
Know that annihilation is divided into annihilation of outer self and annihilation of inner self. As for annihilation of outer self, it is that the Truth He be Praised and Most High is manifested by the path of actions (al-tariq al-a'afid) and the servant is deprived of his choice and will, so that he does not see any action either of himself or of any other except through the Truth. As for annihilation of inner self, it is that sometimes He is unveiled with attributes and at other times with vision of the effects of the sublimity of His essence. The matter of the Truth overwhelms his inner self until neither anxiety nor doubt remain to him. Annihilation of outer self is for the people of hearts and states and annihilation of inner self is for one who is free from the bonds of the states and he becomes with God and not with the states and he emerges from the heart and he becomes with his form and not with his heart. (‘Awarif, p. 465, Tahfur, p. 105)

Ecstasy is what reaches the inner self from God Most High and he acquires it joyfully or mournfully and it changes him from his form and he aspires to God Most High. It is delight which is felt by the person who is overwhelmed over the attributes of his soul and he looks from them to God Most High. Rapture is a continuous ecstasy, for ecstasy is like lightning which appears and rapture is like continuous, uninterrupted lightning which cannot be explained. (p. 51)

Intoxication is the force of the state predominates and sobriety returns to the ordered arrangement of deeds and the refinement of words. It has been said that intoxication is a boiling of the heart, with continuous remembrance of the Beloved. Intoxication is for the people of hearts and sobriety is for those who uncover the realities of unseen world. (p. 51)

Being present is presence at one time with the quality of observation and at another time with the attribute of vision. As long as the servant is characterized by being present and watching, he is present. When he loses the state of vision and observation, he comes out the circuit of presence and he is absent. They mean by being absent, absence from all things except the Truth. The explanation of spiritual excersises has been perfected with the help of God Most High and His Benevolence, now we shall set about explaining acts of worship, with success granted by God Most High. (p. 53)

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لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي على هذه الصورة.
(1) བོད་དགི་འབྲི་སུ་བོད་དེ་བཙུན་

(2) བོད་དགི་འབྲི་སུ་བོད་དེ་བཙུན་

(3) བོད་དགི་འབྲི་སུ་བོད་དེ་བཙུན་
قالت مَثِيلَةً: «إِنَّ الْإِنسَانَ لَيَقْرَأُ، وَإِنَّ الْإِنسَانَ لَيَلْظِفُ. وَإِنَّ الْإِنسَانَ لَيَقفُ. وَإِنَّ الْإِنسَانَ لَيَقَلُ، وَإِنَّ الْإِنسَانَ لَيَغْوِي. وَإِنَّ الْإِنسَانَ لَيَبْقِيُ.»

وَكَذَلِكَ كَانَتِ الْعَلَامَاتُ لِلْإِنَاْسِ بِهَا. وَكَذَلِكَ كَانَتِ الْعَلَامَاتُ لِلْإِنَاْسِ بِهَا. وَكَذَلِكَ كَانَتِ الْعَلَامَاتُ لِلْإِنَاْسِ بِهَا. وَكَذَلِكَ كَانَتِ الْعَلَامَاتُ لِلْإِنَاْسِ بِهَا. وَكَذَلِكَ كَانَتِ الْعَلَامَاتُ لِلْإِنَاْسِ بِهَا. وَكَذَلِكَ كَانَتِ الْعَلَامَاتُ لِلْإِنَاْسِ بِهَا. وَكَذَلِكَ كَانَتِ الْعَلَامَاتُ لِلْإِنَاْسِ بِهَا. وَكَذَلِكَ كَانَتِ الْعَلَامَاتُ لِلْإِنَاْسِ بِهَا. وَكَذَلِكَ كَانَتِ الْعَلَامَاتُ لِلْإِنَاْسِ بِهَا.
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لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي من الصورة المقدمة.
كلاً منهما

(3)
لا يوجد نص يمكن قراءته بشكل طبيعي من الصورة المقدمة.
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي بطريقة طبيعية.

(النص العربي غير قابل للقراءة بشكل طبيعي)

لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي بطريقة طبيعية.

(النص العربي غير قابل للقراءة بشكل طبيعي)
فقال: قل: لا إله إلا الله، وقل: إني آمأن بالله. 
فقال: وقل على بشرية: إذا قلت على نفسي، فإني آمأن بالله.
فقال: وقولوا: الايمن على اليسار.
فقال: قل على موسى: لا تفعل ما تفعل من قبل، فإني آمأن بالله.
فقال: قل على نوح: إنني آمن بالله.
فقال: قل على إسحاق: إنني آمن بالله.
فقال: قل على يعقوب: إنني آمن بالله.
فقال: قل على كعب: إنني آمن بالله.
فقال: قل على إسرائيل: إنني آمن بالله.
فقال: إن الله لا يغفر السبعة أعابeen، إلا إذا كان الله يغفر.
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لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي من الصورة المقدمة.
خوشنویسی کتابت افکار و نظرات

در این پایگاه، کتابت افکار و نظرات به صورت دقیق و کامل ارائه می‌شود.

برای مشاهده اطلاعات بیشتر، لطفاً به صفحه بعدی غیر از این صفحه روی دکمه پس بروید.
obra de Sukraward. Los trazos extensos, de la de 'Awarif, fueron utilizados en el text. Se trata de que los arcaismos y los antiguos no sean reproducidos del texto de la edición de 1908. A pesar de que la correcta reproducción del texto podría ser útil, no tiene por qué ser un incremento en la edición. Se trata de que los arcaismos y los antiguos no sean reproducidos del texto de la edición de 1908. A pesar de que la correcta reproducción del texto podría ser útil, no tiene por qué ser un incremento en la edición. Se trata de que los arcaismos y los antiguos no sean reproducidos del texto de la edición de 1908. A pesar de que la correcta reproducción del texto podría ser útil, no tiene por qué ser un incremento en la edición. Se trata de que los arcaismos y los antiguos no sean reproducidos del texto de la edición de 1908. A pesar de que la correcta reproducción del texto podría ser útil, no tiene por qué ser un incremento en la edición. Se trata de que los arcaismos y los antiguos no sean reproducidos del texto de la edición de 1908. A pesar de que la correcta reproducción del texto podría ser útil, no tiene por qué ser un incremento en la edición. Se trata de que los arcaismos y los antiguos no sean reproducidos del texto de la edición de 1908. A pesar de que la correcta reproducción del texto podría ser útil, no tiene por
APPENDIX I

FIGURE 1: CLASSIFICATION OF REVEALED AND RATIONAL SCIENCES IN THE RISALAH AL-LADUNIYYAH

KNOWLEDGE

(PART A) Revealed (Hukmaya) Sciences

1. Fundamental (Theoretical) Sciences (al-usul)
   - The Qur'an
   - The Traditions
   - Obligation to God
   - Acts for worship (al-'ibadat)
   - Religious Obligation
   - Natural Sciences

2. Branches of (Practical) Sciences (al-furqah)
   - Ethics (al-akhlaq)
   - Arithmetic (al-hisab)
   - Geometry (al-hidayah)
   - Astronomy (al-aflak)
   - Astrology (al-najam)
   - Theology

(PART B) Rational (Hukmaya) Sciences

First Class

1. Theoretical Sciences (al-hikmah)
   - Mathematics (al-ma'nis)
   - Logic (al-mantiq)

Second Class

1. Theoretical Sciences (al-hikmah)
   - Physics
   - Chemistry
   - Optics

Third Class

1. Meta-Sciences
   - Supernatural

2. Religious Sciences
   - Divinity and attributes
   - Activities, government, and relation

3. Natural Sciences
   - Philosophy
   - Psychology
   - Sociology
   - Science of dreams
   - Theology

Source: al-Risalah al-Laduniyyah.
FIGURE 1.B. DIVISIONS OF REVEALED AND NON-REVEALED RATIONAL SCIENCES IN THE IHYA' "ULUM AL-DIN.

KNOWLEDGE

Revealed (Shar'iyyah) knowledge

(Part A) Praiseworthy Sciences
(Farid Kifayah)

Non-revealed (Gharib Shar'iyyah)/
Rational (Kifayah) Knowledge
(Farid Kifayah)

Blameworthy sciences

(Part B)

Praiseworthy sciences

(Blameworthy (al-madhahib) sciences

Permissible (mubah) sciences

Worldly sciences

(ajmâl-i-siyâsah)

Jurisprudence

(ajmâl-i-mulk-ad-dini)

Science of the path
to the hereafter

Unveiling (al-mukashafah)

(Theoretical)

Behavior (al-ma'âl-i-fardah)

(Practical)

Detailed study of praiseworthy sciences

Medicine

Agriculture

Politics

Tailoring

Arithmetic

Weaving

Cupping

Geometry

Astronomy

Logic

Types of sciences:

Detailed study of praiseworthy sciences

Blameworthy characteristics

Praiseworthy characteristics

Sources: Ihya' Ulum al-Din, Vol. 1, Book 1; Vol. 3, Book 1.