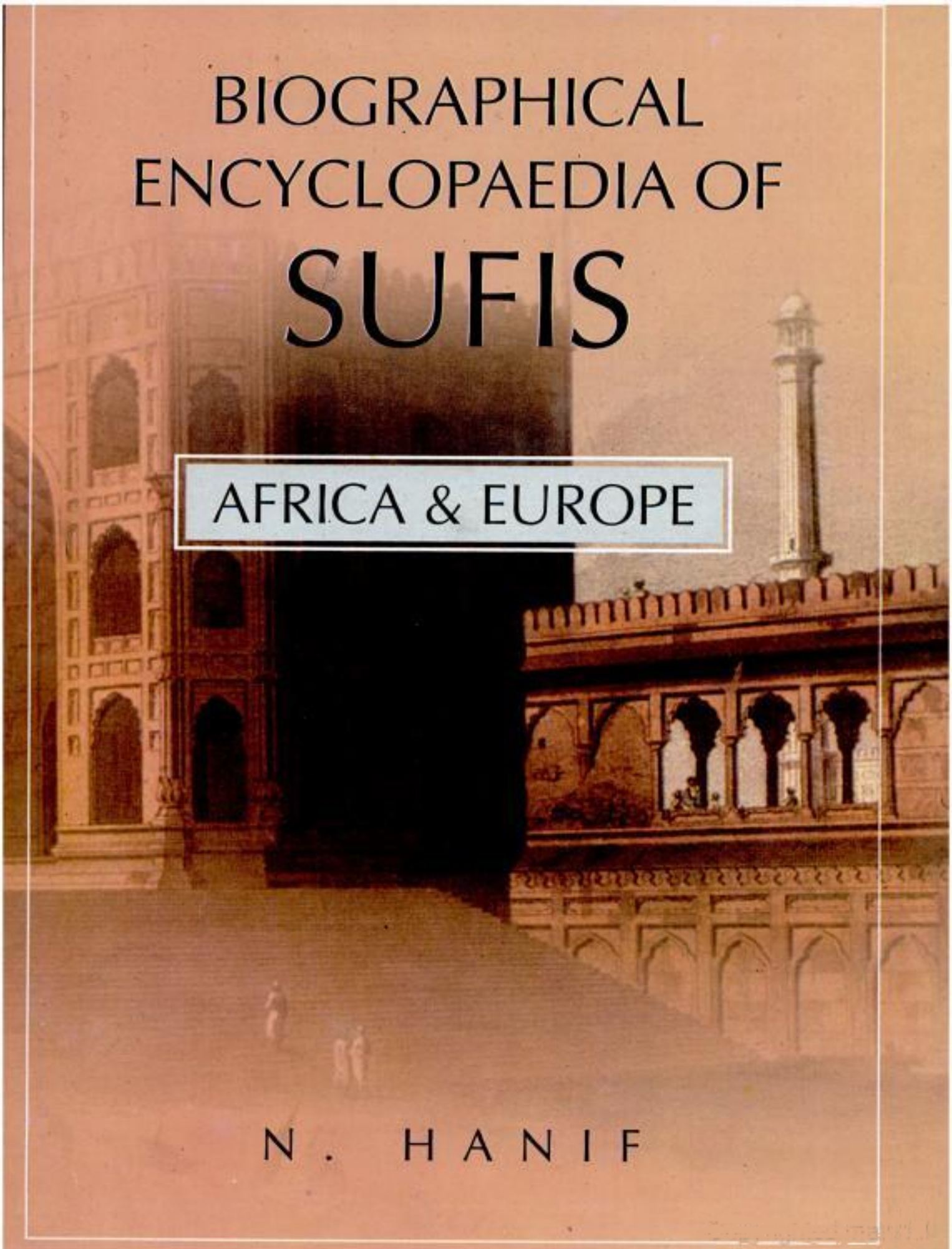
BIOGRAPHICAL ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF SUFIS

AFRICA & EUROPE



N. HANIF

This work "*Biographical Encyclopaedia of Sufis*" (Africa and Europe) highlights on the biographical outline of the prominent Sufis of Africa and Europe in alphabetical order. The Sufis maintain that the intellect gives information concerning the phenomenal world, it does not reveal the nature of infinite God and his attributes. According to the Sufis it is the mystical experience which leads to the knowledge of God (marifa). In his communion with God, the Sufi becomes one with Him and the Divinities disclosed. God head is directly experienced by Him. Moreover, rational or intellectual knowledge is indirect. The rational proceeds with that which is different from the truth: the Gnostic begins his mystical quest for God after leaving everything which is other than God. The Sufi doctrine of Unification of God is not similar to the Quranic concept of the Unity of God. The follower of Islam believes in one God, however the sufi believes in the unity of God and releases his identity with God.

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BIOGRAPHICAL ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF SUFIS
(Africa and Europe)

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N. Hanif

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PREFACE

The "Biographical Encyclopaedia of Sufis (Africa and Europe)" is a comprehensive information of life, works and philosophy of prominent sufis of Africa and Europe since the bigning of Islamic Civilisation. This Encyclopaedia has been compiled in alphabetical order. The life and philosophy of Sufis are based on three cardinal doctrines—*muhabhat* or the love of God, *marifa*, or the knowledge of God, and *tawhid* or the Unification of god. Love is the sole means of Sufis unification with God and therefore he disassociates himself from everything save God. Love of God results in the attainment of the knowledge of Divine Essence. Love illuminates the heart, leading to the revelation of God head. Muinddin Chishti says:

> "The Gnostic always abide in the state of passionate love of God"

and is amazed at the creation of God's universe. Another famous Sufis Nizamuddin Auliya remarks that love of God Consists in living a life a devotion and self-sacrifice. The mission of the true lover of God is nothing but to recollect the names of the beloved and to remember him unceasingly. God is the Ultimate cause of all things and he cannot be contemplated through anything which is created by Him.

Sufi's spiritual experience can neither be explained in language nor interpreted logically. The science of logic is concerned with the mental states and its relation with one another. Its range is limited to the subjects consciousness alone and it fails to provide any account of the extra-mental facts. The *Sufi* mystic experience is directly concerned with the Divinity of God which is transcendental reality and hence it lies beyond the reach of a psychologist. Even his mystical experiences in relation to the fear of God the love of God are objective, i.e. unrelated to his empirical self and they awareness of his Pure-Self is not an ordinary mental state like that of a feeling or an emotion.

This is trans-subjective experience which lies beyond the study of psychology. There are certain other high spiritual states like those of the soul's contemplation of the Attributes of God, its communication with the Beloved and the revelation of gnosis through Divine illumination which lose their sanctity when the psychologist interprets them from an empirical stand point. Again, the mystical symbols manifested in the spiritual state of a Sufi's ecstasy can not be discovered through the law of causation. In other words, the transcendent side of a *Sufi's* spiritual world remains completely out of reach for the psychologist. Moreover, the science of psychology does not offer any fixed and universally accepted standard for the assessment of mystical states.

According to certain *Sufis*, the most important quality of the lover of God is his complete detachment from sensual desires. Hence, the Sufis believe that a Sufi 'is absent

from himself and present with God'. The Sufi's absence from his Self means that he attains total detachment from human qualities, so that he may experience the divine presence in his heart. Hujwiri defines the lover of God:

> "the lover is he dead (*fani*) in his own attributed and living (*baqi*) in the attributed of his Beloved."

A Sufi experiences the state of perfect union with God and eternal subsistence of his soul in Him when he is completely devoted to God. Abu Bakral-Kattani lays much stress on this aspect of a Sufi's relationship with God. The Sufi is he that regards his devotion as a crime for which it beloves him to ask pardon of god. Another feature of the servant of God is that he prefers to live a life of patience and welcomes afflictions coming from God with pleasure, treating them as gifts from his Beloved. Shaikh 'Abdullah Khafif describes the true attitude of the devotee of God, *Tasawwuf* is patience under the events of destiny, acceptance from the hand of the almighty God and traveling over desert and highland. The seeker of God develops the ideal attitude of prefect patience at the stage of his consecration. Abu' Amr Najaud says:

> "Tasawwuf is to be patient under commandment and prohibition."

The Sufi enjoys his nearness to God when his soul comes in direct communion with Him. Shaikh Abu Sa'id b. Muhammad al-Mayhani defines Sufism in these words:

> "Sufism is the subsistence of the heart with God without any mediation."

God purifies the heart of His devotee so that love is established in it.

> "The Sufi is made pure by his Lord and is filled with splendours and in the quintessence of delight from praise of God."

At this stage the seeker entirely leaves himself on the mercy of his Beloved since he passes away from himself. Abu Muhammad al-Rasibif observes:

> "The Sufi is not a Sufi until no earth supports him and no heaven shadows him; until he finds no favour with mankind and until his resort in all circumstances is to the most high God."

The devotee of God becomes God intoxicated when his self is completely consumed in the first of love. It means that the idea of God dominates the hear of the seeker and he develops and everlasting consciousness of his Beloved. Shaikh Abu Sa'id Abu'I-Khayr explains this quality of Sufi's unceasing concentration of God in these words:

> "That is the true man of God who sits in the midst of his fellowmen, and rises up and eats and sleeps and buys and sells and gives and takes in the bazaars amongst other folk, and yet is never for one moment forgetful of God."

Such a mystical quest for god, leading to a state of subsistence of Him has been recognised as the most significant mark of the spiritual perfection by Muslim saints of all the sects. Mansur al-Hallaj says:

> "the Sufi is he who aims, from the first, at reaching God, the Creative Truth. Until he has found what he seeks, he takes no rest, nor does he give heed to any person. For thy sake I has over Land and water, over the plane I pass and the mountain I cleave and from everything, I meet, i turn my face, until the time when I reach that place where I am alone with Thee."

Such a concept of complete identification between a Sufi and his Beloved is probably based on the Quranic teaching of the Unity of God (tawhid). Most of the Sufis regard the theory of 'One God alone' as the substratum of their mystical philosophy. Abu Baker al-Shibli defines Sufism thus:

> "Sufism is polytheism, because it is the guarding of the heart from the vision of 'other', and other does not exist."

This definition of Sufism implies that the idea of any existent thing other than God cannot be accepted along with the idea of any existent thing other than God cannot be accepted along with the idea of there is no God but God.' A Sufi, who is a true seeker after the Ultimate Truth, discovers only one Truth. It refers to the mystical stage when the lover of God dwells in the unitive state.

Ghazali, an orthodox Sufi, concluded that God alone should be the object of love and worship for the mystics. For him, the essential qualities of a Sufi are:

> "His (sufi's) heart is free from defilement and from distraction, because of his love for his Lord, and he looks towards Him in his inmost self, committing all thing to Him and having fellowship with Him. He doest not rely upon anything, most does he have fellowship with any, save Him whom he worships, preferring God to all else."

The early Islamic mystics had seriously followed such a monotheistic doctrine. Abu' Amar' al-Dimashqi regards one god as the else. The early Islamic mystics had seriously followed such a monotheistic doctrine. Abu; Amar' al-Dimashqi regards one God as the Most Perfect Being and hence preaches the detachment from that which is imperfect. He says:

> "Tasawwuf is to behold the imprecation of the phenomenal world, nay to close the eye to everything imperfect in contemplation of Him who us remote from all imperfection."

The spiritual state of annihilation of human qualities is the most significant landmark on the Sufi's way to his unification with God. Each Sufi Describes this mystical attitude according to his own state and mystical experience. In fact, such a personal experience cannot be adequately expressed in any form because the soul of the mystic passes beyond all symbols and categories related to human understanding. Shaikh Abu Ali Juzajani says:

> "The saint is annihilated in his own state and subsists in the contemplation of Truth: he cannot tell anything concerning himself, nor can he rest with anyone except God."

A Sufi is completely lost in his inner world and becomes separated from the phenomenal world. Abu'l-Hasan al-Husri thus speaks about this spiritual state:

> "The Sufi is He who having once become dead to (worldly) taints, does not go back there, and having once turned his face God-ward, does not relapse there from and passing events do not affect him."

The Sufi recommend self-mortification for the training of the soul. Abu'l-Hasan al-Muzayyin says:

> "Tasawwuf is, to let one's self be led to the Truth."

It implies that the Truth is attained when the aspirant abandons his lower self and develops his pure self. Junayd also believes that since the Sufi's mission is to experience Godly qualities, he should guard himself against his association with human attributes.

A Sufi seeks self-mortification so that he may realise perfect state of resignation from empirical self. Abul Muhammad Ruwaym explains the real features of 'Tasawwuf:

> "Tasawwuf is based on three qualities: a tenacious attachment to poverty and indigene; a profound sense of sacrifice and renunciation; and absence of self-observation and personal volition."

The effacement of all human desires and individual qualities takes place and the veil of

the unreal self is lifted. Abu Yazid Bayazid says:

> "I stood before the Presence and cried, "Lord God', I desire not but These. If I possess Thee, i possess all...when God recognised my sincerity, the first grace that he accorded me was that He removed chaff of the self before me".

It is at this stage that the seeker attains gnosis and gains the knowledge of the Essence of God in his pure and illuminated heart.

After realisation of the state of annihilation of all human attributes, a Sufi's soul experiences the state of Godhead. Now, the Sufi realises that he is other than the rest of the creation and that God had detached him from the world from His revelation. The real devotees of God abstain from all kinds of formal ceremonies and rituals. Abu'l-Hasan al-Khorqani says:

> "The Sufi is not a Sufi in virtue of patched cloak and prayer-carpet, the Sufi is not a Sufi by rules and customs; the true Sufi is he that is nothing."

As he is in-himself, he is nothing' or nonexistent' for the rest of the creation. The being of the Sufi is veiled for those who have their being in the visible world. In other words, a Sufi's existence transcends the existence of everything and hence his existence speaks for itself. Abu'l-Hasan al-Khuraqni says:

> "A Sufi is a day that needs no sun, a night that needs no moon or star and a non-being that needs no being."

From the aforesaid, it is evident that the Sufis interpret their mystical system from the ethical, psychological and philosophical aspects. From the ethical standpoint, the Sufis regard the moral attitude of the devotee of God as the foremost condition moral attitude of the devotee of God as the foremost condition for attaining spiritual perfection. The wayfarer firmly believes that he can reach his goal, i.e. the union with God when he lives a virtuous and pious life. The moral development of the soul means the purification of soul which is necessary for the realisation of Divine Attributes. The orthodox mystics linked moral consciousness with religious belief and recognised *sharia* (the Law of Religion) as a means of reaching ethical perfection and the attainment of Divine knowledge (*ma'rifa*).

In their logical approach to saintliness, the Sufis think that the saint moves towards God when he experiences the mortification (*mujahad*) of 'self. He has to pass through various psychic states, particularly at the initial stages of the Journey to God, and he has to attain purity of heart in order to reach higher spirituals states. The self-mortification of the psychological assessment of 'self' leads to the spiritual perfection of a mystic. Philosophically, the Sufi concentrates on his ego and differentiates between its outward qualities and inward manifestations, experiences a true relationship between himself and God, looks forward for the annihilation of his human qualities and thus becomes conscious of Godly attributes and his subsistence in the Creative Truth.

I am thankfull to all those scholars whose works have been utilised either directly or indirectly in this compiled and edited works. I am also thankful to the publisher, who has given me opportunity to edit this comprehensive works.

EDITOR

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ʿAbd al-Rahman, Muhammad b. (d. 1793/4)

Muhammad b. ʿAbd al-Rahman al-Gashtuli al-Djurdjuri al-Azhari Abu Kabrayan was a foundder of Rahmaniyya, Algerian Sufi order (*tarika*). He died in 1208/1793–4. It is a branch of the Khalwatiyya and is said to have at one time been called Bakriyya after Mustafa al-Bakri al-Shami. At Nafta in Tunisia, and some other places it is called ʿAzzuziyya after Mustafa b. Muhammad b. ʿAzzuz.

His family belonged to the tribe Ayt Smaʿil, part of the Gashtula cônfederation in the Kabiliyya Djurdjura; having studied at his home, and then in Algiers, he made the pilgrimage in 1152/1740, and on his return spent some time as a student at al-Azhar in Cairo, where Muhammad b. Salim al-Hafnawi (d. 1181/1767–8; *Silk al-durar,* iv, 50) initiated him into the Khalwati order and ordered him to propagate it in India and the Sudan; after an absence of thirty years he returned to Algeria, and commenced preaching in his native village, where he founded a *zawiya;* he seems to have introduced some modification into Khalwati practice, and in his Seven Visions of the Prophet Muhammad made some important claims for his person and his system; immunity from hell-fire was to be secured by affiliation to his order, love for himself or it, a visit to himself, stopping before his tomb or hearing his *dhikr* recited.

His success in winning adherents provoked the envy of the local *murabits,* in consequence of which he migrated to Hamma in the neighbourhood of Algiers. Here, too, his activies met with opposition from the religious leaders, who summoned him to appear before a *madilis* under the presidency of the Maliki *mufti* ʿAli b. Amin: through the influence of the Turkish authorities, who were impressed by the following which he had acquired, he was acquired of the charge of unorthodoxy, but he thought it prudent to return to his native village, where shortly afterwards he died, leaving as his successor ʿAli b. ʿIsa al-Maghribi.

His corpse is said to have been stolen by the Turks and buried with great pomp at Hamma with a *kubba* and a mosque over it. The Ayt Smaʿil, however, maintained that it had not left its original grave, whence it was supposed to have been miraculously duplicated, and the title *Abu Kabrayn* "owner of two graves" was given to him.

History and propagation of the order: 'Ali b. 'Isa al-Maghribi was undisputed head from 1208/1793–4 to 1251/1835; his successor died shortly after, and from the following year, though the order continued, to win adherents, it divided into independent branches. This was owing to the objections raised by the Ayt Sma'il to the succession of al-Hadjdj Bashir, another Maghribi; in spite of the support of the *amir* 'Abd al-Kadir, he had to quit his post, which was held for a time by the widow of 'Ali b. 'Isa, who however, owing to the dwindling of the revenues of the *zawiya,* had ultimately to summon Bashir back. Meanwhile, the founders of other *zawiyas* were assuming independence.

After the death of Bashir in 1259/1843, the widow's son-in-law al-Hadjdj 'Ammar succeeded to the headship of the order. Finding his influence waning owing to his failure to participate in the attack on the French organised by Bu Baghla, in Dhu 'l-Hidjdja 1272/August 1856 he called his followers to arms and obtained some initial successes; he was however, compelled to surrender in the following year, together with his wife (or mother-in-law) at the head of a hundred *khwan* shortly afterwards. 'Ammar retired to Tunis, where he endeavoured to continue the exercise of his functions, but he was not generally recognised as head of the order, and his place among the Ayt Sma'il was taken by Muhammad Amezzyan b. al-Haddad of Sadduk, who at the age of 80 on April 1871 proclaimed *djihad* against the French, who had recently been defeated in the Franco-Prussian War. The insurrection met with little success, though it spread far, and on 13 July Ibn al-Haddad surrendered to General Saussier, who sent him to Bougie. The original *zawiya* was closed a precautionary measure.

His son 'Aziz, who had been transported to New Caledonia, succeeded in escaping to Djudda, whence he endeavoured to govern the community; but various *mukaddams* who had been appointed by his father, as well as other founders of *zawiyas,* asserted their independence. Lists have been given by Depont and Coppolani of these persons and their spheres of influence, which extended into Tunisia and the Sahara.

In their work, the numbers of the adherents to the order were reckoned at (156, 214 1897). In 1954, L. Massignon revised this number to 156,000 adherents, with 177 *zawiyas,* whist in 1961 Fauque estimated them at 230,000. It should be said that the Rahmaniyya constitute the most important Sufi order in Algeria, with more than one-half of the *khwan* of the land. It predominates in the towns of the Constantionis such as Constantine, 'Annaba, Souk-Ahrag, Batna, Biskra, etc., and naturally in Kabylia, where it originated Rinn noticed that the Rahmaniyya of Tolga regularly maintained good relation with the French authorities.

Practices of the order: The training of the *murid* consists in teaching him a series of seven 'names', of which the first is the formula *la ilah illa 'llah,* to be repeated from 12,000 to 70,000 times in a day and night, and followed by the others, if the *shaykh* is satisfied with the neophyte's progress; these are: 2. *Allâh* three times; 3. *huwa;* 4. *hakk* three times; 5. *hayy* three times; 6. *kayyum* three times; 7. *kahhar* three times (Rinn's list differs slightly from this). Rinn stated that the

dhikr of the order consists in repeating at least 80 times from the afternoon of Thursday to that of Friday the prayer ascribed to al-Shadhili and on the other weekdays the formula *la ilah illa 'llah*. Favourite lessons are the 'Verse of the Throne' followed by suras I, CXII-CXIV (prescribed in the Founder's diploma, translated by A. Delpech, in *RA* (1874), and the Seven Vision mentioned above (translated by Rinn, 467).

Literature of the order: Most of this would seem to be still in ms.; the founder is credited with several books. A. Cherbonneau, in *JA* (1852), 517, describes a catechism called *al-Rahmaniyya* by Muhammad b. Bakhtarzi with a commentary by his son Mustafa, perhaps identical with a work called by French writers *Presents dominicaux*. Another work belonging to the order which they mention is called *al-Rawd al-basim fi manakib al-Shaykh Muhammad b al-Kasim*.

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D.S. MARGOLIOUTH

Abu Hashim (d. 776)

Abu Hashim belonged to Kufah. There were people before abu Hashim who were famous for their asceticism (*zuhd*), piety (*war'*), engagement in the science of practical religion, trust in god and love, but it was abu Hashim who first of all am to be called by the name of Sufi.

The first monastery where the Sufis began to gather for exchange of ideas and mutual discussion about their mystic experiences was established by some wealthy Christian in Ramlah in Syria where he had observed some Muslim saints engaged in mystic exercise in the open.

According to Sufyan Thauri, abu Hashim knew the subtlety of *riya* (showing off) more than anybody else. Abu Hashim once said that it was far easier to pull down a mountain with the help of a needle than to remove vanity and arrogance from one's heart. On seeing a judge coming out of the house of a minister, he remarked: May God protect people from knowledge that does not lead to the benefit of the heart.

All these incidents point to the fact that, according to abu Hashim, inner transformation of the heart was the essence of Sufism.

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EB

Abu'l-Thana Shams (16th Century)

Abu 'l-Thana Shams al-Din Ahmad b. Abi 'l-Barakat Muhammad b. 'Arif Hasan al-Zili al-Siwasi, more commonly known as Kara Ahmad Shams al-din Siwasi, was a founder of Shamsiyya, a mystical order derived from the Khalwatiyya, which came into existence and developed in the Ottoman Empire from the end of the 10th/16th century. He was born in the small town of Zile, in eastern Anatolia, in 926/1520, and was initiated by two Khalwati *shaikhs* practising in this region: the *shaikh* Muslih al-Din of Djum'a Pazari, and then the *shaikh* 'Abd al-Madjid Shirwani (d. 972/1565) of Tokat.

At the request of Hasan Pasha, *wali* of Sivas, he undertook the supervision of a *zawiya*, constructed at the latter's instigation in the precincts of a mosque in the town of Sivas. He taught there until the end of his life, which took place in 1006/1597, and he was buried in the vicinity of his *zawiya*.

Three elements were influential in the inception of the mystical way on which Kara Ahmad Shams al-Din left his distinguishing mark: the significant literary corpus of this individual; the number and the widespread diffusion of his *khalifas;* and his participation in the campaign of Eger in Hungary. A number of works are in fact attributed to him, in verse and in prose, in Turkish and in Arabic, of which the most important are entitled: *Kutab al-Hiyad min sawb al-ghamam al-fayyad, Mewlid, Menakib-i cahar yar-i guzin, Manazil al-'arifin, Gulshan-abad, Zubdat al-asrar fi sharh mukhtasar al-Manar, Suleyman-name, 'Ibret-name*, etc. (a number of these were published in Turkey from the end of the 19th century; cf. A. Golpinarh, *IA*, art, *Semsiye*). Under the *makhlas* of Shamsi, he also left many poems and songs of a mystical inspiration.

As for his *khalifas*, there were some thirty of them, who spread his teachings in eastern and central Anatolia— especially in the towns of Zile, Sivas, Merzifon, Turhal, Samsun, Divrigi, Kirsehir, Ankara and Kayseri—but also in Cyprus, in Istanbul and in Cairo. As to his participation in the campaign of Eger in 1596 (in the company of several of his disciples), this marked the establishment of contact between the nucleus of the nascent brotherhood and the Ottoman authorities.

In fact, the sultan Mehemmed III invited Shams al-Din to take up residence in the capital, as a reward for his support in the victorious campaign; but the *shaikh* declined the invitation on account of his advanced age. The Ottoman sovereign extended the same offer, some years later, to his nephew and successor 'Abd al-Madjid Siwasi (d. 1049/1639–40), and the latter accepted it.

The centre of the network of the Shamsiyya was then shifted to Istanbul, where the brotherhood tended partially to supplant other branches of the Khalwatiyya. It was this grouping which henceforward enjoyed the

goodwill of the sultan and of senior functionaries of the Empire, and occupied, throughout the first half of the 11th/17th century, the centre of the religious stage.

In fact, Khalwati-Shamsi *shaikhs* were in numerous cases appointed to serve as preachers (*wa'iz*), particularly in the most prestigious mosques. 'Abd al-Madjid Siwasi and his disciples were the leading protagonists in the struggle against the heterodoxy of the Hamzawi *shaikhs*, whom they denounced publicly. They also acted as spokesmen for the Sufis in the bitter conflict between the latter and the *Kadizadeli*, representatives of the conservative and fundamentalist tendency led by Mehmed Kadizade (d. 1635).

This preponderance of the successors of Kara Ahmad Shams al-Din in the Ottoman capital—particularly in the scholarly circles from which the majority of them emerged—favoured the expansion of the network of the Shamsiyya. This was consolidated in Anatolia (on the eastern side, the cradle of the brotherhood, but also on the western side—Alasehir, Manisa, Mytilene and Chios—as well as in central Anatolia (especially at Konya and Safranbolu), and in the Middle East (Damascus, Cyprus, Jerusalem, Cairo and Mecca). But it also extended into the provinces of Thrace and Macedonia especially in the eastern region—in particular, in Gelibolu, Gulmucine, Komotine, Havsa, Edirne, Yambol, Filibe/Plovdiv, Lofca/Lovec, Varna, Silistre/Silistra, Dobric/Tolbuhin and Kefe—as well as in Buda and the Hungarian frontier zones) and as far as the Crimea.

In Istanbul itself, the establishments directed by *shaikhs* of the Shamsiyya flourished, in particular during the period of the nephew and successor of 'Abd al-Madjid Siwasi, 'Abd al-Ahad Nuri Siwasi (d. 1061/1651), who contributed so energetically to the progress of this branch of the Khalwatiyya that it became known by the name of Shamsiyya-Siwasiyya or simply Siwasiyya. At that time, the diffusion of the brotherhood generally proceeded according to the following pattern: arrival in Istanbul of a young student intent on pursuing his studies in the major metropolitan *madrasas*, affiliation to the *tarika*, and return to his native land with the object of propagating the latter. Despite its rapid expansion, the network remained relatively centralised, its heart being the *tekke* of Shaikh Yawsi—renamed Siwasi Tekkesi—situated close to the Selimiyye mosque in Istanbul, and administered by the descendants of the *shaikh* 'Abd al-Madjid.

From the beginning of the 18th century, the brotherhood went into decline, to disappear almost totally in the 19th century, often it seems, to the advantage of other branches of the Khalwatiyya, such as the Sunbuliyya and the Sha'baniyya. In Istanbul, during the final decades of the Ottoman Empire, there were still representatives of the Shamsiyya administering a *tekke* in the Taskassap quarter. According to Dhakir Shukri, the *tekke* of Zibin-i sherif had as its *shaikh* a certain Mehmed Kasim al-Daghistani al-Khalwati al-Shemsi (d. 1328/1910), who was succeeded by his son, Yusuf Diya' al-Din. But S. Vicdani makes it clear that, although these *shaikhs* possessed a *silsila* linking them to 'Abd al-Ahad Nuri Siwasi, the *tekke* in question functioned as an establishment of the Nakshbandiyya. Today, this branch of the Khalwatiyya seems to have disappeared.

As regards the doctrine and the practices of the Shamsiyya-Siwasiyya, they were shared by the majority of the Khalwatis; the practice of spiritual retreat (*khalwa*) and the initiation of the seven names (*al-asma' al-sab'a*) being two central elements. The Shamsi-Siwasi *dhikr* was a *dhikr dewran*, with a rotating movement in a circle formed by the dervishes. 'Abd al-ahad Nuri is the author of a treatise defending this practice, entitled *risale fi djewazi dewrani 'l-sufiyye*. As for the adoption of the doctrine of the oneness of being (*wahdat al-wudjud*), cf. O. Turer, *Turk mutasavvif ve sairi Muhammed Nazmi*, which also provides further details regarding the teaching of one *shaikh* of the brotherhood. The characteristic *tadj* of the Shamsi-Siwasi *shaikhs*—comprising forty separate pieces, as with the majority of the Khalwatis—was made of yellow fabric, half of it embroidered with Kufic script, surmounted by a red button and enricled by a green turban.

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Ali al-Sanusi, Muhammad b. (1787–1859)

Muhammad b. 'Ali al-Sanusi was the founder of Sanusiyya order. Denounced by a French 'black legend', as tenacious as it is ill-founded, as a centre of anti-western subversion across the Sahara, the Sanusiyya order was confronted at a very early stage with the game of the European Powers. For this reason, it is better known for its political role, real or supposed, than for its specifically Sufi teaching.

After studying in Fez, Muhammad b. 'Ali al-Sanusi (born in December 1787 near Mustaghanim, in Algeria) had become, at the time of his Pilgrimage during the 1820s, one of the disciples of Ahmad b. Idris, a Moroccan Sufi and Sharif residing in the Holy Places; when the latter departed for the Yemen in 1827, he remained in Mecca as his *khalifa*. Ahmad b. Idris belonged to a mystic lineage going back to the Moroccan Sufi and Sharif 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Dabbagh, belonging to a Shadhili spiritual lineage, initiated by the mysterious Kur'ânic figure known by the name of al-Khadir.

After the death of Ahmad b. Idris in 1837, who was more the founder of a circle of disciples than of an organised *tarika,* the disciples of the Master split into different groups. Muhammad b. 'Ali al-Sanusi, who was one of the oldest and, perhaps one of the most advanced in the way, then inaugurated his own structure by gradual stages, and the Idrisiyya *zawiya* of Mecca, on the hill of Abû Kubays, became the first 'Sanusi' establishment.

Muhammad al-Sanusi emerges, in his works, as the inspirer of a Sunni and moderate Sufism. Summing up the forty ways into which he was initiated, he claims, a *tarika muhammadiyya* which is the quintessence of them all and which makes the encounter, in dreams and while awake, with the Prophet, and the appeals of this guidance and imitation of his model, the supreme qualities of the initiate. The *dhikr* of the *tarika* is constituted by a distinctive prayer, the *salat al-'azimiyya,* a prayer for the Prophet inherited from Ahmad b. Idris, which takes its title from the repetition of *Allâh al-'Azîm* ('God the most Great'), and by various *ahzab* and *awrad,* including a *haylala* the text of which is prolonged by the formula 'in every look and every breath, a number of times which only the knowledge of God can apprehend' (a formula which also features in the *'Azimiyya*).

But it is not the *dhikr* which constitutes the most original part of the Sanusi programme. The principal work of Muhammad al-Sanusi was directed in fact towards the realisation of a centralised and hierarchical order based on a network of *zawiyas* established in places judged to be strategic from the point of view of communication routes, of the supply of water or of the local tribal composition. The *zawiya* is thus the ultimate act of piety, and the creation of it follows a precise protocol. The appeal for it must be made by the population concerned.

The latter sends a delegation to the chief of the brotherhood, before whom it solemnly confirms its wishes, and takes on the obligation of constructing the buildings of the *zawiya* and of working periodically in its service. Muhammad al-Sanusi would then appoint, from among his disciples, a *shaykh,* obliged to marry into the local population. Regular and prolific correspondence maintains the link between the centre and the new local outpost. Each *zawiya* is simultaneously an educational centre, a staging-post and a hostel for travellers, a place of worship and an agricultural location.

It is, in the desert environment, a small urban enclave, representing the sedentary values and models which are those of normative Islam. By virtue of this network, which developed in Libya from the 1840s onward, the *tarika* is observed, in the first phase of its existence, to be a missionary order whose vocation is then to disseminate Islam among the disinherited populations of the central Sahara.

The history of the Sanûsiyya may be divided into several sequences. The first, under the leadership of the founder—known as *al-Ustadh* (Master) and as *al-Imam al-akbar* (Great Imam)—saw the expansion of the movement in an east-west direction, following the lines of wells and the routes of the Pilgrimage. Before reaching its furthest point and establishing its niche in Cyrenaica, the brotherhood had, in fact, spent a long time in search of the right territory.

The Sanusiyya often encountered the resistance of the existing local powers and the presence of other Islamic organisations and clienteles. Its extension into Cyrenaica (foundation of the first African *zawiya*, al-Bayda', at Cyrene at the end of 1842) and, to lesser extent, into the central Sahara, thus represents a last resource; it was only in these regions that the presence of weak and scattered authorities, and the absence of powerful religious institutions, enabled it to acquire suitable space.

During its expansion in the Sahara, the Sanusiyya came into contact with the world of the nomad. It was there, far from the major centres of power and of scholarship, that it found a loyal following, one which was furthermore more attached to the *baraka* of the Master than to his erudite teaching. Thus there was established between the brotherhood and the Saharan nomads a durable bond of friendship. The Sanusi made alliance with the Bedouin (Madjabra and Zwaya, in Cyrenaica, and to a lesser extent, Twareg Ajjer, to the west) one of the pillars of their system.

But the Sanusi was not restricted to the nomadic world. The brotherhood exploited to its advantage a new trans-Saharan route, inaugurated at the beginning of the century through the initiative of Ouaddai (Waddai). This route, still precarious and experimental, which ran from Benghazi to Abeche by way of Kufra, and which was one of the last trans-Saharan axes still usable (the others having fallen victim to political anarchy or to European interference), became under its protection, from the middle of the century onward (*zawiya* of Tazar, to the north of Kufra, 1848–9; *zawiya* of al-Djuf, Kufra, *ca.* 1856), one of the principal foundations of its power.

The Sanusi system was born of this combination of exploitation of a caravan axis with colonisation of the desert. In the course of this process, the *tarika* became the manager and controller of a region and the promoter of an economy. But its activity was essentially regulatory. Just as it did then aspire to political power, the Sanusiyya had no wish to undertake economic enterprises. The benfits which accrued to it from its protection of commerce were symbolic (alliances and allegiances) or material (gifts, agricultural produce). The activity of the Sanusi *ikhwan* was one element in a major project, envisaging first a general recognition of the *baraka* of the Master, from which esteem, clientele and material goods would subsequently flow.

A veritable 'Maghribi multi-national' at the outset, bearing in mind the origin of the closest disciples of the Master, the Sanusiyyat hen began to 'Libyanise' itself. The two sons of the *Imam al-akbar's* middle age were born in Cyrenaica, respectively in 1262/1844 (Muhammad al-Mahdi) and 1262/1846 (Muhammad al-Sharif). Muhammad b. 'Ali al-Sanusi himself left the Hidjaz for good in 1854 and established his headquarters at Djaghbub, a new city in the heart of the desert and near the Egyptian border, in 1856. It was there that he died in 1859.

His son and successor Muhammad al-Mahdi, who was to preside over the destinies of the movement for more than forty years, emerges as an organiser of talent. It was he who gave to the foundations laid by his father a systematic development. It was also he who

oriented the brotherhood towards the south, in the direction of Central Africa. The first sub-Saharan *zawiya* came into being at Chemidour (currently in eastern Niger) from 1861–2 onwards. Later, faced by increasing interference on the part of 'Abd al-Hamid II, Muhammad al-Mahdi who, like his father, had maintained amicable relations with the Ottoman authorities, abruptly transferred his headquarters from Djaghbub to Kufra (June 1895), then to Gouro, to the north of what is currently Chad, in December 1899, preferring a *hidjra* to confrontation. The attractions of Ouaddai, rich in ivory, in ostrich feathers and, additionally in slaves, also played a role in this long march towards the south.

This southward orientation of the movement coincided with the French advance towards Lake Chad. From 1901 onwards the Sanusiyya improvised, in difficult conditions, resistance to the French assaults, establishing for this purpose a defensive system and then appealing for Turkish protection. Its destiny was henceforward to be inseparably embroiled in the game of the Great Powers. Thus on 9 November 1901, French troops attacked the *zawiya* of Bir 'Alali situated some 100 km/60 miles from Lake Chad. Initially defeated, the French forces took control of the place on 20 January 1902. This was the beginning of a long Franco-Sanusi war which ended with the fall of the fortified *zawiya* of 'Ayn Galakka (to the south of Gouro) on 27 November 1913.

After the death of Muhammad al-Mahdi at Gouro on 2 June 1902, the latter's nephew, Ahmad al-Sharif (1872–1933 [see al-Sanusi, Shaykh Sayyid Ahmad]), became the third Master of the *tarika*. He immediately decided to return to Kufra and began to organise the brotherhood on more secular lines, a development which prolonged and reinforced the politicisation and militarisation which had become apparent during the confrontation with the French. When the Italians arrived in Libya (October 1911), he used all his influence to achieve the mobilisation of his followers in a *djihad* against the invader and allied himself with the Ottoman forces.

This 'jihadist' orientation, alien to the founder of the Way, henceforward made of the Sanusiyya a politico-military organisation aligned with the Ottoman caliphate. In 1914, Ahmad al-Sharif allied himself to the Central Powers. At the latter's insistence, Sanusi forces fought on all fronts: they attacked the British in Egypt (November 1915) expelled the Italians from Tripolitania and the Fezzan (September 1914–April 1915), then engaged in a conflict with the French in the Sahara, which culminated in the seizure of the French fortress of Djanet (2 March 1916), the capture of P. de Foucauld, killed accidentally by a Twareg sentry (1 December 1916), and the siege of the French outpost of Agades (1 December 1916–3 March 1917). Already split into a number of 'fiefs' according to the various branches of the family, deprived progressively of a single direction, the Sanusiyya were devastated by this war and by the defeats inflicted on it in all theatres of operation after 1916.

Muhammad Idris, elder son of Muhammad al-Mahdi, promoted by the British as a useful intermediary, negotiated with the latter and with the italians and signed an accord at 'Akrama near Tobruk in April 1917. The accord integrated the Sanusis into the camp of the Allied Powers in exchange for a

partial recognition of the brotherhood. In August 1918 Ahmad al-Sharif left Tripolitania aboard a German (or Austrian) submarine and abandoned the supervision of the *tarika*.

The subsequent period reflects the political history of Libya. After a long period of ambiguity in the relations between Italians and Sanusis, and the signing of accords which were never properly implemented, the final struggle began in the late 1920s; Italian troops entered Djaghbub in February 1926 and Kufra in January 1931. One of the leaders of the brotherhood, 'Umar al-Mukhtar, kept alive the last embors of Sanusi resistance until he was captured and publicly hanged by the Italians in September 1931.

During the Second World War, a Sanusi force was raised to fight alongside the British. The liberation of Cyrenaica (1943) and British support for Muhammad Idris cleared the way for the inauguration of the Sanusi monarchy at the head of an independent Libya (24 December 1951). Like other Maghribi Sharifian lineages in other periods, the *tarika samusiyya* thus became, in circumstances of peril for the Muslims, a symbol of political legitimacy, but these new dispositions proved impossible to maintain or to extend. The seizure of power by the 'Free Unionist Officers' under the leadership of Colonel Kadhdhafi (1 September 1969) led in Libya to a lasting 'excision from history' of the brotherhood, which has come to at least temporary extinction.

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Aq Ishan

Aq Ishan ('Zengi Baba') was a semi-legendary Sufi saint, ancestor of the Bokusdat clan of the Tekke federation, near the health resort of Arhman in the Baharden district of the Krasnovodsk region. This holy place seems to the particularly active. K. Ovezov found near the *mazar* a hostel for pilgrims, and discovered to his great astonishment that the director of the Baharden school (a Communist Party member) used the school bus for transporting the pilgrims.

In July 1979, M.N. Gapurov, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkmenistan, blamed the *raykom* of Baharden for its inability to put an end to the pilgrimage, in 1982, the holy place was still visited by numerous pilgrims according to *Sovet Turkmenistany, 4 February 1982.*

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EB

Astana Baba

Astana Baba was an eminent sufi and ancestor of the Shikh tribe, on the territory of the *kollkhoz* 'Krasnyi Oktiabr' in the district of Kerki (Charjow region) on the upper Amu-Darya near the Afghan border; one of the most venerated holy places of eastern Turkmenistan.

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B

Bilal Baba

Bilal Baba was a legendary Sufi saint, supposedly *ezzanchi* (Called to the prayer) of the Prophet Mohammed, in the village of Shambe-Bazar in the district of Denau on the middle Amu-Darya. The tomb of Kurban Murat in the village of Dinli Qala near Gok Tepe. Kurban Murat, a Naqshbandi sheikh, was one of the leading figures of the resistance of the Ahal-Teke tribe to the Russians at Gok Tepe, but escaped the massacre following the Russian assault on 12 January 1881.

His *mazar*, already an object of pilgrimage before the Revolution, had been 'reactivated' in the 1960s by one of his descendants (also a Naqshbandi sheikh). The popularity of the holy place is due to the nationalistic and anti-Russian character of the pilgrimage. The long resistance of the Teke tribesmen to the Russian conquest is well remembered by the Turkmens as a glorious page of their history, and Kurban Murat is for the Turkmens what Shamil is for the Caucasins.

In 1972, six hundered pilgrims visited the *mazar* during the Kurban Bayram festival. Ten years later, in January 1982, two Turkmen historians, Annapesov and S. Saparov, were mobilised to denounce in the Turkmen press "the dangerous clerical agitation around the shrine" and to present Kurban Murat, against all historical evidence, as a traitor and a coward.

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Bistami, Bayazid (9th Century)

Bayazid Bistami's ancestors were Zoroastrians. In his early life he was a jurist and was reckoned among *ashab al-ra'i*, the followers of abu Hanifah, but later on, he turned to Sufism. His teacher in *mysticism wa a Kurd*. It is related that he associated with a mystic abu 'Ali of Sind, who taught him the doctrine of annihilation in unity (*fana' fi al-tauhid*) and in return abu Yazid taught him the doctrine of monotheism as embodied in the *Qur'anic* chapters, *Fatihah* and *Ikhlas*. He was familiar with the Indian practice of 'watching the breaths' which he described as the gnostic's worship of God.

For thirty years Bayaszid wandered in the deserts of Syria, leading a life of extreme asceticism— with scanty sleep, food and drink. He once said that a mystic can reach his goal only through blindness, deafness and dumbness. He seemed to be very scrupulous in the observation of Islamic injunction and would not tolerate any deviation, however small or insignificant it might be.

In Bayazid's utterences we notice a distinct tendency towards monism. He tries to reach the divine unity by the process of abstraction (*tajrid*) till he is devoid of all personal attributes and feels himself as well as others submerged in the One. In this state of unity he gave expression to his experiences which remind one of the *an al-Haq* of Hallaj:

> "I went from God to God, until He cried from me in me, 'O thou I.' 'Glory to me! How great is my majesty.' 'When I came out of my 'self,' I found the lover and the beloved as one, for in the world of thought, all is one. For twelve years I treated the self (*nafs*) in me as a smith does with his material, heating and beating alternately in the fire of penance and with the hammer of blame (*malamah*) till it became a mirror. For five years I was busy in polishing this mirror with different kinds of religious practices. For one year I looked within myself and discovered a girdle of infidelity (*zunnar*) round my waste. For another five years I tried to remove that girdle till I recovered my true faith. Then I found everything dead before my eyes and God alone living."

What is *'arsh?* It is I. What is Chair (*Kursi*)? It is I. What is the Tablet or the Pen? It is I. What are prophets like Abraham, Moses and Muhammad? They are I. Explaining it further, he remarked that whoever becomes annihilated in God finds that whatever is, is God. His negativism *(tajrid*) is illustrated by the following quotation:

> "Nothing is better for man than to be without aught: having no asceticism, no theory, no practice. When he is without all, he is with all."

A mystic should be in a domain where neither good nor evil exists; both good and evil belong to the phenomenal world; in the presence of unity there is neither command (*amr*) not prohibition (*nahi*).

Bayazid is the first Sufi who gives a detailed description of his mystic experience and calls it by the name of ascension (*mi'raj*), a practice which was later followed by ibn 'Arabi and others. We give below a few passages from the account as given by 'Attar in his *Tadhkirah:*

> "When I attained the stage of indifference (*istighna*) towards the things of this world and was lighted up by the light of God, several mysteries were revealed to me. I looked from God towards myself and found that my light was utter darkness in comparison with God's light, my loftiness was utter lowliness; it was all purity there and all darkness here. But when again I looked, I found my light in His light, my loftiness in His loftiness and that whatever I did I did through His power. His light shone in my heart and I discovered that in truth all worship was from God and not from me, though all the time I had thought that it was I who worshipped. I felt perplexed and received the explanation: All that is, is I and not not-I.... I looked from God towards God and saw Him as the only reality. I remained in this stage for long, left all efforts and all acquired knowledge. Grace from God began to flow and I got eternal (*azli*) knowledge. I saw that all things abide in God."

"Then I was given wings and I began to fly in the air and saw strange and wonderful things. When He noticed my weakness, He opened the gate of the avenue of divine unity (*tauhid*) before me. Then I stayed in the stage of *malakut* till the apparent and hidden aspects of I-ness vanished. A door was opened into the darkness of my heart and I got an eloquent tongue to express *tauhid* and *tajrid* (abstract unity). Now, my tongue came from God, my heart felt the effulgence of His light and my eyes reflected His creativity. I spoke through Him and talked through His power. As I lived through Him I became eternal and immortal. When I reached this stage, my gestures and my worship became eternal; my tongue became the tongue of unity (*tauhid*) and my soul the soul of abstraction (*tajrid*). It is He who moves my tongue and my role is only that of an interpreter: talker in reality is He and not I."

"My soul passed through all the world of the unseen. Paradise and hell were shown to it but it paid no attention to them. It traversed the different spheres where it met the souls of prophets. When it reached the sphere of the soul of Muhammad, it saw millions of rivers of fire without end and a thousand veils of light. If I had put my foot into them, I would have been burnt. I lost my senses through awe and fear. I reached God. Everybody can reach God according to his light, for God is with all; but Muhammad occupies a prominent position and so, unless one traverses the valley of *tauhid*, one cannot reach the valley of Muhammad, though as a matter of fact both valleys are one."

The real form of doctrinal Sufism can be seen in the mystical teachings of Abu Yazid Bayazid Bistami (A.D. 874), the most outstanding spiritualist of Iran. He had gained his mystical knowledge (*ma'rifa*) under the spiritual direction of Abu' Ali al-Sindhi. His mystical philosophy is based on the doctrines of love of God, absolute unity of God and '*fana*' or the soul's unification with God.

Renunciation of everything besides God was regarded as the most essential mark of Sufism by the early saints. Bayazid, on the other hand, recognised Love of God as the sole means for the realisation of identity with God. The soul's detachment from the world or the heavens is worthless if it does not experience affinity with God and craves for an early union with Him. Bayazid says:

"Renunciation (*zuhd*) has no value. I was three days in renunciation. The first day I renounced the world, the second day I renounced the other world and the third day I renounced everything besides God. Then a voice came, 'O Bayazid, thou art not strong enough to endure with us'. I said, that is exactly what I want. Then I heard: 'Thou hast discovered, thou hast discovered'. Nothing is better for man than to be without anything—having no asceticism, no theory, no practice. When he is without all, he is with all."

However Bayazid laid great emphasis on the realisation of the Pure Self through subjugation of the lower self (*mujahada*). The Pure Self alone sees the Vision of God in Love and this is achieved when the Sufi frees himself from sensual desires and attains purification. He says:

"For twelve years I was the smith of my soul. I put it in the furnace of austerity and burned it in the fire of combat and laid it on the edge of reproach and hammered it with blame until I made of my soul a mirror. For five years I was the mirror of myself and was ever polishing that mirror with diverse sorts of worship and piety. Then for a year, I gazed in contemplation. On my waist I saw a girdle

> of pride and vanity of self-conceit and reliance on devotion and approbation of my works. I laboured for five years more, until that girdle became cut and I professed Islam a new. I looked and saw that all created things were dead. I pronounced four '*takbirs*' over them and returned from the funeral of them all and with intrusion of creature, through God's help alone, I attained unto God."

Pure love of God is possible only when the lover completely denies his own self. Nayazid says:

> "When I considered world to be my enemy and I went to God, His love possessed me to such an extent that I became an enemy of myself."

Again,

> "As I reached the stage of Proximity to God, He said; 'What thou dost desire?' I replied: 'I desire Thee'. He said, 'Till there remains even one particle of Bayazidness in thee, that desire cannot be fulfilled'."

In pure love, the devotee experiences God's love towards him prior to his own love towards God. The soul rejoices in fellowship with God and the seeker loves God because God loves him. In a remarkable passage Bayazid says:

> "At the beginning I was mistaken in four respects. I concerned myself to remember God, to know Him, to love Him and to seek Him. When I had come to the end I saw that he had remembered me before I remembered Him, that His knowledge of me had preceded my knowledge of Him, His love towards me had existed before my love to Him and He had sought me before I sought Him."

Nayazid was one of those God-intoxicated Sufis who did not know what is other than God. He did not recognise his own self and said: 'I am myself in search of Bayazid'. For him, the only mission of the true seeker of God is to love God. Bayazid rejected ritualism and traditional worship of God because he committed everything unto God. He says:

> "I collected the entire worship of the people of the heavens and the earths and put it into a pillow and kept it under my head."

The state of '*fana*' or the soul's passing away in God is revealed when the Sufi attains perfect knowledge of God. This is achieved when the seeker becomes conscious of the existing identity between him and God. The true aspirant transcends even this awareness of unity and reaches a higher state of his unification with God. Hence, the Sufi is beyond all the mystical states in his spiritual experience of the ultimate knowledge of perfect unification. Bayazid says:

> "Creatures are subject to states (*ahwal*), but the gnostic has no 'state' because his vestiges are effaced, his essence is annihilated by the essence of another and his traces are lost in another's traces."

Truth (*al-Haqq*) is revealed when human knowledge passes away into the knowledge of the Divine Essence.

> "They asked: 'When does a man know that he has attained real gnosis?' He (Bayazid) said: 'At the time when he becomes annihilated under the knowledge of God and is made everlasting on the carpet of God, without self and without creature'". This is the real and the final state of '*fana*' or the unification with God. Bayazid explains it thus: "I went from God to God, until He cried from me in me, 'O Thou I', *i.e.*, I attained the stage of annihilation of God".

Bayazid interpreted the Islamic concept of '*tawhid*' or the Unity of God from a pantheistic stand-point. He says:

> "I came out from Bayazidness as a snake from its skin. Then I looked. I saw that lover, beloved and love are one because in the state of unification all can be one. Once He raised me up and caused me to stand before Him and said to me, 'O Abu Yazid, My creatures desire to behold thee'. I answered: 'Adorn me with Thy Unity and clothe me in Thy I-ness and raise me to Thy Oneness, so that when Thy creatures behold me they may say that they behold Thee and that only Thou mast be there not I'".

The Pure Self is a minor which reveals the glory of God.

> "For thirty years God was my mirror, now I am my own mirror, *i.e.*, that which I was I am no more, because 'I' and 'God' means polytheism. Since I am no more, God is His own mirror. Lo, I say that God is the mirror of myself for he speaks with my tongue and I cease to exist".

Certain sayings of Bayazid clearly indicate that he believed in perfect monism like Hallaj or Ibn al-'Arabi. 'Attar writes:

> "Someone asked him (Bayazid), 'what is the Divine Throne ('*arsh*)?' He said, 'I am it'. 'What is the base of the Divine Throne (*kursi*)?' I am it,' What is the Tablet and the Pen?' "I am they'" I am God, there in no god besides me so worship me". Glory be to us ! how great is our majesty!"

The Sufi's realisation of absolute oneness or perfect unification with God is related to a mystical experience which lies beyond expression. Every possible description deceives us and fails to convey the Soul's perfect unity with God. Sarraj quotes the following words of Bayazid in his *Kitab al-luma':*

> "As soon as I attained oneness (*wahdaniyyat*), I became a bird with a body of Unity (*adhiyyat*) and wings of everlastingness and I continued flying in the air of Quality (*kaifiya*) for ten years, until I reached an atmosphere a hundred million times as large (as that of Quality) and I flew and till I arrived at the plane of Elernity (*azaliyyat*) and there I found the tree of Unity.... Then I looked and I discovered that all this was a deception".

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EB

D

Dakkak, Sheikh Abu Ali

Sheikh Abu Ali Dakkak ('sheik Alov') was a Yasawi saint of the early twelfth century, near the village of Bagir in the Kopet Dagh mountains, not far from the capital, Ashkhabad. This is one of the oldest Turkment shrines, famous since the Middle Ages. The holy place underwent a long period of decay in the nineteenth century, but was 'reactivated' in the early twentieth century by Naqshbandi missionaries from Bukhara.

The *mazar* suffered from the 1948 earthquake but believers restored it. The pilgrimage remained intense until the late 1960s, attracting the Sunnis (Turkmens) as well as the Shi'as (Persians and Kurds). Until the late 1960s, the *mazar* had a permanent guardian *(mujevur)*, who was a Naqshbandi sheikh and who performed the religious rites. The guardian was then expelled, and since then the guardianship is assumed periodically by volunteers.

After the suppression of the *mujevur* there were fewer pilgrims, but, as Demidov writes, "the pilgrimage may be reactiated any time by the strengthening of religious propaganda" ("Mavzolei podnozhiia Kopet Daga—Pravda of sviatykh mestakh", *Turkmenskaia Ikra,* 2 March 1983). Demidov expresses the hope that in the future the shrine will be included among the historical-archaeological national monuments of Nyssa, on which territory it is situated, and that this may facilitate the progress of anti-religious work.

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Dhu 'l-Nun, Abu 'l-Fayd (796–861)

Abu' l-Fayd b. Ibrahim Dhu'l-Nun (A.D. 859) of Egypt is regarded as the father of theosophical mysticism by Sufis of all sects. He was the most learned and honoured Sufi of ninth century and was known as the 'Imam' or the spiritual leader of 'awliya' or saints of God. Early Sufi writers like Abu Nasr al-Sarraj and Abu'l-Qasim al-Qushayri acknowledged his scholarship and recognised his great contribution to Sufi thought. Hujwiri considered him as one of the "hidden

spiritualists (*'ayyaran*), for and trod the path of affliction and travelled on the road of blame (*malamat*). Farid Uddin 'Attar writes this about Dhu'l-Nun:

> "That chief among those who accept blame, that handle of those who gather at the Resurrection, that having become matchless in spiritualism an detachment from the world, the Master of Divine knowledge and the doctrine of the Unity of God, that demonstration of poverty—Dhu'l-Nun of Egypt was one of the keys of the Journey to God. He was a traveller on the path of affection and blame, possessed great insight into the Divine mysteries and Unity of God, observed Religious Law with perfection and practised self-discipline and miracles."

Dhu'l-Nun was the first Sufi who spoke on the doctrine of '*tawhid*' or 'Unity of God' in detail and introduced the concept of a pantheistic God. He also interpreted the mystical theories of repentance, blame, self-mortification and gnosis from a new standpoint.

Dhu 'l-Nun was born at Ikhmim, in Upper Egypt, about 180/796. His father was a Nubian and Dhu 'l-Nun was said to have been a freedman. He made some study of medicine and also of alchemy and magic and he must have been influenced by Hellenistic teaching. Sa'dun of Cairo is mentioned as his teacher and spiritual director. He travelled to Mecca and Damascus and visited the ascetics at Lubban, S. of Antioch; it was on his travels that he learnt to become a master of asceticism and self-discipline.

He met with hostility from the Mu'tazilla because he upheld the orthodox view that the Kur'ân was uncreated; he was condemned by the Egyptian Maliki 'Abd Allâh b. 'Abd al-Hakam for teaching mysticism publicly. Towards the end of his life he was arrested and sent to prison in Baghdad, but was released by order of the caliph Mutawakkil and returned to Egypt; he died at Djiza in 246/861.

He was called 'the head of the Sufis', a great teacher who had many disciples during his lifetime and afterwards. A few books on magic and alchemy, attributed to him, have survived, but his mystical teaching is found only in what has been transmitted by other writers, including his great contemporary, al-Muhasibi. There are many of his prayers recorded and also some poems of fine quality. He was the first to explain the Sufi doctrines and to give systematic teaching about the mystic states (*ahwal*) and the stations of the mystic way (*makamat*).

He taught the duty of repentance, self-discipline, renunciation and otherworldiness. Self, he considered, was the chief obstacle to spiritual progress and he welcomed affliction as a means of self-discipline. Sincerity in the search for righteousness he calls 'the sword of God on earth, which cuts everything it touches'. Solitude helps towards this end, 'for he who is alone sees nothing but God, and if he sees nothing but God, nothing moves him but the Will of God'.

Dhu 'l-Nun was the first to teach the true nature of gnosis (*ma'rifa*), which he describes as 'knowledge of the attributes of the Unity, and this belongs to the saints, those who contemplate the Face of God within their hearts, so that God reveals Himself to them in a way in which he is not revealed to any others in the world'. 'The gnostics are not themselves,

but in so far as they exist at all they exist in God'.

The gnostic needs no state, he needs only his Lord in all states, Gnosis he associates with ectasy (*wadjd*), the bewilderment of discovery. Dhu 'l-Nun used the word *hubb* for love to God, which means, he says, to love what God loves and to hate what God hates. But the love of God must not exclude love to man, for love to mankind is the foundation of righteousness. He is one of the first to use the imagery of the wine of love and the cup poured out for the lover to drink.

Dhu'l-Nun considered soul's inclination towards affliction and suffering as a great mystical achievement on the Divine Path. He says:

> "The Sufis desire fellowship with sickness and misfortune, keep company with anxiety and weakness, for such things in their life lead to healing. He who does not reckon affliction as grace is not one of the wise."

The saintly virtue of affliction makes the devotee humble in the presence of God and is sign of spiritual perfection.

> "God gives his servant no source of strength more powerful for him than when He leads him to humiliate himself."

Dhu'l-Nun distinguished between the repentance of an ordinary man and the repentance of a saint. An ordinary man repents his sins and immoral deeds of his past life on account of his consciousness about Resurrection and punishment in the life Hereafter, whereas the saint repents his 'heedlessness' or 'forgetfulness' in relation to his return to God. The mystic's repentance consists in his being ashamed of his negligence of the feeling of closeness to God.

Repentance of an ordinary man, based on the fear of God in relation to his turning towards God (*tawbat al-inabat*), does not indicate any kinship with God but the repentance of the aspirant (*tawbat al-istihya*) is concerned with a direct fellowship with God. The first form of repentance is concerned with outward behaviour; the second form of repentance is related to the saint's inward conduct and spiritual inclintion. The true repentance is that of the saints because it results in the realisation of higher spiritual stations on the Path.

The seeker's unceasing devotion on the way to God makes his inner eye fixed on his goal and he becomes separated from the worldly things. He thinks of God alone because he is moved by the will of God. This is achieved in the state of solitude. When the seeker sees nothing save God, he does not remain in any fixed state and possesses nothing. In loneliness the soul of the spiritualist cuts all the worldly ties, attains mystical perfection and rejoices in kinship with God. Such a detachment of the saint from all save God is to be regarded as a grace of God.

> "If you see that He separates you from His creatures, then He is giving you fellowship with Himself and if you see that He is giving you fellowship with His creatures, then know that He is separating you from Himself."

Dhu'l-Nun divides knowledge of God into three kinds—theological, philosophical and mystical. Theological knowledge is concerned with '*tawhid*' or unification. This knowledge is achieved through faith in Islam.

Philosophical knowledge deals with the concept of Ultimate Truth, reached through reason. Mystical knowledge is the knowledge of the Essence of God. It is gained by the saints after '*mushahada*' or the contemplation on God in their illuminated hearts.

> "The knowledge of God is three-fold: first, the knowledge of the Unity of God and this is common among the believers; second, the knowledge reached through arguments and demonstration and this is the knowledge of the wise, the eloquent and the learned and the third is the knowledge of the Attributes of Divine Unity and this belongs to the saints of God who contemplate on God within their hearts, so that God reveals Himself to them in a way in which He is not revealed to any man of the world."

Knowledge of the Divine Attributes or Godhead is the most perfect knowledge since it is realised through the soul's communion with God. Dhu'l-Nun believes:

> "The gnostic ('*arif*) is the knower without knowledge, without sight, without information, without apprehesion, without description, without manifestation and without veil. They (gnostics) are not in themselves and if they are in themselves at all, they exist but in God. Their actions are held by God and their words are the words of God uttered by their tongues and their sight is the sight of God penetrated into their eyes."

God says:

> "When I love a devotee, I, the Lord, become his ear so that he hears trough Me, I become his eye so that he sees through Me. I become his tongue so that he speaks through Me and I become his hand so that he possesses through Me."

For Dhu'l-Nun, it is God's love towards His devotee which makes the attainment of the true knowledge of God possible. It is in this respect that the Sufi's rank can be regarded as higher than that of the theologian or the philosopher.

Mystical knowledge of God is experienced in different stages on the upward path. At the fist plane, the aspirant gains knowledge when he attains perfection in repentance. At the second plane, Divine knowledge is achieved when kinship with God is realised. At the third and final stage of gnosis, the seeker after Truth gains knowledge of the Divine Essence; this is revealed to him by God Himself.

Dhu'l-Nun like most of the early orthodox Sufis, acknowledged 'shai'a' or the Law of Religion and considered its pursuit necessary for the follower of the spiritual path.

> "The sign of love of God is to follow the 'Friend of God', i.e., the Prophet, in his manners, deeds, orders and customs."

Those who follow the path recommended by the Prophet rejoice in the Vision of the Infinite and Universal God. They realise that God is 'All-prevailing', 'All-knowing' and 'All-true'. Divine Qualities are revealed in their heart through the process of negation. Dhu'l-Nun says:

> "Whatever you imagine, God is the opposite of that."

Abu'l-Hasan Sari al-Saqati (A.D. 867) was a learned Sufi who was spiritually initiated by Ma'ruf al-Karkhi. He systematised and arranged different stages of the mystic path. The genuine mystic, according to Sari al-Saqati, dwells in the state of Unity. For him, the worst punishment from God is his separation from Him. He says:

"O God ! whatever punishment Thou mayst inflict upon me, do not punish me with the humiliation of being veiled from Thee."

Dhu 'l-Nun was a practical mystic, who describes in detail the journey of the soul on its upward way to the goal, and gives to Sufi conception of the unitive life in God.

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F

Al-Fuwati, Hisham B. 'Amr (9th Century)

Hisham B. 'Amr al-Fuwati (or al-Fawtl) was a Mu'tazili of Basra. He was the pupil of Abu'l-Hudhayi. After having probably been a wandering propagator of I'tizal, he went to Baghdad during the caliphate of al-Ma'mun and died there at a date not known exactly, but probably before 218–833.

His personal doctrine which had a certain influence on al-Ash'an differs appreciably, according to Ibn al-Nadim, from the teachings of the other Mu'tazila, but the data given by the heresiographers are not always in agreement. Thus, according to al-Baghdadi, he forbade murder of any kind, whereas according to al-Shahrastani, he allowed the assassination of opponents of I'tizal and in that respect showed a fanaticism unusual among the Mu'tazila.

Al-Shahrastani emphasises the extremism of his theory of free-will, for al-Fuwati denies the intervention of God in the affairs of man, even when a verse of the Qur'an states that God caused men to do such and such a deed. 'Things' not being eternal, God cannot know them before having given them existence, for a 'thing' is the realization of the essence within existence, that which has been created by God.

He rejects the doctrine that God can be seen with the heart and holds that it is not the accidents that prove that God is creator, but material things that is to say the substance which are realized when God gives them existence. Al-Fuwati regards as infidels those who believe that heaven and hell already exist, since these are for the moment unnecessary.

In politics, he tends to the Sunni view; he holds that the imam ought to be elected, but he would allow this only in a time of calm and order which al-Shahrastani considers a sign of hostility towards the caliphate of 'Ali.

The basic points of the doctrine of al-Fuwati are now known only from the heresiographers, but Ibn al-Nadim attributes to him the following works: *Hisham B. 'Amr al-Fuwati; K. al-Makhluk; K al-Radd 'ala 'l-Asamm fi nafy al-harakat; K. Khalk al-Kur'an; K. al-Tawhid; K. Djawab ahl Khurasan; Kitab ila ahl al-Basra; K. Usul al-Khams (sic); K. 'ala 'l-Bakriyya; Kitab 'ala abi 'l-Hudhayi fi 'l-na'im.*

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EB

G

Gojuq Baba

Gojuq Baba was an eminent sufi in the Leinin district (Tashauz region) Gojuq Baba. Second by order of prestige (after the *mazar* of Ismamut Ata) of all tribal shrines of northern Turkmenistan.

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EB

H

Hamadani, Yusuf (d. 1140)

Yusuf Hamadani was one of the greatest Sufi saints of Central Asia (died in 1140), founder of the Khwajagan *tariqat*, master of Ahmed Yasawi and of Najmuddin Kubra; in the city of Bayram Ali, in he region of Mary. The tomb is situated close to a working mosque and is therefore protected by the Muslim Spiritual Board of Central Asia.

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I

Ibn 'Adjiba, Abu 'l-'Abbas Ahmad B. (1740/7–?)

Ibn 'Adjiba, Abu 'L-'Abbas Ahmad B. Muhammad B. Al-Mahdi Ibn 'Adjiba Al-Hasani, Moroccan Sufi of Sharifian origin, was one of the most distinguished representatives of the mystical order of the Darkawa. He was born in 1160 or 1161/1740–7 at al-Khamis, an important village of the Andjra tribe (Mediterranean coastal region of Morocco, between Tangier and Tetuan). Having been attracted from his childhood to devotional observance and religious learning, he studied assiduously the 'reading' of the Kur'an, theology, holy law and philology, first with local fukaha', then in Tetuan, where his tutors were 'Abd al-Karim Ibn Kurish, Muhammad Djanwi and Muhammad Warzizi, and family in Fez, where he gained licenses to teach (idjaza) from Tawdi Ibn Suda and Muhammad Bannis.

When about thirty years old, he returned to Tetuan and there taught shari'a and wrote works of fikh and hadith and his first commentaries on mystical works. Greatly impressed by reading the Hakam of Ibn 'Ata' Allah of Alexandria, he decided to devote himself to the way of mysticism and, in 1208/1794, became a disciple of shaykh Muhammad al-Buzidi (d. 1814), a direct pupil of Mawlay Darkawi. He now made a dramatic break with his past life, renounced his office and his possession, donned the patched garment (murakka'a), became a beggar and a water-carrier, and was even thrown into prison for several days in Tetuan with other fukara' charged with reprehensible innovations (bid'a).

After this time of trial, of which he has left a very vivid account in his autobiography (Fahrasa), he achieved enlightenment and the role of spiritual guide (shaykh tarika). He set out then to preach the 'return to God' and the Sufi path in the northern villages of the Djbala, where he founded numerous zawiyas. His literary output during these years was most prolific and it reveals a great pedagogic ability, in which the teaching of the fakih is harmoniously integrated in an original mystical experience, and in which exoteric knowledge (al-'ilm al-zahir) provides the basis for achieving esoteric knowledge (al-'ilm al-batin).

It was Ibn 'Adjiba's mastery in treating allusions of a spiritual kind ('ilm al-ishara) which was to earn him his enduring fame.

Struck down by plague, he died in his master's house, in Ghmara, on 7 Shawwal 1224/15 November 1809. His tomb, which dominates the hamlet of Zammidj (20 kilometres south-east of Tangiers), is the focal point every year of a mawsim (14 September) celebrated by the Darkawa-'Adjibiyya.

In his Fahrasa, Ibn 'Adjiba drew up a list of his works, which appears to follow approximately the chronological order of their composition. It is as follows, with the addition of a few details on the published works:

(1) and (2) *Sharh al-Hamziyya* and *Sharh al-Burda* (al-Busiri);

(3) *Sharh al-Wazifa* (Zarruk);

(4) *Sharh al-Hizb al-kabir* (Shadhili);

(5) *Sharh Asma' Allah al-husna;*

(6) *Sharh al-Munfaridja* (Ibn Nahwi);

(7) *Sharh Ta'iyya* (Dja'idi);

(8) *K. fi 'ilm al-niyya;*

(9) *K. fi dhamm al-ghiba wa-madh al-'uzla wa 'l-samt;*

(10) *Ta'lif fi 'l-adhkar al-nabawiyya*

(11) *Arba'in hadith;*

(12) *al-Kira'at al-'ashara;*

(13) *Azhar al-bustan* (Tabakat milikiyya);

(14) *Hashiya 'ala Mukhtasar Khalil*;

(15) *Sharh Hism al-Hasin* (Djazari);

(16) *Sharh al-Hikam* (Ibn 'Ata' Allah (pub. in combination with

(17) Cairo, 1331/1913, and separately, Cairo 1381/1961);

(18) *Sharh al-Mabahith al-asliyya* (Tudjibi); (18) *Sharh Tasliya* (Ibn Mashish);

(19–21) *Shark al-Fatiha* (3 separate commentaries on the first sura of the Kur'an, one of them short, another long and the third very brief);

(22) *Tafsir al-Kur'an* (commentary on *the Kur'an* in 4 volumes, of which in and ii at least have been published: Cairo 1375/1955 and 1376/1956);

(23–26) *Shark Kasida fi 'l-suluk* (Buzidi);

(27) *K. fi 'l-kada' wa-l-kadar;*

(28) *Sharh abyat* (Ibn 'Arabi);

(29) *Fi 'l-khamra al-azaliyya;*

(30) *Fi 'l-talasim* (this work, and the preceding one, are short metaphysical treatises in which the author propounds, without actually naming it, the theory of the oneness of existence: wahdat al-wudjud. In the first, he demonstrates how the Divine Essencee remains identical to itself before and after its irradiation—tadjalli—in existence; in the second, he describes the existential veils behind which the one Essence conceals itself and through which it may be grasped according to three increasingly perfect modes of unity: tawhid al-f'al, tawhid al-sifat, tawhid al-dhat);

(31) *Sharh Tasliya* (Ibn 'Arabi);

(32) *Sharh Naniyya* (Shushtari)

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(34–35) *Sharh Ta'iyya fi 'l-Khamra* (two commentaries, one short and one long, on a poem by his master Buzidi);

(36) *Shar al-Adjurrumiyya* (commentary on two levels, grammatical and esoteric, of the treatise on grammar by Ibn Adjurrum; a tadjrid giving only the esoteric commentary has been published, Istanbul 1315);

(37) *Hashiya 'ala 'l-Djami' al-saghir* (al-Suyuti);

(38) *Diwan* (4 kasidas and various tawshihat, about 200 verses in all). To this list must be added:

(39) the Fahrasa itself and some works not mentioned therein, probably because they were composed not long before the author's death:

(40) *Sharh 'A yniyya* (al-Djili);

(41) *Tabsirat darkawiyya;*

(42) *Ta'rif Mawlay Darkawi;*

(43) *Fi 'l-mawadda;*

(44) *Ahzab* (*Hizb al-hifz, Hizb al-izz and Hizb al-fath*).

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Ibn Al-'Arif, Abu'l 'Abbas (1088–1141)

Abu'l 'Abbas Ahmad B. Muhammad B. Musa B. 'Ata' Allah Al-Sanhadji Ibn Al-'Arif, was a distinguished man of intellect and celebrated Sufi, He was born, according to Ibn Khallikan, on Monday, 2 Djumada I, 481/24 July 1088 and died on Marrakush 23 Safar 536/27 September 1141.

His father had once been '*arif* in Tangier, that is to say he was employed as head of the guard responsible for keeping watch in the town at night. From this circumstance came his surname Ibn al-'Arif. Although naturally inclined to a studious life, the young Ahmad was apprenticed to a weaver. However, his marked vocation for study became ever stronger and could not be resisted, in spite of castrates and threats. In the end, in Almeria, he was able to receive religious and philological instruction and to satisfy his taste for poetry. He earned a reputation as a traditionalist, reader of the Qur'an and poet. He taught in Saragossa, Valencia and Almeria.

It was in this last town that he had his greatest success. His exemplary life and his aptitude for asceticism and meditation enabled him to become a respected Sufi, surrounded by many disciples. Almeria was at that time one of the most vigorous centres of Andalusian Sufism, one of the focal points of opposition to the Almoravid fukaha'. It was, there that a solemn condemnation was made, in a collective fatwa, of the destruction of the books of al-Ghazali ordered by the kadi of Cordova, Ibn Hamdin.

Ibn al-'Arif was initiated into Sufism by Abu Bakr Ibn 'Abd al-Baki. The complete chain of the succession will be found in the text of his epitaph, published and translated by G. Deverdun. We may note in it in particular the name of one of the disciples of Djunayd (298/910), Abu Sa'id Ahmad b. al-A'rabi (d. 311/951–2), whom Ibn Masarra, according to M. Asin Palacios (Abenmasarra y su escuela, Madrid, 1914,35), was later to meet in Mecca.

Now, it is known that the teaching of Ibn Masarra (269–319/883–931) exercised a profound and lasting influence on Andalusian Sufi circles until the period of the dissemination, in the Muslim West, of the doctrines of al-Ghazali, which seemed to infuse fresh, faithful blood into the old Spanish esoteric school, imparting to it a new vitality and above all, a firm resolve to resist the persecutions of the fukaha'. Men such as Ibn Barradjan of Seville, Abu Bakr al-Mayuki of Granada and Ibn Kasi, who rebelled in the Algarve, owed the greater part of their firmness and intransigence to the Ihya'.

The first-named appeared to the local authorities to be highly dangerous. Did he share his views with Ibn al-'Arif? Ibn al-Khatib (Kitab A'mat al-a'lam, ed. Levi-Provencal, Rabat, 1934, 286) writes that he was naziruhu fi 'l-khulla, his equal in the matter of friendship with God. Fragments of a correspondence exchanged between the two men, discovered and published by Father Nwyia, show that Ibn al-'Arif addressed Ibn Barradjan as though he were his master. There can be no doubt that they were closely linked together. In summoning them both to Marrakush, together with Abu Bakr al-Mayurki, the Almoravid 'Ali b. Yusuf wanted to make it clear that he intended to have their case examined conjointly by his fukaha'.

Ibn Barradjan was invited to give an explanation of certain statements of his which were considered heretical. Thrown into prison, he died there shortly afterwards. Ibn al-'Arif, on the other hand, was treated liberally. The sovereign ordered that he should be released from the chains in which he had been put at the instigation of his enemy, the kadi of Almeria, Ibn al-Aswad. He received him honourably at court and granted him liberty to go wherever he wished. But he had scant time to profit from this favourable treatment, for shortly after this unfortunate episode he died. It is supposed, though one cannot be certain of it, that Ibn al-Aswad had him poisoned. The renown for saintliness that he enjoyed, his unanimously recognised noble reputation and the favourable treatment accorded him by the court show clearly that, although belonging to the opposition, Ibn al-'Arif was not as fully compromised by political activities as was Abu Bakr al-Mayurki, who took to flight when summoned to Marrakush, or again as was Ibn Barradjan, whose body the prince ordered to be thrown on to the town dunghill.

The only work of Ibn al-'Arif known today is the short work entitled Mahasin al-madjalis, studied and translated by M. Asin Palacios. Ibn al-'Arabi of Murcia found it extremely valuable— to quote the eminent spanish scholar—"in justifying and vindicating the most daring theses of his immanentist pantheism".

The tomb of 'Sidi Bell'arif' is in Marrakush. His biographers record that he was buried near the ancient mosque of 'Ali, in the centre of the town, in the funerary enclosure (rawda) of kadi Abu 'Imran Musa b. Hammad.

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EB

Ibn Al-Farid (1181–)

'Umar B. 'Ali (Sharaf Al-Din) Abu 'L-Kasim Al-Misri Al-Sa'di Ibn Al-Farid was a celebrated Sufi poet. The name al-Farid (allocator of shares in an inheritance) refers to the profession of his father (see *Diwan,* Cairo 1319, 3), who belonged to Hamat but migrated to Cairo, where 'Umar was born in 576/1181. In early youth he studied Shafi'i law and *hadith;* then came his conversion to Sufism, and for many years he led the life of a solitary devotee, on the hills (al-Mukattam) to the east of Cairo, in deserts among wild beasts, and afterwards in the Hidjaz, and he had a vision of the Prophet.

On his return to Cairo he was venerated as a saint until his death (632/1235), and his tomb beneath al-Mukattam is still frequented. The *Diwan* of Ibn al-Farid, though small, is

one of the most original in Arabic litertature. Possibly, the minor odes, which exhibit a style of great delicacy and beauty and a more or less copious use of rhetorical artifices, were composed in order to be sung with musical accompaniment at Sufi concerts (Nallino, in *RSO*, vii, 17); in these the outer and inner meanings are so inter woven that they may be read either as love-poems or as mystical hymns. But the *Diwan Khamriyya* or Wine Ode, describing the 'intoxication' produced by the 'wine' of Divine Love, and (2) the *Nazm al-Suluk* or 'The Poem of the Progress', a poem containing 760 verses, which is often called *al-Ta'iyya al-kubra* to distinguish it from a much shorter ode rhyming in the same letter, *t*.

In this famous *kasida*, nearly equal in length to all the rest of the *Diwan* together, Ibn al-Farid sets forth a penetrating psychological description of the whole series of mystical experiences, a unique masterpiece and an instructive work, in which the mystic's experiences are seen as a realization of Muslim orthodoxy. Among Sufis the *Ta'iyya* occupies the position of a classic, and many commentaries have been written on it.

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EB

Ibn 'Aliwa (1869–?)

Ibn 'Aliwa, Shaykh Abu 'l-'Abbas Ahmad B. Mustafa Al-'Alawi Al-Mustaghanimi, *sufi* and poet, born at Mostaganem in Algeria in 1286/1869 of a distinguished but at that time indigent family. He never went to school and his handwriting remained unprofessional all his life, but he was taught to read and given lessons in the Kur'an by his father, though even these had to be cut shore owning to his family's poverty, which forced him, at an early age, to take to cobbling and then later to open a small shop.

In his spare time he attended a course of lessons in the Islamic doctrine of Divine Unity (*tawhid*). His father died when he was 16 and not long afterwards he entered the 'Isawi *tarika*, where he became quite expert in the "wonder-working" practices of that order. He soon, however, began to have doubts about the spiritual value of these practices and gradually ceased to attend the meetings, but he continued, as he tells us, to charm snakes by himself until he came into contact with Muhammad al-Buzidi, a shaykh of the Darkawi-Shadhili tarika, who told him one day to bring a snake and charm it in front of him. When this had been done, he told him never to revert to the practice again but to devote himself to mastering the far more poisonous and intractable snake of his own soul. Having received him into his tarika he forbade him to

continue attending the course of lessons, on the grounds that tawhid was too transcendent for purely outward or mental understading and that it requires inward or intellectual understanding, to awaken which he told him to concentrate on the invocation of the Divine Name, dhikr Allah. Later, he authorised him to resume the lessons. He made him a mukaddam, with authority to initiate novices into the order, at the age of 25.

On the death of the *shaykh* al-Buzidi 15 years later, in 1909, the members of the order insisted that Ahmad b. 'Aliwa should be their *shaykh*. Some five years later, he decided to make his zawiya independent of the mother-zawiya of the Darkawa in Morocco and the new branch was styled al-Tarika al-'Alawiyya al-Darkawiyya al-Sadhiliyya, whence he himself came to be known as the Shaykh al-'Alawi. One of the reasons for the 'rupture', which seems to have taken place more or less amicably, was that he felt the need to introduce, as part of his method, the practice of spiritual retreat (khalwa) in an isolated cell under his close supervision rather than in the wilds of nature according to the traditional Darkawi-Shadhili practice.

His fame spread over North Africa and a large *zawiya* overlooking the sea was built at Tidgitt, the purely Arab quarter of Mostaganem. As perhaps, the most eminent representative of Sufism in his day and looked upon by many as the mudjaddid (renewer) of Islam in its 14th century, he inevitably came into conflict with the enemies of Sufism, in particular members of the 'reformist' Salafiyya group. Partly as an antidote to their paper al-Shihab, published at Constantine, he started a weekly review at Algiers, al-Balagh al-Djaza'iri, in which in addition to his vindication of Sufism, he attacked the so-called 'reformers' for their continual yielding to the modern age at the expense of religion.

For Muslims in general, he stressed the importance of mastering classical Arabic and inveighed against westerniszation and in particular against the wearing of modern European dress. Although he discouraged his fellow-countrymen from becoming naturalised French citizens and although the amir 'Abd al-Karim al-Khattabi was among his disciples and in correspondence with him, the French authorities avoided taking any drastic action against him personally; but they were uneasy about him, on account of his great influence and at least once his movements were restricted.

By the time of his death in 1934, he was said to have more than 200,000 disciples; he had zawayat all over North Africa and also in Damascus, Jaffa, Gaza, Faluja, Aden and Addis Ababa and in Europe at The Hague, Marseilles, Paris and Cardiff. His numerous Yemei disciples, many of them seamen, established also other zawaya at various ports.

Ahmad b. 'Aliwa was a great lover of poetry and music. According to one of the many Europeans who knew him, "a remarkable radiance emanated from him, an irresistible personal magnetism"; according to another, to meet him was like "coming face to face, in mid-twentieth century, with mediaeval Saint or a Semitic Patriarch". As regards the title of A. Berque's monography on him, Un mystique moderniste (Revue Africaine, 1936, 691–776), the 'modernism' appears to have been nothing other than the breadth of his spiritual interests:

> "To the very end he remained a lover of metaphysical investigation. There are few problems which he had not broached, scarcely any philosophies whose essence he had not extracted".

This intellectual amplitude went hand in hand with a profound conservatism and an implacable orthodoxy. Especially characteristic of him is his insistence on the ideal of doing justice to the religion of Islam as an indivisible triplicity, islam, iman and ihsan (corresponding to law, dogma and mysticism) by fulfilling, in the highest sense, each domain, so that they become respectively istislam (joyous submission to the law), ikan (certainty of faith) and 'iyan (beatific vision). One of the Kur'anic verses most often quoted by him is:

> "He is the First and the Last and the Outwardly Manifest and the Inwardly Hidden",

a verse on which, amongst others, is grounded the basic doctrine of Islamic mysticism, wahdat al-wudjud, Oneness of Being. Most of his writings and not least his poems, contain masterly formulations of this doctrine.

Apart form one tract, Nur al-ithmid, which is confined to the domain of jurisprudence (concerning the posture of the hands in the ritual prayer), his other writings, about 15 in all, are directly or indirectly on Sufism. Of special importance is al-Minah al-kuddusiyya written during his shaykh's life-time and with his encouragement and extensive commentary on Ibn 'Ashir's al-Murshid al-mu'in. Here, he expounds the inward or mystical significance of every feature of Islamic doctrine and ritual, including even details of the sunna.

In al-Unmudhadj al-farid, using the symbolism of the letters of the alphabet, he treats of the highest aspect of the doctrine, expounding the relationship between the Divine Essence, Divine Being and the Supreme Spirit. The starting point for this treatise appears to be 'Abd al-Karim al-Djili's al-Kahf wa 'l-Rakim, but Ahmad b. 'Aliwa's treatment is the more subtle. in Lubab al-'ilm fi Surat Wa-'l-Nadja, he explains the nature of the Prophet's two visions referred to in Kur'an LIII, one with the heart (fu'ad) and the other with the eye (basar).

These three works, together with his poems (the third edition of his Diwan was published in Damascus in 1963), are perhaps, the most profound of his writings. His earliest book in vindication of Sufism, al-Kawl al-ma'ruf, first published in 1920, was followed up in 1927 by Risalat al-Nasir Ma'ruf, an anthology of pronouncements in praise of Sufism by eminent jurists and theologians from the 2nd/8th until the present century. The first part of al-Mawadd al-ghaythiyya, his commetary on the aphorisms of Shu'ayb Abu Madyan, was published in 1942, but the second part has not yet been published, neither has his commentary on the Surat al-Fatiha and the first 40 verses of the Sural al-Bakara, in which each verse is given four different interpretations ranging from the literal to the purely spiritual. The unique manuscripts of these unpublished works are at Mostaganem.

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Ibn Arabi (1165–1240)

The boldest and most radical attempt to express the mystical version of reality in Neo-Platonic terms, however, is without doubt that of Ibn 'Arabi, he travelled extensively throughout Spain, North Africa and the Near East and settled eventually in Damascus, where he died in 1240. His initiation to *Sufism* appears to have started at Almeria, where the school of Ibn Masarrah (d. 931) philosopher and *Sufi* flourished. In addition to Ibn Masarrah, his prescursors included al-Tirmidhi (d. 898), al-Wasiti (d. 942) and Ibn al-Arif (d. 1141).

He was enjoined in a vision to journey east and so visited Mecca in 1201. There he was commanded to begin the writing of his voluminous work, *al-Futuhat* aul-*Makkiyah* (*The Mecca Revelations)* and mere the girl who was to become his wife, a Persian *Sufi*. From Mecca he travelled throughout the Near East, visiting Mosul, Conia, Baghdad, Cairo and finally Damascus, which he made his home in 1223 and where he spent the last years of his life.

According to the latest research, no fewer than 846 works are attribuited to Ibn. 'Arabi, of which 550 have come down to us. Out of this vast number, almost 400 appear to be genuine. In many of these Ibn 'Arabi states explicitly that in writing them he was prompted directly by God or commanded by the Prophet. We have already seen, in the case of al-Hallaj, the claim that God uses the mystic as His mouthpiece or instrument.

Ibn 'Arabi's doctrine, as embodied in his two major works, *al-Futuhat al-Makkiyah* and *Fusus al-Hikam* (The Gems of Wisdom), centers around the concept of the unity of being (*wahdat al-wujud*). The starting point of his speculation, however, is the theory of the Logos. According to him, to every prophet corresponds a reality, which he calls a Logos (*Kalimah*) and which is an aspect of the unique Divine Being. But for the self-manifestation of the divine in these Logio or prophetic epiphanies, which start with Adam and culminate in Muhammad, the nature of the Supreme Being would have remained forever hidden.

As the fount of all reality, this Being is essentially undivided, eternal and immutable. Ibn 'Arabi distinguishes between the hidden aspect of this Being, which can neither be known nor described and is the aspect of unity (*ahadiyah*) and the aspect of lordship

(*rububiyah*), through which God enters into relationship with the world and becomes an object of worship, as Lord and Creator. In the first aspect there is no plurality or opposition and no determination of any kind. Hence, God is spoken of in this respect as the pure light, the pure good, or simply the Blindness (*al-'Ama'*). In the second, there is multiplicity and differentiation, in so far as God is both the Creator and the multitude of created objects.

God is multiplied only through His attributes or modifications. Considered in Himself, He is the Real (*al-Haqq*). Considered in relation to His attributes as manifested in the multiplicity of possible entities, He is the Creation (*al-khalq*). The two, however—the one and the many, the first and the last, the eternal and the temporal, the necessary and the contingent—are essentially one and the same reality.

The creation exist originally in the divine mind, as a series of arche-types, called by Ibn 'Arabi 'fixed entities' (*a'yan thabitah*). But God, who had remained hidden, desired to manifest Himself visually, so to speak and thus, called forth the whole creation into being by His divine fiat (*al-amr*), which is to Him what a mirror is to the image, the shadow to the figure and number to the unit. His motive in this act of bringing the world into being out of nothing is love, as expressed in the Tradition:

> "I was a hidden treasure and I wished [Arabic: loved] to be known."

The highest manifestation or epiphany of the divine is the human prototype, identified by Ibn 'Arabi with Adam and called the Adamic Logos or perfect man. Indeed, the existence of this perfect man is the very warrant of the preservation of the world and the *raison d'etre* of its existence.

The concept of the perfect man, who was created in God's image and likeness, goes back to al-Hallaj and has played an important part in the *Sufi* attempt to rationalise the God-man relationship. Accordingly to Ibn 'Arabi, divinity and humanity are not two distinct natures, but rather two aspects which find their expression at every level of creation. Divinity corresponds to the hidden or inward (*batin*) aspect of any reality, humanity to the external or outward (*zahir*).

In philosophical terminology, the first corresponds to substance, the second to accident. The manifestation of reality reaches its consummation in man. Man is thus, the microcosm or compendium of the whole creation, who embodies in himself all the perfections of the macrocosm as well as that of the divine nature itself. It was for this reason that he was designated (in the *Koran*) as God's vicegerent on earth (*khalifah*).

Although Ibn 'Arabi speaks of the human race or Adam's progency as a whole in terms of such superlative praise, he reserves to the prophets and saints a position of undoubted pre-eminence among the rest of mankind and to Muhammad the title of the truly 'perfect man.' As the fullest manifestation of God, the perfect man corresponds to the prophetic Logos, of which the 'reality of Muhammad' is the expression. By this is to be understood, not the historical personality of Muhammad, but rather his eternal spirit or essence as the bearer of the highest and final revelation of God's word. This reality is identified by Ibn

'Arabi with the first intellect or universal Reason of Neo-Platonic cosmology.

The general class of 'perfect men' or prophets are direct manifestations of this intellect of which Muhammad is the highest, whereas other prophets are so many inferior or subordinate manifestations. Not only is the reality of Muhammad the primary Logos through which God's will is revealed to mankind, but it is the creative principle through which the world is created. In this respect it is clearly analogous to the Christian Logos, through which, as St. John has put it, 'everything was made which was made.' Moreover, it is analogous to the Shi'ite concept of the *Imam*, represented as God's vicegerent on earth and the pivot of the whole creation and its very *raison d'etre*.

Man is thus, for Ibn 'Arabi, the embodiment of universal Reason and the being in whom all the attributes or perfections of God are reflected. In addition it belongs to man alone to know God fully. The angels know Him as a transcendent or spiritual reality only, whereas man knows Him in His dual character as essential reality (*Haqq*), on the one hand and the manifestation of this reality in the phenomenal world (*Khalaq*), on the other.

The human or rational Soul is distinguished by Ibn 'Arabi from the animal or bestial. Like Aristotle he identifies the latter with the vital principle in the animal, but like Plotinus he holds it to be part of the universal Soul. However, this Soul is material, permeates the body and has its seat in the heart. The rational Soul, on the other hand, is immaterial and indestructible. Unlike Ibn Rushd and the Arab Neo-Platonists generally, he does not believe in its eventual reunion with the universal Reason, of which it forms a part. Instead, God will create a vehicle for the Soul, similar to this world, to which it will go upon leaving the body.

This rational Soul or spirit (*ruh*) is diametrically opposed to the body, which is its temporary abode in this world. Hence, it cannot be either a part of, nor a power in, the body, but is a simple substance which dominates all the subordinate powers of the animal Soul and is a member of the 'world of command' or spiritual realm.

What the rational Soul actually knows, at the highest level of mystical experience, is ultimately the unity of the whole and its own identity with it. When the Soul has achieved this condition, it is no longer conscious of itself as a separate entity and may therefore, be said to have attained to mystical stage or annihilation (*fana'*) of which *Sufis* from al-Junayd down had become accustomed to speak. Such a Soul becomes dead, not only to itself, but also to the world as a whole and is conscious of no entity, quality, or activity in the world other than God.

In attaining this stage, the Soul would have attained the final goal of all human endeavour and realized intuitively and experientially the absolute unity of all things. This final stage of mystical awareness might be called, as al-Ghazali had called it, the stage of annihilation or extinction in unity (*al-fana' fi' l-tauhid*).

The subsequent course of *Sufism* is of minor interest to the historian of Islamic ideas With Ibn 'Arabi *Sufism* had attained the zenith

of its development and its creative energy had been spent. Ibn 'Arabi combined in his grandiose system the urge of the early *Sufis* to cut themselves off from the world, on the one hand and to achieve a sense of the unity of all things, on other. In addition, like Rabi'ah and similar ascetics, he raised love, particularly the love of God, to the level of a ritual religious creed.

Three of Ibn 'Arabi's contemporaries or successors, Ibnu'l-Farid (1235), 'Attar (d. 1229) and Jalal al-Din Rumi (d. 1273), gave the most moving expression in verse of the profound emotions of wonder, love, elation and sheer incomprehensible attendant upon the mystical experience, which other mystics had tried to express in more sober philosophical terms.

Ibn Sab'in (d. 1270), a countryman and follower of Ibn 'Arabi, expressed his version of unity of being in terms of the Aristotelian concept of the form and reacted violently against Muslim Neo-Platonism. A century or so later 'Abd al-Karim al-Jili (d. 1428), the last great *Sufi* and poet, continued the speculation of Ibn 'Arabi on the themes of the perfect man, the reality of Muhammad and emanation and exploited some of them, especially that of the perfect man, to the full.

On the popular religious plane, the trend *Sufism* followed was the more practical or social one of fraternities. Thus, the al-Qadiriyah order, founded by 'Abd al-Qadir al-Kilani (or Jilani) (d. 1166) in Baghdad, spread in the nineteenth century throughout the Muslim world, from India to Morocco and claims an active following in the Western Sudan today. Another order, al-Rifa'iyah, was founded by Ahmad al-Rifa'i (d. 1175) and differs from the former in the greater degree of fanaticism or superstition characteristic of its practices. Another order founded in Egypt during the invasion of St. Louis by Ahmad al-Badawi (d. 1276) (hence its name Ahmadiyah or Badawiyah) has its centre today in Tanta in lower Egypt.

Both in Western Asia and in North Africa *Sufi* orders became deeply entrenched in popular life. During the reign of Almohades, *Sufism* received the official recognition and support of the state, probably for the first time in the history of Islam. A characteristic feature of North African *Sufism* is its *maraboutisme* or cult of saints. The *Maraboute* sects spread south as fast as the Niger and west as far as Egypt. Their success was due in part to the fact that they found a fertile soul in the vestiges of animism and magic among the Berbers of North Africa.

One of the best-known *Sufi* orders of all time is the Shadhiliyah. Founded by the disciples of Shadhili (d. 1256) in Tunis, it spread throughout North Africa and its off-shoots (such as al-Tijaniyah and al-Rahminiyah) continue to have some influence in Morocco and Algeria up to the present day.

Despite the tendency of this popular type of mysticism to degenerate into a corporation of those who merely seek ecstasy through the mechanical repetition of the divine name Allah, *Sufism* has repeatedly resorted its vitality in modern times. We might mention here the remarkable case of Ben 'Aliwa (d, 1934), who found at the turn of the century a *Sufi* order that enjoyed great popularity at one time, even among European intellectuals, chiefly in

France and Switzerland. The monism of Ben'Aliwa was even more radical than that of Ibn 'Arabi and his doctrine was marked by a greater degree of syncretism. In general, however, both this order and the other more ancient orders are continually battered in the Muslim world today by the most diverse forces: secularism, nationalism and modernism, on the one hand and neo-orthodoxy, as championed by the Wahhabis in Arabia, the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt and similar conservative groups, on the other.

Ibn 'Arabi was born at Mucia—South-east of Spain—on the 17th of Ramadan 560/28th of July 1165. His *nisbah*—l-Hatimi al-Ta'i—shows that he was a descendant of the ancient Arab tribe of Tayy—a fact which proves that Muslim mysticism was not the exclusive heritage of the Persian mind as some scholars maintain. He came from a family well-known for their piety. His father and two of his uncles were Sufis of some renown. He received his early education at Seville which was a great centre of learning at the time. There, he remained for thirty years studying under some of the great scholars of that city such as abu Bakr b. Khalaf, ibn Zarqun, and abi Muhmmad 'Abd al-Haqq al-Ishbili. At Seville he also met a number of his early spiritual masters such as Yusuf b. Khalaf al-Qumi who was a personal disciple of Shaikh abu Madyan and Salih al-'Adawi whom he describes as a perfect ascetic. He refers to such men in terms of admiration and gratitude in his *Futuhat* and *Risalat al-Quds* and acknowledges his debt to them for the initiation he had received from them into the Path of Sufism.

While making Seville his permanent place of residence, he travelled widely throughout Spain and Maghrib establishing wherever he went fresh relations with eminent Sufis and other men of learning. He visited Cordova, while still a lad and made acquaintance with ibn Rushd, the philosopher, who was then the judge of the city.

In 590/1194, he visited Fez and Morocco. At the age of 38, i.e., in 589/1193, he set out for the East during the reign of Ya'qub b. Yusuf b. 'Abd al-Mu'min, the Sultan of Africa and Andalusia. His apparent intention was to perform his pilgrimage, but his real aim was perhaps, to seek settlement in another country for away from the very much troubled West. The political and religious atmosphere there was stifling and men like ibn 'Arabi were looked upon with suspicion both by the narrow-minded theologians and the ruling morarchs.

The Sultans of the Muwahhids and Murabits feared them for the influence they had over their followers and the possible danger of using these followers for political purposes as was the case with abu al-Qasim b. Qasi, head of the Muridin, who was killed in 546/1151. The Malikite theologians of the West were most intolerant towards the new school of thought that was beginning to take shape at the time. Even al-Ghazali's teaching was rejected and his books committed to the flames. The East, on the other hand, was more tolerant and more ready to accept new ideas and movements. Yet, not the whole of the East can be said to be so, for when ibn 'Arabi visited Egypt in 598/1201, he was ill-received by some of its people and an attempt was made on his life.

After leaving Egypt he travelled far and wide throughout the Middle East visiting

Jerusalem, Mecca (where he studied and taught *Hadith* for a time), the Hijaz, Baghdad, Aleppo and Asia Minor. He finally settled down in Damascus until he died on the 28th of Rabi' al-Thani 638/17th of November 1240. He was buried in Mount Qasiyun in the private sepulchre of Qadi Muhyi al-Din b Al-Dhaki.

Ibn 'Arabi is one of the most prolific authors in Muslim history. He is adequately described by Brockelmann as a writer of colossal fecundity. There are at least 140 extant works which bear his name, varying from short treatises of some few pages to voluminous books like the *Futuhat*. The exact number of his works is uncertain. Sha'rani gives the figure of 400 and the Persian author Jami, the much exaggerated figure of 500. Muhammad Rajab Hilmi, in a book entitled *al-Burhan al-Azhar fi Manaqib al-Shaikh al-Akbar*, enumerates 284 books and tracts.

In the 'Memorandum' which ibn 'Arabi himself drew up in the year 632/1234, six years before his death, he gave the titles of 251 of his writings and said that that was as far as be could remember. The writing of the 'Memorandum' has its significance. It provides a written evidence against anyone who might attempt to forge books in his name; and there must have been many amongst his enemies in the East who made such attempts.

To establish the identity and authenticity of all the works that have been ascribed to him is a task which has not been undertaken by any scholar yet. But we know within limits the genuineness of most of his major works, although doubt might arise with regard to certain parts of their contents. If what Sha'rani says about the *Futuhat* is true, it would make us wonder how much of this most important book is genuinely ibn 'Arabi's and how much of it is foisted upon him. When he tried to summarise the *Futuhast*, Sha'rani said, he came across certain passages which he thought were in conflict with the established opinions of the orthodox Muslims.

He omitted them after some hesitation. One day, he was discussing the matter with Shaikh Shams al-Din al-Madani (d. 955/1548), who produced a copy of the *Futuhat* which had been collated with ibn 'Arabi's own MS. of the book at Quniyah. On reading it he discovered that it contained none of the passages which he had omitted. This convinced him, he goes on to say, that the copies of the *Futuhat* which were in current use in Egypt in his time contained parts which had been foisted upon the author as done in the case of the *Fusus* and other works.

This may very well have been the case, but having not yet read the Quniyah MS of the *Futuhat* which is still extant, one is unable to say how it compares with the printed texts of our time. A critical edition of the book based on the Quniyah MS. is of utmost importance. Indeed it might considerably alter our knowledge of ibn 'Arabi's mystical philosophy. What seems more certain is that many works or parts of works were written by later disciples of ibn 'Arabi's school and attributed to him; and many others were extracted from his larger works and given independent titles. All these exhibit the same strain of thought and technique which characterisse his genuine works. Such facts account, partly at least, for the enormous number of works which are usually attributed to him.

Although his output was mainly in the field of Sufism, his writings seem to have covered the entire range of Muslim scholarship. He wrote on the theory and practice of Sufism, Hadith, Qur'anic exegesis, the biography of the Prophet, philosophy, literature, including Sufi poetry and natural sciences. In dealing with these diverse subjects he never lost sight of mysticism. We often see some aspects of his mystical system coming into prominence while dealing with a theological, juristic, or even scientific problem. His mystical ideas are imperceptibly woven into his writings on other sciences and make it all the more difficult to understand him from a mixed and inconsistent terminology.

The dates of only ten of his works are definitely known, but we can tell, within limits, whether a work belongs to his early life in Spain and al-Maghrib, or to his later life in the East. With a few exceptions, most of his important works were written after he had let his native land, principally at Mecca and Damascus; and his maturest works like *Futuhat*, the *Fusus* and the *Tanazzulat* were written during the last thirty years of his life. His earlier works, on the other hand, are more of the nature of monogrphs written on single topics and show no sign of a comprehensive philosophical system.

It seems that it is his contact with the resources and men of the East that gave his theosophical speculations their wide range and his mystical system or philosophy its finality. His *opus magnum*, as far as mystical philosophy is concerned, is his celebrated *Fusus al-Hikam* (Gems of Philosophy of Bezels of Wisdom) which he finished at Damascus in 628/1230, ten years before his death. The rudiments of this philosophy are to be found scattered throughout his monumental *Futuhat* which he started at Mecca in 598/1201 and finished about 635/1237. The general theme of the *Fusus* was fore-shadowed in the *Futuhat* in more places than one and more particularly in Vol. II, pp. 357–77.

Pattern of Thought and Style: The extraordinary complexity of ibn 'Arabi's personality is a sufficient explanation of the complexity of the manner of his thinking and his style of writing. It is true that sometimes he is clear and straight-forward, but more often—particularly when he plunges into metaphysical speculations—his style becomes twisted and baffling and his ideas almost intractable. The difficulty of understanding him sometimes can even be felt by scholars who are well-acquainted with the characteristic aspect of his thought.

It is not so much what he intends to say as the way in which he actually says it that constitutes the real difficulty. He has an impossible problem to solve, viz., to reconcile a pantheistic theory of the nature of reality with the monotheistic doctrine of Islam. His loyalty to both was equal and indeed, he saw no contradiction in holding that the God of Islam is identical with the One who is the essence and ultimate ground of all things.

He was a pious ascetic and a mystic, besides being a scholar of Muslim Law, theology and philosophy. His writings are a curious blend of all these subjects. He is forever trying either to interpret the whole fabric of the teaching of Islam in the light of his pantheistic theory of the unity of all being, or to find justification for this theory in some

Islamic texts. The two methods go hand in hand, with two different languages, i.e., the esoteric language of mysticism and the exoteric language of religion, used concurrently.

Logically speaking, Islam is irreconcilable with any form of pantheism, but ibn 'Arabi finds in the mystic experience a higher syntesis in which Allah and the pantheistic One are reconciled. Interpretation within reasonable limits is justifiable, but with ibn 'Arabi it is a dangerous means of converting Islam into pantheism or *vice versa.* This is most apparent in the *Fusus a*nd to a certain extent in the *Futuhat,* where the *Qur'anic* text and traditions of the Prophet are explained mystically or rather pantheistically. Furthermore, while he is thus occupied with eliciting from the *Qur'anic* text his own ideas, he gathers round the subject in hand material drawn from all sources and brings it all into the range of his meditation. This accounts for the very extensive and inconsistent vocabulary which makes his writings almost unintelligible.

Whenever he is challenged or he thinks he would be challenged about the meaning of a certain statement, he at once brings forth another meaning which would convince the challenger. He was asked what he meant by saying:

> *"O Thou who seest me, while I see not Thee,*
> *How oft I see Him, while He sees not me!"*

He replied at once, making the following additions which completely altered the original sense, by saying:

> "*O Thou who seest me* ever prone to sin,
> *While Thee I see not* willing to upbraid:
> *How oft I see Him* grant His grace's aid *While*
> *He sees me not* seeking grace to win."

Similarly, when his contemporaries read his *Tarjuman al-Ashwaq*, which is supposed to be written on divine love, they could see in the *Diwan* nothing but erotic poems describing beautiful women, lovely scenes of nature and ordinary human passions. They accused the Shaikh of being in love with Shaikh Makin al-Din's daughter whose physical and moral qualities he describes in the introduction of the *Diwan.*

On hearing this he wrote a commentary on the work explaining it all allegorically. He did not deny that he loved al-Nizam—the beautiful daughter of Makin al-Din. What he denied was that he loved her in the ordinary sense of human love. For him. she was only a symbol, a form, of the all-pervading beauty which manifests itself in the infinite variety of things.

> "Every name I mention," he says, "refer to her; and every dwelling I weep at is her dwelling...yet the words of my verses are nothing but signs for the spiritual realities which descend upon my heart. May God guard the reader of this *Diwan* against entertaining thoughts which do not become men with bobble souls and lofty aspirations, for the hearts of such men are only occupied with heavenly things."

It is not improbable that ibn 'Arabi made a deliberate effort to complicate the style, as Professor E.G. Browne remarks, in order to conceal his ideas from the narrow-minded orthodox and the uninitiated. He certainly succeeded, partly at least, in covering his pantheistic ideas with an apparel of *Qur'anic* texts and Prophetic traditions—a fact which is largely responsible for the controversy which raged throughout the Muslim world regarding his orthodoxy.

But it is also possible, as we have already remarked, that he was equally convinced of the truth of Islam and of his own philosophical system which was verified by his mystical experience. In this case there is no need to talk about concealment of ideas or intentional complexity of style.

It would be a mistake to judge ibn 'Arabi by the ordinary canons of logic He is undoubtedly a thinker and founder of a school of thought, but he is pre-eminently a mystic. His mystical philosophy, therefore, represents the union of thought and emotion in the highest degree. It is a curious blend of reasoned truths and intuitive knowledge. He is also a man of colossal imagination. His dialectical reasoning is never free from forceful imagery and mystic emotions.

In fact, his thought seems to be working through his imagination all the time. He dreams what he thinks, yet there is a deep under-current of reasoning running through. He does not always prove his ideas with a formal dialect, but refers his readers to mystic intuition and imagination as the final proof of their validity. The world of imagination for him is a real world; perhaps even more real than the external world of concrete objects. It is a world in which true knowledge of things can be obtained. His own imagination was as active in his dreams as in his waking life. He tells us the dates when and was as active in his dreams as in his waking life.

He tells us the dates when and the places where he had the visions, in which he saw prophets and saints and discoursed with them; and others in which a whole book like the *Fusus* was handed to him by the Prophet Muhammad who bade him "take it and go forth with it to people that they may make use thereof." He calls this an act of revelation or inspiration and claims that many of his books were so inspired. He says:

> "All that I put down in my books is not the result of thinking or discursive reasoning. It is communicated to me through the breathing of the angel of revelation in my heart. All that I have written and what I am writing now is dictated to me through the breathing of the divine sprit into my spirit. This is my privilege as an heir not as an independent source; for the breathing of the spirit is a degree lower than the verbal inspiration."

Such claims point to a super-natural or super-mental source by which ibn 'Arabi's writings were inspired. Yet in discussing the problem of revelation (*kashf* and *wahi*) in general, he emphatically denies all outside super-natural agents and regards revelation as something which springs from the nature of man. Here are his own words:

> "So, if any man of revelation should behold an object revealing to aim gnosis which he did not have before, or giving him something of which he had no possession, this 'object' is his own *ain* (essence) and naught besides. Thus, from the tree of his 'self' he gathers the fruit of his own knowledge, just as the image of him who stands before a polished mirror is no other than himself."

Revelation, therefore, is an activity of man's soul, when all its spiritual powers are summoned and directed towards production. It is not due to an external agent, neither is it the work of the mind as we usually know it. What is sometime seen as an 'object' revealing knowledge to an inspired man is nothing but a projection of his own 'self.'

Ibn 'Arabi is quite consistent with himself when he denies an outside source of divine inspiration, for man, according to him, like everything else, is in one sense divine. So, there is no need to assume a duality of a divine revealed and a human receiver of knowledge.

Another very important aspect of his thought is its digressive character. He has offered the world a system of mystical philosophy, but nowhere in his books can we find this system explained as a whole or with any appreciable degree of unity or cohesion. He goes on from one subject to another with no apparent logical connection, pouring out details which he draws from every conceivable source. His philosophical ideas are widely spread among this mass of irrelevant material and one has to pick them up and piece them together. That he has a definite system of mystical philosophy is a fact beyond doubt.

It is hinted at in every page in the *Fusus* and in many parts of the *Futuhat*; but the system as a complete whole is to be found in neither. It is extra-ordinary that he admits that he has intentionally concealed his special theory by scattering its component parts throughout his books and left the task of assembling it to the intelligent reader. Speaking of the doctrine of the super-elect (by which he means the doctrine of the Unity of all Being), he says:

> "I have never treated it as a single subject on account of its abstruseness, but dispersed it throughout the chapters of my book (the *Futuhat*). It is there complete but diffused, as I have already said. The intelligent reader who understands it will be able to recognise it and distinguish it from any other doctrine. It is the ultimate truth beyond which there is nothing to obtain."

The third aspect of his thought is its eclectic character. Although he may rightly claim to have a philosophy of religion of his own, many of the component elements of this philosophy are derived from Islamic as well as non-Islamic sources. He had before him the enormous wealth of Muslim sciences as well as the treasures of Greek thought which were transmitted through Muslim philosophers and theologians. In addition, he was thoroughly familiar with the literature of earlier Sufis.

From all these sources he borrowed whatever was pertinent to his system; and with his special technique of interpretation he brought whatever he borrowed into line with his own ideas. He read into the technical terms of traditional philosophy and theology—as he did with the *Qur'anic* terms—totally different meanings. He borrowed from Plato, Aristotle, the Stoics, Philo and the Neo-Platonists terms of which he found equivalents in the *Qur'an* or in the writings of the Sufis and Scholastic Theologians. All were used for the construction and defence of his own philosophy from which he never wavered.

Controversy about His Orthodoxy: There has never been in the whole history of Islam another man whose faith has been so much in question. The controversy over Ibn 'Arabi's orthodoxy spread far and wide and occupied the minds of the Muslims for centuries. We may even say that some traces of it are still to be found. Muslim scholars in the past were not concerned with his philosophy or mysticism as such, but with how far his philosophical and mystical ideas were in harmony or disharmony with the established dogmas of Islam. Instead of studying him objectively and impartially and putting him in

the place he deserves in the general frame of Muslim history, they spent so much time and energy in trying to prove or disprove his orthodoxy. No work could have been more futile and un-rewarding.

The difference of opinion on this subject is enormous. By some ibn 'Arabi is considered to be one of the greatest figures of Islam as an author and a Sufi, while others regard him as a heretic and impostor. His peculiar style perhaps, is largely responsible for this. The ambiguity of his language and complexity of his thoughts render his ideas almost intractable, particularly to those who are not familiar with his intricate ways of expression. He is a writer who pays more attention to ideas and subtle shades of mystical feelings than to words.

We must, therefore, attempt to grasp the ideas which lie hidden beneath the surface of his conventional terminology. Again, we must not forget that he is a mystic who expresses his ineffable experience—as most mystics do—in enigmatic language. Enigmas are hard to fathom, but they are the external expression of the feelings that lie deep in the heart of the mystic.

People who read ibn 'Arabi's books with their eyes fixed on the words misunderstand him and misjudge him. It is these who usually charge him with infidelity (*kujr*) or at least with heresy. Others who grasp his real intention uphold him as a great mystic and a man of God. A third class suspend their judgement on him on the ground that he spoke in a language which is far beyond their ken. They have nothing to say against his moral or religious life, for this, they hold, was beyond reproach.

It seems that the controversy about his religious beliefs started when a certain Jamal al-Din b. al-Khayyat from the Yemen made an appeal to the '*ulama*' of different parts of the Muslim world asking them to give their opinion on Ibn 'Arabi to whom he attributed what Firuzabadi describes as heretical beliefs and doctrines which are contrary to the consensus of the Muslim community. The reaction caused by the appeal was extra-ordinarily varied. Some writers condemned ibn 'Arabi right out; others defended him with great zeal.

Of this latter class we may mention Firuzabadi, Siraj al-Din al-Makhzumi, al-Siraj al-Balqini, Jalal al-Din at-Suyuti, Qutb al-Din al-Hamawi, al-Qutb al-Shirazi, Fakhr al-Din al-Razi and many others. Both Makhzumi and Suyuti wrote books on the subject. They could see no fault with ibn 'Arabi except that he was misunderstood by people who were not of his spiritual rank. Suyuti puts him in a rank higher than that of Junaid when he says that he was the instructor of the gnostics (*'arifin*) while Junaid was the instructor of the initiates (*muridin*).

All these men are unanimous in according to ibn 'Arabi the highest place both in learning and spiritual leadership. They recognise in his writings a perfect balance between Shari'ah (religious Law) and *Haqiqah* (the true spirit of the Law), or between the esoteric and exoteric aspects of Islam.

The greztest opposition appeared in the eighth and ninth/fourteenth and fifteenth centuries when an open war was declared against speculative Sufism in general and that of ibn 'Arabi and ibn al-Farid in particular.

The Hanbalite ibn Timiyyah (d. 728/1328), with his bitter tongue and uncompromising attitude towards the Sufis, led the attack. He put these two great mystics in the same category with Hallaj, Qunawi, Ibn Sab'in, Tilimsani and Kirmani as men who believed in incarnation and unification. In this respect, he said, they were even worse than the Christians and the extreme Shi'ites. He does not even distinguish between the mystical ravings of Hallaj, the deeply emotional utterances of Ibn al-Farid, the cold-blooded and almost materialistic pantheism of Tilimsani and the monastic theology of ibn 'Arabi. They were all guilty of the abominable doctrines of incarnationism and pantheism. Curiously enough, he was less violent in his criticism of ibn 'Arabi's doctrine which, he said, was nearer Islam than any of the others.

By far the worst enemy of ibn 'Arabi and ibn al-Farid and most insolent towards them was Buran al-Din Ibrahim al-Biqa'i (d. 858/1454). He devoted two complete books to the refutation of their doctrines, not sparing even their personal characters. In one of these books entitled *Tanbih al-Ghabi 'ala Takfir ibn 'Arabi* (Drawing the Attention of the Ignorant to the 'nductility of ibn 'Arabi) he says:

> "He deceived the true believers by pretending to be one of them. He made his stand on the ground of their beliefs; but gradually dragged them into narrow corners and led them by seduction to places where perplexing questions are lurking. He is the greatest artist in confusing people; quotes authentic traditions of the Prophet, then twists them around in strange and mysterious ways. Thus, he leads his misguided followers to his ultimate objective which is the complete overthrowing of all religion and religious beliefs. The upholders of such doctrines hide themselves behind an outward appearance of Muslim ritual such as prayer and fasting. They are in fact atheists in the cloaks of monks and ascetics and veritable heretics under the name of Sufis."

These accusations are unjust as they are unfounded. Ibn 'Arabi, it is true, does interpret the *Qur'an* and Prophetic traditions in an esoteric manner and he is not the first or the last Sufi to do it, but his ultimate aim is never the abandonment of religious beliefs and practices as Biqa'i maintains. On the contrary. he did his utmost to save Islam which he understood in his own way. The change of pretence and hypocrisy is contradicted by the bold and fearless language in which ibn 'Arabi chooses to express himself, He does not pretend to be a Muslim in order to please or avoid the wrath of true believers to whom Biqa'i refers. He believes that Islam which preaches the principle of the unity of God could be squared with his doctrine of the unity of all Being and this he openly declaress in the strongest terms. He may have deceived himself or expressed the mystical union with God in terms of the metaphysical theory of the unity between God and the phenomenal world, but he certainly tried to deceive no one.

In contrast to Biqa'i's terrible accusations, we should conclude by citing the words of Balqini who had the highest opinion of ibn 'Arabi. He says:

> "Yes should take care not to deny anything that Shaikh Muhyi al-Din has said, when he—may God have mercy upon him—plunged deep into the sea of gnosis and the verification of truths, mentioned towards the end of his life in the *Fusus*, the *Futuhat* and the *Tanazzulat*—things which are fully understood only by people of his rank."

Influence on Future Sufism: Although ibn 'Arabi was violently attacked by his adversaries for his views which they considered unorthodox, his teachings not only survived the attacks, but exercised the most profound influence on the course of all future Sufism. His admirers in the East, where he spent the greater part of his life, called him *al-Shaikh l-Akbar* (the Greatest Doctor), a title which has never been conferred on another Sufi since. It pointed to his exceptional qualities both as a great spiritual master and a Sufi author—and it is held to be true of him to this day. He marks the end of a stage where speculative Sufism reached its ulminating point. The centuries that followed witnessed the rapid spread of Sufi orders all over the Muslim world; and Sufism became the popular form of Islam wih much less theory and moire ritual and practice.

The founders of the Fraternities were better known for their piety and spiritual leadership than for their speculation. This is why ibn 'Arabi's theosophy and mystical philosophy remained unchallenged. They were in fact the only source of inspiration to anyone who discoursed on the subject or the Unity of all Being, whether in Arabic-speaking countries or in Persia of Turkey. Some writers of his own school, such as 'Abd al-Karim al-Jili and 'Abd al-Razzaq al-Kashani, did little more than reproduce his ideas in a different form.

Other schools of Sufis were not entirely free of his influence, at least as far as his terminology was concerned. The tremendous commentary of Arusi on Qushari's *Risalah,* which is the classical model of Sunni Sufism, abounds with ideas and terms borrowed from ibn 'Arabi works.

His influence seems to show itself most markedly in the delightful works of the mystic poets from the seventh/thirteenth to the ninth/fifteenth century. 'Iraqi, Shabistari and Jami were all inspired by him. Their wonderful odes are in many respects an echo of the ideas of the author of the *Fusus* and the *Futuhat,* cast into magnificent poetry by the subtle genius of the Persian mind. They overflow with the ideas of divine unity and universal love and beauty. God, is described as the source and ultimate ground of all things. He is forever revealing Himself in the infinite forms of the phenomenal world. The world is created anew at every moment of time; a continual process of change goes on, with no repetition and no becoming. The divine light illuminated the potential, non-existent realities of things. When these realities become actualised in space and time, they reflect, like mirrors, the divine names which give them their external existence. The phenomenal world is the theatre wherein all the divine names are manifested. Man is the only creature in whom these names are manifest collectively.

These are but a few of the many ideas which the mystic poets of Persia borrowed from ibn 'Arabi and to which they gave an endless variety of poetical forms. It is said that 'Iraqi wrote his *Lama'at* hearing Sadr al-Din Qunawi's lectures on the *Fusus* and Jami who commented on the same book wrote his *lawa'ih* in the same strain. The following is an extract from 'Iraqi's *Lama'at* which sums up ibn Arabi's theory of the microcosm (man):

> "Through Form," he said, "proclaims me Adam's son,
> My true degree a higher place hath won.
> When in the glass of Beauty I behold,

The universe my image doth unfold:
In Heaven's Sun behold me manifest—
Each tiny moleculedoth me attest....
Light but a flash of my pervading Sea,
Light but a flash of my vast Brilliancy:
From Throne to Carpet, all that is doth seem
Naught but a Mote that rides the sunlit Beam,
When Being's Veil of Attributes is shed,
My Splendour o'er a lustrous World is spread...."

Unity of All Being: The most fundamental principle which lies at the root of ibn 'Arabi's whole philosophy, or rather theologico-philosophical and mystical thought, is the principle of the 'Unity of All Being' (*wahdat al-wujhud*). Perhaps the word 'pantheism'is not a very happy equivalent, partly becuae it has particular associations in our minds and also because it does not express the full significance of the much wider doctrine of the Unity of All Being as understood by our author. From, this primoridial conception of the ultimate nature of reality all his theories in other fields of philosophy followed with an appreciable degree of consistency.

Much of the criticism levelled against ibn 'Arabi's position is due to the misuderstanding of the role which he assigns to God in his system—a fact which attracted the attention of even ibn Taimiyyah, who distinguishes between ibn 'Arabi's *wahdat al-wujud* and that of other Muslim pantheists. He says that "ibn Arabi's system is nearer to Islam in so far as he discriminates between the One who reveals Himself and the manifestations thereof, thus establishing the truth of the religious Law and insisting on the tidal and theological principles upon which the former Shaikhs of Islam had insisted," In other words, ibn Tamiyyah does not wish to put ibn 'Arabi in the same category with Tilimsani Isra'ili and Kirmani whom he condemns as atheists and naturalists.

Ibn 'Arabi's pantheism is not a materialistic view of reality. The external world of sensible objects is but a fleeting shadow of the Real (*al-Haqq*), God. It is a form of acosmism which denies that the phenomenal has being or meaning apart from and independently of God. It is not that cold-blooded pantheism in which the name of God is mentioned for sheer courtesy, or at the most, for logical necessity to consistency. On the contrary, it is the sort of pantheism in which God swallows up everything and the so-called other-than-God is reduced to nothing. God alone is the all-embracing and eternal reality. This position is summed up in ibn 'Arabi's own words:

"Glory to Him who created all things, being Himself their very essence (*'ainuha*)";

and also in the following verse:

"O Thou Who hast created all things in Thyself,
Thou unitest that which Thou createst.
Thou createst that which existed infinitely
In Thee, for Thou art the narrow and the all-embracing".

Reality, therefore, is one and indivisible. We speak of God and the world, the One and the many, Unity and multiplicity and such other terms when we use the language of the senses and the unaided intellect. The intuitive knowledge of the mystic reveals nothing but absolute unity which—curiously, enough— ibn 'Arabi identities with the Muslim doctrine of unification (*tauhid*). Hence, the further and more daring identification of his pantheistic doctrine with Islam as the religion of unification.

"Base the whole affair of your seclusion (*khalwah*)," he says, "upon facing God with absolute unification which is not marred by any (form of) polytheism, implict or explicit and by denying, with absolute conviction, all causes and intermediaries, whole and part, for indeed if you are deprived of such *tauhid* you will surely fall into polytheism".

This, in other words, means that the real *tauhid* of God is to face Him alone and see nothing else, and declate Him the wole agent of all that exists. But such a view points at once to a fact long overlooked by scholars of Muslim mysticism i.e., Muslim pantheism (*wahdat al-wujud*) is a natural—though certainly not a logical—development of the Muslim doctrine of *tauhid* (unification). It started with the simple belief that "there is no god other than God", and under deeper consideation of the nature of Godhead, assumed the form of a totally different belief, i.e., there is nothing in existence but God. In ibn 'Arabi's case the absolute unity of God, which the absolute unity of all things in God. The two statements become equivalent, differing only in their respective bases of justification. The former has its root in religious belief or in theological or philosophical reasoning or both; the latter has its final justification in the unitive state of the mystic. We have a glimpse of this tendency in the writings of the early mystics of Islam such as Junaid of Baghdad and abu Yazid of Bistam, but they they speak of *wahdat al-shuhud* (unity of vision) not of *wujud* (Being), and attempt to develop no philosophical system in any way comparable to that of ibn 'Arabi's.

It is sufficiently clear now that according to ibn 'Arabi reality is an essential unity—substance in Spinoza's sense; but it is also a duality in so far as it has two differentiating attributes: *Haqq* (God) and *khalq* (universe). It can be regarded from two different aspects. In itself it is the undifferentiated and Absolute Being which transceds all spatial and temporal relations. It is a bare monad of which nothing can be predicated or known, if by known, if by knowledge we mean the apprehension of a thing through our senses and discursive reasons.To know in this sense is to determine that which is known; and determination is a form of limitation which is contrary to the nature of the Absolute. The Absolute Monad is the most indeterminate of all indeterminates (*ankar al-nakirat);* the thing-in-itself (*al-shi*) as ibn 'Arabi calls it.

On the other hand, we can view reality as we know it; and we know it invested with divine names and attributes. in other words, we know it in the multiplicity of its manifesations which make up what we call the pehenomenal world. So, by knowing ourselves and the phenomenal world in genera, we know reality of which they are particualr modes. In ibn 'Arabi's own words 'we'—and this goes for the phenomenal world as well—'are the names by which God descrbes Himself'. Weare His names, of His external aspects. Our essence are His essence and this constitues His internal aspect. Hence reality is One and many; Unity and multiplity; eternal and temporal; transcendent and immanent. It is capable of receiving and uniting in itself all conceivable opposites. Abu Sa'id al-Kharraz (d. 277/890) had already discovered this truth when he said that God is known only by uniting all the opposites which are attributed to him. 'He is called the First and the Last:

the External and the Internal. He is the Essence of what is manifested and of that which remains latent; The Inward says no when the Outward says:

> "I am; and the Outward says says no when the Inward says I am and so in the case of every pair of contraries. The speaker is One and He is identical with the Hearer."

Thus, ibn 'Arabi's thought goes on moving within that closed circle which knows no beginning and no end. His thought is circular because reality as he envisages it is circular. Every point on the circle is potentially the whole with an eye on the centre of the circle (the divine essence), we can say that each point is identical with the essence in one respect, different from it in another respect. This explains the verbal contradictions with which ibn 'Arabi's books abound.

Sometimes, he becomes nearer the philosophers than the mystics when he explains the relation between God and the universe. Here we have. theories reminiscent of the Platonic theory of ideas and the Ishraqi's doctrine of intelligible existence (*al-wujud al-dhihni*) and the scholarsic theory of the identification of substance and accidents (the theory of the Ash'arites). He says:

> "Before coming into existence things of the phenomenal world were potentialities in the bosom of the Absolute".

They formed the contents of the mind of God as ideas of His future becoming. These intelligible realities are what he calls "the fixed prototypes of things" (*al-a'yam al-thahitah*). God's knowledge of them is identical with His knowledge of Himself. It is a state of self-revelation or self-consciousness, in which God saw (*al-a'yan al-thabitah*). God's knowledge of them is identifical with His knowledge of Himself.

It is a state of self-revelation of self-consciousness, in which God saw (at no particular point of time) in Himself these determinate "forms" of His own essence. But they are also latent states of His mind. So they are both intelligible ideas in the divine mind as well as particular modes of the divine essence. Hence the *a'yan al-thabitah* are identified on the one hand, with the equiddity (*mahiyyah*) of things, and, on the other hand, with their essence (*huwiyyah*).

The former explains the first aspect of the *a'yan* as ideas; the latter, their second aspect as essential modes. He calls them non-existent in the sense that they have no extential modes He calls them non-existent in the sense that they have no external existence, on the one hand, and no existence apart from the divine essence, on the other. They are the prototypes and causes of all external existents because they are the potential relations between the divine names as well as the potential modes of the divine essence. When these potentialities become actualities we have the so-called external world. Yet, there is no real becoming, and no becoming in space and time. The process goes on from eternity to evelastingness.

This complicated relation between the One and the many is nowhere systematically explained in ibn Arabi's works, not even in the *Fusus*. A certain formal dialectic can be detected in the *Fusus* where the author attempts to explain his metaphysical theory of reality, but the thread of the formal reasoning

is often interrupted by outbursts of mystic emotion. Ibn 'Arabi is essentially a mystic, and in the highest degree a dreamer and fanatist was we have already observed. He often uses symbols and similes in expressing the relation between the multiplicity of the phenomenal world and their essential unity. The One reveals Himself in the many, he says, as an object is revealed in differing mirrors, each mirror reflecting an image determined by its nature and its capacity as a recipient. Or it is like a source of light from which an infinite number of lights are derived. Or like a substance which penetrates and permeates the forms of existing objects: thus, giving them their meaning and being. Or it is like a mighty sea on the surface of which we observer countless waves forever appearing and disappearing. The eternal drama of existence is nothing but this ever-renewed creation (*al-khalq al-jadid*) which is in reality a process of self-revelation. Or again, he might say, the One is the real being and the phenomenal world is its shadow having no reality in itself.

But beautiful as they are, such similes are very ambiguous and highly misleading. They are at least suggestive of a duality of two beings: God and the universe, in a system which admits only an absolute unity. Duality and multiplicity are illusory. They are due to our incapacity to perceive the essential unity of things. But this oscillation between unity and duality is due to confusing the epistemic side of the issue with its ontological side. Ontologically, there are two aspects: a reality which transcends the phenomenal world, and a multiplicity of subjectivities that find their ultimate explanation in the way we view reality as we know it. To our limited senses and intellects the external world undergoes a process of perpetual change and transformation. We call this creation but it is in fact, a process of self-unveiling of the One Essence which knows no change.

Notion of Deity: In spite of his metaphysical theory of the nature of reality, ibn 'Arabi finds a place for God in his system. His pantheism like that of Spinoza, is to be distinguisehd from the naturalistic philosophy of the Stois and the materialistic atheists. God that figures in his metaphysics as an unknown and incommunicable reality, beyond thought and description, appears in his theology as the object of belief, love and worship. The warmth of religious sentiment displayed in his writings attaches itself to his conception of God in the latter sense which comes close to the monotheistic conception of Islam. Indeed he tries his utmost to reconcile the two conceptions; but his God is not in the strict religious sense confined to Islam or any other creed. He is not the ethical and personal God of religion, but the essence of all that is worshipped and loved in all religions:

> "God has ordained that ye shall worship naught but Him".

This is interpreted by ibn 'Arabi to mean that God has decreed that nothing is actually worshipped except Him. This is an open admission of all kinds of worship, so long as the worshippers recognize God behind the external 'forms' of their gods. They call their gods by this or that name, but the gnostic (*al-'arif*) calls his God 'Allah' which is the most universal of all names of God. Particular objective of worship are creations of men's minds, but God, the Absolute, is untreated.

We should, not, therefore, confine God to any particular form of belief to the exclusion of other forms, but acknowledge Him in all forms alike. To limit Him to one form—as the Chrisians have done—is infidelity (*kufr*); and to acknowledge Him in all forms is the spirit of true religion. This universal religion which preaches that all worshipped objects are forms of One Supreme Diety is the logical corollary of ibn 'Arabi's metaphysical theory that reality is ultimately one. But it has its deep roots in mysticism rather than in logic. It is nowhere better expressed than in the following verse:

> "People have different beliefs about God
>
> But I behold all that they believe".

And the verse:

> "My heart has become the receptacle of every 'form';
> It is a pasture for gazelles and a convent for Christian monks.
> And a temple for idols, and pilgrims Ka'bah,
> And the Tablets of the Torah, and the Book of the *Qur'an*.
> I follow the religion of love whichever way its camels take,
> For this is my religion and my faith".

So, all paths lead to one straight path which leads to God. It would be a gross mistake to think that ibn 'Arabi approves of the worship of stones and stars and other idols, for these as far as his philosophy is concerned are non-existent or mere fabrications of the human mind. The real God is not a tangible object; but one who reveals Himself in the heart of the gnostic. There alone He is beheld.

This shows that ibn 'Arabi's theory of religion is mystical and not strictly philosophical. It as its root in his much wider theory of divine love. The ultimate goal of all mysticism is love; and in ibn 'Arabi's mystical system in particular, it is the full realization of the union of the lover and the Beloved. Now, if we look deeply into the nature of worship, we find that love forms its very basis. To worship is to love in the extreme. No object is worshipped unless it is invested with some sort of love; for love is the divine principle which binds things together and pervades all beings. This means that the highest manifestation in which God is worshipped is love. In other words, universal. love and universal wroship are two aspects of one and the same fact. The mystic who sees God (the Beloved) in everything worships Him in everything. This is summed up in the following verse:

> "I swear by the reality of Love that Love is the Cause of all love. Were it not for Love (residing) in the heart, Love (God) would not be worshipped".

This is because Love is the greatest object of worship. It is the only thing that is worshipped for its own sake. Other things are worshipped through it.

God, as an object of worship, therefore, resides in the heart as the supreme object of love. He is not the efficient cause of the philosophers or the trascendent God of the Mu'tazilites. He is in the heart of His servant and is nearer to him than his jugular vein. "My heaven and my earth contain Me not", says the Prophetic tradition, "but I am contained in the heart of My servant who is a believer".

God and Man It was Husain b. Mansur al-Hallaj (d. 309/922) who first laid down the foundation for the theory that came to be

known in the writings of ibn 'Arabi and 'Abd al-Karim al-Jili as the Theory of the Perfect Man. In the final form in which ibn 'Arabi cast it, it played a very important role in the history of Muslim mysticism. Hallaj's theory was a theory of incarnation based on the Jewish tradition which states that "God created Adam in His own image"—a tradition which the Sufis attributed to the Prophet. He distinguished between two natures in man: the divine (*al-lahut*) and he human (*al-nasut*). The two natures are not united but fused, the one into the other, as wine is fused into water. Thus, for the first time in the history of Islam a divine aspect of man was recognised, and man was regarded as a unique creature not to be compared with any other creature on account of his divinity.

The Hallajian idea was taken up by ibn 'Arabi, but completely transformed and given wider application. First, the duality of *lahut* ad *nasut* became a duality of aspects of one reality, not of two independent natures. Secondly, they were regarded as actually present not only in man but in everything whatever; the *nasut* being the external aspect of a thing, the *tahut,* its internal aspect. But God who reveals Himself in all phenomenal existence is revealed in a most perfect and complete way in the form of the perfect man, who is best represented by prophets and saints.

This forms the main theme of the *Fusus al-Hikam* and *al-Tadbirat al-Ilahiyya* of ibn Arabi, but many of its aspects are dealt with in his *Futuhat* and other works. Each one of the twenty-seven chapters of the *Fusus* is devoted to a prophet who is both a Logos (*kalimah)* of God and a representative of one of the divine names. They are also cited as examples of the perfect man. The Logos *par excellence* is the Prophet Muhammad or rather the reality of Muhammad, as we shall see later.

So man in general—and the perfect man in particular—is the most perfect manifestation of God. The universe which, like a mirror, reflects the divine attributes and names in a multiplicity of forms, manifests them separately or analytically. Man alone manifests these attributes and names collectively or synthetically. Hence, he is called he microcosm and the honoured epitome (*al-mukhtasar al-sharif*) and the most universal being (*al-kaun al-jasmi*) who comprises all realities and grades of existence. In him alone the divine presence is reflected, and through him alone God becomes conscious of Himself and His perfection. Here are ibn 'Arabi's own words:

> "God, glory to Him, in respect of His most beautiful names, which are beyond enumeration, willed to see their *a'yan* (realities), or if you wish you may say, His (own) *'ayn,* in a Universal being which contains the whole affair—inasmuch as it is endowed with all aspects of existence—and through which (alone) His mystery is revealed to Himself: for a vision which consists in a thing seeing itself by means of itself is not the same as that of the thing seeing something else which serves as a mirror.... Adam was the very essence of the polishing of this mirror, and the spirit of this form (i.e., the form in which God he revealed Himself: which is man)."

Here, Ibn 'Arabi almost repeats the words of Hallaj who says:

> "God looked into eternity, prior to all things, contemplated the essence of His splendour, and then desired to project outside Himself His supreme joy and love with the object of

> speaking to them. He also created an image of Himself with all His attributes and names. This image was Adam whom God glorified and exalted."

Yet, the difference between the two thinkers is so fundamental. Hallaj is an incarnationit; ibn 'Arabi, a pantheist. On man as the microcosm he says:

> "This spirit of the Great Existent (the Universe)
> Is this small existent (man).

Without it God would not have said:

> 'I am the greatest and the omnipotent'.
> Let not my contingency veil thee,
> Or my death or resurrection,
> For if thou examinest me,
> I am the great and the all-embracing.
> The eternal through my essence.
> And the temporal are manifested".

This is why man deserves the high honour and dignity of being God's vicegerent on earth—a rank which God has denied all other creatures including the angels. This superior rank goes not to every individual man, for some men are even lower than the bests, but to the perfect man alone, and this for two reasons:

(a) He is a perfect manifestation of God in virtue of unity in himself, of all God's attributes and names.

(b) He knows God absolutely through realizing in some sort of experience his essential oneness with Him.

Here ibn 'Arabi's metaphysical theory of man coincides with the theory of mysticism.

Ethical and Religious Implications: We have already pointed out that ibn 'Arabi's pantheistic theory of the nature of reality is the pivot round which the whole of his system of thought turns. Some aspects of this philosophy have been explained; and it remains now to show its bearing on his attitude towards man's ethical and religious life.

Everything in ibn 'Arabi's world is subject to rigid determinism. On the ontological side we have seen that phenomenal objects are regarded as the external manifestations of their latent realities and determined by their own laws. Everything is what it is from eternity and nothing can change it, not even God Himself. "What you are in your state of latency (*thubut*) is what you will be in your realise existence (*zuhur*)", is the fundamental law of existence. It is self-determinism or self-realization in which freedom plays no part either in God's actions or in those of His creatures. Moral and religious phenomena are no exception. God decrees things in the sense that He knows them as they are in their latent states, and pre-judges that they should come out in the forms in which He knows them. So He decrees nothing which lies outside their nature. This is the mystery of pre-destination (*sirr al-qadar*).

There is, therefore, a difference between obeying one's own nature and obeying the religious command, a distinction which was made long before ibn 'Arabi by Hallaj. On the one, hand, all men—indeed all creatures—obey their own law which he calls the creative law (*al-amr al-takwini*). On the other, some obey and others disobey the religious Law (*al-amr al-taklifi*). The first is in accordance with God's creative will (*al-mashiyyah)* which brings things into existence in the forms in which they are eternally pre-determined. The

second is something imposed from without for some ulterior reason, ethical, religious, or social. Everything obeys the creative commands in response to its own nature, and by so doing obeys God's will, regardless of whether this obedience is also obedience or disobedience to the religious or ethical command. When Pharaoh disobeyed God and *Iblis* (Satan) refused the divine command to prostrate himself before Adam, they were in fact obeying the creative command and carrying, out the will of God, although from the point of view of the religious command they were disobedient. To express the same thing in different words, an action-in-itself, i.e., irrespective of any form whatever, is neither good nor evil, neither religious nor irreligious. It is just an action pure and simple. It comes under one or another of these categories when it is judged by religious or ethical standards.

The whole theory reduces obedience and disobedience in the religious sense to a mere formality, and denies moral and religious obligations. It tells us that man is responsible for his actions, but affirms that he is not a free agent to will his actions. Responsibility and complete absence of freedom do not go together. Theoretically, there are different alternatives out of which man may choose his actions, but according to third theory he is so created that he chooses his actions, but according to this theory he is so created that he chooses the only alternative which is determined by his own necessary laws. So he actually chooses nothing and has no more freedom than a stone falling down to the earth in obedience to its own law.

Thus we go on moving within that closed circle of thought which is so typical of ibn 'Arabi's reasoning. He has one eye on his pantheistic doctrine with all that it entails, and the other on Islamic teachings, and oscillates between the two all the time. His pantheisic doctrine implies that God is the Ultimate Agent of all actions, and Islam insists on the mortal and religious reponsibility of man for his actions. The two confilicting points of view cannot be reconciled, and ibn Arabi's way of reconciling them is full of paradoxes. He is more consistent when he says that all actions are created by God and there is no real differences between the Commander and the commanded. There is no real servantship (*'ubudiyyah*), for the servant is one who carries out the commands of his master. But in reality the servant of God is a mere locus (*mahall*) through which God's creative power acts. So the servant is the Lord and the Lord is the servant.

This seems to contradict what we have already said, i.e., that, according to ibn 'Arabi, actions belong to man and spring directly from his nature in a determined way. Actually, there is no contradiction when we think of the distinction he makes between the One and the many. In fact, all his paradoxes can be solved when considered in the light of this distinction. When he says that God is the doer of all actions, he is regarding the question from the point of view of the One, for God's essence is the essence of men to whom actions are attributed. And when he asserts that men are the doers of their actions, he is regarding the question from the point of view of the many.

Having reduced obligation, obedience, disobedience, and similar other concepts to mere formal relations, it was natural enough for him to give the concepts of punishment

and reward a positive content. Heaven and hell and all the eschatological matters connected with them than are described in the minutest details but no sooner does he give a constructive picture of one of them he uses his allegorical method of interpretation to explain it away. His method bears some remarkable resemblance to that of the Isma'ilians and the Carmathians, used for the same purpose. All eschatological terms such as punishment, reward, purgatory, the Balance, the Bridge intercession, heaven, hell and so on, are regarded as representations of states of man, and corporealisations of ideas. What we learn from Tradition, he says, are words, and it is left to us to find out what is meant by them, i.e., to read into them whatever meaning we please. This is precisely what ibn Arabi himself has done. Heaven and hell, according to him, are subjective states, not objective realities. Hell is the realization of the individual 'self'; it is selfhood. Heaven is the realization of the essential unity of all things. There is no real difference between the two. If any, the differences is one of degree, not of kind. Salvation is the ultimate end of all. Speaking of the people of hell and heaven, ibn 'Arabi says:

> "Nothing remains but the Fulfiller of Promise alone;
> The threat of God has no object to be seen,
> When they enter the Abode of Misery they experience
> Pleasure wherein lies a bliss so different
> From that of the Gardens of Everlastigness.
> It is all the same: the difference is felt at the beatific vision".

This means that when the truth is known and God reveals Himself as He really is, everyone, whether in heavens or in hell, will know his position, i.e, will know how near or how far he is from the truth. Those who fully realize their essential oneness with God are the blessed ones who will go to paradise. Those who are veiled from the truth are the damned ones who will go to hell. But both parties will enjoy in their respective abodes happiness proportionate to their degree of knowledge.

Here an attempt has been made to give a bird's-eye view of a tremendously vast field. We have concentrated on the most important features of ibn 'Arabi's life and thought; many important facts have of necessity been omitted for lack of space. If ibn 'Arabi experienced—as we must assume he did—some sort of strain while writing his mystical philosophy, we are placed under greater strain while writing about him. There is more than one way of interpreting his ideas and fashioning his intricate and obscure style. This makes it possible for scholars to give not only different but conflicting accounts of his teachings. The present account deals with him as a thorough-going pantheist who tried his best to reconcile his pantheistic doctrine with Islam. In doing so the had to read new meanings into a mystic religion.

It is true he never lost sight of he idea of Gohhead, but his God is not the transcendent God of revealed religions, but the Absolute Being who manifests Himself in every form of existence, and in the highest degree in the fact form of man. People may agree or disagree with some of his theories, buit the remains that in production and influence he is the greatest Arabic-speaking mystic Islam has ever produced. It has been said that he has annulled religion in the orthodox sense in which it is

usually understood. This is not altogether true. He has done away with a good many concepts which were so narrowly understood by Muslim jurists and theologians, and offered in their place other concepts which are much deeper in their spirituality and more comprehensive than those of any of his Muslim predecessors. His ideas about the universality of everything—being, love, religion—may be considered landmarks in the history of human thought.

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Ibn 'Ashir, Abu 'l-'Abbas Ahmad B. Muhammad B. (d. 1362/3)

Abu 'l-'Abbas Ahmad B. Muhammad B. 'Umar Al-Ansari Al-Andalusi Ibn 'Ashir was

an eminent sufi of the Marinid period, was patron saint of the town of Sale, where he died in 764 or 765 or 765/1362–3. He was a native of Jimena in Spain and, for unknown reasons, left there to settle in Algeciras. There, he supported himself by teaching the Kur'an, and seems to have been happy there until one of the holy men with whom he was acquainted and in whom he had great confidence, advised him to flee from the country before the Christians arrived. He then undertook the pilgrimage to Mecca.

On his return from the east he stopped at Fez, than went to visit one of his sisters at Meknes; but he probably did not find there what he was looking for, and, setting off again, he settled at Shalla, on the left bank of the Bou Regreg, having been offered by a Sufi, Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad al-Yaburi, whose disciple he became, a khalwa in the zawiya which he had set up inside the cemetery. On the death of his master, he left this peaceful place, so conducive to meditation, for another zawiya in Sale itself, on the right bank of the river, near the Great Mosque. Later, with some hard-earned savings, he acquired a small house in the west of the town, opposite the al-Mu'allaka gate which opens on to the cemetery where his tomb now stands.

Ibn 'Ashir, in spite of his learning, was neither an intellectual nor a pedant. He taught mainly the Kur'an, still in order to support himself, for he always made it a strict rule to live by his own work. Ibn Kunfudh of Constantine relates that at the time that he met him at Sale in 763/1361–2, i.e., about two years before his death, he was earning his daily pittance by copying a work of hadith, the 'Umda, which was one of his favourite books. It is said that he himself bound the copy he had made and sold it for exactly what the work had cost him.

His dislike of the world earned him the reputation of being an eccentric solitary. In 757/1356, the Sultan of Morocco (it must have been Abu 'Inan the Marinid) is said to have tried in vain to approach him, which is why his pleasant and relaxed manner and the smile with which he greeted Ibn Kunfudh, caused general surprise among his disciples and the devout persons who were his followers.

His preference for solitude, silence and meditation increased with age. He had little liking for spiritual gatherings and he barely endured the meetings of fukara', at which he refused to preside and during which he spoke only rarely and with the utmost reluctance. Ibn 'Ashir at the end of his career was a man poorly clad, not easy to approach, gloomy, afflicted by a sort of chronic internalspasm, who kept company with the dead whom he visited in the cemetery bdhind the Great Mosque.

He belonged to no fraternity. According to Ibn Kunfudh, his tarika was based on the strict, zealous, sincere and unreserved observation of the teaching contained the Ihya' of al-Ghazali. Always most anxious to distinguish exactly between what is halal and what is haram, he was particularly careful to accept nothing from anybody and to submit himself daily to a strict examination of his own conscience. One of his biographers, al-Hadrami, asserts that the Ri'aya of al-Muhasibi was one of the works which he constantly read.

Many Sufis gathered round Ibn 'Ashir at Sale, which was a place suitable for meditation

and appeared at that time to those who, aspiring to the mystic life, were fleeing from Fez as a haven of peace and security. Thus one of them, Ibn 'Abbad of Ronda, came to spend several years there in the company of the saint, of whom he became a famous disciple.

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EB

Ibn 'Ata' Allâh (d. 1309)

Ibn 'Ata' Allâh, Tadl Al-Din Abu 'l-Fadl Ahmad B. Muhammad B. 'Abd Al-Karim B.'Ata' Allâh al-iskandari Al-Shadhili, Arab mystic, was a follower of the doctrines of the mystic al-Shadhili (d. 656/1258) as a disciple of the mystic Abu 'l-'Abbas Ahmad b. 'Ali al-Ansari al-Mursi (d. 686/1287). He wrote a biographical work on the life and teachings of both mystics, entitled *Lata'if al-minan fi manakib al-Shaykh Abu 'l-'Abbas wa-Shaykhihi Abu'l-Hasan.*

Originally from Alexandria, Ibn 'Ata' Allâh lived in Cairo and died there on 16 Djumada II 709/21 November 1309 in the *madrasa* al-Mansuriyya. Brockelmann lists twenty works by Ibn 'Ata Allâh, principally on mysticism and asceticism, of which six are in print and the rest in manuscript. By far the most celebrated of his works is a collection of maxims of a distinct beauty of expression, *al-Hikam al-'Ata'iyya*, with numerous commentaries down to modern times, among them *Ghayth al-mawahib al-'aliyya* by the Spanish mystic Ibn 'Abbad al-Rundi (d. 796/1394). He is also said to have written in the fields of Qur'ânic exegesis, traditions, grammar and the methodology of law.

Ibn 'Ata Allâh was one of the foremost adversaries of the renowned Hanbali jurisconsult and theologians, Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328). When the latter was arrested in Shawwal 707/March-April 1308, it was Ibn 'Ata' Allâh who made accusations against him for attacks which he had made against Ibn al-'Arabi and other mystics, but none of the accusations was substantiated. Ibn 'Ata Allâh no doubt had reason to oppose Ibn Taymiyya, who condemns certain doctrines held by the mystics.

Thus for instance, in his *Madjmu'at al-rasa'il wa 'l-masa'il*, Ibn Taymiyya condemns as an innovation (*bid'a*) the formula of *dhikr* mentioning the name of God as a single term, either in the form of a noun or a pronoun (*al-ism al-mufrad muzhar wa-mudmar*). Here, Ibn Taymiyya attributes it to al-Ghazali, but adds that some of his contemporaries were guilty of it (*wahadha wa-ashbahuhu waka'a li-ba'di man kana fi zamanina*). We know that this applies to Ibn 'Ata' Allâh, among whose works is one entitled *al-Kasd al-mudjarrad fi ma'rifat al-ism al-mufrad.*

Ibn 'Ata' Allâh was claimed by the Shafi'is as well as the Malikis. At his death he was interred in the Karafa Cemetery in Cairo where his tomb was for long the object of pious visits. It is located in the south-eastern group of tombs.

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Ghayth al-mawahib al-'aliyya (Bulak, 1285/1868) by the Spanish mystic Ibn 'Abbad al-Rundi (according to al-Birzali in Ibn Kathir, xiv, 45). Ibn Taymiyya, who condemns certain doctrines held by the mystics. Thus for instance, in his *Madjmu'at al-rasa'il wa 'l-masa'il* (5 vols., Cairo 1341–9), v, 86,

Ibn 'Ata' Allâh, among whose works is one entitled *al-Kasd al-mudjarrad fi ma'rifat al-ism al-mufrad* (Cairo 1930).

Ibn 'Ata' Allâh was claimed by the Shafi'is (*Subki, Tabakat al-Shafi'iyya al-kubra*, v, 176) as well as the Malikis (Ibn Farhun, *Dibadj*, 70).

EB

Ibn Barradjan (12th Century)

Abu 'l-Hakam 'Abd al-Salam b. 'Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Rahman al-Lakhmi Ibn Barradjan was an eminent Andalusian mystic theologian. He was born in North Africa, who taught in Seville during the first half of the 6th/12th century. His name is often associated with that of the celebrated Sufi Ibn al-'Arif, head of the Almeria school.

With Ibn Kasi and Abu Bakr al-Mayuri, these two men were indeed the leaders of the resistance movement directed against the Almoravids by the canonists and traditionalists and, in general, by those men of religion who, under the influence of the master al-Ghazali, were then inclining towards *tasawwuf*. But it is tempting to think that, far more than Ibn al-'Arif, it was Ibn Barradjan who was the most ardent and active inspiration of this Sufi opposition to the inquisition of the Almoravid *fukaha'*.

Ibn al-Abbar, his principale biographer, states that he was outstanding among his colleagues in merit and abilities, and that he was known as the Ghazali of al-Andalus. This pre-eminence seems to emerge clearly from the fragments of correspondence between himself and Ibn Barradjan appears to have been more involved in events than his companion and friend. He aspired to the *imama*. According to al-Sha'rani (*Tabakat*, i, 15), he was recognized as *imam* in 130 villages.

This advancement and the agitation which probably accompanied it aroused the suspicious of the Government's local agents. Alerted by them, the Almoravid prince summoned Ibn Barradjan, Ibn al-'Arif and Abu Bakr al-Mayurki to Marrakush. The last-named managed to escape and took refuge in Bidjaya, travelling from there to the East where previously he had lived for a time. The other two both died in 536/1411, the year of their arrival in Morocco. This date is more generally accepted than the year 537/1142 given by Ibn al-Khatib.

The two men were accorded very different treatment. To Ibn al-'Arif, the prince offered his belated but certainly sincere regrets. As for the unfortunate Ibn Barradjan, 'Ali b. Yusuf gave orders that his body should be thrown onto the town Dunghill, without any prayers for the dead. The intervention of 'Ali

b. Hirzihim, a courageous Sufi from Fas who was then passing through Marrakush saved him from such a disgrace. Ibn Barradjin, was buried in the corn-market square (*rabhat al-hinta*). In the very year that followed his death, Ibn Kasi came out into oppen rebellion against the Almoravids in the Algarve.

Barradjan was versed in the science of *kira'at*, translation and *kalam*. As a Sufi, he led an exemplary life of austerity, dedicated to worship. He wrote a commentary on the Kur'ân conceived in the spirit of his esoteric doctrine, and also a commentary on the names of Allâh. Among other miracle with which he was credited, he was said to have predicted in 520, with mathematical accuracy, the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin, as well as the actual year in which that event took place, that is to say Radjab 583/1187.

This aspect of his learning implies that Ibn Barradjan had a reputation for divination, of evident appeal to the popular imagination. When summoned to Marrakush, he had foreseen that only a short span of life was left to him, but also that 'Ali b. Yusuf too would die soon afterwards. In fact the prince's death occurred one year after his own.

Ibn Barradjan belongs to the great Sufi tradition of the school of Ibn Masarra, but like the other Andalusian mystics of his time, he felt the influence of al-Ghazali, Ibn Khaldun places him in the category of men of the *tadjalli* (revelation, divine irradiation), whom he contrasts with the category of the theorists of monism (*wahda*), for whom God is the totality of the manifested and non-manifested world, the sole reality. The memory of Ibn Barradjan seems to have remained alive for a long time among the populace. In Marrakush, he is still known by the name Sidi Berridjal.

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A. FAURE

Ibn Hirzihim (d. 1164)

Ibn Hirzihim, Abu 'L-Hasan 'Ali b. Isma'il b,. Muhammad b, 'Abd Allâh was an eminent jurist and *sufi* of the school of al-Ghazali. He was a native of Fas. Al-Tadili, his earliest biographer, does not give the date of his birth. It may however be conjectured

that he was born during the second half of the reign of Yusuf b. Tashfin and he died in the last ten days of Sha'ban 559/July 1164, that is to say about sixteen years after the fall of the Almoravid dynasty.

While quite young, he knew and associated with a *shaikh* by the name of Abu 'l-Fadl Ibn al-Nahwi (d.513/1119–20), who was very devoted to the doctrine of al-Ghazali. But it was above all to his paternal uncle, Abu Muhammad Salih Ibn Hirzihim, that 'Ali owed his initiation into the Sufism of al-Ghazali. This relative (with whom he must not be confused) had made the journey to the East and stayed in Syria and Palestine, where he had the good fortune to meet the master Abu Hamid.

'Ali Ibn Hirzihim, in his turn, had the opportunity, when teaching in Fas, to confer the benefits of his learning upon such distinguished intellets as the young and attentive Abu Madyan Shu'ayb who, eager for instruction, travelled to Morocco in search of teachers.

During the difficult days when the Almoravid inquisition was becoming rigorous, Ibn Hirzihim remained faithful to his convictions. But, in the stifling atmosphere created by the intransigent Malikism of the Almoravid *fukahi*, he probably suffered agonies of doubt and fear. One day, he is said to have resolved to burn the copy of the *Ihya'* that he had been keeping in his house, in spite of the threats and demands of the authorities. He was then subjected, in a dream, to a severe beating, the effects of which he could still feel even after waking up. This divine warning proved salutory.

Under various circumstances he indeed showed that he was least afraid to risk his life and peaceful existence in order to defend and win respect for his opinions. He suffered imprisonment in Fas. The miraculous intervention of the still living saint Abu Ya'za, the Sidi Bu 'Azza of the people, saved him. But it was the incident which marked the death of Ibn Barradjan which allowed Ibn Hirzihim to express with full force his condemnation of the persecution waged by the *fukaha'* against Sufism and philosophical speculation.

'Ali b. Yusuf having ordered the corpse of Ibn Barradjan to be thrown onto the town dungheap, Ibn Hirzihim, who was staying in Marrakush at the time, made a vigorous protest against the degrading decree and, disregarding the prince's orders, caused the population of the capital to be publicly invited to do honour to the Sufi scholar by a funeral that was worthy of him.

Ibn Hirzihim cannot be compared, for talent and intellectual lustre, with Ibn al-'Arif, Ibn Barradjan or even with Abu Bakr al-Mayurki of Granada, the three representatives, with Ibn al-Kasi, of the Spanish Sufism so implacably opposed to the Almoravid regime; nevertheless he belongs incontestably, like Abu 'l-Fadl Ibn al-Nahwi, with that group of *shaikhs*, few in number but courageous and at times brilliant, who, in Spain, particularly and to a lesser extent in the Maghrib, had the courage and strength of character to make a solemn protest against the severities and abuses of the Almoravid inquisition, thus helping to prepare for the fall of the dynasty, which Ibn Tumart, another *shaikh* claiming kingship with the school of al-Ghazali, was to overthrow.

Sidi 'Ali's tomb stands some fifteen kilometres to the south-east of Fas, at Sidi Harazem, where there is a hot spring much frequented by the towns folk.

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A. FAURE

Ibn Isra'il Al-Dimashki, Mohammad B. (1206–1278)

Mohammad B. Sawwar B. Isra'il B. Isra'il Al-Shaybani Ibn Isra'il Al-Dimashki was an eminent sufi and poet (603 77/1206–78). Amidst the medioere poetic talents prevailing in Egypt and Syria during the 7th/8th century, Nadjin al-Din Abu 'l-Ma'ali Ibn Isra'il occupies a place of distinction, while providing a typical example of the numerous writers of insipid poetry who flourished during that century. His life is perhaps, of greater interest than his work; born in Damascus, where he studied, he embarked upon a strange career as a dubious mystic and pleasure-loving poet.

He joined the suspect Sufi order founded by Abu Muhammad 'Ali al-Hariri (d. 645/1247–8). whose character and doctrine were severely criticised by orthodox authorities such as Shams al-Din al-Dhahabi. The bad reputation of this shaykh cast a shadow of suspicion upon Ibn Isra'il which was to persist throughout his life. However, Ibn Shakir al-Kutubi states that he received the khirka of the Sufi from the hands of Shihab al-Din al-Suhrawardi, which is not possible, since the latter died in 597/1183.

Ibn Isra'il began to travel up and down the land, in the manner of the poor Sufis ('ala kadam al-fukara'), though he did not refrain from indulging in such passing pleasures (kada' al-awkat al-tayyiba) as presented themselves. He frequented the company of the rich and influential, belonged to their coteries, wrote poems in their praise, etc.

His diwan is far more a reflection of this worldly life than of his alleged mysticism, although it begins with a poem in praise of his shaykh al-Hariri. He once claimed authorship of a poem by his contemporary and rival Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Khiyani (d. 685/1286) and the matter had to

be submitted to the arbitration of Ibn al-Farid, who discovered the truth.

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EB

Ibn Luyun (1282–)

Abu 'Uthman Sa'd B. Abi Dja'far Ahmad B. Ibrahim Al-Tudjibi Ibn Luyun [Spanish Leon] was a Andalusian scholar, poet and mystic, born in Almeria in 681/1282 in a family from Lorca. He was one of the most learned men of his time and acquired a mastery of all branches of learning, although he hardly ever left his native town, where he died during a plague epidemic in 750/1349.

Deeply religious, he remained celibate, practised asceticism and, being naturally shy, he avoided people and saw only a few friends and pupils, among whom should be mentioned two important persons: Ibn Khatima and Ibn al-Khatib. He succeeded in forming a splendid library, the best in Almeria in his time, and, not content with merely acquiring manuscripts, he sought to compare them and to make emendations in order to establish a correct text.

His production was very large, but the greater part of it was not original since it consists of compilations on hadith, medicine, the sharing of inheritances, prosody, agriculture, etc. He was fond of writing summaries of important works, which he often wrote in verse. Almost all his work, which consisted of more than a hundred titles, is lost and the part of it which has survived is practically all unpublished. Of especial interest is the urdjuza entitled Kitab Ibda' al-malaha wa-inha' al-radjaha fi usul sina'at al-filaha (cf, art. Filaha, ii, (02a) of which an edition and translation was promised some years ago by J. Eguaras.

Ibn Luyun was an expert on poetical matters, but himself a mediocre poet, as one of his pupils, al-Hadrami, admits. A large part of one of his poetic works, the Kitab Nasa'ih al-ahbab wa-saha'ih al-adab, was included in a collection by al-Makkari (Nafh, Cairo, ed. 1367/1449, viii, 58–89), who also reproduces (viii, 89–108) extracts from two other works, all in a sententious style and comparable to the famous moral proverbs of his contemporary Sem Tob de Carrion. He is also the author of

muwashshahat, one of them containing a khardja in Romance and is thus "a backward-looking archaizer" (Garcia Gomez).

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F. DE LA GRANJA

Ibn Masarra, Muhammad B. (883–931)

Ibn Masarra, Muhammad B. 'Abd Allah B. Masarra al-Djabali, Andalusian philosopher and mystic, born at Cordova in 269/883 and died in 319/931 in a hermitage on the Sierra near this town, to which he had retired long before. He lived during a periods in which Muslim Spain suffered a veritable inquisition conducted by the Maiki fukaha'. His father, 'Abd Allah, who may have been of Christian descent, was a Mu'tazili and in order to teach his doctrines had to take many precautions. The young Muhammad became his pupil and received from him a theological education as well as training in asceticism. It can easily be imagined that in these circumstances Ibn Masarra acquired at quite an early age the habit of leading a secret life, withdrawn from the world, among initiates with whom he conversed by allusions and symbols.

In 286/899, 'Abd Allah died in Mecca, where he had taken refuge from his creditors. Little is known of Ibn Masarra's life between this date and about 300/912, when his biographers show him surrounded by disciples, probably on his return from the East. But already some time before this he had been suspected of heterodoxy. A famous fakih, Ahmad b. Khalid al-Habbab, had written a short work denouncing his errors, and Ibn Masarra had thought it prudent to leave for the East.

Asin Palacios thinks that the famous mystic and ascetic Dhu 'l-Nun al-Misri (d. 245/860) was still remembered as an example. Ibn Masarra could also have met in Mecca his contemporary Nahradjuri, a mystic with pantheistic tendencies who died there in 330/941; and he must have known a disciple of Djunayd, Abu Sa'id Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Ziyad b. al-'Arabi (died at Mecca in 341/952). This orthodox mystic, who preached a much less esoteric doctrine than Ibn Masarra, wrote a book against him refuting his ideas.

The exact date of Ibn Masarra's return to Spain is not known; it may have been at the time when, on his accession, 'Abd al-Rahman III introduced a more tolerant policy in order to pacify the people (300/912). In his place of retreat on the mountain of Cordova, he seems to have taught a fairly large public, insisting on the importance of the ascetic life and disguising his thought on matters where his doctrine might have proved disturbing. He reserved initiation into the use of symbols for a more intimate group of disciples.

Ibn Masarra was attacked particularly after the promulgation of his works. The titles of two of them are known: the Kitab al-Tabsira and the Kitab al-Huruf, but none of them have survived. He died, worn out by work and by the austerity of his life, without having had to undergo any physical suffering for his doctrine.

(1) The doctrine of the pseudo-Empedocles. Sa'id al-Andalusi, in his Tabakat al-umam, reproduced by al-Kifti in his Ta'rikh al-hukama', connects Ibn Masarra's thought with that of the pseudo-Empedocles. It was probably for having devoted too much attention this philosophy that he was suspected of zandaka and it may be considered as the core of his thinking. Although he was a Mu'tazili, it should not be forgotten that one essential argument of its theology was attributed to Empedocles: "He was the first to apprehend the union between the meanings of the attributes of God: all lead to a unique reality" (al-Kifti, 16).

From these statements it is possible to form an idea of what Ibn Masarra's doctrine was. The philosophy of the pseudo-Empedocles has been set out by al-Shahrastani, al-Shahrazuri (Rawda, Leiden MS 1888, 13r-14r; extracts given by Asin Palacios), and al-Kifti (15–16).

The mind which inquires into philosophy is illuminated by it with a divine light. It contains a mystic conception of the truth: it comes itself to the aid of whoever seeks to acquire it. Indeed, philosophy produces in the soul the desire to depart from this world, in a spiritual rihla: for the soul does not belong here but is imprisoned in the body; being a spiritual thing, it comes under the influence of the principle of pure love, whereas the body, like all corporeal things, is subject to the action of discord (here we find the two opposing principles which are the two poles of the philosophy of the authentic Empedocles).

But, joined as it is to the body, the soul is in an intermediate (mutawassit) position; using it as a starting point, it is possible to understand the two extreme limits of reality. But in order to understand the soul itself, it is necessary for man himself to have a pure soul, without admixture capable of dominating the body. The knowledge of truth is the result not only of the use of the appropriate faculty, it is the expression of the ontological level attained by the being of the person who knows it: it is in fact the old idea that like is known by like. Hence the need for a principle of asceticism. The order of being is parallel to that of knowing and even penetrates it. This is a theme of Plotinus: the soul is simple, with an asolute simplicity which is comparable to that of light (*nur*) opposed to fire (*nar*), or to lux (*diya'*) opposed to lumen (*dew'*).

The individual soul is a part of the universal soul (cf. Plotinus, *Enneads*, iv, 3, 1). It is derived from a fairly complex system of 'processions'. At the summit is the Prime Being (al-Awal), the Creator (al-Bari') who is eternally his own Being-Himself (lam yazal huwiyyatahu): he is pure Knowledge, pure Will, Generosity, etc. He is the absolute Cause ('illa fakat), but not through a sort of pre-existing will; the effect is subordinated to the cause and comes after it (that al-'illa wa ba'dhat). It has no essential co-existence with it (ma'iyya bi 'l-dhat). The Creator is the cause of all causes. His first effect (ma'lul) is the 'Unsur, which Asin Palacios translates as

primary Matter: it is the Source of the potential being and of the multiplication of beings, although itself simple and intelligible (cf. the system of the Ikhwan al-Safa', in which primary Matter is also placed among the intelligible emanations, but on the last degree after the Soul).

The second effect of the prime Cause, produced through the intermediary of the 'Unsur, is the Intellect ('Akl); the third, through the intermediary of the first two, is the Soul. All these emanations are simple (basa'it). After them come Universal Nature (al-Tabi'a al-kulliyya) and secondary Matter, which are composite (murakkabat). On this process, which gives rise to the five emanations, there is super-imposed another. Al-Shahrastani states, infact, that on the one hand the Creator brought forth (abda'a) "reality (shay') which is the first simple (*basit*) intelligible".

This is the 'Unsur from which there are next reproduced the realities known as mabsutat, which are, by compared with the prime Cause; cf. Plotinus, En., v, 3, 16: a— and the Soul comparuison with the Intellect). Then the murakkabat are derived from the mabsutat. But on the other hand, the 'Unsur gives form (sawwara) in the Intellect "to such forms as exist in it", that is to the forms which are potentially in it (cf. Plotinus, *En.*, v, 3, 15), concerning the One, which Asin Palacios makes exactly to correspond on this point to the 'Unsur: the prime Cause is not in the sense in which one refers to the passive or receptive power of matter, but through its productive action without having with in itself the multiplicity which it creates); the Intellect acts in the same way on the Soul and the Soul on Universal Nature. In the nature manifested in this world there then emerge, by a process which is not defined, 'rinds' or bodies (fa-hasalat kushur), which resemble neither the Soul nor the Intellect, but which enclose a 'pulp' (lubb) or spirit.

Here al-Shahrastani's exposition is far from clear. In a first text he seems to mean that the 'pulps' are formed by the last generation of the forms in the lowest degree of nature: these would be the corporeal forms. The Intellect "looks at" the "rinds" (naara ilayha) and perceives in the (absara) the 'pulps'. As a result of this 'look' there spread on the bodies ('alayha) noble, beautiful and brilliant forms which are the individual souls, parts of the Universal Soul and not effects emanating from it, that is to say ontological distinct from the forms which are effects of taswir. They are directed by the Intellect and,through them, it sorts out (tamyiz) the pulps, separating them from the rinds and raising them into the spiritual world to which they belong. We have therefore, a sort of recovery by the Intellect of all the realities of a spiritual and intelligible nature which inhabit the body of the lower nature. The instruments of this recovery are the individual souls, which in this way receive a mission to rescue the forms.

The corporeal forms or pulps are enclosed within the bodies; the purely spiritual souls are on the bodies. But in a second text it is stated that the vegetative soul is the rind of the animal soul which is in its mantikiyya), and the rind of the noetic soul (al-nafs al-mantikiyya), and the rind of the noetid soul ('akliyya); conversely, that which is above is the pulp of what is immediately below it, so

that pulp of what is immediately below it, so that pulp and rind have a relative value and the intermediate souls (animal, dianoetic) may be considered as rinds or as pulps according to the relationship in which they are considered.

There is, thus, a hierarchy of souls which fit inside one another so as to enclose themselves all within the prison of the material body (secondary matter). Only the noetic soul has the possibility of emerging. Finally, according to a third text, the Universal Soul, seeing the individual noted soul led astray (mughtara) by the rebellion (tamarrud) of animal and vegetative souls (a rebellion due to their 'alienation' (bu'd) with regard to its universality), sends down (ahbatat) towards them one of its parts, subtler and purer than the rebel souls and the souls led astray: this is the Prophet (Nabi), sent (mab'uh) into each of the revolutions of the Sphere.

Thus, the Prophet-Soul is sent by the Universal Soul, not by the Intellect as stated in the first text; it is purer than the rational souls which it comes to save; finally, it is uniquein its time whereas they are multiple. It appears that al-Shahrastani juxtaposes several traditions. That of the first text is derived from the neo-Platoic gnosis, tained by Iranian dualism: the function of the noetic soul is to gather together all the luminous elements or forms, imprisoned by darkness or matter; here it is not a question of either rebellion or of the seduction of the souls, but of a cosmic salvation.

The tradition in the second text is that of the philosophers of nature and of the physicians. The third tradition is connected with the religious gnoses, perhaps, with the Manichean gnosis, and is better adapted to Islam: the conception of the prophet and of his role presages the doctrine of al-Farabi. The rational soul is misled by the lower souls and, in spite of its spirituality, is unable to escape by its own efforts. Thus, texts 2 and 3 are complementary. Text 1 retains a separate character. But another difficulty arises: the theology of the pseudo-Aristotle (Dieterici, p. 10 of the Arabic text) attributes to Empedocles the idea that souls fell in this world as the result of a sin committed during their first stay.

It is true that Empedocles referred to himself as an inspired prophet who had come down to earth to escape the divine wrath (Katharmoi, fragment 115), who had become here a Master, capable by his learning of extricating souls from the 'earthly envelope' (fragment 148 = kishr?). In al-Shahrastani, on the other hand, it seems that the fault is that of rational souls already bound to the animal and vegetative, that is corporeal, powers. The incarnation is considered here as the reason for the sin, but there as the punishment of a sin, in a sense which recalls certain Hindu points of view.

Finally, the authentic Empedoclean doctrine of Love (mahabba) which unites (i'tilaf) and Hate (ghalaba) which separates (ikhtilaf) joined to this system. These are the two principles which go to make up the primary Matter, which marks spiritual beings with the seal of pure Love and corporeal beings with that of Hate. In the composite beings, the proportion of Love and of Hate illustrates their degree of spirituality or of immateriality. It should be pointed out that the cyclic rhythm of the cosmos which in

Empedocles results from the interaction of these two principles absent in the pseudo-Empedocles. Here ghalaba, in spite of its name, is less a factor of war and hostility, which appears wrongly placed at the level of the first emanation, than the simple fact of the multiplication and division issuing from the One in a Plotinan perspective.

As for Empedocles, E. Brehier had already pointed out that the connection between the Phusika and the Katharmoi is not very clear. But in the pseudo-Empedocles, a completely unorganised compilation, the incoherence is still greater if one is to believe the presentation of al-Shahrastani. It is not known whether Ibn Masarra was equally incoherent, or whether he attempted to produce a more harmonious synthesis. He may have made use of this many faceted system in order not to arouse the suspicions of the orthodox.

From the extent to which he inspired Ibn al-'Arabi, it may be supposed that he produced at least the beginnings of an organised system. Nevertheless prudence is necessary when attempting to reconstruct, as Asin Palacios has done, Ibn Masarra's thought by reading the doctrine of a not very coherent pseudo-Empedocles into the brief passages in which Ibn Hazm and Ibn al-'Arabi refer to this thought.

Passages from Ibn Hazm. (a) Fisal (iv, 198): "Ibn Masarra was in agreement with the Mu'tazila on kadar. He stated that the knowledge of God and His power are two created temporal productions (muhdathatani makhlukatani) and that God has two types of knowledge: the one which He created long ago as a whole and by one single act, the knowledge of the inversal realities which cannot be grasped by the perception of the senses (=ghayb), for example the fact that there will exist infidels an believers...; the second type of knowledge is that of individual truths, the knowledge of vision (shahada), for example that which God has of the unfaithfulness of Zayd and of the faith of 'Amr... Ibn Masarra recalls the Word of God:' Alim al-ghayb wa 'l-shahada (Kur'an VI, 73; XIII, 9; XXXII, 6).

But this does not mean what he thinks. In fact, the obvious meaning of this text is that God knows what you do even if you hide it from Him. He knows that which you cannot perceive of what was, is or shall be. The reason which led Ibn Masarra to support this thesis is that he really pushed the principles of the Mu'tazilis to their extreme conclusions. For, there existed among them those who say that God knows continually that a certain person will never believe and that another will never be unfaithful; and who then give man the power to make the Word of their Lord lie, and to make null and cancelled that which has never ceased to exist. This is an abominable contradiction!"

(b) Fisal (ii, 126): "Djamn b. Safwan, Hisham b. al-Hakam and Ibn Masarra... state that God's knowledge is something other than God, that it is produced in time and created".

The first of these texts is centred on the idea of kadar, and of human freedom: in order to safe-guard it, it is necessary that man's acts should not be the object of an eternal knowledge which would determine them right down to each individual detail. The ascetic life demands the liberty of the faithful, at least

at the beginning and even although the ecstasy of the mystic must one day reveal that it is God Who does all. The problem of God's knowledge of individual and contingent facts occupied Mu'tazili thinking (cf. al-Ash'ari, Makalat al-Islamiyyin).

The majority of these theologians admitted, with various shades of opinions, that God never ceased to know things before they existed. An exception should perhaps, be made for Hisham b. 'Amr al-Fuwati al-Shaybani. It is thus, easy to understand why Ibn Kadari doctrine of the Mu'tazail to its ultimate conclusions, by removing its contradiction. Thus, we cannot support Asin Palacios when he attributes to Ibn Masarra on this point the thesis which was later to be that of Avicenna. He writers:" Avicenna, like Ibn Masarra..., states that God knows individual beings as such, intentione secunda, that is to say in so far as they are included in their universal causes" (78, n.1).

Ibn Masarra's thought seems rather to be related to that of Christian theologians such as Fonseca and Molina: the knowledge of which he speaks here is the scientia media, or scientia visionis that Leibnitz, taking the same attitude as Avicenna and those Mu'tazilis whose inconsequentiality Ibn Masarra intended to point out, was to describe as scientia pure empirica, which it is impossible to imagine God.

The second text is entirely in the tradition of Plotinus and of the pseudo-Empedocles. God, the first principle, cannot possess knowledge, for this would introduce in Him multiplicity. It is the Intellect which knows, with an intelligible and universal knowledge (the knowledge of the ghayb in the first text). It is not clear whether the scientia media is added simply as a necessary element in order to safe-guard freedom, or whether it is an integral part of Ibn Masarra's pseudo-Empedoclean system.

It may be that the first knowledge derives from the 'universal Soul. In Ibn al-Arabi, the divine ahadiyya does not recognise the individual believer who prays; he must therefore, address himself to the Rububiyya. The Rububiyya could be considered as corresponding to the universal Soul which sends the prophets and through them, the Law addressed to individual men, in which God reveals himself as Lord.

(c) In a third text, Ibn Hazm states that he obtained from a disciple of Ibn Masarra, Isma'il b. 'Abd Allah al-Ru'ayni, the following opinion of his master: "The Throne is what rules the world (al-mudabbir li 'l-'alam), and God is too great for there to be attributed to Him the act of actually doing something". By 'thing' (shay') should be understood a reality of the material world. Asin Palacios attempted to identify the Throne, in this context, as the first emanation, the 'Unsur of the pseudo-Empedocles. All the same, for Ibn al-'Arabi from whom he quotes, the Throne is the universal body. The matter remains doubtful.

(3) Passages from al-Futuhat al-Makkiyya of Ibn al-'Arabi. (a) On the 'Arsh. After a quotation from the Kur'an (LXIX, 17) and from a hadith of the Prophet on the bearers of the Throne, he writes: "It has been reported to us as coming from Ibn Masarra, one of the greatest masters of the mystic way in knowledge, states and revelation, that the

Throne which is carried is in fact the divine Kingship (Mulk)". That which follows may also be considered as the opinion of Ibn Masarra:

> "The Mulk is reduced to the following: Body, Spirit, Nourishment (ghidha'), Degree (martaba). Adam and Israfil are in charge of the Forms (suwar); Gabriel and Muhammad of the Spirits; Michael and Ibrahim of the means of subsistence (arzak); Malik and Ridwan of the Promise and of the Threat (Wa'd and Wa'id)... The bearers of the Throne are those who are in charge of its government. They thus govern an elemental form (sura 'unsuriyya) or a luminous form (nuriyya), and a Spirit which rules the elemental form and a spirit which rules the luminous form, and a and the nourishment of the sciences and of the knowledge for the Spirits and a palpable degree (the felicity of entering Paradise or the pain of entering Hell) and a spiritual degree which is made from learning".

The reason why everything is doubled is that, according to hadith, there are four 'bearers' for the life here below and four for the life after the Resurrection. It seems that in Ibn al-'Arabi it is a case not of two worlds, on tolologically separate, but of two aspects of human life, the life of the body and the life of the spirit in the mystic light. This having been said, the developments which follow, even though they are inspired by some of Ibn Masarra's ideas, derive entirely from Ibn al-'Arabi's thought, and it is almost impossible to find in them anything which indicates the doctrine of his prsedecessor. It would be equally arbitrary to look for similarities with the philosophy of the preudo-Empedocles. Ibn al-'Arabi's system is much more complex: he gives a meaning to the Pen (Kalam) and to the Tablet (lawh), also to the Kursi. Nevertheless, at least in order to show side by side both the possibilities of concordance and their weaknesses the following table is (see p. 872) inserted.

It may therefore be considered, without having actual proof, that Ibn Masarra's doctrine belonged somewhere between the theories of the pseudo-Empedocles and those of Ibn al-'Arabi, modifying the still very metaphysical and speculative cosmology of the former in the direction of the mystical cosmology of the latter.

(b)The second text mentions Ibn Masarra only in connection with an image, a 'visualisation' as H. Corbin puts it (L' Imagination creatrice dans le Soufisme d'Ibn 'Arabi, 175). Ibnal-'Arabi writes:

> "...like the temple which is built on five columns there is a raised roof which covers the temple and walls in which there is no door. Thus there is absolutely no means of entry for anyone. But on the outside stands a column attached to the wall. The intuitive mystics touch it as they kiss and touch the Black Stone...".

The rest of the passage is certainly an amplification by Ibn al-'Arabi. Asin Palacios considered that the five columns might be the five emanations of the pseudo-Empedocles. But this is impossible to accept, since this image is the symbol, visualised mystically, of the absolute divine Unity, the Ahadiyya: It is evoked in the chapter of the Futuhat devoted to the tanzih al-Tawhid which is expressed in God by this formula: tanazzaha 'an tanzih kull munazzih. The temple cannot therefore, signify the emanations. Moreover, the description is clear: the five columns which support the roof form part of this closed building; they do not

support it from the outside. The roof, and probably also the wall, covers them entirely. This is the divine mystrery. It is therefore, not surprising that we are not told what the five columns mean. It may be that the only significance of the number five is the fact that it is an odd number: "God loves the uneven", says a hadith and ibn al-'Arabi recalls that this is the hadith expression of his Fardiyya and of his Ahadiyya, providing a further commentary on verse 7 of Sura LVIII: God comes to add Himself to every odd number of creatures, as a fourth of sixth, in order to make it even, for He jealously guards His own attribute. H. Corbin in fact, and rightly, is interested only in the exterior column which "alone is able to translate to us the Invisible". It is a matter of mystricism, not of cosmology.

After the description of the Bayt, Ibn al-'Arabi writes: "wa-had nabbaha 'ala dhalika 'bnu Masarra". The demostrative dhalika could refer to the temple, to the image, or to the general fact of visualisation, of the visualising intuition (Kashf suwari). The expression nabbaha ''ala, which means "draw attention to", points rather to the second hypothesis. Ibn Masarra would therefore before be quoted solely in support of 'the noetic validity of the visions of the active Image nation' (H. Corbin, op. cit., 176). The image itself may not come from Ibn Masarra.

(4) *Ibn Masarra as ascetic and mystic.* In referring, on the information provided by Ibn al- Faradi, to other mystics of this period, in particular to Dhu 'l-Nn al-Misri and to al-Nahradjuri, Asin Palacios has isolated what might be the main features of the teaching and the ascetic practices of Ibn Masarra. The goal is the purification and the liberation of the soul through mortification, voluntary poverty and the observance of silence; then by the practice of the virtues: humility, patience, the for-giving of wrongs, love of one's enemies. The daily examination of the conscience gradually raises the soul to the mystic station of Sincerity.

(5) *The school of Ibn Masarra.* Asin Palacios has studied the progress of Ibn Masarra's ideas, not only in Islam, but also in Jewish and in Christian thought. We have already mentioned his first disciple, al-Ru'ayni. The most famous heir of Ibn Masarra is Ibn al-'Arabi who, through the inter-mediary of the movement of the muridun of Ibn al- Kasi and through Ibn al-'Arif, can be considered a member of his school.

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EB

Ibn Sab'in (1217/8–1269/71)

'Abd Al-Hakk B. Ibrahim B. Muhammad B. Nasr, Al Akki Al-Mursi Abu Muhammad Kutb Al-Din Ibn Sab'in was a peripatetic philosopher and Sufi (*sufi 'ala ka'idat al-falasifa*). He himself used the surname Ibn Dara. This last word, which, denotes a circle, a ring, the halo round the moon, here apparently signifies the null or zero which according to the *kadi* of Granada, Muhammad b. Ahmad (d. 760/1358–9), was said to correspond to the figure of seventy (*sab'in*) according to certain methods of computation peculiar to the people of the Maghrib.

Ibn Sab'in was born in Muricia in 613 or 614/1217–8 and died in Mecca in 668 or 669/1269–71. L. Massignon called him, Ibn Sab'in. His life, consisting entirely of controversies, quarrels and persecutions, seems to have been a long a painful trial, alleviated however, by the love and loyalty bestowed on him by his disciples, the *sab'imiyya*, men humble of heart and living in poverty.

In Spain, where he carried out his studies, fortune at first favoured him. His wide learning and knowledge of medicine and alchemy were esteemed. On the other hand, his Sufism was suspect; he was reproached for some of his doctrinal assertions, among others, that in which he defined God as being the sole reality of existing things; this was regarded as a profession of monist faith, which his own position as a hellenising philosopher could only render more suspect in the eyes of the '*ulama*' and *fukaha*'.

He was compelled to leave his native land, when about thirty years old, to escape from persecution by his enemies. Followed by a group of disciples, he settled in Ceuta. There, he acquired such celebrity that Ibn Khalas, the governor of the city, deputed him to answer the philosophical questions which the emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen had put, through an ambassador, to the Almohad sultan 'Abd al-Wahid al Rashid (630–40/1232–42).

But this high official, fearing that public order might be disturbed by the philosopher's

teaching, soon expelled a visitor whom he considered to be compromising. Once again, Ibn Sab'in was compelled to go into exile. He turned towards the East. He travelled to Badis, then to Bougie. It was in that town that he met al-Shushtari (610–68/1213–69), who became the most faithful, as well as the most moving, of all his disciples. Continuing on his way eastwards, he came to Tunis.

In a millieu of orthodox Islam, this Aristotelian Sufi once again came up against the hostility of the *'ulama'*. To escape from his chief enemy Abu Bakr al-Sakuni, a theologian from Seville who had settled in Tunis, he hurriedly left the town. There is a record of his journey on to Gabes, and thence to Cairo. But there he scarcely felt secure and the great Mamluk sultan Baybars I was ill-disposed towards him. Only the *haram* of Mecca remained as a place of refuge for him. But there too he was persecuted, by an Adalusian emigre named Kutb al-Kastallani (614–86/1217–88). For once, however, he escaped unharmed from the accusations that were brought against him. M.A.F. Mehren regards Ibn Sab'in as

> "one of the last representatives of the Arab 'Peripatetic' school".

This opinion is shared by L. Massignon, who considered that through his very Hellenism the philosopher was condemned to remain without disciples in the history of Islam. Ibn Khaldun places him among the adherents of *wahda*, that is to say among the Monists, whom he contrasts with the theorists of *tadjalli*. His isolation in a world of *'ulama'*, *muftis*, theologians and *fukaha'* is not without its poignancy. He reached by adopting a haughty attitude, pouring scorn on his adversaries.

He possessed a restless temperament, racked by a nervous distemper which led even to the vomiting of blood, according to the reports of some of his biographers. This aristocratic intellectual seems to have found his only consolation among the humble men who listened to him and allowed themselves to be charmed by his words. His disciple al-Shushtari, who spoke of himself as his slave and dedicated three of his *zadjals* to him, called him "the magnet of souls" (*maghnatis al-nufus)*. That he took his own life in the manner of the Stoics, by opening the veins of his wrists, is in no way improbable [see *intihar*]. For this philosopher, possessed by Love, it was the ultimate way of uniting himself with the Beloved, of fleeing a world that rejected him.

The *isnad* of the *tarika sab'iniyya* given by al-Shushtari in one of his *kasidas* shows the overlapping of the two cultures, the Greek and the Muslim, as accepted by the followers of Ibn Sab'in. In it, among other links, we find Plato, Aristotle, Alexander the Great, al-Halladi, al-Shudhi, who as a mystic was the teacher of that strange character al-Suhrawardi, and Abu Madyan. In this initiatory chain, Hellenistic philosophy and Muslim *tasawwuf* are linked together under the patronage of Hermes, the spokesman of the gods and their messenger to men.

His biographers ascribe a certain number of works to him, the principal ones being *Budd al-arif*, which he is said to have written at the age of fifteen (an ed. is being prepared in Paris), *al-Duradj*, *al-Ihata*, *al-Fath al-*

mushtarak, a short book, *al-Fakiriyya*, several treatises and a few essays.

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EB

Ibrahim B. Adham (d. 777/78)

B. Adham B. Mansur B. Yazid B. Djabir (Abu Ishak) Al-'Idjli Ibrahim was born in Balkh, in Khurasan, into a family from the Kufa area belonging to the tribal group Bakr b. Wa'il. The date given for his death in the most dependable sources is 161/777–8.

He was one of the most prominent of the Sufis of the 2nd/8th century, celebrated in later legend especially for his asceticism. R.A. Nicholson characterizses him as "essentially an ascetic and quietist of a practical type", who had not crossed the border-line which divides asceticism from mysticism. Ibrahim caught the imagination of subsequent generations of Sufis especially because of his generosity, illustrated by many tales of kind acts to friends, and his feats of self-denial, which were in such contrast to the luxury in which he is supposed to have spent his early life.

The earlier Arabic sources, mainly Abu Nu'aym al-Isfahani and Ib 'Asakir, permit the sketching of an outling of his life. He was born into the Arab community settled in Balkh in about 112/730, or perhaps earlier, and migrated from Khurasan to Syria some time before 137/754. During the rest of his life he led a somewhat nomadic existence mostly in this region, going as far north as the Sayhan River and as far south as Ghazza. He disapproved of begging and worked with his hands for his livelihood, reaping, gleaning or grinding corn, or tending orchards, for example.

In addition to this he probably engaged in military operations on the border with Byzantium; the frontier fortresses of the Thughur (to the north of Syria, in modern Turkey) are mentioned repeatedly in the anecdotes. We are told that he took part in two land and two naval expeditions against Byzantium; he died on the second naval expedition of (a disease of) the belly. The manner of his death is confirmed by the circumstantial account of it given by Ibn 'Asakir (196). He was buried on a Byzantine island, according to some accounts near as fortress called Sukin, or Sufanan.

Another account places his death in Egypt. In various other less reliable accounts his tomb is said to be in Tyre, in Baghdad, in Damascus, in 'the city of Lot' (Kafr Barik),

in the Cave of Jeremiah near Jerusalem and finally and most persistently of all, in Djabala on the Syrian coast.

Ibrahim b. Adham is known widely in legend as the ruler of Balkh who abdicated his throne to take up the ascetic life. There seems to be no historical basis for this belief. The first source to give him royal status is al-Slami (d. 412/1021), the legendary nature of whose account is sufficiently demonstrated by the fact that it includes a description of Ibrahim's encounter with the immortal prophet Khidr; how 'Iraki, Fakhr Al-Din Ibrahim 'Iraki Hamadani, was an eminent Iranian poet and mystic.

In spite of its lack of precision, the best source of information on this author, who gives very few autobiographical details in his own works, is an anomalous *mukaddima* (introduction), composed in the manner and style of 'Iraki's own period (the end of the 7th/13th century) or the beginning of the following period. Djami (*Nafahat al-uns*) and Mir Khwand (*Habib al-siyar*) have obtained their information on 'Iraki from this introduction (*dibace*) to his edition of the *Kulliyat*, Sa'id Nafisi inserts the biographies given by other authors. He reproduces the errors of Dawlatshah, and states that there is no foundation for what the latter says about 'Iraki's attachment to a young boy and the punishment imposed by Shahrazuri, who is said to have sent him to Baha' al-Din Zakariyya in India, to mend his ways. In short, the later writers added many debatable details to 'Iraki's biography.

According to the *mukaddima*, he was a precocious youth. One day, when he was uttering a commentary on the *Kur'an*, some *kalandars* (wandering dervishes) came to listen to him; they persuaded him (in 627/1230) to give up teaching and to follow them to 'Irak-i 'Adjami, and then to India; at Multan, they visited the scholar Baha' al-Din Zakariyya, who, recognising 'Iraki's ability, wished him to remain with him, but when 'Iraki realized this, he departed with his companions to Delhi and then to Sumanat, where they were separated by a storm; after wandering for some time, 'Iraki and one of the *kalandars* met again by chance in Delhi; then 'Iraki, having decided to join Baha' al-Din Zakariyya, returned alone to Multan and sat at the feet of the master, later becoming his son-in-law. Soon afterwards, he had a son named Kabir al-Din, and he remained for twenty-five years with his master, about whom he wrote several *kasidas*. On his death, he succeeded him, but, driven out by the jealousy of some of his colleagues, he departed for the Hidjaz, whither some of them followed him. He was welcomed by the sultan of 'Uman, who attempted in vain to detain him, and the travellers completed the Pilgrimage.

Next, 'Iraki travelled in Asia Minor and put himself under the authority of Sadral-Din of Konya; after hearing his commentaries on the *Fusus* and the *Futuhat al-Makkiyya* of Ibn al-'Arabi, he gained the master's confidence. It was it this time that he wrote his *Lama'at;* he submitted them to Sadr al-Din, who praised them highly (they must therefore have been completed before 673/1274, when the latter died). Many pupils attached themselves to 'Iraki; he gained the favour of the *amir* Mu'in al-Din Sulayman Parvana, who offered him a monastery at Dukat (Tokat).

A series of anecdotes in the *mukaddima* concern 'Iraki's stay in this town, and in particular his meeting with the minister (Shams al-Din) Djuwayni (*Muk.*, 14–6), who is said to have come there in the company of a brother of the Il-khan Abaka, in order to check on the actions of Mu'in al-Din (before 676/1277, when the latter was probably secretly in contact with Baybars, the sultan of Egypt—which led to his being executed in the same year). Soon after this meeting, it seems that the enemies of Mu'in al-Din and of his protege 'Iraki turned Shams al-Din against them, though the latter, recognising 'Iraki's worth, assisted his hasty departure to Sinope. Thence 'Iraki went to Egypt, where he gained the favour of the sultan; this is attested by several anecdotes.

After this he planned to go to Damascus: the sultan had messages sent by carrier pigeons at the various stages of the journey and caused a solemn reception to be prepared for him; in the sixth month of his stay in Damascus, 'Iraki was joined by his son; who had spent several years at Multan with Baha' al-Din Zakariyya, but soon afterwards he became ill. After five days spent in a state of somnolence, he summoned his son and his companions, bade them farewell, chanted a verse of the *Qur'an* (LXXX:34–5), recited a *ruba'i* (*Mukaddima*, 19) and died while calling on God. His funeral was solemn and moving and he was buried on the Salihiyya hill on 8 Dhu 'l-Ka'da 688/23 November 1289; he was 78 years of age.

The author of the *Mukaddima* quotes where appropriate the first lines of several *ghazals* written by 'Iraki on various occasions in his life. In his introduction, Sa'id Nafisi says of his genius as a poet:

> "I know no poet in the Persian language who is as free, as daring and as lofty in the expression of love (mystic or profane) as 'Iraki; this ardour, this passion, are show clearly and to the highest degree in his *ghazals;* in addition, he shows his skill in the *tardji'band* and the ruba'i, though less so in the kasida and the mathnawi; in short, he excels mainly in his ghazals, serveral of which have been developed into mukhammas by other poets".

In spite of their merits, his two other works ('Ushshak-nama, Lama'at) appear of secondary importance compared with his Diwan, consisting mainly of ghazals. The 'Ushshak-nama (Book of beings enamoured [of God]) or dih-nama (Book of the ten sections), in verse, dedicated to Shams al-Din Djuwayni, is made up of a mathnawi followed by ghazals on mystic subjects; it was imitated by several poets (the Dih-nama of Awhadi, d. 705/1305, and of 'Imad al-Din Fakih, d. 773/1371–2. The Riwdat al-muhibbin of Ibn 'Imad Shirazi, d. 794/1391–2). The Kitab al-Lama'at (Book of beams of light) in 28 chapters—prose and verse mixed—is considered to have been written, at least in part, under the influence of the works of Ibn al-'Arabi; however, at the beginning of the book (Kulliyyat, 328, l.1) we read:

> "Now therefore these few words, setting out the degrees of love, have been dictated according to the mood of the moment, in the manner of the Sawanih [of al-Ghazali Ahmad], so that for whoever loves God they may be the mirror showing him the One Whom he loves, although the rank of love is too sublime for one to be able to approach by means of reason, understanding and eloquence, the royal Court of His Majesty...".

E.G. Browne has translated the introduction giving the content of the work;

he summarises as follows his judgement on 'Iraki's character (of which S. Nafisi gives some typical illustrations in his introduction to the Kulliyyat:

> "He is the typical qalandar, heedless of his reputation, and seeing in every beautiful face or object a reflection, as in a mirror, of the Eternal Beauty"

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Ismamut Ata (20th Centiry)

Ismamut (Ysmamyt) Ata was an ancestor of the Shaikh tribe, on the territory of the *kolkhoz* 'Kommuna' near Takhta Bazar in the Tashauz region. One of the most popular and active holy places of northern Turkmenistan according to Ya. Bayramov, secretary of the Takhta Bazar *raykom* in *Sovet turkmenistany*, 27 May 1981.

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Al-Jili, Abd al-Karim b. Ibrahim (1365–1428)

Abd al-Karim b. Ibrahim al-Jili of the Qadiriyya Silsila was another eminent pantheist of the fourteenth century. He was born in 767/1365 and died in about 832/1428. Except for the few references in his book, almost nothing is known about his life. He was the disciple of Shaikh Sharaf al-Din al-Jabarti and lived in Zabid (Yemen). He also visited India during his travels. He claims that he received mystic illumination which led him to write his well-known book, *al-Insan al-Kamil fi Ma'rifat al-Awakhir w-al-Awa'il.* Its object is to expound and express the truth. He holds that Absolute Being is one and that all multiplicity is illusory.

> "Absolute Being is the essence (*'ain*) of what we call the phenomenal world (*khalaq*) and God) (*Haqq*). The Absolute Being manifests itself in two different realities, *khalq* and *Haqq*."

He was a learned Sufi who followed the mystical school of Plotinus and Ibn al-'Arabi. He pursued his spiritual training under the mystical guidance of Shaikh Sharad Uddin Isam'il. Jili starts his mystical philosophy with the concept of 'Dhat' or the Divine Essence. The Divine Essence can be understood from a dualistic stand-point as 'Pure Being' or the 'Self-existing' Reality and as a 'being' related to the manifested world—the cosmos.

God, for Jili, is transcendent as well as immanent. He is both One and Many. He is the Perfect Being and the Unity absorbing all the imperfections and the units. The 'essence' and the 'existence' are identical in His Pure Divine Essence but they differ in the realm of His Pure Divine Essence but they differ in the realm of His created things which are His Attributes. The knowledge of the Pure Divine Essence can thus be reached by means of the Divine Attributes. Jili explains the concept of god in '*Insanu'l-kamil* when God says:

> "I am the Existent and the non-existent:
> That which comes to nought and that which abides.
> I am that which comes to nought and that which is imagined:
> I am both snake and charmer.
> I am that loosed and the bound:
> I am that which is drunk and he who gives to drink.
> I am the treasurer and I am poverty:
> I am My creation and the Creator".

Jili defines 'Attributes' as 'Thought' or a form which qualifies the Essence and makes it known to us. 'Thought' is the primary cause of the origin and existence of all worldly things. 'Thought is the basis of existence and the Essence which is in it, and it is a perfect manifestation of God, for Thought is the life of the spirit of the universe. It is the foundation of that life and its basis is Man. To him

> "who knows Thought, who is given to know it by the power of the All-Great, existence is but a thought. Do not despise the power of Thought, for by it is realised the nature of the Supreme Reality".

Our belief in God is also a 'Thought', or a mode in which God reveals Himself to us.

> "Consider your own belief in God and in His having the attributes and names which belong to Him. Where is the 'locus' (*mahall*) of this belief, in which God is made manifest to you? It is Thought. Therefore we said that Thought is the essence wherein He becomes manifest in perfection. If you recognise this, it will be plain to you that Thought is the origin of the whole, Universe, because god is the origin of all things, and their most perfect manifestation occurs nowhere but in a 'locus' which is the origin (of His manifestation); and that locus is Thought".

The Attributes of Pure Divine Essence are of four categories. Firstly, there are the attributes of God, like the attribute concerning His Essence. The second kind of attributes relate to Divine Majesty, like the attributes of 'Almighty'. The third category of attributes belongs to Divine Beauty, like the attribute of 'All-knowing". In the fourth category we have the attributes concerning Divine Perfection, like the attribute of 'Creator' or 'Being the First and the Last'. Besides these four categories of attributes, there are seven primary attributes—Life, Knowledge, Will, Power, Speech, Hearing and Sight.

The function of Ism (name) is to create an image of the Essence. It forms and retains a vivid picture of the Essence in our mind. It may be regarded as the means of the objectification of Divine Essence. 'Allah is the best and the most perfect name among the innumerable names of God. It conveys the best attribute of God.

> "God made this name a mirror for man, so that when he looks in it, he knows the true meaning of 'God was and there was naught besides Him', and in that moment it is revealed to him that his hearing is God's hearing, his sight God's sight, his speech God's speech, his life God's life, his knowledge God's knowledge, his will God's will, and his power God's power, and that God possesses all these attributes fundamentally; and then he knows that all the aforesaid qualities are borrowed and metaphorically applied to himself, whereas they really belong to God".

The purpose of the Divine Name is, as stated earlier, to objective the Essence as well as its attribute.

The name 'One' (al-Ahad), for example, refers to the Essence and name 'Knower' (al-'Alim) refers to the attribute of the Essence. Before is 'nuzul' or descent, the 'Dhat' or the Pure Essence is Self-existent and Self-determined Absolute Reality which can be considered as 'al-Ama or the dark mist. Its first impression which retains all the differences. It is the external form of the Pure Essence which can again be regarded both from the inward and outward sides. The inward aspect is called 'Huwiyya' or He-ness or the

Many in One. Its external form is called 'Aniyya' or-I-ness or the One in Many.

Jili speaks of a further descent of the Absolute Essence in the form of Wahidiyya or Unity. It is a synthesis of the opposites wherein the Essence and its attributes become one and the One and Many become identical. Thus the One Reality appears in a number of ways.

> "Existence is of two kinds: Absolute Existence Pure Being, God as He is in Himself, unknowable the dark cloud' (al-'Ama); and Existence joined with non-existence, that is, Nature as manifested in the universe. The Essence is One, but there are two forms of it, the Essence of the creatures and the Essence of the Creator".

Jili's famous metaphor is that of the water and the ice. As the ice is only an outward expression of water, the creation is only the external appearance of the Essence. The relation, thus, between the creator and the creation is that of complete identity.

The most perfect manifestation of Divine Essence is found in Ilahiyya or Divinity. Divinity refers to the complete unit of the attributes of Essence. Jili defines Divinity as a name for the sum of the individualisations of Being, *i.e.*, Being in relation of Creator to created things and for their maintenance in their respective order in that sum.

Essence, Attributes and Names: Absolute Essence is that to which names and attributes are ascribed. It is a Self (*nafs*) which exists by Itself. It deserves every name which Its perefection demands. No description in words can fully convey its essence. A thing can be understood by another thing which is related to it positively or negatively, but there is nothing in the universe which is so related to the Absolute. It is Pure Being which is equal to Non-Being—a sum of contradictions.

> "It is two contradictories gathered in a unity and this sum of contradictions is not impossible. It has two attributes: eternity and everlastingness; two qualities: God (*Haqq*) and the world (*khalq*); two descriptions: eternity (*qidam*) and createdness (*huduth*); two names: *Rubb* and '*abd* (Lord and slave). It has two faces: outward (visible), i.e., the present world and inward (invisible), i.e., the world to come. It has two predicates necessity and possibility; two points of view: according to the first, It is non-existent for Itself and existent for others, while, according to the second, It is existent for Itself and non-existent for others; two modes (*ma'rifah*): according to the one, It is positive (*wujub*) in one plane and negative in the other, while, according to the other, the position is reversed. With regard to Its Self (*nafs*), It is simple; with regard to Its form, It is compound; with regard to Its essence, It is unique; with regard to Its emanation, It is light; and with regard to Its indivisibility, It is darkness; and still It is beyond what we have said about It."

It is clear that according to al-Jili reality is one and belongs to divine Substance (*jauhar*) which has two different aspects: God and the world. Multiplicity is only subjective and relative.

> "You can say what you like. You are at liberty to say that the circle [of reality] is God and its inside is the world or that the circle is the world and its inside is God. It is God as well as the world."

> "You should know that knowledge of that lofty essence is that you should realize through mystic experience that you are He and He is

> you. This is neither union (*ittihad*) nor incarnation (*hulul*), for the slave is slave and the Lord is Lord: the slave does not become Lord, nor the Lord slave."

A true mystic or the perfect man is able to realize in his super-sensuous experience that multiplicity is only a subjective way of looking at things, otherwise reality that underlies it is one. What we call the world is nothing but the manifestation of God. In another place, he says:

> "Just as God was present in eternity in the Dark Mist (*'Ama'*) which is also called Reality of realities, Hidden Treasure and White [Pure] Chrysolite, so is He present now in all the things of the phenomenal world without incarnation (*hulul*) and mixture (*imtizaj*). He is manifested in the parts and atoms of the phenomenal world without becoming many."

Like ibn 'Arabi, he deals with the problem of transcendence and immanence as differentiating attributes of the essence which correspond to the twin characteristics of God and the world. Immanence (*tashbih*) is the form of divine beauty which is manifested in all the things of the phenomenal world without any distinction. The Christians are right when they say that Christ, Mary and the Holy Ghost are all manifestations of God but they are wrong when they limit this manifestation to three persons only. As a matter of fact, God is immanent in the whole world. Any belief about reality that ignores any of these two characteristics, transcendence and immanence, is defective and wrong as is the case with Christianity for instance. Transcendence (*tanzih*), when applied to God, implies that, in spite of His manifestation in all things, He is above and beyond all of them. But this sort of transcendence, according to al-Jili, is related to immanence and, therefore, does not fully represent the true essence which is characterised by what he calls essential or eternal transcendence, as He is in Himself, which He alone can know and which none can claim to understand. He is, therefore, above even the transcendence which is asserted of Him in correlation with His immanence.

Name (*ism*) is that which specifies the named in the understanding, pictures it in the mind, brings it in imagination, arranges it in thought, preserves it in memory and presents it to the intellect. A man who does not know the named gets its knowledge through the name. The name and the named are related to each other as outside to inside (*zahir* to *batin*) but in fact both are identical. There are some names the named of which do not exists in actual reality, as, for instance, *'anqa'* which exists only in name. *'Anqa'* and Allah stand at opposite poles; while the object of *'anqa'* is Non-Being, the object of Allah is Absolute Being. We can reach knowledge of God through divine names and attributes or through the name Allah which comprises in itself all names and attributes. Names are of two kinds:

(1) of the essence, e.g., one (*ahad*), single (*wuhid*), unique (*fard*), etc.,

(2) of the attributes, e.g., knowledge, power, mercy, etc.

An attribute of a thing is that which leads one to the knowledge of its state. This distinction between attributes and essence is operative only in the sphere of the phenomenal world.

> "Everything in the phenomenal world which is qualified by an attribute demands that the attribute should be other than the thing,

> because it is subject to division and multiplicity. At the same time it demands that the attribute should be identical with it. We say that man is a rational animal. It means that animality is a separate entity and so is rationality a thing different from man. But it also means that rationality and animality are both identical with man, because he is composed of both and is nothing beyond them. With regard to division, the attributes of a creature are different from its essence, while with regard to arrangement (*tarkib*) they are identical with it. But in God, this otherness disappears, for division and multiplicity do not apply to Him. His attributes are His essence and the two are identical."

Thus, according to al-Jili, the material world is not an unreality, a *maya,* but a reality which expresses the outward form of the Real. Plurality and division in the external world are the manifestations of the divine essence as attributes which are in the last analysis identical with it. If we do not accept this view of identity, the universe would not, according to him, lead to the essence.

In the fifty-seventh chapter of *Insan-i Kamil,* al-Jili says explicity that thought or idea is the material of the universe:

> "Thought is the life of the spirit of the universe... Existence is nothing but a thought. Thought is the origin and the source of Being (*wujud*) and is the essence in which God is completely manifested. Don't you see your belief about God as having names and attributes which pertain to Him? Where is the locus of the belief (i.e., the universe) in which God has manifested Himself for you? It is nothing but thought."

Later on, he asserts that Being (*wujud*), as a matter of fact, is nothing but a thought within a thought within a thought. Thus, by identifying attributes and essence, he is able to give reality to the physical world of nature which to the mystic becomes a source of the direct knowledge of God.

Among the important divine attributes he mentions divinity (*ilahiyyah*), mercifulness (*rahmaniyyah*) and lordship (*rububiyyah*). Divinity is the sum of all the realities (i.e., all individualities) of Being and their maintenance in their respective positions (*maratib*) within the whole. It is the rank of God as Necessary Being.

> "You should know that Being and Non-Being are two opposites and the sphere of divinity comprises both. It is a sum of two pairs of contradictories: eternal and created (*hadith*), God and the world, Being and Non-Being. At this stage God appears in the form of the world and the world in the form of God."

Divinity is the highest manifestation of the essence and is invisible while its effects in the form of nature are visible everywhere. Essence is visible to the eye but its locus is not fixed or visible; we see it manifested but cannot describe its quality. Take the example of man. He is characterised by some attributes, all of which never come within the compass of our comprehension, though we see man all right. It means that essence is visible while its attributes are not. Of the latter we see nothing but effects. For instance, we see the marching forward on the part of a brave man. Similarly, we see giving of alms to the poor on the part of a generous man. 'Marching forward' and 'giving of alms' are not bravery and generosity respectively, but only the effects of these attributes.

Mercifulness (*rahmaniyyah*) is the manifestation of the essence in the realities of

names and attributes. It refers only to the creative and not to the creaturely attributes, while *ilahiyyah* refers to both. In this respect mercifulness appears to be higher in scale than divinity, as sweetness of sugar does with regard to the sugarcane. If you prefer sweetness to sugarcane, mercifulness is better than divinity, but if looking at the generality and comprehensive character of the sugarcane, you prefer it to sweetness, then divinity will be prior in rank. The name that manifests itself in this rank is that of *Rahman* (the Merciful) which are seven, viz., life, knowledge, power, will, speech, hearing and sight.

The first mercy of God was the creation of the universe from His own Self. His manifestation permeated all existents and His perfection appeared in every atom and particle. In spite of manifestation in the many, He does not become many but remains One as His nature demands. The nature of His permeation is that He created the world out of His Self which is not divisible.

God is the substance (*huyula*) of the universe. In order to clarify his position, al-Jili gives the example of water and ice. God is like water which is the reality of ice and the world is like ice which is nothing but water (i.e., God) in a congealed form. The use of the term 'ice' is only metaphorical and secondary and not real. For the world and God are identical. The world is nothing but ice and ice, according to our opinion, is nothing but water, Our belief is that ice and water are identical.

God permeates the whole of existence through His name *Rahman* and this permeation is neither incarnation (*hulul*) nor contact, for both these conceptions imply duality; as a matter of fact, He is consubstantial with existents (*'ain al-maujudat*).

Lordship (*rububiyyah*) is the name of the rank which demands those names that require the being of the existents and comprehends such names as the knower (*'alim*), the hearer (*sami'*). the seer (*basir*), the self-subsisting (*qayyum*), and the willing (*murid*). Each name under this category demands its logical correlate. The knower implies the object known and willing implies the objects towards which the will is directed.

There are four kinds of attributes: beauty (*jamal*), perfection (*kamal*), majesty (*jalal*), and essence (*dhat*). Every divine name and attribute has its effect which reflects one of the three: beauty, majesty, or perfection. All existents absolutely reflect all the names and attributes of beauty and some of the names and attributes of majesty as well as those of perfection. Paradise is the manifestation of absolute beauty, while hell is the manifestation of absolute majesty. The perfect man alone is the complete manifestation of all these divine names and attributes.

Al-Jili, then, deals with the ten main attributes: life, knowledge, will-power, speech, hearing, sight, beauty, majesty, perfection, even though they are so innumerable that none can comprehend them in their entirety.

1. ***Life***: Complete life is the existence of a thing for itself while incomplete or relative life is its existence for another. God exists for Himself, is living (*hayy*) and, therefore, His life is complete and not subject to death. All creatures live for God and, therefore, their life is relative and hence subject to decay and

death. Life of God as manifested in created beings (*khalq*) is one and complete and yet the creatures receive it in different degrees. In some, this life appears in its complete form as, for instance, in the perfect man and the exalted angels and those things which are not composed of material elements, as the Exalted Pen, the Preserved Tablet, etc.

In others, this life appears in its real form but is incomplete, as, for instance, in animal, man, lower angel and *jinn*, because though each of them lives for his own self and knows that he exists and possesses different attributes, yet his existence is not real, for he is far removed form the source of life. In others, as in animals, life does not appear in its real from. There are others for whom life has lost its real significance and, therefore, they live for others and not for themselves as, for instance, plants, minerals, etc.

Everything existent is alive, for existence by itself implies life, though different things manifest it in various degrees; some enjoy complete life while others have imperfect life. But if we look at the matter from the transcendental point of view, life of everything is complete, though there seems to be a quantitative difference due to the inherent capacity of the thing itself. Life as such is a fountain, a unity, a substance, existent in everything by its own perfection and is not subject to diminution or division.

The essence of a thing is its life, that is, life of God, whereby everything subsists. The life of things with regard to themselves is created (*hadith*) but in relation to God it is eternal (*qadim*), for the life of a thing is in reality His life.

> "You should know that forms, shapes, actions, words, minerals and plants to which we attribute 'exstence' possess like man complete life by themselves and for themselves. But because most people do not know this fact, we include them in a category lower than that in which they should be placed. As a matter of fact, everything possesses being for itself and complete life with which it speaks hears sees, understands and has power and will of its own and does what it wishes to do. This fact has been learnt by me from direct revelation in mystic experience."

In other words, everything, material as well as non-material, is, according to al-Jili, self-determined and possesses a unique individuality of its own.

2. ***Knowledge:*** Of all the attributes, knowledge is nearer to life as life is nearer to essence. Every living thing (or everything, for, according to him, everything has life) possesses knowledge in one form or another. The first form of knowledge is instinctive or what he calls inspirational (*'ilm-i ilhami*), possessed even by animals. The other is clear, necessary, or inferential knowledge possessed by man, angels and *jinn*. Life and knowledge are correlated and each demands the other.

Al-Jili holds that knowledge by which God knows Himself and knowledge by which He knows the objects of the universe are one and the same and there can be no division or difference in the two. According to ibn 'Arabi, God's knowledge of the objects is dependent on what they (objects) give of themselves to Him. Commenting on the *Qur'anic* verse (III:178):

"Verily God is not unjust to His servants,"

Ibn 'Arabi says:

> "No, I dealt with them only according as I knew them and I knew them only by what they 'gave' me of themselves of what they themselves really are."

Similarly, discussing the problem of creation, ibn 'Arabi says that when God says 'Be' to a thing, it is not God's will that brings a thing into existence because God wills nothing and commands nothing the existence of which is not made necessary by the very nature and laws of things themselves. Thus, according to him, God's will and knowledge are both dependent on the nature of the objects.

Al-Jili rejects this view as wrong. God's knowledge of objects, according to him, is totally independent of the objects themselves. It is true, he says, that God's decree (*hukm*) with regard to a thing is determined by what its essence demands it to be, but it is wrong to infer from this that God's knowledge of objects is thereby determined by the nature of the objects themselves. As a matter of fact, the objects demanded of Him that very thing which He knew by His universal, essential and fundamental knowledge before they were brought into existence. God's knowledge of objects is determined not by the necessity or demand of those objects but by its own inner demand.

3. ***Will:*** God's knowledge manifests itself according to the demands of His essence and it is will which gives existence to His objects of knowledge as His knowledge demands. Our created will is identical with God's will, but when attributed to us it becomes temporal, while attributed to God it is eternal, just as Being when attributed to us is created (*makhluq*) and when atributed to God is eternal.

Here again, he disagrees with ibn 'Arabi, according to whom God is nothing but the name of immutable laws which operate in the universe. Ibn 'Arabi rules out not only the individual freedom of man, but that of God's will as well. God does not will in the sense that He chooses, but in the sense that He decrees what He knows will take place. That the thing or action which God has decreed should take place, depends entirely on its own necessary laws.

But according to al-Jili, just as God is free and undetermined in His knowledge, so His will is absolutely undetermined and uncaused. God's will operates in every from and shape without any cause or condition; it is absolutely God's free act. He says that, according to ibn 'Arabi, it is wrong to call God free (*mukhtar*), for He does not operate in the universe by His free-will; His actions are determined by the necessity external to Him.

4. ***Power:*** It is an attribute of the essence which brings objects of knowledge into the world of actuality. Power is the creation or bringing it existence of objects from te state of Non-Being.

Here, again, he controverts the position of ibn 'Arabi according to whom there is no creation at all. The objects of the physical world existed from eternity as objects of God's knowledge. What we usually call creation is nothing but manifestation of these already existing objects of knowledge on a different plane. There is no question of temporal priority or posteriority nor is there any creation *ex*

nihilo at all. Al-Jili does not accept this position *in toto.*

He says that it is true that creation means the coming into actual existence of things which were previously the objects of God's consciousness. But ibn 'Arabi, according to him, forgot to note the fact that God's existence was prior to the existence of latent realities, things as objects of His consciousness *(a'yan al-thabitah)* and at this stage the things were non-existent and there was in existence nothing but Allah to whom alone we can attribute eternity (*qidam*). It follows that He created the objects of His consciousness from non-existence (*'adam*).

Allah in essence is independent and His being is first only as a matter of rank (*rutbah*); creatures are dependent on Him and, therefore, their being is posterior in the same sense. There is no lapse of time between the non-existence of things and their becoming objects of God's consciousness. The question of priority is only logical and not temporal.

The same line of argument is presented in discussing the nature of eternity *(azal)* and everlastingness (*abad*). Eternity is of two kinds. One is the eternity of a created thing. It refers to the time when it had no being. Eternity of one creature is different from the eternity of others. For instance, eternity of inorganic matter is different from the eternity of others. For instance, eternity of inorganic matter is different from that of organic substances, for it is prior to the latter. We can, therefore, speak of eternity with reference to the organic substances when the inorganic substances were in existence and had not yet developed and evolved into organic form; it does not, however, imply any temporal priority. The other is absolute eternity which belongs only to God who is above Being and Non-Being. God's eternity has no relation whatsoever with that of the creatures because He is (logically) prior to them.

We cannot say, as ibn 'Arabi, for instance, holds, that in the state of absolute eternity the world existed if not objectively, as the object of God's knowledge, for if we accept this position, we would be bound to regard the created world as co-eternal and co-existent with God. He quotes a *Qur'anic* verse (LXXVI:1) in support of his thesis:

> "Has there not been over man a long period of time when he was nothing— to be spoken of?"

Al-Jili holds that time (*dahr*) in this context means Allah and a portion of time (*hin*) is one of His manifestations when man had no being, either as an intelligible (*'ilmi*, i.e. an object of God's consciousness in the form of latent reality) or an actual reality (*'aini*). The part of the verse 'nothing— to be spoken of' signifies that he did not form the content of God's mind.

Similarly, when we apply everlastingness to God, it is logical and not temporal. Eternity and everlastingness are only logical determinations and not temporal events in reference to God. These two, i.e., eternity and everlastingness with their temporal implications, have been employed only to clarify the real existence of God (in relation to the world), otherwise (as a matter of fact) there is neither temporal eternity nor everlastingness. Time has no reference or significance in relation to God.

Difference between eternity and everlastingness is that eternity refers to the logical priority of God, while everlastingnesws means that He was never non-existent nor in need of an efficient causality for His Being. We apply to Him the term 'everlastingness' only for understanding His eternity, otherwise ascription of temporal periority and posteriorty to Him as related to the world is out of question. Temporality (*huduth*) implies that things, although they have been in the knowledge of God since eternity, in respect of their existence are created things.

5. ***Speech (Kalam)***: Speech is a reflection of the Being of God; it is an overflowing or emanation (*faid*) from the essence of God. It is an intelligible epiphany. It manifests itself in two directions. The first is of two kinds.

(a) The first kind of speech (*kalam*) issues forth from God's position of power (*'izzah*) which must be obeyed by all. The *Qur'anic* verse, XLI:11, refers to this fact.

(b) The second kind of speech issues fort from the position of Lordship in the language of the people such as the revealed books.

In its case, the question of obedience and disobedience arises. Some obey while others disobey the injunctions contained in them.

The second significance (direction) of speech is metaphysical and is the basis of the doctrine of Logos. The Word of God is the reality of the existents and every existent is a Word of God. Al-Jili refers to the *Qur'anic* verse:

> "If the sea were ink for the Words of my Lord the sea would surely be consumed before the Words of my Lord are exhausted" (XVIII: 109).

Thus, Nature is the materialisation of the Word of God and exists in its physical form. It is the objective and material form of the contents of God's consciousness, the physical shape that objects of His knowledge, called *a'yan al-thabitah,* assume.

6. ***Hearing is divine epiphany:*** It is an attribute of His essence which His perfection demands. He hears the words of His own consciousness as well as those of His manifestations (*shu'un*). The second hearing (of the manifestations) is the demand of His names and attributes which are to be manifested in the physical world. It is revelation of Himself to Himself in the state of self-consciousness.

7. ***Sight:*** The attribute of sight with reference to seeing the object of knowledge is nothing but God as He is in His essence and the same is the case with His atribute of knowledge. With regard to the epiphany of knowledge which is the originator of the universe, it is the revelation of the attribute of knowledge from Himself to Himself, while the epiphany of *'ain,* which is the objective physical world, is the manifestation of the attribute of seeing and both are identical with His essence. Seeing and knowing are two different attributes and yet, with reference to His essence, they are one: His seeing is His knowing. When the things were on the plane of the unseen, they were the objects of His knowledge; when they appeared on the plane of existence, they became the objects of His hearing.

8. ***Beauty:*** It is of two kinds. The first is real and is reflected in the 'beautiful names'

in which God sees Himself. The second is sensory and reflected in the physical created world. He is the absolute beauty and reveals Himself in its different manifestations.

9. ***Majesty is beauty in its intense form:*** Beauty signifies His exalted attributes, while majesty is His essence as manifested in His names and attributes.

10. ***Perfection is the name of divine essence which is perfectly unknowable:*** All attributes of God are identical with His essence and not added to it and so perfection is His by His by is very nature.

Self-revelations of the One: The Ultimate Reality, according to al-Jili, is One which manifests itself in the multiplicity of forms without thereby becoming many. The state of the One before It revealed Itself is called, after ibn 'Arabi, blindness (*al-'Ama'*). The term was adopted from a prophetic tradition. The Holy Prophet was once asked about the place of God before creation. He answered that God was in *'Ama'*. On the basis of this simple answer, ibn 'Arabi and al-Jili have built a super-structure of their pantheistic systems.

The essence is Absolute Being in which all relations, modes and directions disappear. As such, it cannot be called a necessary or eternal being for this implies determination of one sort or another. It is even above the characteriszation of absoluteness. Al-Jili calls this essence *'Ama'* and describes it as essence in its inwardness. It is like a flint which hides fire in its inner-most recesses. Though sometimes fire is revealed, yet it remains hidden within it. It is the Reality of realities which is above the distinction of God (*Haqq*) and the world (*khalq*), beyond the determination of names and attributes.

It is the one epiphany which has no relation whatsoever with the 'other.' In spite of this, it comprises within itself all (later) manifestations or revelations which are present in it only potentially like stars in the light of the sun. In this epiphany of essence, God knows nothing but Himself, while in other epiphanies He knows Himself as well as others.

This state of blindness is related to Absolute Oneness (*ahadiyyah*), in both of which names and attributes are annihilated and nothing is manifested, with the difference that in the former the inward aspect is emphasised, while in the latter its outward aspect takes its form. *'Ama'*, with regard to inwardness and occultation or hiddeness, is the essence, while Absolute Oneness with regard to God's manifestation to Himself is His mind (*nafs*) in which all relations are negated.

Absolute Oneness denotes that the Pure Being is about to start on the process of descent, coming down towards manifestation. This is the first stage of the descent or self-revelation of the essence from the darkness of *'Ama'* to the light of manifestations. At this stage unity is complete and all multiplicity is negated, although it resides in it; it is divested of all attributes, names, relations and modes and yet they all lie hidden in its inner-most being. Its apparent unity is identical with its hidden plurality. It is like a wall when seen from a distance.

Although it is composed of different constituents like bricks, mortar, etc. and is, thus, a plurality, yet it shows itself to an observer as a unity which has a peculiar existence of its own and is not merely a conglomeration of different parts. It is the first

self-revelation of the One and is above the distinctions of God and the world. No one can claim to receive illumination from the One at this stage, for it is beyond all multiplicity; what we experience is really unity in its second stage, *Rabb* or *Allah*.

The unity (*ahadiyyah*) of God at a particular stage of manifestation spreads out into a pair of opposites which later on are reunited at the stage of uniqueness or simple oneness (*wahdiyah*). The intervening stage between *ahadiyyah* and *wahdiyyah* is represented by He-ness (*huwiyyah*) and I-ness (*aniyyah*). Ibn 'Arabi employs the term *huwiyyah* (He-ness) as equivalent to divine essence. But for al-Jili this He-ness is a stage removed from the essence. It is derived from the pronoun *hawa* (he) which refers to te 'absent one' (*gha'ib*) and, therefore, refers to the essence of God from which names and attributes are absent, that is, to His unity which negates the many. It is the inward aspect of the unity which informs us about its inwardness (*batin*) and absence (*qhaibubiyyah*). It is the inmost consciousness of Allah.

Aniyyah (I-ness) is the outward aspect of unity in which One blossoms forth into multiplicity. *Zahir* (outward) and *bitin* (inward) are not two different aspects of the One but only Its different views; as a matter of fact, the outward and the inward are identical. He-ness and I-ness, outwardness and inwardness refer to the reality which is signified by the name Allah because *ilahiyyah* is a sum of contradictories.

The stage of self-revelation called simple Oneness (*wuhdiyyah*) is the manifestation of the essence in which all different attributes are gathered together. Here everything is One and many, many is One and One many.

At this stage, essence is manifested as attribute and attribute as essence. Every attribute is identical with the other, as generosity is with revengefulness, for both are identical with (or '*ain* of) Allah.

In *ahadiyyah*, there is no manifestation of names and attributes and the Real is the pure essence. In *wahdiyyah*, names and attributes as well as their traces and effects are fully manifested, but they are not separate from the essence; here every attribute is identical with (the '*ain* of) the other. In *ilahiyyah* names and attributes are manifested but are distinguished one from the other and are even contradictory to one another.

Ascent of the Soul: The different grades of the self-revelations of the One are only a logical description of how, according to al-Jili, the Real, i.e., God, manifests Himself in nature and man. It is man in whom He become self-conscious and who realizes the ultimate truth that there is no multiplicity or division, for reality is one. But, as al-Jili says, this realization does not dawn on him all of a sudden. It is not possible for man to realize and comprehend all the divine realities at the time of birth. He ascends to the truth only by gradual stages. Al-Jili enumerates four different stages which man has to traverse before he is able to achieve unity with the source and origin of life, the One.

1. ***Illumination of Action:*** At this stage man feels that God permeates all objects of the world; it is He who moves them and is ultimately responsible for their rest. The power of performing action is attributed by al-Jili to

God only and man is looked upon as devoid of all power or will. He enumerates several degrees and grades of this stage. There are some who first see the divine will and then look to the action and, thus, they are made to realize the conflict between God's will and religious injunctions. There are some who follow His will, although thereby they violate His order (*amr*). With regard to the first, i.e., will, they are obedient, while, with regard to the second, they are classed among the disobedient. Al-Jili leaves the problem unsettled by asking the question:

> "Is it better for man, in order to win God's favour, to put on the dress of disobedience for the sake of fulfilling God's will or to put on the dress of obedience and defy thereby His will, though, as a matter of fact, only that happens which is according to the will of God?"

2. ***Illumination of Names***: When a mystic receives illumination from any one of the divine names, his being is completely submerged under the light of the name. Both are so much identified that when anyone calls God by that name the response comes from the mystic. The result is that he comes to realize his unity with the Real.

> "Anyone who calls Laila (my beloved) by her name receives answer from me; when anyone calls me, then Laila answers on my behalf. We are one soul though in two different bodies or we two are like a person who in essence is one but has two names. As a matter of fact, we are not two persons that have become one, but are one; the lover is the beloved."

Al-Jili enumerates several grades and degrees of this illumination, all of which are based on his mystical experiences. Other people may arrive at a different set of stages on the basis of their mystical experience. The first is the illumination of the name Eternal (*Qadim*). Here God reveals to man his position as he existed before the creation of the world in the consciousness of God (i.e. as *'ain al-thabitah*). His physical existence vanishes.

As the knowledge of God is eternal, so are the objects of His knowledge. This being so, the man who receives illumination from the name Eternal *ipso facto* loses his temporality and becomes as eternal as his latent reality (*'ain al-thabitah*). He who receives the epiphany of the name *al-Haqq* (the Truth) realizes the hidden truth contained in the *Qur'anic* verse (XV:85):

> "We created the heavens, the earth and whatever is in them with truth."

For him the phenomenal world ceases to exist and only the essence, devoid of all attributes and relations, remains. There are others who receive epiphany of the name *al-Ahad* (the One). God reveals to them the true nature of the phenomenal world and they realize in their mystic revelation that this world is a reflection (*buruz*) of His essence and is related to Him as waves to the sea. In this state the mystic sees the One in the many; rather the many disappear altogether and only the One remains as the Real. Al-Jili sums up his position in these words:

> "I lost my (separate) being (*wujud*). On my behalf He represented me; rather He was I and I, He. Being was one and there was no conflict or difference. I was annihilated and achieved abiding life (*baqa*) with Him and in Him and all the veils of difference and dualities were removed. I raised my self (*nafs*), the veil was lifted and I awoke as if I had not fallen asleep. With the eyes of reality I found

> myself as *Haqq*. Then. His attributes became my attributes and my self (*dhat*) His essence. As a matter of fact, my name is His name and the name of His essence is my name."

There are some who receive light (*tajalli*) from the name *al-Rahman* (the Merciful). At this stage, the mystic receives illumination gradually and turn by turn from all the divine names and is illumined according to the capacity of the light inherent in his nature. Then the name *Rabb* (Nourisher) and all other names that are related to it like *Alim* (Knower), *Qadir* (Powerful), etc., descend on him. This process goes on till he is illumined by all the names. Last of all comes the epiphany of the name *Qayyum* (Self-subsisting). This is the final stage after which the mystic passes on to the next higher stage of the illumination of divine attributes.

3. ***Illumination of Attributes:*** At this stage, the self (*nafs*) and existence (*wujud*) of the mystic are annihilated. When the light of slavehood (*'abdiyyah*) and the spirit of creatureliness in him pass away, God substitutes in his body, in place of the thing that has been snatched away, a spiritual substance of His own essence without incarnation. This spiritual substance, called the Holy Spirit (*Ruh al-Quds*), becomes an inalienable part of his self. God's epiphany to man in this state means His epiphany to His own Self; we call man slave, though, in reality, there is no distinction between Lord and slave. When slave disappears, his logical correlate, Lord, must also disappear. The true reality is God, the One. As al-Jili puts it,

> "In this sea of unity, the creatures are like waves which though many, are parts of the sea. If the sea is in motion, it is all waves; when it is calm, there are neither waves nor number (i.e., multiplicity)."

He enumerates several grades of this illumination which different people attain according to their inborn capacities and the magnitude of their knowledge or the power of their will. When a person is illumined by the divine attribute of life, he feels that he is the sole source of life as manifested in all the creatures in different proportions. Al-Jili says that when he was at this stage he felt that he was life itself, one and indivisible.

When a mystic is illumined by the attribute of knowledge or sight, he knows the reality of everything that was, is and will be and sees everything, even the unknown of the unknown (*ghaib al-ghaib*). When he is illiumined by the attribute of hearing, he hears the speech of every creature: minerals, plants, animals and angels.

Some receive the light of the attribute of speech (*kalam*). In this condition, the recipient looks upon all existents as God's Word. Sometimes he hears the words of God without any veil of names, without any direction, without the help of any bodily organ. The hearing of God's words cannot be described in usual physical terms, for the ear does not play any part in it. In this state man attains a very high position. He is addressed by God as His lover and beloved.

> "You are My mouth among My people. You are My inmost secret and the best reflection of My life. You are My name, My person (*dhat*), My attribute. You are the epitome and the (final) object of existence and creation (*huduth*). If there had been no Lord (*Rabb*), there would have been no slave. You manifested Me as I manifested you. You

> brought Me into existence, as I created you. If you had not been existent, I would not have been existent. My lover, I am the (hidden) meaning of you and you are the (apparent) manifestation of Me."

A man who reaches this stage receives God's Word according to his capacity. When carried to the Highest Tree (*sidrat al-Muntaha*) he is addressed by God. Then he sees light in the heart and is convinced by its every brilliance that its source is God. He is told:

> "My friend, your I-ness (*aniyyah*) is My He-ness (*huwiyyah*). 'You is identical with 'I.' Your simplicity is My compositeness and your compositeness is My simplicity. You are a point (Centre) round which the circle of existence revolves and in that circle you are the worshipper as well as the worshipped; you are the light, the manifestation, the beauty."

Some are illumined by the divine attribute of will. At this stage the illumined person sees that everything in the world is subject to his will. Some are illumined by the attribute of power. At this stage, which al-Jili claims to have reached himself, he heard the ringing of bells; his whole physical body seemed to have been torn asunder and his existence changed into non-being. He experienced here darkness upon darkness till by the grace of God he was relieved of all this and came upon light.

At this stage the illumined one gets extra-ordinary spiritual powers; a thing comes into existence at his bidding. The last stage is the illumination of the attribute of divinity (*ilahiyyah*), where two contradictory positions seem to be reconciled and incorporated into a higher synthesis. A person illumined by this light accepts all the religions of the world as true and yet, he looks upon all of them (including Islam) as untrue: for, according to him, all Muslims, believers, gnostics and the righteous ones are on the wrong path and he does not accept the opinion of any but the perfect Sufi (*muhaqqiq*) as true.

4. *Illumination of the essence*: When God reveals Himself to man through this epiphany, man dies to himself and, in place of that, receives from God a divine substance (*latifah ilahiyyah*) which is either attributive (*sifati*) or essential (*dhati*). When this substance is essential, i.e., when man is illumined by divine essence, he truly becomes a perfect man.

***Doctrine of Logos and the Perfect Man*:** According to al-Jili, there are three metaphysical categories:

(1) Absolute Being which is completely unknowable. It is the essence above all kinds of determinations, relations and modes,

(2) The reality viewed as *Haqq*, the aspect of He-ness or Divinity.

(3) The reality viewed as *khalq*, the aspect of I-ness, or humanity.

Ultimate Reality is one, but it appears in two different aspects of God and man (*haqq* and *khalq*). Sometimes, he expresses this doctrine in a form which most Western writers (like Nicholson) construe to be the acceptance of the Christian doctrine of Trinity. Al-Jili says:

> "Essence has two aspects: 'You' and 'I'... 'You' refers to your He-ness (*huwiyyah*); 'I' refers to my reality... 'I,' as 'I'-ness, is God and 'You in its creaturely aspect is man. You may look at your self as 'I' or as 'You'; in reality, there is nothing here except the Universal Reality."

Later on, al-Jili says:

> "In itself the essence is one. If you say it is one, it is true. And if you say, it is two, then it is, as a matter of fact, two. If you say, 'No, it is three,' you have spoken the truth."

Explaining it further, he says:

> "Look at His oneness (*ahadiyyah*) which is His essence and here He is one (*wahid*) and unique. If you look at Him with regard to the two aspects of Creator and creature, Lord and slave (*Rabb* and *'abd*), He is two. And if you look at His real nature and at that wherein two contraries are gathered together, you will be amazed. You will have to fix a third name to illustrate His nature which is characterised by the two attributes. This third thing is that whose name is Ahmad with reference to the celestial sphere and Muhammad with reference to the terrestrial sphere."

This is the doctrine of Logos or the perfect man which he discusses in detail in the sixtieth chapter of his book.

The perfect man, according to him, is the Pole (*Qutb*) or which the sphere of existence revolves from first to last. He is dressed in different ways and in each guise he has a different name. His real name is Muhammad. In every age he has a name which is most suitable for that time. Referring to his personal experience he says that he had a chance of seeing him (i.e. Muhammad as a perfect man) in the form of his Shaikh, Sharf al-Din al-Jabrati, at Zabid in 796/1393, though he did not know at that time that he was Muhammad.

The Holy Prophet, as a matter of fact, in his capacity as the perfect man, has the power of assuming different forms. When the mystic observes him in the form which he possessed in his earthly life, he calls it the form of Muhmmad. But when he (the mystic) seems him in some other form, though he knows that it is in reality Muhammad, he calls him by the name of the form in which he appears. The name Muhammad applies to nothing except the reality of Muhammad (*haqiqat al-Muhammadiyyah*).

Al-Jili is, however, very careful to point out that this is not the doctrine of metempsychosis. Muhammad has the power, according to him, to manifest himself in different forms and he has been appearing in the form of the perfect man in every age. Such perfect men are outwardly his (i.e., Muhammad's) vicegerents, while inwardly he constitutes their essence. At another place al-Jili calls Muhammad as "the heaven and the earth and the length and the breadth."

This basic reality of Muhammad is present in all people in proportion to their inherent capacities. Saints and prophets all partake of it in different degrees, while Muhammad alone possesses it in its fullness and, therefore, according to al-Jili, nobody except he can be called a truly perfect man. Different names and attributes are manifested individually and separately in different saints and prophets; but in the perfect man they are manifested in their totality.

The perfect man is the whole of reality in miniature; he is the microcosm who combines in himself the inward and the outward aspect of reality. He is the copy of God as a tradition of the Prophet says:

> "Allah created Adam in the image of the Merciful,"

and, as another tradition asserts:

> "God created Adam in His own image."

God is living, knowing, mighty, willing hearing, seeing and speaking and so is the perfect man.

Then, there is the perfect man's he-ness (*huwiyyah*) as against God's He-ness (*huwiyyah*), I-ness (*aniyyah*) against i-ness, essence against essence, whole against whole, universal against universal, particular against particular. The microcosmic character of the perfect man is further explained by al-Jili as follows:

> "The perfect man in his essence represents all the realities of existence. In his spirituality he corresponds to the Throne of God (*al-'arsh*), his *aniyyah* to the Heavenly Chair (*kursi*), his mind to the Exalted Pen (*al-qalam al-a'la*), his soul to the Guarded Tablet (*al-lauh al-mahfuz*), his nature to physical elements, his potentialities to *hayula*, etc., etc. In short, every faculty of the perfect man corresponds to different manifestations in the physical world."

According to al-Jili, there are three stages (*barzakh*) of development for the perfect man. In the first stage called beginning (*bada'ah*) the perfect man becomes endowed with divine names and attributes. In the intermediary stage (*tawassut*) he is able to grasp both divine and human realities. When he is able to acquire all that is possible to do at this stage, he gets knowledge of all hidden things and becomes aware of the secrets of the unseen world. In the third and final stage (*khitam*) he acquires creative power and is given full authority to manifest this power in the world of nature.

> "At this stage there are only two things: he, the perfect man himself and God the Great."

He is called 'the guide' (*al-mahdi*) and the seal (*al-Khatam*). He is the vicegerent to whom God refers in the story of Adam. All things are drawn towards him in obeying his order as iron is attracted by the magnet. All the world is subdued to his power and greatness and he does what he wishes to do. Nothing remains hidden from or unknown to him. The saint (i.e., the perfect man) possesses the divine substance as simple essence (like God Himself) and is not limited by any rank (*martabah*) of Creator and creature and as such he is able to bestow on things what their nature demands without any let or hindrance.

Saintship and Prophethood: Al-Jili quotes Shaikh 'Abd al-Qadir on the authority of ibn 'Arabi:

> "Oh prophets! You have called prophets but we have got something which you did not get."

Another mystic says,

> "We have dived in the river (of saintship) while the prophets are staying at its banks."

al-Jili remarks that there is truth in these statements, but a prophet as prophet is superior to a saint *qua* saint.

Al-Jili regards prophethood as a developed stage of saintship. The seventh stage of the Spiritual development is nearness (*qurb*) which he calls great saintship (*wilayat al-kubra*). It has four aspects.

> The first is friendship (*khullah*), the position attained by Abraham.
>
> The second is love (*hubb*), where Muhammad was given the rank of a lover of God (*habib Allah*).
>
> The third is finality (*khatam*), the rank of Muhammad (*maqam-i Muhammadi*) where the banner of Ahmad was hoisted for him.

> The last and fourth is the rank of slavehood (*'abdiyyah*) where God called him by the name of slave (*'abd*).

In this rank he was made a prophet and sent with a message to the people. Other people who succeed in attaining this rank are only entitled to be called slaves and they are the vicegerents of Muhammad on all planes (*hadarah*) of existence. There are some saints who have undergone spiritual discipline and attained perfection, but their objective is not the reform of the people. Such saints are prophets, but their prophet hood follows from that of Muhammad. They are his brothers about whom there is a reference in the following tradition:

> "I have a great regard for those of my brethren who will come after my death."

These people are prophet-saints. The prophet hood of these saints, according to al-Jili, is not institutional (*tashri'i*) but that of nearness, propagation (of the message of the Holy Prophet and enforcement of the divine Law. These prophet-saints receive their prophetic knowledge directly, i.e., from the same source from which the prophets derive their knowledge.

Al-Jili draws a distinction between saintship (*wilayah*), prophecy of saintship (*nubuwwat al-wilayah*) and prophecy of institution (*nubuwwat al-tashri'*). Saintship is a rank in which God reveals to a mystic His names and attributes through knowledge, state and power and, thus, becomes his protector and friend (*mutawalli*). In the prophecy of saintship, the perfect servant (*al-'abdal-kamil*) is commanded by God to turn his attention to the people so that he may reform them in the light of the divine Law towards a better moral and spiritual life. He who performed this task before Muhammad was an apostle (*rasul*) and he who undertook this work after him is his vicegerent, but in his missionary work he has no independent status; he is the follower of Muhammad, like such saints as Bayazid, Junaid, 'Abd al-Qadir Jilani, ibn 'Arabi, etc. He who enjoys an independent status and does not follow any other prophet belongs to the rank of prophecy of institution, but this has come to an end after the death of Muhammad.

Thus, saintship represents a peculiar relation between the Lord and the servant, prophecy of saintship is an aspect of the saint which is common between the Creator and the creature; prophecy of institution is an independent and permanent assignment; apostleship is an aspect which refers to the relation between the (Lord's) servant and the creatures.

A prophet is a saint as well as a prophet, but the aspect of his saintship is superior to the aspect of his prophecy, though every prophet-saint is superior to a saint. According to al-Jili, Muhammad is the final prophet because he did not leave any wisdom, guidance, knowledge and secret unexplained. Whatever was necessary for the people to know and learn has been communicated by him. No Sufi saint can know or experience anything which was not experienced by him and, therefore, he cannot but follow him. "After Muhammad institutional prophethood came to an end."

Psychology (Qalb): The term 'heart' (*qalb*) is very often used by the mystics as the

repository of the inner-most secrets of divine knowledge. It is definitely not the physical organ of the human body but a symbolical term for the rational or spiritual aspect of man. Following ibn 'Arabi, al-Jili identifies it with the spirit of God which, according to the *Qur'an*, was breathed into Adam (xv, 29).

The heart (*qalb*) is the eternal light which was revealed in the essence (*'ain*) of existents (i.e., in Muhammad or the perfect man), so that God may see man through it. It is the centre of God's consciousness and the circumference of the circles of all existents. It symbolises that which is described in the *Qur'an* as the light (XXIV:35). It reflects all the divine names and attributes and yet at times it directs its attention to some particular name and then becomes a complete reflection of it.

The true nature of the heart is divine and pure. But due to animal passions sometimes it loses this purity which, however, can be recovered after a period of physical and spiritual training, the duration of which varies according to the degree of the influence of the animal passions. Al-Jili holds that certain men of eminence subjected themselves to a rigorous mystic discipline as a result of which they received divine illumination as a right and not as a favour. In his support he quotes a verse of Shaikh 'Abd al-Qadir Jilani who says:

> "I continued grazing in the fields of *rida'* (submission to God's will) and attained a rank which was the result not of God's favour (but of my own efforts)."

Qalb is like a mirror to the realities of Being or it may be called the reflection of the universe. God says:

> "The sky and the earth do not contain Me; it is only the heart of My believing servant which can contain Me."

This statement, according to al-Jili, proves that the heart is primary and the universe is only secondary. God's comprehension by the heart is of three kinds:

(a) By knowledge. Heart alone is able to comprehend and know God as He is. Other things can and do know God either in one or other of His aspects, but heart alone can know Him in all-comprehensiveness.

(b) By observation (*mushahadah*). Through this seeing (*kashf*) the heart observes the beauties of the face of Allah and enjoys the taste of His names and attributes.

(c) By vicegerency. At this stage, man becomes a complete embodiment of divine names and attributes so much so that he feels his essence to be identical with divine essence. He then become God's vicegerent.

Reason: There are three kinds of reason: The first intelligence (*'aql al-awwal*), universal reason (*'aql al-kulli*) and ordinary reason (*'aql al-ma'ash*). The first intelligence is the locus of the form of divine knowledge in existence and as such it is identical with the Exalted Pen. It contains explicitly and analytically what is contained implicitly and synthetically in divine consciousness. It is the light of divine knowledge which became the first manifestation of the essence in the phenomenal world.

Universal reason is the luminous percipient in which those forms of knowledge are made manifest which are deposited in the first intelligence. Al-Jili rejects the view of those who regard universal reason as the sum of reasons of all rational beings, for reason is a unit and a substance.

Ordinary reason is a light which is judged and measured by the laws of reflection. Its sphere of activity is confined only to one of the several aspects of the universal reason; it has no access to the first intelligence which is beyond logical inferences and is the sphere where sacred revelation takes place. Ordinary reason has only one scale, i.e., of nature, while universal reason has two scales, i.e., of wisdom and power, with the result that knowledge gained through the latter is infallible and covers almost everything, while knowledge gained through ordinary reason is of limited scope, fallible and is mostly of the nature of conjecture. He relates the three reasons as follows: the first intelligence is like the sun, universal reason is like water which reflects the rays of the sun, while the ordinary reason is like reflection of water which falls on a wall.

Judgment (Wahm): The *wahm* of Muhammad was created by God from His perfect light and, therefore, it was manifested in the phenomenal world in a perfect form. *Wahm* is the strongest faculty possessed by many because it overpowers reason, reflection and imagination. It has, thus, the greatest capacity for (intellectual) apprehension and preservation.

It has power and influence over all existence. It is through it that an intellectual person is able to acknowledge God and worship Him. It is the light of certitude and anyone who is able to attain supremacy over it becomes the master of the two universes, terrestrial and spiritual. But he who is overpowered by it becomes subject to darkness and bewilderment.

Himmah is concentration of mind upon an object. It corresponds to what is usually called will or power of will. It is a very powerful faculty which, according to tal-Jili, is always busy in the contemplation of God. If anybody decides to attain a particular objective and concentrates his will upon its attainment he is sure to succeed in his aim. There are two necessary conditions for success:

(a) determination in thought about the possibilities of the success or otherwise of the objective and then a conviction about the result and

(b) concentration of all effort on its achievement.

If anybody fails to manifest this type of activity, he has no chance of success. In the beginning one encounters great difficulties and hindrances but, once they are overcome, man is on the verge of conquest of his self as well as of the physical universe.

Al-Jili makes a distinction between will (*himmah*) and attention (*hamm*). The object of the former is God and the spiritual world, while that of the latter is the physical world and pursuits related to it. But for a mystic it is not proper to stay at the stage of attention for long, because after some time it becomes a hindrance to future progress.

Reflection (Fikr): It is a key to the Unseen. According to al-Jili, there are two methods of apporaching the Unseen:

(a) pertaining to God, which is attained through divine names and attributes;

(b) pertaining to the world which depends on realizing the true nature of man, all of whose aspects are ranged against the aspects of the Merciful.

One of these aspects is reflection by which we can peep into the mysteries of the Unseen. When a man is able to attain perfection in the exercise of reflection, he sees spiritual objects in a physical garb. This ascent (*'uruj*) is of two kinds:

(a) One kind of ascent is achieved by traversing the path chalked out by the Merciful. The man who adopts it is on the straight path and attains creative powers.

(b) The second kind of ascent is the 'red magic' which is involved in thought and imagination and in which truth and falsehood are mixed together.

It is te path of speculative thought which lands man in the morass of uncertainty and doubt.

But it does not imply that the exercise of reflection should be condemned outright. Al-Jili admits that reflection has the potentiality of leading men astray from the right path, but he also suggests certain principles by following which it is possible for men to benefit from the light of reflection and save themselves from its pitfalls and darkness.

The first principle, according to him, is reason (*'aql*), which is in perpetual quest, as well as the acquired experience the veracity of which has been testified by men in their mystic life. The second is *naql*, i.e., knowledge gained through a study of the *Qur'an* and Tradition, by which a man comes to believe in the reality of the Unseen. But if a man refuses to follow these principles and gives himself over to purelt discursive reason, he is sure to be led astray.

The Self (Nafs): According to al-Jili, as the title of chapter fifty-nine illustrates, self is the origin of the Lucifer (*Iblis*) and other evil powers. But it does not imply that the origin of the self itself is evil, for as al-Jili says, its origin is the spirit itself of Muhammad.

> "The self of Muhammad was created by God out of His own Self and the self of Adam was made a copy of the self of Muhammad."

Later on, he says:

> "Allah created the self of Muhammad from His own essence and as His essence is the unity of two contraries, two contraries emanated from Him."

Satan was cursed for his act of disobedience but this curse, according to al-Jili, consisted in removing him from divine presence. The period of this separation is limited to the Day of Judgment after which he will be reunited with the divine presence. Thus, according to al-Jili, self is spiritual on origin and does not represent any evil power which is antagonistic to the forces of good.

> "The self is the inmost secret of the Lord and (a part of) His essence on account of which it has delights. It was created out of the light of attributes of Lordship and, therefore, possesses lordly qualities."

Al-Jili, therefore, identifies self with the soul which was breathed into Adam and enumerates

the following five stages of the development of the soul on the path of spiritual progress:

(1) The animal soul is an aspect of the soul which governs the body.

(2) The evil-prompting soul (*nafs al-ammarah*) is that aspect by which the soul is engrossed in fulfilling the demands of passions and, thus, becomes indifferent to divine commandments and prohibitions.

(3) The inspired soul is that aspect by which human soul is directed and guided by God to do good action.

(4) The self-reproaching soul is that aspect by which man is engaged in subduing his inclinations and passions and in turning his attention to God.

(5) The tranquil soul is that aspect because of which all evil inclinations are totally removed and man feels satisfied with God.

But beyond these five stages, there is a final stage where body is completely under the control of the soul and partakes of the knowledge of the Unseen and is able to fly over the earth, etc. At this stage man is characterised by God's attributes and becomes identical with His essence.

Religion: A theory of life which is based on pantheism ends in a conception of religion which is universal. As the unity of Godhead is manifested in the multiplicity of divine names and attributes, so the basic urge of man to worship God takes various forms all of which are equally valid and right. He argues his case on the basis of certain verses of the *Qur'an* and traditions. He holds that all existent things are created for the purpose of divine worship.

Everything by its state and activity, nay by its very nature and attributes, actually does worship God and, therefore, all existents are servants or worshippers of God. The forms of worship, however, due to differences in the nature of names and attributes, are different.

Though humanity was originally and by nature one, yet due to differences resulting from the manifestations of diverse names, people adopted various pathways towards God—pathways which appeared right to the people and which God had decreed for them; for none follows a path except that which He wishes them to follow and all paths are undoubtedly paths leading to Him as the following verse of the *Qur'an* (XI:56) indicates:

> "There is no living creature but He has it in His control".

Death is the extinguishing of the vital heat, while life is the soul's concentration on the body. The life of the body is maintained only so long as the soul continues to look at it. After death, the soul assumes a bodily form appropriate to it in accordance with the place it occupies. Some mystics wrongly deny resurrection of the body. Al-Jili believes on the basis of his personal experience and observation that bodies along with souls shall be resurrected.

The stage intermediate between death and resurrection (*barzakh*) is an incomplete and non-permanent stage of life after death. It is a

world of phantasy. There the people will meet with the forms appropriate to their actions. If a man had been doing good actions, he would experience different forms and shapes of these actions which would carry him progressively to better states. Similarly, an evil-doer would experience torments which will gradually increase in their intensity.

Al-Jili enumerates eight different levels of paradise the last of which, called the lauded station (*maqam al-mahmud*), is meant for none but Muhammad. It is the paradise of the essence. Similarly, he describes seven different grades or levels of hell.

But after giving a graphic description of hell and heaven, al-Jili denies their existence as separate localities. As the epiphanies of the Lord, they are on an equal level; the inmates of hell will receive tidings of punishment as the people of paradise will receive tidings of reward. Hell is nothing but the natural darkness which is fire. In the fifty-ninth chapter he discusses in detail the nature of Iblis and his manifestations and yet he asserts that Iblis is not an individual; it is only the personification of the evil aspect of man's nature.

He tries to explain away the usual significance and nature of fire in hell. God will create in the people thrown into hell power to bear punishment and, thus, this punishment will not last for ever.

Al-Jili thinks that the beatific vision is the manifestation of God's *tajalli* and His nearness is not confined to the people of paradise or the so-called next world. Every individual, here in this life and in life after death, whether he is placed in hell or in paradise, continually receives God's *tajalli;* as a matter of fact, his existence is all due to it.

According to al-Jili, God's will is absolutely free from external restraints; His actions are not determined by causes and conditions. Man, on the other hand, according to him, is completely determined in his action. He says that revealed books demand obedience, while people as a matter of fact act as they are determined by their nature. Freedom of choice (*ikhtiyar*) is attfibuted to them only formally so that God's way to man may be justified.

God's decree, according to al-Jili, is of two kinds. One is unchangeabnle and in conformity with the demands of the divine attributes and as such is not subject to change. The other kind of decree is that which takes place according to the law of nature as demanded by the inherent capacity of the existents. Decrees of the latter type sometimes do not come to pass due to the contingent character of the things of the world.

Al-Jili subscribes to the doctrine that Being as Being is good and evil is only relative and apparent. With regard to the Real, there is no distinction between good and evil, for everything without any distinction is the manifestation of the divine beauty and is as such good. Evil or defect in the phenomenal world is only due to certain relations. Fire is evil for a person who is burnt but is good for the insect who lives in it and gets nourishment froma it. In short, there is nothing in this world which is absolutely evil.

Al-Jili holds that what is called sin or disobedience is in one respect obedience, for it is in conformity with God's will. He upholds the destination between God's will and His command as enunciated by ibn 'Arabi. Sometimes an action takes place in full

conformity with God's will, though His command may be against its occurrence.

In such a situation, man is disobedient with regard to His command but obedient with regard to His will. This point of view affects al-Jili's treatment of Satan's role. God rebuked him for his disobedience but he neither repented not bewailed nor tried to seek forgiveness, for only that comes to pass which is according to God's will.

Al-Jili enumerates seven stages in spiritual progress. The first is what he calls Islam which covers five principles: declaration of God's unity and Muhammad's prophethood, prayer, fasting, poor-tax and pilgrimage.

The second stage is faith (*iman*). It is the first manifestation of the world of the Unsen and implies heart's acceptance of the truth thus revealed. It is something different from reason. Faith is not belief in a fact arrived at through discursive reasoning but acceptance without rational argumentation. Light of faith is superior to the light of reason. *Kalam* (scholastic theology) was invented to defend religion against unbelievers and innovators (*ahl al-bid'ah*). It never helps in producing faith in a person.

The third stage is called piety (*salah*) which results in good actions. But the motive is desire for divine rewards and safety from punishment. A person at this stage leads a life of obedience to the laws of the *Shari'ah* for the sake of his self.

The fourth stage is called *ihsan* where one observes the effects of divine names and attributes. Such a person does good actions not for the sake of his own self nor for rewards, but for his love for God.

The fifth stage is martyrdom (*shadadah*) which is of two kinds. The lower grade represents the death of a person in an epidemic or on a journey or in the battle-field for a righteous cause. The higher grade of martyrdom is to see the Real in every existent.

The sixth stage is called *siddiqiyyah* which is signified by the mystic saying: He who knows his self knows the Lord. This stage has three different planes. The first is faith through knowledge or reason (*'ilm al-yaqin*). The second is faith through personal experience and mystic *kashf* (*'ain al-yaqin*). The third is true and perfect faith (*haqq al-yaqin*). The mystic who has attained this stage of *siddiqiyyah* passed through all these planes of faith.

In the first, he sees the Unseen and is able to observe with the light of faith those secret realities which are not open to the common people. Here he attains *fana'* and then reaches the stage of *baqa'* where he receives the *tajalli* of all divine names one after the other. He perceives the essence through names. This is the final plane of *'ilm al-yaqin.*

In the next plane, i.e., of *'ain al-yaqin,* he receives illumination from the divine attributes one by one until he feels himself one with the Real in Its aspect of attributes. He progresses gradually till names and attributes lose their significance for him. He attains gnosis of the essence and through it he is able to understand the operation of names and attributes. He now knowns the essence through the essence. Thus, he reaches the third and the highest plane, i.e., of *haqq al-yaqin,* which is the first step in the seventh stage of nearness (*qurb*).

Here man is able to manifest in his person different attributes of the Real, though this manifestation cannot be total and absolute. A person who is able to bring a dead man to life, for instance, is manifesting a particular attribute of God, though in a limited form. He stands in nearness to God. The first step in this stage is the station of friendship where he is able to create through the word 'Be' (*kun*) after the manner of God. In the words of a tradition:

> "God becomes the ears by which the hears, the eyes by which he sees, the tongue by which he speaks, the hands by which he holds, the feet by which the walks."

The second step in this stage is the station of love where the lover and the beloved become one and where the one represents the other. The last step in this stage is the station of *khitam* where the individual is chracterised by the essence (*haqiqah*) of the Real. This station is beyond the reach of ordinary mortals.

Among the Muslim mystics, Ibn al'-Arabi was the first Sufi to speak of a Perfect Man in *Fususu'l-hikam'*. He describes Perfect Man as a kawn jami' or a microcosmic being and a means of reflection of Divine Consciousness (*sirr*). Jili paid serious attention to the Sufi theory of Perfect Man and further developed the ideas of Ibn al-'Arabi. Jili also described a Perfect Man in terms of a copy or an image of God. He is a microcosmos, reflecting Godhead like a mirror. He is the core—the '*qutb*' (axis) of the entire creation, responsible for its subsistence. This Perfect Man can also be called by the name of Mohammad, 'You must know that the Perfect Man is a copy (*muskha*) of God'. According to the saying of the Prophet:

> "God created Adam in the image of the Merciful, and in another and in another hadith, 'God created Adam in His own image'. That is so, because God is Living, Knowing, Mighty, Willing, Hearing Seeing and Speaking Man too is all these. Then he confronts the Divine '*huwiyya*' with his '*huwiyya*', the Divine '*aniyya*' with his '*aniyya*' and the Divine '*dhat*' (essence) with his '*dhat*'—he is the whole the universal against the universal, the particular against the particular... As a mirror in which a person sees the form of himself and cannot see it is without a mirror, such is the relation of God to the Perfect Man, who cannot possibly see his own form but in the mirror of the name Allah; and he is also a mirror to God, for God laid upon Himself the necessity that His names and attributes should not be seen save in the Perfect Man."

In this connection Jili refers to '*Ruhu'l-qud*' or the Holy Spirit and '*al-Ruh*' or the Spirit. The Holy Spirit is eternal, refers to God alone and is unconcerned with anything else. Spirit is non-eternal, created and refers to the Perfect Man. It is also called First Intelligence or Divine Spirit. Spirit is created by God on the pattern of the Holy Spirit and it is through it that He knows Himself. In his mystical language Jili says:

> "God created the angle named '*Ruh*' from His own light, and from him He created the world and made him His organ of vision in the world. One of his names is the word of *Allah* (Amr Allah). He is the noblest and most exalted of existent beings: there is no angle above him, and he is the chief of the Cherubim. God caused the mill-stone of existent beings to turn on him, and made him the axis ('Qutb') of the sphere of created things...The Ruh exercises a Divine guardianship, created in him by God, over the whole universe. He manifests himself in his

> perfection in the Haqiqtu'l-Muhammadiyya': therefore the Prophet is the most excellent of mankind. While God manifests Himself in his attributes to all other created beings, He manifests Himself in His essence to this angel alone. Accordingly the Ruh is the Qutb of the present world and of the world to come. He does not make himself known to any creature of God but to the Perfect Man. When the saint ('*Wali*') knows him and truly understands the things which the Ruh teaches him, he becomes a pole ('*qutb*') on which the entire universe revolves; but the Poleship ('*qutbiyya*') belongs fundamentally to the *Ruh*', and if others hold it, they are only his delegates. He is the first to receive the Divine command, which he then delivers to the angels; and whenever a command is to be executed in the universe, God creates from him an angel suitable to that command, and the 'Ruh' sends him to carry it out".

Under the impact of the mystical teachings of Plotinus, Jili speaks about the return of the human soul to its original status and the realisation of its identity with the Essence The human soul experiences a number of stages in the process of ascending. Jili says:

> "As the seeker proceeds, he has the sense of 'Certainty', the sign of Divine gnosis. The mystic knows, from the very first moment when he really begins to ascend on the upward way, that what is revealed to him is the light of God."

The Divine illumination comes through meditation upon the names and acts, the attributes and the Essence of God. The first stage is that of meditation upon the Divine acts, when man realises the power of God in the universe and knows that he himself has no power, but that all is done by the act of God. The second stage is that of meditation on the Divine names, when man knows himself to be of no account and the will of the individual is merged in the Divine Will. The third stage is that of meditation on the Divine Attributes, in which the mystic receives the attributes of God in place of his own, as he is able to receive them, and the Divine Spirit in place of the human spirit, and all that he does is done by that Spirit.

It is no longer a case of 'servant' and 'Lord', for only God remains. Now, the mystic receives the final illumination, that of the Essence, the sphere of Absolute Existence, and has become the Perfect Man. He is the one who has perfectly realised that he is one with the Divine Being in Whose image he was made, and he is now living the life of union with God. He sees through God, he hears through God, he speaks through God and he lives in God. So the return of the Divine Essence from manifestation to Absolutism is accomplished through the attainment of the inactive experience by the soul.

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Jurjani, Mahtum Azam

Mahtum Azam Jurjani was an ancestor of the Mahtum tribe, in the village Mahtum Qala in the district of Qara Qala; active in 1982, according to G. Agaliev in *Sovet Turkmenistany* 4 February 1982.

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K

Kayghusuz Abdal (d. 1415)

Kayghusuz Abdal, was an eminent mystic poet and writer of the 8th-9th/14th-15th centuries, generally considered the founder of the Bektashi Darwish literature. The little which is known about his life is half legendary and based on traditional writings of the order. Ahmed Sirri Baba, the only author who gives exact dates for his life, does not mention his sources (*al-Risala al-ahmadiyya fi ta'rikh al-tarika al-hektashiyya,* Cairo, 1352; quoted by A. Golpmarh, *Turk Tasavvuf Siiri Aniolojist,* Istanbul 1972, 174).

Kayghusuz seems to have been a disciple (*murid*) of Abadal Musa (whose shrine is in Elamli near Antalya), a follower of Hadjdji Bektash of Khurasan (d. 660/1270), the patron of the Bektashiyya, who himself was a disciple of Baba Ishak, the leader the famous religio-social Baba'i revolt of 638/1240 against the Saldjuks. Kayghusuz spent several years in Egypt, at the beginning of the 9th/15th century, where, according to tradition, he founded the Bektashi convent, which became one of the most important centres of the order.

His ideological formation can be traced to Baba'i and Bektashi influences and his literary personality, particularly in language and style, owes much to Yunus Emre, the great mystic poet of 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries, who also seems to have been exposed to the influence of the heterodox Baba'i movement.

Subtle irony, satirical humour and a strong *joie de vivre* characterize Kayghusuz' poetry, and his fluent, vivid, powerful prose created popular mystic works (*Risale-i Kayghusuz, Kitab-i Maghlata, Kitab-i Maghlata, Kitab-i Dilgusha* or *Budala-name*) which are among the masterpieces of early Ottoman Turkish literature. Kayghusuz' works have not been edited. Lithographic editions are not reliable. His poems are frequently confused with those of Kayghusuz Vizeli 'Ala' al-Din, a 10th/16th century popular mystic poet of the Malamatiyya order.

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Khalili (1407–1485)

Khalili was an eminent Ottoman poet and mystic. Apparently a native of Diyarbakr, where he studied theology, he then moved to Iznik for further study where he remained for the rest of his life, apart from one year in Istanbul (870/1465–6). He established a dervish convent of *khinakah* in Iznik, becoming its *shaykh* and died in this office.

At one point in his life, he formed a passionate attachment to a youth, causing him to abandon his studies and to pour out his longing in a long poem, the *Firkat-nama* or *Firak-nama* ("Book of separation"). This was completed in 866/1461–2, and was written in both epic and lyric metres, an alternation of *mathnawi* and *ghazal*. As with much Sufi literature, the poem is capable of interpretation on two levels, that of earthly, homosexual passion, and that of divine love, the latter interpretation being that preferred by the Ottoman anthologists and biographers.

The poet seems in the *Fikrat-nama* to be under the influence of Nesimi, and Khalili seems in general to have had an influence in turn on e.g., Habibi and Fuduli. He also wrote a *Diwan* of poetry, not apparently extant complete, though various of his *ghazals*, *na'fs* and *tardji's* are quoted in the later *tadhakir al-shu'ara'* or literary biography literature, such as, according to Bursall Tahir, Hadjdji Kemal's *Djami' al-naza'ir* (918/1512). Khalili thus forms an interesting and significant figure on 9th/15th century Ottoman literature.

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A. KARAHAN

Al-Khasasi (d. 1673)

Al-Khasasi, Abu 'l-Fadl Kasim B. Al-Hadjdj Kasim B. Kasim Al-Khasasi, a Moroccan saint, member of the Djazuliyya order. Originally from Andalusia, he owed his ethnic name to the town of al-Khasasa, which was situated on the al-kali'a mountain on the Mediterranean coast.

He was born at Fez in *ca.* 1002/1593–4, where he studied and had, in particular Ahmad b. 'Abd Allâh Ma'n al-Andalusi as his pupil. Al-Kadiri devoted a work called *al-Zahr al-basim* to his *manakib*. He died at Fez on 19 Ramadan 1083/8 January, 1673 and was buried in the maunsoleum of al-Ashaikh.

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M. LAKHDAR

Khorasani, Sheikh Shibli

Sheikh Shibli Khorasani ('Shevlan') was an another ancestors of the Koja tibe, on Mount Sunt in the district of Qara Qala.

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Sheikh Kemaletdin Husein Khorezmi aws an ancestor of the Khojas of the Manghyshlaq peninsula in the Krasnovodsk region. The tomb of his dog 'baba Kuldash', honoured for its piety and wisdom, is also an object of pilgrimage.

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Kunta Haji Kishiev (d. 1867)

The Qadiriya order was founded in Baghdad Kunta Haji Kishiev in the twelfth century, penetrated the Caucasus at a much later date, in the early 1850s, when the resistance movement of the mountaineers headed by the Naqshbandis seemed already doomed. It was first introduced by a Daghestani shepherd named Kunta Haji Kishiev, a native of the Kumyk village of Inkho but who lived in the Chechen aul of Eliskhan Yurt in the district of Gudermes. According to legend, he was initiated into the order during his pilgrimage to Meeca at the tomb of its founder in Baghdad.

Back in Chechen territory, Kunta Haji started his religious activities but was obliged to leave on a second *haj* to Mecca because of the hostile attitude of the fighting Naqshbandis towards his pacifist sermons. He returned only in 1861 after Shamil's final defeat and the collapse of the Naqshbandis holy war.

Kunta Haji preached non-resistance to evil and the acceptance of infidel domination, slogans that were popular among the war-weary mountaineers. The order, which took the name "Kunta Haji *tariqat*" in the Caucasus, practised the loud *zikr* as opposed to the silent *zikr* of the Naqshbandis, with ecstatic dances, songs and later even music, all practices forbidden by Shamil and the Naqshbandiya. Their credo, at least at the beginning, was more mystical, ascetic and detached from the worldly problems than that of the Naqshbandis.

The new *tariqat* enjoyed an immediate and spectacular success especially in Chechnia, in the Avar country and in northern Daghestan, that is in the areas where the war effort had been particularly strong and where Russian pressure had been especially severe. From Chechnia, the Qadiri *murids* penetrated into the still animist Ingushetia, a territory still at that time untouched by Islam, which they converted by the 1870s.

Very rapidly Kunta Haji was faced with the same problem that had confronted the leaders of the Naqshbandiya in the early 1920s: is it possible for a mystic to travel along the path leading to God without joining the *jihad* against infidel domination of a Muslim land? The very logic of Russian rule, oppressive and often unbearable, called for a negative answer. As one Soviet historian writers:

> "The majority of Kunta Haji's adepts were former warriors of Shamil. Disappointed by the oppression of the tsarist administration and conscious of the power of their new organisation, the *murids* began to switch from the slogan of 'non-resistance to evil' to the idea of direct action against Russian administration".

In 1862–63, a wave of unrest swept over Chechnia and early in January 1864 the Russian authorities, frightened by the fast-growing number of Qadiriya *murids* and convinced that a new revolt was unavoidable, arrested and deported Kunta Haji and several dozen of his *murids*. On 18 January 1964, some 4,000 *murids* who had gathered in the village of Shali (Chechnia) were dispersed by gunfire; 200 of them were killed, about 1,000 were wounded and many were arrested and deported.

Kunta Haji died in May 1867 in a Russian jail. His *tariqat* was not officially outlawed, but the loud *zikr* was strictly forbidden and Russian authorities encouraged a massive emigration of Qadiris to Turkey. In 1865, some 5,000 Chechen families left the North Caucasus for the Ottoman Empire. But despite all this, the expansion of the Qadiriya order was not slowed.

In 1877, the two *tariqa*, Naqshbandiya and Qadiriya, took an active part in the great rebellion in Chechnia-Daghestan. The leader of insurgents in Daghestan, the sheikh Haji Mohammed (son of the Sheikh Abdurrahman of Sogratl'), was a Naqshbandi and among his followers there were many Naqshbandi adepts. In Chechnia, on the other hand, most of the insugents or *ghazis* were Qadiris.

Those leaders who had not been killed in battle were nearly all hanged and thousands

of *murids* were deported to Siberia. But once more, by a strange paradox, the defeat of the 1877–8 revolt, far from marking the decline of the *tariqa* in the North Caucasus, served as a starting point for a new period of a spectacular expansion: "Between 1877 and the 1917 Revolution, almost all of the adult population of Chechnia. Ingushetia belonged either to the Naqshbandiya or to the Qadiriya *tariqat*." The same was true to a less extent in Daghestan.

Nevertheless, the defeat of 1877 marked a turning point in the nature of the Sufi brotherhood's activity in the North Caucasus. For a while, the idea of holy war had been discarded and both *tariqa* acquired the character of underground semi-conspiratorial organisations. Between 1879 and 1917, inspite of the fresh recollections of two major defeats and the severe repression (many of the leaders were arrested and deported to Siberia), the Sufi brotherhoods acquired considerable prestige in the region.

To appreciate how exceptional that was in the context of the time, one must keep in mind that elsewhere in the Muslim world mystical orders were losing their political influence and were being pushed to the background by literal or redical *jadid* reform movements, which flourished with extra-ordinary vigour in Volga, Tatar, Crimean and Azeri Islam. By a strange historical reverse, the Sufi orders in the Caucasus, far from waning, practically absorbed official Islam. Nearly all the 'arabists' and *ulemas* of Daghestan and Chechnia were members of a *tariqat* and they identified themselves with the national resistance against Russian pressure.

During this same period a certain equilibrium was established between the old Naqshbandiya and the newer Qadiriya. The former attracted the wealthier and the more aristocratic and learned elements, while the latter, with its simpler creed and its ecstatic dances and loud *zikr*, was more popular among the poorer and less cultivated rural population. Geographically, Naqshbandiya predominated in the eastern part of the North Caucasus (Daghestan), whereas Qadiris were located in the Chechen-Ingush country. However, during the 1880s and 1890s a certain territorial symbiosis took place between the two orders.

An 'Aksay dynasty' of Naqshbandiya, founded in 1873 by a Kumyk *murshid* (probably a disciple of Sheikh Abdurrahman of Sogratl'), Sheikh Bashir from the Aksay aul in the Hasav Yurt district of northern Daghestan, moved westward into Chechen territory. Sheikh Bashir's successor, the second *murshid* of the dynasty, Sheikh Elikhan, also a Kunyk, established his headquarters in the aul of Shidy-Yurt in Chechnia. He was arrested and deported to Siberia. Sheikh Deni-Arsanov, his successor, a Chechen from Ken-Yurt and a 'bandit of honour', or *abrek*, for many years raided the Terek Cossack settlements and enjoyed a reputation of great piety. He was finally killed in battle by the Cossacks with many of his *murids* in 1917.

The Qadiriya, centred in Chechnia, expanded similarly in two directions; westeard towards Ingushetia and Ossetia and eastward in the direction of Daghestan. After Kunta Haji's deportation in 1864 and his death three years later, his *tariqat* split into four groups with his former *vekils* at their head. These were:

—*Bammat Giray Haji Mitaev*, from the aul of Avtura in Chechnia. His brotherhood was, at the beginning, limited to one Chechen lan, the Gunoy *taipa*, but later it extended to the entire Chechen nation. Leadership was hereditary in the Mitaev family.

—*Batal Haji Belhoroev*, of the aul of Surhohi in the district of Nazran. Restricted at first to the Ingush territory, this *tariqat* subsequently gained adepts in the Chehen territory and in northern Daghestan. From the start the Batal Haji group was conspicuous by its radical puritanism. The adepts were not supposed to marry outside the *wird*, nor were they allowed to share a meal with the uninitiated. Music was banned from the *zikr*. The principles of *jihad* were strictly observed: indeed, during the century-long life of this order, almost all its leaders met with violent death at the hands of Tsarist and Society authorities. The leadership of the *tariqat* was and still is restricted to the Belhoroev family.

—*Chim Mirza* of Mayrtup in the Shali district of Chechnia.

—*The regular brotherhood of Kunta Haji*, which was directed after the death of the founder by six of his former *vekils*: Omar Haji, a Kumyk in north Daghestan; Qahrman Haji, a Chechen of the aul of Shali; Husein Haji of Plievo, in Ingushetia; Gharabig Haji of Nazyr-Korta, in the Nazran district of Ingushetia; Rajab Dibir Alive of Tsumada, in Avaristan; and Yusuf Haji of Mahkema, in the district of Vedeno in Chechnia.

After August 1917, a Congress of Daghestani *ulemas* and religious leaders held in the aul of Andi in Avaristan, proclaimed the Naqshbandi sheikh Najmuddin of Hotso (or Gotso; in Russian *Gotsinski*) imam of Daghestan and Chechnia, resuming in that way the tradition of North Caucasian Imamate abandoned in 1859 with the capture of Shamil.

During the tragic revolutionary years of 1917–21, which were especially bloody in the north-eastern Caucasus, the Sufi brotherhoods played a central role. This was particularly true for the Naqshbandiya, which was once more at the forefront of the activity. The aim pursued by the *tariqat* was to restore a theocratic monarchy governed by the Shari'yat law, the expulsion of Russians and the liquidation of 'bad Muslims' who had committed themselves to the infidel rulers.

The following was one of the sayings of the Naqshbandi sheikh, Uzun Haji, one of the leaders of the brotherhood:

> "If so God wills, we shall construct a Shari'yat monarchy, for, in a Muslim land there can be no republic. Were we to accept a republic, we would thereby renounce the Calife, which would be paramount of renouncing the Prophet and finally God himself".

And somewhat more to the point:

> "I am weaving a rope to hang engineers, students and in general all those who write from left to right".

The Daghestani communist leader, Najmuddin Samurski, commenting on his opponent, wrote:

> "Uzun Haji was a learned arabist, a most violent fanatic, a strict shari'yatist and a

> devoted panislamist. He never accepted Tsarist power and fought his entire life for the liberation of the Caucasus from the Russian yoke. He saw in the [October] Revolution the possibility of liberating the mountaineers. All Russians were is enemies, the White even more than the Bolsheviks.... A very short man, almost a dwarf, Uzun Haji was renowned for his extreme courage, his firm character and his remendous willpower. It is because of his qualities that he succeed in establishing his rule over Avaristan (nort Daghestan) and in Chechnia. Very learned and clever, possessing some democratic notions (of a shari' yet democracy, of course), Uzun Haji strove towards an impossible goal: to turn the wheel of history backwards and to establish in the twentieth century a form of state pertaining to the era of Mohammed...."

By 1918, imam Najmuddin of Hotso and sheikh Uzun Haji had at their disposal a small army of some 10,000 *murids* composed mainly of Naqshbandi adepts, which was the best fighting force in the North Caucasus. With these troops, Uzun Haji repulsed and finally, defeated Denikin's White force during the offensive of the summer and autumn of 1919. In the autumn he proclaimed liberated Chechinia and north-western Daghestan to be a 'North Caucasian Emirate'.

Uzun Haji died in May 1920. In the summer of that year, when the North Caucasus was occupied by the Bolsheviks, Najmuddin of Hotso with other Naqshbandi leaders—Mohamed of Balakhany, Dervish Mohammed of Andi, Ibrahim Haji of Kuchri, Seyyid Amin of Ansalta, Sirajuddin Haji of Avristan—led the great revolt of Daghestan-Chechnia against Bolshevik rule. The resistance lasted over a year. Nominally, the revolt was headed by Said Beg, Shamil's grandson and Colonel Kaitmas Alikhanov, but its real leaders were Naqshbandi sheikhs.

Mohammed of Balakhany was commander-in-chief of the insurgent army at the battle of the Arakan Valley, where an entire Red Army brigade was wiped out and one of its commanders, Safar Dudarov, head of the Daghestani Cheka, was taken prisoner and executed on the spot. The revolt was finally quelled in September 1925, when the Bolsheviks captured imam Najmuddin and the two surviving Naqshbandi leaders, the sheikh Amin of Ansalta and Wahhab Astemirov.

The Daghwestani-Chechen revolt was a wide-spread popular mass movement, resembling a peasant war, but the guerrilla fighters displayed an efficiency that only a brotherhood leadership comparable to that of Shamil's fighters, with their spirit of total dedication and iron will, could ensure. For a whole year the mountaineers effectively opposed the Soviet Army, which had conquered Azerbaijan, Georgia and Armenia in a few short weeks.

It is highly instructive to compare the rapidity, the decisiveness and the efficiency with which the Sufi brotherhoods, particularly the Naqshbandiya, faced the Bolshevik Revolution and declared holy war against the new godless regime, with other Muslim weaknesses: the lack of decision and the political errors of the numerous Muslim liberal, moderate and left-wing parties of that time. While the Sufis fought, the others htried in vain to manoeuvre between the Bolsheviks and the White counter-revolutionaries. In the end they failed and collapsed; the majority were forced to emigrate or to join the winning side—the Bolsheviks.

In contrast, the Sufis never hesitated: they fought back and their desperate resistance, seemingly hopeless from the purely human stand-point, had a decisive impact on the history of the entire Muslim world.

For it must be remembered that in 1920, when the revolt was in full swing in the Caucasus and in Turkestan, the Soviet Government was seriously considering the possibility of an armed intervention in the Muslim Middle East. One Red Army division had already landed in Enzeli to help the Jengelis of Mirza Kuchik Khan in their march to Teheran—pro-Soviet elements were angling for political power in Khorassan and Tabriz — and one may speculate that the popular revolts within Soviet borders (in the North Caucasus and Central Asia) influenced the decision of the Bolshevik leaders to give up aggressive intervention and to adopt a more cautious policy in Iran and Turkey. Similarly, the revolt in Chechnia in 1943 may have exerted the same moderating effect on the Russian policy of intervention in Iranian Azerbaijan and Kurdistan.

The situation in the North Caucasus after the liquidation of the 1920 revolt was similar to that which followed Shamil's defeat: in both cases military disaster did not lead to the decline of the Sufi orders. On the contrary, while the Naqshbandiya was engaged ion *ihad,* the Qadiriya's influence was growing fast. Noted Samurski in 1925:

Recently muridism has been expanding in Daghestan. The Sufi adepts claim to be 'communists' and it is not entirely without grounds that they call themselves 'communists'. Their doctrine certainly has some communist characteristics, but they are those of a primitive, religious, ascetic communism comparable to that of the early Christian communities. According to Soviet official sources, in the mid-1920s in Daghestan there were still only 61,200 *murids,* nineteen *murshids* and sixty *vekils* (as against only 6,000 Sufi adepts, mostly Qadiris, from a total Chechen population of 400,000.

The Qadiris of Chechnia, whose participation in the 1920–1 rebellion was not on a large scale, became more influential in 1922–3. Sheikh Ali Mitaev, son of the founder of Bammat Giray Haji *wird* (which at the time numbered some 10,000 adepts), was one of the directing members of the Chechen Revolutionary Committee (*Revkom*). According to the Soviet sources, many members of the Chechen Communist Party were 'zikrists' during this period and several communist leaders, including T. Elderrkhanov, president of the Chechen Central Executive Committee and his two deputy chairmen, Hamzatov and Sheripov, did not hide their sympathy for the brotherhood. Naturally enough, such a situation born out of Civil War anarchy could not last. Late in 1923, an anti-religious campaign was launched in the North Caucasus. All the Shari'yat courts were abolished. During the winter of 1923–4, the Red Army disarmed the Chechen population and liquidated the 'bandits' nests' (groups of the Naqshbandi guerrilla fighters in the high mountains and the underground Qadiri). In April 1924, sheikh Ali Mitaev was arrested as a 'counter-revolutionary', 'saboteur' and 'clerical bourgeois nationalist'.

In 1925, Najmuddin of Hotso and two other Naqshbandi leaders were captured in the

mountains and executed. The following year, the local Communist Parties were purged of 'unreliable elements'. Elderkhanov was arrested and shot with many leading Chechen and Daghestani communists. In 1927, 'Ali Mitaev was yried in Rostov and executed. The tear 1928 marked the beginning of the massive collectivisation in the Caucasus and coincided with the intense campaign to liquidate the 'clerical leadership' and their sympathisers.

Sheikh Solsa Haji Yandrov of Urus Martan in Chechnia, *murshid* of the Chechen branch of the Naqshbandiya, was tried in 1928 for 'economic sabotage' and executed the following year. The same year another Naqshbandi *murshid,* sheikh Ali of Akusha in Central Daghestan, who opposed in 1918–20 the more adventurous Najmuddin of Hotso and adopted a neutral position towards the Bolsheviks, was arrested (and probably executed) with a number of his *murids.*

That first massive purge of Sufi adepts provoked a new wave of rebellions. This time, the Naqhbandiya and different branches of the Kunta Haji fought side by side. The revolt started in the autumn of 1929 in the Chechen territory. Among the leaders we find both Kunta Haji *murids* and a Naqshbandi leader, Shita Istamulov, former Minister of War of Uzun Haji's Emirate. A few months later, the movement switched to northern Daghestan where it was led by the Naqshbandi sheikh Arsanukay Khidirlezov ('Shaikh Amay') from Germencik in the district of Hasav Yurt.

The fighting went on until the spring of 1930. In spite of the intervention of a Red Army division, it ended in compromise: an armistice, followed by a general amnesty. However, this did not bring peace to the country. Soviet authorities made use of the armistice to annihilate the 'nationalist-clerical' elements and the brotherhoods fought back. In the summer, the Russian chief of the Ingush secret police (GPU), responsible for the purges, was killed by a Kunta Haji *murid.* After that, another adept of Kunta Haji killed the GPU chief for Chechnia (also a Russian). In 1931, the authorities responded by executing all the leaders of the 1930 rebellion and by arresting, trying and executing many of the adepts.

In 1936, the revolt was quelled. Among the leaders arrested or killed was the Naqshbandi sheikh Arsanukay Khidirlezov. According to Soviet sources, in the Ingush country where the leadership of the revolt was taken by the Batal Haji brotherhood, nine sons and seven grandsons of Batal Haji Belhroev, the founder of the order, were killed during the struggle, which lasted almost to the outbreak of the Second World War.

What were the aims, the expectations and the political goals pursued throughout this fifteen-year long struggle? Soviet sources tell us that Sufi leaders and adepts were 'preactionaries', 'counter-revolutionaries', 'defenders of the clerical-feudal system', 'bourgeois-nationalists' and so forth. They were also accused of being 'agents' of various foreign imperialisms: mainly Turkish, British and, after, Japanese and German. It is more likely that the brotherhoods were fighting without any precise goal in mind, except to expel the Russians—simply because they could not submit to the new Soviet regime with its old Russian character and its new militant atheism.

Of course, it is hardly possible to claim that the brotherhoods were the only enemies that the Soviet government had to reckon with in the Caucasus between the wars. For example, Daghestani and Chechen Communist parties were purged of various 'enemies' several times in those years. Many leading North Caucasian Bolsheviks, among them Najmuddin Samurski, were executed for 'nationalism'. Some of the mountain resistance groups were organised by non-religious leaders. Nevertheless, it is certain that at the time, just like in the nineteenth century and later during the Second World War, only Sufi brotherhood could supply an organised, disciplined and efficient fighting force to oppose the Soviet regime.

Because of the prestige enjoyed by Sufi orders and of the influence they exercised on the population, the north-eastern Caucasus remained an insecure area until the outbreak of war in 1941. In the winter of 1940, a major new revolt broke out in Chechnia. This time, it had a non-religious leader, Hasan Israilov, a former journalist and a member of the Communist Party. In February 1942, when German troops were still 1,000 miles from Chechnia, another rebellion broke out, also led by a former Communist Party member, Mairbek Sharipov. The Germans never reached the Chechen border and the rebellion was crushed by the Red Army.

On 23 February 1944, the entire Chechen and Ingush population were rounded up and deported en mases to Siberia and Kazakhstan. Abdurrahman Avtorkhanov does not mention the Sufi brotheroods in his detailed description of the 1940–3 troubles in Chechnia, but recent Soviet sources reveal that three years later, after the deportation of the Chechen and Inigush population, guerrilla fighting was still going on in the higher mountains of Chechnia, Ingushetia and eastern Ossetia. The guerrilla movement's leader was the sheikh Qureisdh Belhoroev, the last son of the founder of the Batal Haji *tariqat*. He was captured only in 1947 by Soviet troops and condemned to ten years imprisonment. He was released in 1957 and returned to Chechnia where he again assumed the leadership of his brotherhood.

Most Soviet specialists of anti-Islamic propaganda recognise that the attempted genocide through deportation of over a million North Caucasian Muslims had a striking, unforeseen result: far from destroying the Sufi brotherhoods, the deportation actually promoted their expansion. For the deported mountaineers the Sufi orders became a symbol of their nationhood in the lands to which they were exiled. Moreover, these orders proved to be efficient organisers, thus to ensure the community's survival.

During the war and because of the special post-war conditions, religious beliefs were restored to life by the leaders of the *murid* communities. The tribulations of the war and of the cult of personality, the brutal violation of Leninist national policy as regards the Chechen and the Ingush, explain this resurrection...

When after Stalin's death the surviving North Causasians were rehabilitated and permitted to return to their homeland, they left behind them in Central Asia well-organised Sufi groups, especially Qadiriya. Central Asian Soviet sources reveal that Sufism expanded during the 1960s and 1970s among the

Kazakhs, the Uzbeks and the Karakalpaks. During the deportation years in Kazakhstan, new Sufi groups appeared among the Chechens, the most popular being the Vis Haji group.

In the late 1950s, Sufi brotherhoods in the Caucasus were once more subjected to systematic, relentless persecution about which the Soviet press itself provides abundant information. Members of Sufi brotherhoods were hunted as 'criminals' and no longer simply as 'reactionaries' or 'dissidents'. They were and are, accused of immutable hostility towards the Soviet regime and of economic sabotage, 'banditism', 'terrorism' and 'armed rebellion'. Soviet sociologists classify them as 'extreme fanatics' and 'hardened adversaries of the Soviet regime'.

They are distinguished by their blind, unlimited and unreasoning faith in God; they actively propagate their religious beliefs and cannot endure those who do not share them. They endeavour to force their religion upon their relatives, their friends and their children and isolate themselves from the social and cultural collective life.

The local Caucasian press provides rich material on the numerous trials of Sufi sheikhs and their *murids*, especially those belonging to the Naqshbandiya and to the Batal Haji *wird*. The most important trials took place in 1958, 1963 and 1964 in Makhach-Qala, Groznyi and Nazran. As a rule, the accused were tried for 'banditism' and 'manslaughter'. The penalty was death.

Soviet sources testify that repression was and still is unable to stop the expansion of the Sufi organisations which appear today more powerful and influential than before the War, probably even than before 1917. V.G. Pivovarov, a leading Soviet socioligist, wrote in 1975:

> "More than half of the Muslim believers of the Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Republic are members of a *murid* brotherhood."

Sufi brotherhoods in Central Asia: Turkestan, the territory located south of the Syr Darya river, has been since the ninth century and still is today, a borderland of the world of Islam (*Dar ul-Islam*), facing a hostile world of infidel barbarians: heathen, Buddhist or Christian Mongols, Chinese, Oirots and Kalmyks and finally Russians—Christian or Marxist. Sufi brotherhoods played a major role in the history of the area by protecting Islam against the onslaught of the infidels and by conducting missionary work among the same infidels. Thanks to the Sufis' activity, Islam became deeply rooted among the northern sedentary Turks, Tatars and Bashkirs and among the nomadic Kazakhs and Kirghiz. We can say without exaggeration that from the twelfth century the history of Central Asia has been strongly influenced by the activity of the Sufi brotherhoods.

From the seventeenth century on, Turkestan, isolated from the rest of the *Dar ul-Islam* by Russia and by Shia Iran, underwent a long period of decline in all fields including the religious. In the eighteenth century, before the arrival of Russians, no external danger threatened Islam, so that the Sufi brotherhood lost their main *raison d'etre* and followed the general decline. When the Russians invaded Turkestan, there was no charismatic leader of Shamil's stature, no rigorous orthodoxy comparable to the Shari'yat movement of the

Caucasian Naqshbandis, no *jihad* spirit; consequently, the Russian conquest of Central Asia was rapid and relatively easy.

One of the main differences between Caucasian and Turkestani Sufism can be traced to this process. In Central Asia, Russian occupation did not directly threaten the life of the native community and the resistance to the conquerors took variety of forms ranging from the Emir of Bukhara and the most conservative religious elements on the one hand, to the most radical *jadid* modernists on the other. In the Caucasus, by contrast, the Sufi holy war entirely absorbed national-liberation movements from the time of sheikh Mansur to the 1920 uprising.

However, the few armed attempts in Turkestan to shake Russian rule were without exception conducted by the Naqshbandis from the uprising of the Chirchik valley in 1872 led by Hoja Ishan of Kulkara, to the defence of Gok-Tepe by the Turkmen Akhal-Tekke tribesmen in 1879 and 1881, which were led by the Naqshbandi sheikh Kurban Murat (whose tomb, or *mazar* at Dinli Qal'a is today one of the most venerated holy places of Turkmenistan) and the revolt of Andizhan in 1898 led by Mohammed-Ali, *ishan* of Mintube, known in Russian sources as 'Madali Ishan'.

At the time of the Russian conquest, four brotherhoods were still active in Turkestan, three of them autochthonous and one 'imported':

—The *Naqshbandiya,* founded in Bukhara in the fourteenth century. The tomb of the founder Bahautdin Naqshband near Bukhara, though transformed into an anti-religious museum, is still used as a place of pilgrimage by believers. The Naqshbandiya is the most prestigious among all the Turkestani *tariqa.* Its adepts played a central role during the Timurid and Shaybanid empires and once again in the defence of Turkestan against the Buddhist invasions of the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries. As noted earlier, nearly all the great poets of Turkestan were Naqshbandis: Alihir Nava'i, Abdurrahman Jami, Mahtum Quli and Zelili *inter* alia.

—The *Kubrawiya,* founded in the twelfth century in the Khorezm. The tomb of the founder, Najmuddin Kubra, is still one of the most popular place of pilgrimage of Central Asia. The Kubrawiya played an important part in the islamisation of the nomadic tribes of the Golden Horde. Today it is the least influential of Central Asian brotherhoods.

—The *Yasawiya,* another indigenous order founded in the twelfth century in the northern part of the Mavarannahr. The tomb of the founder, the poet Ahmed Yasawi, in the city of Turkistan is an important place of pilgrimage. The Yasawiya also played a crucial role in the Islamisation of the nomadic tribes; it declined after the founding of the Naqshbandiya and became marginal; it was re-activated in the twentieth century under Russian and Soviet rule. Today, an off-shoot of the Tasawiya, the so-called *tariqat* of the 'Hairy Ishans', is one of the most dynamic and the most radical brotherhoods in Central Asia.

—The *Qadiriya,* an old *tariqat,* founded in the twelfth century in Baghdad. It was introduced into Central Asia in the Middle Ages and once again after the Second World War, to Kazakhstan and Kirghizia by the deported Chechens and Ingush. The most radical branch of the North Caucasian Qadiriya, the *tariqa* of *Vis Haji* was founded in the 1950s and the adepts of this brotherhood remained in Central Asia.

The political activity of Central Asian brotherhoods appears very different from the traditional holy at character of the North Caucasian brotherhoods. Curiously enough the Central Asian Bolsheviks, who were probably better informed of the situation of the brotherhoods than their Caucasian comrades, were the first to try with some success to use the dynamism of some radical Sufi groups for their own advantage. In two areas, in Kazan in the Middle Volga and in the eastern part of the Ferghana valley, two dissident, almost heretical Sufi groups recognised Bolshevik rule and even fought in the side of the Red Army against their co-regionalists. These were the God's Regiment of Vaisov (see below), an off-shoot of the Naqshbandiya in Kazan and the order of the Laachi, a dissident group of the Yasawiya in southern Kirghizia.

The best description of the order of the Laachi is given by S. Mambetaliev in his *Perezhitki mekotorykh Musul'manskikh techenii v Kirghhizii i ikh istoria* (Frunze, 1969, pp. 30–9 and 39–41). The Laachi order was founded about the 1870s by a Yasawi sheikh, Sanivar, who was hanged by the Khan of Kokand as a heretic. His sect was declared immoral by the religious authorities of the Khanate and the adepts went underground. After the Russian conquest, the sect surfaced under the leadership of another Yasawi sheikh, Babajan-Khalfa Rahmanqulov, a Kirghiz from Margelan who emigrated to the eastern Ferghana and propagated his creed among the Kirghiz clan of Zhokesek of Boston *uezd* (present-day Frunze district of the Osh region). We know next to nothing about this early stage in the history of the Laachi except that they avoided all contact with other Muslims. Their loud *zikr* was held at night in the presence of women, with singing of Ahmet Yasawi's *Hikmet* and ecstatic dances.

Religious authorities persecuted the sectarianism, declaring them 'immoral', 'impure' and accusing them of sexual orgies. They also tried in vain to denounce them to the Russian administration. On the eve of the 1917 Revolution, in spite of the persecution, the Laachi formed an important, though clandestine, group in the Ferghana valley living in closed communities on the territory of Margelan and Kokan *uezds.*

The Laachi welcomed the October Revolution, taking advantage of the decree on religious freedom and reappeared once again in the open. But co-operation between the dissident puritan Sufi sect and the new Bolshevik regime could not last for basic reasons, which Mambetaliev points out:

> "It was difficult to reconcile Karl Marx with the *Hikmet* of Ahmed Yasawi."

In the same way, after a short period of co-operation with the Soviets of Kazan in the 1920s, the Vaisis sectarians were physically liquidated during Stalin's purges in the early 1930s.

As for the Laachi, they went underground once more in the late 1920s. Only in the 1950s was the sect rediscovered. Today, according to the same Mambetaliev, they live in some all-Laachi villages (Say, Rabat, Gaz, Kshtut, Rant-Kant, Sogmet in the Batkent district, Sur, Ormosh, Syrt, Yar-Kutan, Kysyk in the Frunze district of the Osh region). The adepts are mainly Kirghiz. The sect represents a totally closed community protected by a rigorous endogamy and is still feared and despised by other Muslims.

With these two exceptions, Central Asian and Volga brotherhoods participated actively in the struggle against Soviet rule. Many Sufis were active in the Basmachi movement. Several *kurbashis* of the Ferghana valley were Yasawi sheikhs, including Islam Kurbashi, Abdul-Aziz Maksum, Molla Dehqan and Khal-Hoia. It also seems that two of the most famous Basmachi leaders, Koshirmat and Junayd-Khan, were Naqshbandis. This active participation in the national liberation war (which was not exactly a 'religious war') explains the politicising of Turkestani Sufism under the Soviet regime.

By another curious paradox, it was the order which was the most mystical and least involved in worldly affairs of all Central Asian brotherhoods, the old Yasawiya, that became the most deeply involved in politics. In the early 1920s, a yasawi *murshid,* Abumutalib Satybaldyev, who had fought with the Basmachis, formed somewhere in the Ferghana valley a radicaleclandestin group called in Soviet sources 'the brotherhood of Hairy Ishans' (in Kirghi *Chachtuu Eshander;* in Russian *Volosatya Ishany*). At first the brotherhood was centred in the Osh region of the eastern Ferghana valley, in the districts of Leyelek and Batkent and in the industrial centres of Qyzyl Qiya and Suluktu. The village of Chilgazy was the centre of the *tariqat.*

Mambetaliev, our main source on the history of this brotherhood, accuses the Hairy Ishans of 'criminal and terrorist activity, preparing an anti-Soviet uprising in Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Kirghizia co-ordinated with an armed intervention of Basmachis led by Korshirmat and Ibrahim Beg and the White bandits from abroad.'

The clandestine brotherhood was 'unmasked' in 1936. Thirty-two leaders, including their sheikh Satybaldyev, were arrested, tried as 'terrorists', 'saboteurs' and 'counter-revolutionaries' and executed. The accounts of their trial, published in October and November 1935 by *Pravda Vostoka* of Tashkent, were reproduced by Mambetaliev. Soviet sources believe that the brotherhood was crushed and liquidated, but in fact it simply went underground. In 1938, the chairman of the Union of Godless Militants, Emelian Yaroslavski, complained in *Antireligioznik* (Moscow) that the "reactionary clerics are very active in Kirghizia... and we do not know their strategy."

The Hairy Ishans became more secret, more conspiratorial and even more hostile to communism and their groups became more active during the Second World War in Arslanbad, Jelalabad, Osh and the mountains of southern Kirghizia under the leadership of the new chief of the *tariqa*, the ishan Tursunbay Madaripov. They were 'unmasked' again in 1952 and once again in 1959. Their leaders were arrested, some were condemned

and others, including Madaripov, declared solemnly that they would break away from the brotherhood, but Mambetaliev doubts the sincerity of this apostasy:

> "Sufis practice *taqiya* when under threat of being condemned..."

Taqiya may be defined as one's religious right, even duty, to life his lie if is threatened.

Today, Hairy Ishans seem to be active again in southern Kirghizia and in some cities of Uzbekistan. The majority of adepts are Kirghiz with a minority of Uzbeks and Tajiks. Their brotherhood can be compared to an authentic secret society which has avoided infiltration by Soviet police, on the other hand, they have themselves managed to infiltrate Soviet and communist Party organisations.

The sect of Hairy Ishans (whose activity may be compared to that of the Batal Haji and Vis Haji groups in the North Caucasus) is certainly the most openly anti-Soviet of all Turkestani brotherhoods. Moreover, it seems to represent a new phenomenon: a mystical Sufi brotherhood influenced, at least partly, by the example of a political party (the Communist Party, in their case) and which has adopted methods of propaganda and political mobilisation modelled on their adversaries.

Sufi brotherhoods in the Middle Volga region. We know of no monograph published specifically on the history of Sufism in the Middle Volga. We do know, however, that even before the Mongol conquest in the thirteenth century, Sufism had penetrated into the Bulgar Kingdom. It was brought either by the Bulgar *hajis* or by Arab merchants from Baghdad. According to Zarif Husein oglu in his *Tavarihi Bulgaria*, during the reign of the Khans Yadigar and Adil-Shah there were in the Bulgar kingdom more than one hundred Sufi sheikhs and theologians. It seems that these first Volga Sufis were Qadiris.

The second period of expansion of Sufism among the Volga Tatars corresponds to the period of the Golden Horde in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. At this time, Sufism was brought by the disciples of Ahmed Yasawi, especially by Suleyman Bakirgan, who were either Turkestani missionaries or Volga Tatars who travelled to Turkestan to receive investiture from local *murshids*.

The third wave of Sufi expansion, which began in the fifteenth century, was due to Naqshbandi missionaries from Bukhara. The Naqshbandiya absorbed all pre-existing Sufi *tariqa* in the Volga territory. Tatar historians note that until the appearance of *jadidism* in the late nineteenth century Tatar literature was deeply marked by Sufi (Yasawi and Naqshbandi) mysticism. Such was the case of the first Tatar poems, *Yusuf and Zuleikha* (early thirteenth century), *Nur-u Sydur* in 1542, *Tahfa Mardan* in 1439 and the compilation of pious advice by Mahmud Ali Bulgari, *Najel Faradis*, in 1358.

The Naqshbandis dominated Tatar literature after the Russian conquest and played a major role in the intellectual revival which began in the sixteenth century. All major Tatar writers of the post-conquest period were Naqshbndis: Mawla Qalyi (seventeenth century), A bdul Manih Qargaly (1782–1826), Abdurrahman Utyz Imani al-Bulgari (1754–1815), Ibadullah Salih (1794–1867) and Shamsutdin Zeki Sufi (1825–65), among others.

The last stage of Sufi expansion started in the middle of the nineteenth century and corresponds to the beginning of the great Tatar reforminst *jadid* movement and to the reign of the Tatar merchant bourgeoisie. During this period, Tatar Naqshbandis looked for guidance not only in Central Asia but also in Istanbul, Cairo, Mecca and Medina.

Nearly all of the first Tatar 'enlighteners' (*prosvetiteli*) belonged to the Naqshbandi *tariqat* including those whom Soviet historians try to present as anti-clerical free-thinkers: for instance, Abu Nasr al-Kursavi (1783–1814), considered as the father of Tatar *jadidism*, who was initiated in Bukhara by a Naqshbandi Turkmen sheikh; Niyazi Quli Ishan, Shihabedin Marjani (1818–99), the greatest among Tatar *jadids*, was a Naqshbandi *murshid*, as were the majority of his disciples and followers. Of the Naqshbandi modernist theologians, it is necessary to mention the Sheikh Zaynullah Rasuliev (1833–1917), who was initiated in Istanbul in 1869 by the Sheikh Ziautdin Khemshahnavi.

Zaynullah Rasuli enjoyed immense prestige among conservatives (*qadymists*) as well as among the modernists (*jadids*) and played a major role in the Tatar reformist movement. His reformed *medresseh*, the 'Rasuliyeh' of Troitsk, was one of the main centres of *jadidism* in Russia. Among his Naqshbandi disciples were such outstanding personalities as the sheikhs 'Alimjan (Galimjan) Barudi, historian and pedagogue (1857–1921), co-founder in 1905 of the great Muslim party *Ittifaq al-Muslimin* and director of the *jadid* medresseh Muhammadiyeh of Kazan and mufti of Orenburg in 1920–1; Sabirjan lal-Hasani, *qadi* at the Muslim Spiritual Board of Orenburg; and Abdurrahman Rasuli, son of the Sheikh Zaynullah Rasuli, who in 1943 signed a concordat with Stalin normalising relations between the Soviet Government and the official Soviet Islamic establishment and who became in 1943 the first post-war mufti of Ufa.

Another disciple of Rasuli was Rizaeddin Fehreddin Oglu (1859–1935), theologian and historian, *qadi* at the Spiritual Board of Orenburg, mufti and Chairman of the Muslim Spiritual Board for European Russia and Siberia between 1922 and 1935 (when he died in a Soviet prison), whom Jemaleddin Validov calls one of the greatest scholars of the contemporary Muslim world.

It is significant that before the 1917 Revolution the Naqshbandis, while playing a major role in the *jadid* movement, were also active in the camp of their *qadymist* adversaries. Several 'anti-*ishan*' pamphlets directed against the *qadymists* were published in Kazan before the Revolution and during the Soviet period by Naqshbandi *jadids*.

Around 1862 a Naqshbandi Sheikh, Bahautdin Vaisov (Vaisi), founded in Kazan a curious dissident branch called the God's Regiment of Vaisov (*Vaisav Bazii Polk*) representing a strange blending of socialism, Tolstoyism and Wahhabi-type puritanism. The Vaisis categorically rejected infidel rule and condemned those Muslims who accepted it. The son of the founder, Inan Vaisov, sided with the Bolsheviks during the Revolution and was killed in battle by his former co-religionists in February 1918. The schismatic *tariqat* survived during some years of the Soviet regime, then disappeared.

From the Second World war, we have no information on the activity of the Naqshbandis in the Tatar region, nor do we know if the brotherhood is still alive in this territory. The approved Soviet Islamic establishment there is relatively influential, more so in the Middle Volga than in many other Muslim areas of the Soviet Union. Under these conditions Sufi Islam cannot play the role of the fore-most preserver of religious tradition. However, a Tatar author, A. Kalaganov, recently mentioned "vagabond Muslim preachers operative among rural population in violation of Soviet laws concerning religious cults". The 'vagabond fanatics' may well be Naqshbandi adepts.

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EB

Al-Kurdi, Muammad Amin (d. 1332/1914)

Al-Kurdi, Muammad Amin was one of the leading figures in the recent history of the Nakshbandi order, and author of several influential works. Born in Irbil, he made early acquaintance with Sufism, for his father, Fath Allah-zada, wa a Kadiri shaykh. His own intiation was at the hands of a Nakshbadi shaykh of the city, Shaykh 'Umar, who was separated by only one link in the initiational chain from the great renewer of the

Nakshbandiya in the western Islamic lands, Mawlana Khalid Baghdadi (d. 1242/1826).

After several years spent in the company of Shaykh 'Umar, Muhammad Amin received a licence himself to initiate disciples into the Nakshbandi path and he left his home-land, never to return. He retained, however, a certain mode of reverential awareness of Shaykh 'Umar's spiritual presence through the distinctive Nakshbandi technique known as ribita. He spent many years in Mecca and Medina, enjoying numerous mystical and visionary experiences; he compared his state while in Mecca to that of Ibn 'Arabi when he began the composition of al-Fatuhal al-Makkiyya.

Inspired by a desire to visit the tombs of the Al al-Bayt in Cairo he left the Hidjaz for Egypt, which was to be his residence for the rest of his life, with the exception of a return visit to the Holy Cities in 1323/1905. He lived first in the rewak of the Kurdish students at the Azhar, later moving to the village of Ambaba outside of Cairo, and finally to Bulak. Initially, he concealed his Nakshbandi affiliations and Sufi interests, concentrating on the study of hadith, tafsir and fikh at the Azhar.

Later, he began to proclaim the path, and to accept each year a small number of disciples. Upon an indication from Shaykh 'Umar countained in a dream, he then decided to accept all who came to him and indeed vigorously to propagate the Nakshbandi order throughout Egypt, travelling widely to numerous towns and villages.

He encountered opposition from the followers of other orders and from adherents of the Salafi movement, but soon came to gather a large following. In his instruction, he placed emphasis on two particular elements of Nakshbandi practice; silent dhikr and the recitation of a litany known as the khatm-i khwadjagan. He died in Bulak in 1332/1914 and was buried in the Karafa cemetery of Cairo.

He left behind him numerous khalifas, the most prominent of whom was Shaykh Muhammad Yusuf as-Sakka; many contemporary Nakshbandis of Egypt are descended from him. The best known of his numerous writings is Tanwir al-kulub fi mu'amalat 'allam al-ghuyub, a compendium of religious knowledge of which the third part is devoted to Sufism. The eighth edition of this book was printed in Cairo in 1329/1311, as well as manuals of Shafi'l and Maliki fikh.

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HAMID ALGAR

M

Merkez, Shaykh Muslih Al-Din b. Mustafa (d. 1529)

Merkez, Shaykh Muslih Al-Din b. Mustafa, was the head of an Otteoman Sufi order and saint. Merkez Muslih al-Din Musa b. Mustafa b. Kilidj b. Hadjdar belonged to the village of Sari Mahmudlu in the Anatolian district of Ladhikiyya. He was at first a pupil of the Molla Ahmad Pasha, son of Khidr Beg and later of the famous Khalwati Shaykh Sunbul Sinan Efendi, founder of the Snbuliyya, a branch of the Khalwatiyya, head of the monastery of Kodja Mustafa Pasha in Istanbul (see Bursali Mehmed Tahir, 'Othmali mu'ellifleri. I, 78–9).

When the latter died in 936/1529. Merkez Efendi succeeded him in the dignity of Pir. He held the office of head of a monastery for 23 years and died in the odour of sanctity in 959/1552. aged nearly 90. He was buried in Istanbul in the mosque which bears his name (cf. Hadikat al-djawami', i, 230–1; J. von Hammer, GOR, ix, 95, no. 495) before the Yeni Kapu. At the tomb of Merkez Efendi there is a much-visited holy well, an ayazma, to which one descends by steps.

Its reddish water is said to have the mirasculous power of healing those sick of a fever (cf. Ewliya Celebi, i, 372; von Hammer, Constatinopolis, i, 513; idem, *GOR*, *loc. cit.*, following the *Hadikat al-djawami'*, *loc. cit).* Beside it is the cell (zawiya) of Merkez Efendi, of which miraculous stories still circulate among the people. He had many pupils, including his son Ahmad, famous as the translator of the *Kamus*, his son-in-law Muslih al-Din (cf. Ewliya, *loc. cit*), the poet Ramadan Efendi. called Bihishti, and many others.

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Munedidiim Bashi (d. 1702)

Munedidiim Bashi, Derwish Ahmed Dedi b. Lutf Allah was an eminent scholar, Sufi poet and above all, historian, being the author of a celebrated and important general history in Arabic the *Djami' al-duwal*. His father Lutf Allah was a native of Eregli near Konya. He was born in Selanik, in the first half of the 12th/18th century, received a scholarly education and served in his youth for fifteen years in the Mewlewi Khane of Kasim Pasha under Shaykh Khalil Deds (Sidjill-i 'athmani, ii, 287).

Afterwards, he studied astronomy and astrology and became court astrologer (munedjdjim bashi) in 1078/1667–8. In 1086/1675–6, he was admitted to the intimate circle of Sultan Mehemmed IV as musahib-i padishahi. He was dismissed in Muharram 1099/November 1687 and banished to Egypt. From here, he went some years later to Mecca, where he became shaykh of the Mewlewi-Khane. In 1105/1693–4, he was obliged to move to Medina, where he lived for seven years. Soon after his return to Mecca he died there on 29 Ramadan 1113/27 February 1702 and was buried near the tomb of Khadidja.

Besides writing his historical work, Munedjdim Bashi displayed a considerable literary activity. Of his works are mentioned a hashiya on the Kur'an commentary of al-Baydawi, a commentary on the 'Aka'id al-'Adudiyya of al-Idji, a Lata'if-name, a translation of the anecdotes of 'Ubayd-i Zakani and a number of treatises on geometry, mysticism and music. His Turkish diwan also gives him a place in the rank of Turkish mystical poets; his takhallus was 'Asik.

The general history was written in Arabic under the title jami' al-duwal, but although several manuscripts of the still unpublished Arabic original exist in the libraries of e.g. Istanbul, Edirne and Kayseri, it was formerly better known in the epitomised Turkish translation made by the poet Ahmed Nedim in the 12th/18th century under the title Saha'if al-akbar (printed in three volumes, Istanbul, 1285).

It is a world history arranged, after the fashion of simliar Arabic works, according to dynasties, with a main division into there parts: the first treating of the history of Muhammad, the second the non-Islamic dynasties and the third the Islamic dynasties. In the introductory chapters the author cites his numerous sources, not a few of which are lost in the original. Therefore, the work has a special value for the knowledge of many smaller dynasties and for this reason it was especially used by E. Sachau for Ein Verzeichnis muhammedanischer Dynastien, in SB Pr. Ak. W. (Berlin, 1923).

The last dynasty treated is that of the Cttoman sultans; it is proportionately longer and more detailed than the history of the other Islamic dynasties and based on several imperfectly known sources; the last part, which ends in 1089/1678, gives contemporary history.

The Turkish translation of Nedim is very readable and not composed in the high-flown literary style that prevailed in his period. For this reason it was especially praised and represented in Ebuzziya Tewfuk's Numune-i edebiyyat-i 'othmaniyya Istanbul, 1330.

Among the now lost sources used by Munedjdjim Bashi and apparently epitomised by him in the Djami' al-duwal, was a history of Darband, the Ta'rikh Bab al-Abwab, valuable for the history of the Muslim dynasties of eastern Transcaucasia, Arran and Adharbaydjan. His text here was utilsed in a masterly fashion by Minorsky for his Studies in Caucasian history (London, 1953) and A history of Sharvan and Darband (Cambridge, 1958); see also Bab Al-Abwab and Al-Kabk.

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N

Nadjm Al-Din Razi Daya (1177–1256)

Abu Bakr 'Abd Allah b. Muhammad b. Shakawar Asadi Nadjm Al-Din Razi Daya (573–654/1177/1256). Sufi of the Kubrawi order and author of several important works in Persian and Arabic. He left his native city of Rayy at the age of twenty-six and travelled widely in Syria, Egypt, the Hidjaz, 'Irak, and Adharbaydjan. He ulnmately turned eastwards, passing through Nishapur before arriving in Khwarazm where he became a murid of Nadjm al-Din Kubra, eponym of the Kubrawiyya. Kubra assigned his training to a senior disciple, Madjd al-Din Baghdadi (d. 607/1204) and it is to him that Daya refers as 'our shaykh'. He is strangely silent concerning Kubra himself, although he sometimes cities the Persian quatrains that are attributed to him.

At a date that cannot be precisely determined, Daya—clearly a restless man, even by the peripatetic standards of the age_left Khwarazm to resume his wanderings in western Persia. Sensing the onset of the Mongol storm, he abandoned his family in Rayy (by his own admission) and after a return visit to the Hidjaz travelled by way of Hamadan, Irbil and Diyarbakr to central Anatolia, arriving in Kayseri in Ramadan 618/ October 1221.

Saldjuk-ruled Anatolia offered a haven to many scholars and mystics and among those Daya is reputed to have encountered there were Sadr al-Din Kn(y)awi, Dalal al-Din Rumi and Awhad al-Din Kirmani. The first figure of note he met was Shihab al-Din Abu Hafs 'Umar Suhrawardi; Daya crossed paths with him in Malatya as the latter was returning from a mission to the Saldjuk 'Ala' al-Din Kaykubad on bealf of the 'Abbasid caliph al-Nasir li-din Allah. According to Daya, Suhrawardi suggested to him that he compose a work on Sufism and present it to Kaykubad in order to gain his patronage.

However, Ibn Bibi's chronicle of the Saldjuks reports not only that Daya had completed the work in question—*Mirsad al-'ibad ila 'l-mabda' wa 'l-ma'ad*—before his arrival in Malatya but also that he had already decided to dedicate it to Kaykubad (*Historie des Seldoucides d'Asie Mineure*, Turkish test, ed. M. Th. Houtsma, Leiden; 902, 226). The two recensions in which the Mirsad exists may explain the contradiction. One was completed

soon after his arrival in Kayseri and intended as "gift to true seekers and veracious lovers", and the other in Sivas, in Radjab 620/August 1223, dedicated to Kaykubad.

Despite the generally acknowledged excellence of the *Mirsad* and the encomium to Kaykubad with which it concludes, Daya was evidently disappointed by his reception in the Saldjuk capital of Konya, for before long he moved on to Erzincan. There, he composed another work in Persian, Marmuzat-i Asadi dar mazmurat-i Dawudi; the second half of the title contains an allusion to 'Ala' al-Din Dawud, the Mengucek ruler of Erzincan. In seems that Daya did not fare much better in Erzincan than in Konya. He quit Anatolia definitively less than four years after his arrival in Kayseri, and in 622/1225 we find him travelling from Baghdad to Tabriz on a diplomatic mission for the caliph al-Zahir.

While in Tabriz, Daya met Djalal al-Din Khwarazmshah, who was fleeing before the Mongol invaders, and it was in the company of his ambassador, Kadi Mudjir al-Din, that he returned to Baghdad. It was probably in Baghdad that he spent the rest of his life. He died there in 654/1256 and was buried in the Shunayziyya cometery near such luminaries of Sufism as Ma'ruf Karkhi and Djunayd Baghdadi.

Daya trained no murids, with a single exception and his posthumous fame and influence were due entirely to his writings. Among them, the Mirsad clearly stands out as a master piece, being comprehnensive in its treatment of the major themes of Sufism and written with a fluency, vigour and eloquence that qualify it for comparison with the best of classical Persian prose.

Among its themes, logically and systematically arranged, are the origins of the various realms and order of creation; prophethood and the different dimensions of religion; the ritual practices, mores and institutions of Sufism; and the ways in which different professions and trades may vield spiritual benefit if properly practised. The interest of the Kubrawi masters in dreams, visions and the phenomenology of the Sufi path is apparent on many pages of the Mirsad, as is—more subtly and without direct attribution— the influence of Ibn 'Arabi.

The *Mirsad* exercised wide and lasting influence throughout the lands where Persian was spoken or understood; manuscripts of it are numerous. It was known in India at least as early as the 8th/14th century, thanks to the efforts of the Gishti order and some hundred years later a Turkish translation was made for Sultan Murad II. It was known even in China: manuscripts of the work exist with marginal glosses in a North Chinese idiom written in the Arabic script. Echoes of the Mirsad and quotations from it are to be found in a wide variety of Persian, Turkish and Pashto works.

The *Marmuzat i Asadi* may be characterised as a 'special edition' of the Mirsad. It contains much of the material of Daya's masterpiece with the strictly Sufi portion diminished and the sections on kingly power greatly expanded. Extant only in a single manuseript, the Marmuzat-i Asadi appears not to have exerted great influence.

The second major work of Daya consists of his contribution to a Sufi tafsir—known varyingly as Bahr al-haka'iḳ. 'Ayn al-hayat, and al-Ta'wilat al-Nadimiyya—begun before

him by Nadjim al-Din Kubra and completed after his death by another Kubrawi, 'Ala' al-Dawla Simnani. Daya took up this commentary at Surat al-Bakara and was able to advance it as far as Sural al-Nadjm; the major portion of it is thus his.

His relentless insistence on discovering metaphorical senses for nearly every verse of the Kur'an sometimes verges on the arbitrary and the artificial, but there can be no denying the popularity and influence of the work. It has never been printed, but substantial portions of it are quoted in a tafsir of which several printings do exist: the Ruh al-bayan of Isma'il Hakki al-Burusawi.

Daya also wrote minor works, of which Risala-yi 'Ishk u [akl—a preliminary essay for certain sections of the Mirsad—deserves mention.

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EB

Najmuddin Kubra

Najmuddin Kubra (sheikh Kebir Ata) was the founder of the Kubrawiya brotherhood, in Kunia-Urgench; by far the most celebrated holy place of the Turkmen republic, frequented by pilgrims from all over Central Asia.

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Ni'Mat Allah B. Ahmad (d. 1561/62)

Ni'Mat Allah B. Ahmad B. Kadi Mubarak, known as Khalil Sufi, was the author of a Persian-Turkish dictionary entitled *Lughat-i Ni'mat* Allah. Born in Sofia, where as an enameller he made a reputation as an artist, he moved to Istanbul and there entered the Nakshbandi order. Association with the Nakshbandi dervishes made him more closely acquainted with literature and especially with Persian poetry.

Ni'mat Allah decided to make accessible to others the knowledge he had acquired by

an ardent study of Persian literature and thus, arose his lexicographical work, which he probably compiled at the instigation lexinstigation and with the assistance of the famous Kemal Pasha-zade (d. 940/1533). He died in 969/1561–2 and was buried in the court of the monastery at the Edirne gate in Istanbul.

His work, which survives in a considerable number of manuscripts, is divided into three parts: verbs, particles and inflection and nouns. His sources were: 1. *Uknum-i 'Adjam* (see Oxford, Bodleian, Uri, 291, no. 108); 2. *Kasima-yi Lutf Allah Halimi* (Hadjdji Khalifa, iv, 503); 3. *Wasila-yi makasid* (Flugel, Vienna catalogue, i, 197); 4. *Lughat-i Kara-Hisari* (Rieu, 513a); 5. *Sihah-i 'Adjam* (Hadjdji Khalifa, vi, 91 and Leiden catalogue, i, 100).

Besides making careful use of these sources, Ni'mat Allah added much independent material, of which his dialect notes and ethnographical observations are especially valuable. This work is of considerable scientific importance and deserves greater attention than it has so far received.

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E. BERTHELS

R

Al-Rifa'I, Ahmad B. Ali, Abu 'l-'Abbas, Shafi'i (1106–1180)

Al-Rifa'I, Ahmad B. 'Ali, Abu 'l-'Abbas, Shafi'i was fakir by training in and founder of the Rifa'iyya dervish order. He was born in Muharram 500/September 1106 (or according to other authorities, in Radjab 512/October-November 1118) at Karyat Hasan, a village of the Bata'ih or marshlands of lower 'Irak between Basra and Wasit, whence the nisba sometimes given to him of al-Bata'ihi and he died at Umm 'Ubayda in the same region on 22 Djumada I 578/23 October 1182.

The nisba al-Rifa'i is usually explained as referring to an ancestor Rifa'a, but by some is supposed to be a tribal name. This ancestor Rifa'a is said to have migrated from Mecca to Seville in Spain in 317/929, whence Ahmad's grandfather came to Basra in 450/1058. Hence he is also called al-Maghribi.

Ibn Khallikan's notice of him is meagre; more is given in al-Dhahabi's Ta'rikh al-Islam, taken from a collection of his Manakib by Muhyi 'l-Din Ahmad b. Sulayman al-Hammami recited by him to a disciple in 680/1281. This work does not appear in the lists of treatises on the same subject furnished by Abu 'l-Huda Efendi al-Rafi'I al-Khalidi al-Sayyadi in his works Tanwir al-absar (Cairo, 1306) and Kiladat al-djawahir (Beirut, 1301), the latter of which is a copious biography, frequently citing Tiryak al-muhibbin by Taki al-Din al-Wasiti (see below,) Umm al-barahin by Kasim b. al-Hadjdj, al-Nafha al-miskiyya by 'Izz al-Din al-Faruthi (d. 694/1295) and others. Al-Hammami's statements are cited from one Ya'kub b. Kuraz, who acted as mu'adhdhin for al-Rafa'i. Great caution is required in the use of such materials.

Whereas according to some accounts he was a posthumous child, the majority date his father's death to 519/1125 in Baghdad, when Ahmad was seven years old. He was then brought up by his maternal uncle Mansur al-Bata'ihi, resident at Nahr Dakla in the neighbourhood of Basra. This Mansur (of whom there is a notice in al-Sha'rani's Lawakih al-anwar, i, 178) is represented as the head of a religious community, called by Ahmad (if he is correctly reported by his grandson, Kilada, 88) al-Rifa'iyya; he sent his nephew to Wasit to study under a Shafi'i doctor Abu 'l-Fadl 'Ali al-Wasiti and a maternal uncle Abu Bakr al-Wasiti.

His studies lasted till his twenty-seventh year, when he received an idjaza from Abu 'l-Fadl and the khirka from his uncle Mansur, who bade him establish himself in Umm 'Ubayda, where (it would seem) his mother's family had property and where her father Yahya a-Nadjdjari al-Ansari was buried. In the following year, 540/1145–6, Mansur died and bequeathed the headship of his community (mashyakha) to Ahmad to the exclusion of his own son.

His activities appears to have been confined to Umm 'Ubayda and neighbouring villages, whose names are unknown to the geographers; even Umm 'Ubayda is not mentioned by Yakt, though found in one copy of the Marasid al-ittila'. This fact renders incredible the huge figures cited by Abu 'l-Huda for the number of his disciples (muridin) and even deputies (khulafa'), the princely style and the colossal buildings in which he entertained them. Sibt Ibn al-Djauzi in his Mir'at al-zama, ed. Haydarabad, viii, 370, says that one of their shaikhs told him he had seen some 100,000 persons with al-Rifa'i on a night of Sha'ban. In Ibn al-'Imad's Shadharat al-dahab the experience is said to have been Sibt Ibn al-Djauzi's own, though this person was born in 581/1185, three years after al-Rifa'i's death. In the Tanwir al-absar (7,8) his grandfather as well as himself is credited with the assertion.

His followers do not attribute to him any treatises, but Abu 'l-Huda produces 1. two discourses (madjlis) delivered by him in 577/1181 and 578/1182–3 respectively; 2. a whole diwan of odes; 3. a collection of prayers (ad'iya), 4. a great number of casual utterances, sometimes nearly of the length of sermons, swollen by frequent repetitions. Since in 1,2 and 4 he claims descent from 'Ali and Fatima and to be the substitute (na'ib) for the Prophet on earth, whereas his biographers insist on his humility and disclaiming such titles as kutb, ghawth, or even shaikh, the genuineness of these documents is questionable.

Various books were written on him by his followers and by subsequent members of the Rifa'i tarika, such as the Tiryak al-muhibbin fi sirat sultan al-'arifin Ahmad Ibn al-Rifa'i of Tak'l-Din 'Abd al-Rahman al-Wasiti (d. 744/1343–4).

In Ibn al-'Imad, it is asserted that the marvellous performances associated with the Rifa'is, such as sitting in heated ovens, riding lions, etc. were unknown to the founder and introduced after the Mongol invasion; in any case, they were no invention of his, since the like are recorded by al-Tanukhi in the 4th/10th century. The anecdotes produced by al-Dhahabi (repeated by al-Subki, Tabakat al-Shafi'iyya al-kubra, iv, 40) imply a doctrine similar to the Buddhist and Indian ahimsa, unwillingness to kill or give pain to living creatures, even lice and locusts.

He is also said to have inculcated poverty, abstinence and non-resistance to injury. Thus, Siby Ibn al-Djawzi records how he allowed his wife to belabour him with a poker, though his friends collected 500 dinars to enable him to divorce her by returning her marriage gift. (The sum mentioned is inconsistent with his supposed poverty.)

Inconsistent accounts are given of his relations with his contemporary 'Abd al-Kadir al-Jilani. In the bahdjat al-asrar or Nur al-Din al-Shattanawfi it is recorded by apparently

faultless isnads on the authority of two nephews of al-Rifa'I and a man who visited him at Umm 'Ubayda in 576/1180–1, that when 'Abd al-Kadir in Baghdad declared that his foot was on the neck of every saint, al-Rifa'i was heard to say at Umm 'Ubayda 'and on mine'.

Hence, some make him a disciple of 'Abd al-Kadir. On the other hand, Abu 'l-Huda's authorities make 'Abd al-Kadir one of those who witnessed in Medina in the year 555/1160 the unique miracle of the Prophet holding out his hand from the tomb for al-Rifa'i to kiss; further, in the list of his predecessors in the discourse of 578/1182–3, al-Rifa'i mentions Mansur but not 'Abd al-Kadir. It is probable, therefore, that the two worked independently.

Details of his family are quoted from the work of al-Faruthi, grandson of a disciple named 'Umar. According to him, al-Rifa'i married first Mansur's niece Khadidja; after her death, her sister Rabi'a; after her death Nafisa, daughter of Muhammad b. al-Kasimiyya. There were many daughters; also three sons, who all died before their father. He was succeeded in the headship of his order by a sister's son, 'Ali b. 'Uthman.

Rifa'Iyya Order: Rifa'Iyya, is the name of one of the most prominent Sufi orders from the period of the institutionalisation of the tarikas and one which came to be noted to pre-modern times for the extravagance of some of its practices.

It is unclear whether the founder, Ahmad al-Rifa'i, was a mystic of the thaumaturgic, miracle-mongering type, but the order which he founded and which was developed by his kinsmen certainly acquired its extravagant reputation during the course of the 6th/12th century; it may not be without significance that the order grew up in the Lower 'Irak marshlands between Wasit and Basra where there was a melange of faiths and beliefs, Muslim, Christian, Mandaean, etc. with many older survivals. Already, Ibn Khallikan (wrote ca. 654/1256) reported that the Rifa'i dervishes rode on lions in the Bata'ih and that eating live snakes and walking on hot coals were amongst their practices (ed. Ihsan 'Abbas, 172, tr. de Slane, i, 153).

Al-Rifa'i's retreat in the marshlands was a focus for visiting dervishes, some of whom founded their own orders, such as the Badawiyya, Dasukiyya and Shadhiliyya and it was the proto-type for many zawiyas which sprang up. Ibn Battuta frequently mentions the strange practices of their devotees. Thus, when in Wasit in 727/1327, he visited Ahmad al-Rifa'i's shrine at Umm 'Ubayda, where he saw throngs of people and witnessed fire-walking and fire-swallowing (Rihla, ii, 4–5, tr. Gibb, ii, 273–4); an eastern counterpart of these practices were those of the Kalandars, dervishes of the Haydariyya order, which he witnessed in India.

The Rifa'iyya spread rapidly into Egypt and Syria, possibly under the patronage of the Ayyubids. in Syria, a key figure was Abu Muhamad 'Ali al-Hariri (d. 645/1268), so that this branch became known as the Haririyya; another Syrian branch which was later to become notorious for its extravagant practices, including that of the dawsa or trampling of adherents by there mounted shaikh of the order, was that of the Sa'diyya or Djibawiyya founded by Ahmad al-Rifa'I's grandson, 'Izz al-Din Ahmad al-Sayyad (d. 670/1271–2).

In Egypt, the order became especially strong. 'Izz al-Din al-Sayyad was teaching in Cairo in 683/1236 and married there an Ayyubid descendant, the grand-daughter of Nur al-Din al-Malik al-Afdal. However, the great mosque of al-Rifa'i, near the Cairo Citadel, was not begun till the later 19th century and the tomb which it contains was thought by 'Ali Pasha Mubarak more likely to be that of one of Ahmad al-Rifa'i's descendants or khulafa'.

The Rifa'iyya order further became popular amongst the Turks in the course of the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries, continuing so in Turkey up to the 20th century. Ibn Battuta, again, visited what he calls 'Ahmadi' zawiyas in Anatolia, including at Amasya, Izmir and Betgama (Rihla, ii, 292–3, 310, 315–16, tr. ii, 436, 445, 449); whilst at this same period, the Mewlewi Aflaki describes, with disapproval, the extravagances of fire-walking, snake-biting, etc., which could be seen at the zawiya of "Sayyid Tadj al-Din Ahmad al-Rifa'I" in Konya (Manakib al-'arifin, ed. and tr. C1. Huart, Paris 1918–22, tr. ii, 203–4).

From Anatolia, the order spread into the Balkans as far as Bosnia and across the Black Sea to the lands of the Golden Horde; Fuad Koprulu thought that the Rifa'iyya of the Turkish lands might have been additionally influenced by the semi-magical practices surviving from old Turkish shamanism.

In the Maghrib, the ecstatic practices of the Rifa'iyya or one of its off-shoots were adopted by the 'Isawiyya or Isawa founded by Muhammad b. 'Isa (d. 930/1524) after his travels in the central Islamicl ands. Perhaps, most dostantly of all, Ibn Battuta even mentions Rifa'is in the Maldive Islands (Rihla, text, iv, 141).

The Rifa'iyya was thus, the most widespread of all the turuk until the 9th/15th century, when it was overtaken in popularity by the Kadiriyya. After this time, its greatest appeal was to be in the Arab lands and especially in Egypt. In 18th century Cairo, the nawlid or birthday celebration of Ahmad al-Rifa'i was celebrated on 12 Jumada II at Rumayla. This order and the associated one of the Badawiyya were at this time widely recruited from the lower strata of society, compared with e.g. the Kadiriyya and Khalwatiyya; al-Djabarti stigmatises the Ahmadiyya and Sa'diyya as popular amongst the awbash or lowest classes.

In the early 19th century, E.W. Lane gave a classic account of the grotesque practices of the Rifa'iyya 'howling dervishes' and their offshoots the Sa'diyya and 'Ilwaniyya, which included snake charming and the thrusting of iron spikes, glass, etc. into their bodies (The manners and customs of the modern Egyptians, chs. x, xx, xxv). By the middle years of the century, however, such popular excesses began to be deprecated by the Ottoman and Egyptian authorities, when the more progressive-minded of the ruling classes began to regard the turuk as brakes on progress and as associations which were bringing the image of Islam into disrepute, in Western eyes.

Hence, in Egypt, the dawsa ceremony was prohibited by the Khedive Tawfik on the basis of a fatwa from the Chief Mufti of Egypt, it was a bid'a kabiha or reprehensible innovation. It continued, however, for some decades afterwards in Ottoman Syria, for the sultan

'Abd al-Hamid II strongly favoured the dervish orders as part of his Pan-Islamic and pro-Islamic policies. The influence of the Rifa'i shaikh Abu 'l-Huda Muhammad al-Sayyad (1850–1909), of the Sayyadiyya branch of the Rifa'iyya in Aleppo, was particularly great at the Ottoman court and this influence was much disapproved of by Islamic modernists and reformers of the stamp of Muhammad 'Abduh.

During the 20th century the Rifa'iyya have continued to be influential in Cairene life. A good picture of it as it was in the 1940s to 1960s, including the form of its dhikr, is given by E. Bannerth in his La Rifa'iyya en Egypte, in MIDEO, x (1970), 1–35. Bannerth noted that, at that time, the supreme head of the order in Egypt was a descendant of the founder and that the members of one section at least, the 'Amriyya, included a good number of persons with secondary education and beloging to the middle classes. The charismatic activities by members of the order were played down, but in 1969 the author personally witnessed in the al-Rifa'i Mosque the piercing of cheeks with sharpened iron skewers without any resultant bleeding or visible wounds.

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S

Al-Sabti, Ahmad B. Dja'far al-Khazradiji (1130–1205)

Ahmad B. Dja'Far al-Khazradiji Abu'l-Abbas Al-Sabti was a renowned Moroccan saint. He was born at Sabta (Ceuta) in 524/1130, not to be confused, in the text of Ibn Khaldun (*Mukaddima*), with a homonym who lived in a later period and was the inventor of a circular divinatory table known as the *za'iradja al-'alam.*

Two accounts afford a glimpse of his career, which was contemporaneous with that of the great saint of Tlemcen Abu Madyan al-Andalusi (520–94 /1126–97); that of the kadi al-Tadili and that of Ibn Hamawayah, which is more concise, recounted by al-Makkari. Born into a modest family, he lost his father at a very early age and became an apprentice to a trader in textiles (*bazzaz*) of Sabta, a town which was then enjoying a high level of commercial and cultural prosperity.

His principal teacher was Abu 'Abd Allah al-Fakhkhar, himself a disciple of the kadi'Iyad, one of the most eminent representatives of the Hispano-Maghribi Maliki school of the period. At about sixteen years old, he left Sabta with a companion and made his way to Mount Gilliz where the Almohad army was encamped, commanded by 'Abd al-Mu'min who was laying siege to Marrakesh (540/1146). Afterthe capture of the city, he established himself there in a funduk known by the name of funduk Maukbil. He then taught grammar and arithmetic, for which he received payment.

He also apparently enjoyed an allowance in his capacity as a member of the talabat al-hadar (a category of teachers supported financially by the Almohad authorities) and established a considerable household. He rapidly gained popularity as a result of his generosity. His doctrine was simple, according to al-Tadili, who knew and visited him: every principle contained in religion (shar') may be reduced to the deprival and to the bestowal of the goods which one possesses. He insists on the religious duty of zakat. Charity (sadaka) is the essential theme of his semons and of his injunctions. He denounces avarice (al-bukhl) and parsimony (al-shuhh) and preaches generosity (al-[ata', al-djud) and beneficence (al-Ishan), quoting Kur'anic verses to illustrate his purpose (IX, 34; X, 88; LIII, 33 LXVIII, 17; XCII, 5–10). His symbolic interpretation of prayer and of its various manifestations

illustrates his doctrine of asceticism, since it signifies the sharing and the abandonment of all goods.

Of presentable appearance, always carefully groomed, he was furthermore admired for his eloqence and his knowledge of dogma and for the ease with which he succeeded in convincing the most sceptical. His conduct earned him the reputation of a pious man, having no wish to publicise his virtues and willing to accept criticism (the Oriential mystical tradition of the Malamatiyya). The philosopher Ibn Rushd sent an observer to study his ideas and on his return, concluded that "the entire existence of Abu 'l-Abbas is in interaction with charity" and that "his doctrine is that of a philosopher of antiquity". He then resolved to meet the man in person and travelled for this purpose to Marrakesh, where he died and was intially buried, before being transferred to Cordova. Abu 'l-'Abbas died soon afterwards, in 601/1205. He was interred outside Bab Taghzut.

Significant similarities of circumstances and events in the lives of Abu'l-'Abbas and of Abu Madyan are evident: their modest origins; their beginnings as youthful apprentices in the textile trade, a substantial element in the economy of North Africa at the time; their theological training concurrent with the exercise of their profession; the departure and the journey (*siyaha*) in search of their path (a Major Sufi theme); their installation in an important city where they became known for their teaching and their piety; the themes, repeated in all circumstances, of humility, of submission to the divine will (tawakhul) and of the reinstating of material goods, a doctrine, making a synthesis of Maliki orthodoxy and of oriental mysticism and adapted to the Maghribi soul; the interest of the Almohad authorities in their knowledge and their popularity; and the policy of enticement and control of scholars which led to their installation at Marrakesh.

Finally, each became the patron saint of the town in which he was buried. But the originality of Abu 'l-'Abbas consists in his withdrawal from political life and in the fact that he claimed allegiance to no school or great master. He did not found a school either. He devoted his life to the defence and promulgation of values which were promoted in North Africa principally by the Sufis and which exerted influence on the Christian culture of the Middle Ages, represented among others by one of the originators of the concept of chivalry, the Arabic speaking Majorcan Ramon Lull. In the 20th century he still serves as a model for reforms (muslihu) who aspire towards moral rigour and social justice, such as Ibn al-Muwakkit.

Popular imagination has not been slow to transform the life of this pious individual into a legend attended by an increasingly rich crop of miracles. His repute has extended throughout the Maghrib, benefiting initially by the unity imposed upon it by the Almohad empire. As an example of these miracles, he is supposed to have appeared at the side of the Muslim warriors at the time of the Battle of the Three Kings at al-Kasr al-Kabir (Yawm al-Makhazin), which ended with the defeat of the Portuguese, in 986/1578.

On the summit of Gilliz there is a kubba dedicated to him. In the same mountain there is a sacred cave in which was approached by processions of towns-people appealing for rain.

It was also in a cave that the Prophet took refuge, at the time of the emigration from Mecca to Medina, in the company of Abu Bakr (to whom the companion of Abu 'l-'Abbas, in the journey to Marrakesh, corresponds, Kur'an, IX, 40), in the episode known as the *hidjra*.

Finally, while the sura al-Kahf (XVIII), occupies an important place in Muslim liturgy, the cave represents, for the Sufi who follows the sacred text of the Kur'an to the letter, in a hostile world, the refuge of the sincere believer who awaits there the beneficence of the Lord (XVIII, 16).

Some well-known personalities have come, over the centuries, to invoke him or to seek protection or miraculous power associated with his sainthood (baraka): the illustrious Ibn al-Khatib, Ibn Kunfudh of Constantine, the last king of Grenada Abu 'Abd Allah (Boabdil) and the writer from Timbuktu Ahmad Baba. At the beginning of the 17th century the Sa'did sultan Abu Faris Ibn Ahmad al-Mansur ordered the restoration of his mausoleum and the building of a madrasa and the mosque which still exists.

In the 18th century, his primacy was officially endorsed with the institution of the cycle of pilgimage (ziyara) to the seven patrons of Marrakesh (Sab'atu ridjal), as a counter-weight to that of the seven saints of Regraga, the latter probably being linked to the legend of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus. The sultan Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah (1171–1204/1757–90) had his zawiya annexed to the town and constructed the mausoleum which still exists.

The peasant invokes him to make the rain fall or to protect a clutch of eggs. The farmer, to preserve his crop, makes a charitable gift of a portion of grain to the poor, in his name, in Morocco as in Algeria, or appeals to him to raise a wind from the west, which is advantageous for the winnowing of corn, or like seafarer, he asks for the quelling of a storm. In particular he is the nation of commerce in general, or travellers, of dealers in trimmings, of well-sinkers, of soap-makers, of operators of oil-presses and of healers of eyes. He is invoked at the time of a confinement. Charitable gifts of grain, fritters, fruit, meat or fish, made to the poor in his name, are often called 'abbasiyya. Similarly, in Algeria, the verb 'abbas signifies "to go among the peasants to levy contributions of grain, butter, dried fruits etc....". A weekly pilgrimage takes place within his sanctuary (hurm), the majority of the participants being blind.

His radiant reputation in the Maghrib explains the presence of kubbas dedicated to him (Sidi Bel-Abbes, Ouargla, Djellida, etc), as well as the formation and origin of certain family-names (Belabbas-Nabi, etc.), although the possibility of homonymy with local saints is not to be denied.

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EB

Sa'id Al-Din, Muhamad B. Amad. Farghani (13th Century)

Muhamad B. Amad. Farghani Sa'id Al-Din is often called Sa'id-i Farghani was an

author of important Sufi works pertaining to the school of Ibn al-Arabi. Sometimes the form Sa'd al-Din is found, but this seems to be a copyist's correction of the unusual form. On a manuscript of his *Masharik al-darari* dated 678/1279–80 (Esad Ef. 1511), the name is given as in the title of this entry, with 'Kadani' added after the nisba Farghani. Hadjdji Khalifa gives death dates of 691/1292 and ca 700/1300–1 (ed. Flugel, no 365); Osman Yahia prefers 695/1296 (introd. to Sayyid Haydar Amuli, Kitab Nass al-nusus, Tehran, 1975, 18); Brockelmann has 699/1299 (S.I, 812).

Little is known of Sa'id al-Din's life. In his Manahidj al-'ibad (Istabul, 1988, 184) he tells us that he entered Sufism at the hand of Shaykh Nadjb al-Din 'Ali b. Buzaghush of Shiraz (d. 678/1279), a disciple of Shaykh Shihab al-Din 'Umar Suhrawardi. Later, he benefited from Shaykh Sadr al-Din Kunawi (d. 673/1274) and then from Shaykh Muhammad b. al-Sukran al-Baghdadi and others Kunawi tells us that Farghani and several 'other'. scholars were his companions when he travelled in the year 643/1245–6 to Egypt and began teaching Ibn al-Farid's famous Kasida, Nazm al-suluk (also known as al-Ta'iyya). Several people took notes with the aim of composing books, but only Farghani was successful (letter of approval to Farghani, Masharik al-darari, ed S.Dj Ash-tiyani, Mashhad 1398/1978, 5–6, 77–8), Sib Ibn al-Farid quotes Shams al-Din Iki (d. 697/1298), a disciple of Kunawi's and shaykh al-shuyukh in Cairo, to the effect that after lecturing on hadith in Arabic, Kunawi, would recite one verse of nazm al-suluk and explains its meanings in Persian and it was these explanation that Sa'id al-Din recorded.

Farghani is best known for his Persian and Arabic commentaries on Nazm al-suluk. The full name of the first is Masharik al-daran al-zuhar fi kashf haka'ik nazm al-durar, while the second is called Muntaha'l-madarik wamushtaha lubbkull kamil aw 'arif wa-salik (2 vols., Cairo, 1293/1876). Kunawi's just-cited letter of approval is appended to the end of the itnroduction to the Persian text. The Arabic commentary is half again as long as the Persian and includes a much expanded introduction, without Kunawi's letter; it was being read in Cairo as early as 670/1271. Both works were widely cited as authoritative expositions of the teachings of Kunawi. Djami was particularly fond of Muntaha 'l-madarik and called its introduction an unparalleled exposition of 'the science of reality' (Nafahat, 559).

Farghani's third work, the Persian *Manahidj al-'ibad ila 'l-ma'ad,* outlines the five pillars of Islam along with basic Sufi *adab*. It was not as widely read as the other two, but it gained more readership than it might have because Kutb al-Din Shirazi (d. 710–1311), who studied hadith with Kunawi, incorpcrated it into his philosophical encyclopedia, the Durat al-tadj, as the last and 'most important' part of the book. According to Hadjdj Khalifa, the Manahidj was translated into Arabic with the title Madaridj al-itikad by Abu 'l-Fadl Muhammad b. Idris al-Didlsi. Hadjdj Khalifa (no. 1263) also attributes a commentary on Ibn al-'Arabi's Fusus al-hikam to Sa'id al-Din, but the ascription is unlikely.

Another book that is often attributed to Farghani is the important undated compendium of sufi technical terms, Lata'if al-i'alm fi isharat ahl al-ilham; some of the definitions

are indeed taken from Muntaha 'l-madarik. However, neither the style of the work nor what the author says about himself allows for this attribution; he speaks of his own works on kalam (under the definition of al-ruh and mentions (under al-'ilm al-laduni) that he was a disciple of 'Ala' al-Dawala Simmani (659–736/1261–1336).

The *Masharik al-darari* and *Muntaha 'l-madarik* are important as two of the earliest commentaries on Ibn al-Farid's poem, but their main significance lies in their formative influence on the way in which the teachings of Ibn al-'Arabi were developed. Like Kunawi, Farghani singled out certain of Ibn al-[Arabi's discussions and teachical terms for emphasis. The net result was that Ibn al-'Arabi's well-known followers were drawn much closer to the philosophical mode of expressing Islamic teachings than was the Shaykh al-Akbar himself.

Farghani's introduction to Muntaha''l-madarik is an especially good example of a dense philosophical and relatively systematic exposition of Ibn al-'Arabi's teachings. It provides a better survey of the technical terms and discussions that were to play major roles in theoretical Sufism in the coming centuries than does Ibn al-'Arabi' own Fusus al-hikam, which was to be the object of over one hundred commentaries.

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EB

Al-Sanusi, Shaikh Sayyid Ahmad (1873–1933)

Shaikh Sayyid Ahmad Al-Sanusi was the Third Grand Master of the Sanusiyya order of dervishes. His full name was al-Sayyid Muhammad al-Mahdi Ahmad b. al-Sayyid Muhammad al-Sharif b. al-Sayyid Muhammad b. 'Ali al-Sanusi al-Khattabi al-Hasani al-Idrisi.

He was born at Djaghbub, a grandson of the founder of the order, and received a classical education in Islamic learning from his father, uncle, etc., according to the high standards of Sanusi tradition. He succeeded

to the leadership at Kuru (Boorku, in Chad), where his uncle resided from 1899 till his death in 1902, being the eldest member of the Sanusi family. Next to his spirtual leadership, Ahmad al-Sharif developed a political and military organisation for the Sanusi community against French expansion in the Sudan region, but after a defeat, he decided to withdraw from Kuru to the old centre at Kufra in 1902. In need of international recognition and support, he agreed to the establishment of direct Ottoman rule in Cyrenaica and Fazzan (1910), and the 7,000 Ottoman troops in the province co-operated now against the enemies of the faith, these being in 1911 the Italians invading Ottoman Libya until Muharram 1331/ December 1912. During this period the Sanusi *shaikh* issued a proclamation of *djihad* against the enemies of Islam.

After the conclusion of the Italo-Ottoman peace of Lausanne-Ouchy (15 October 1912), the Sanusi leader continued resistance against the Italians with the discreet support of the Ottoman (Young Turks') government. The sultan-caliph, Mehemmed V approved of Ahmad al-Sharif'd installation of a 'Sanusiyya till 1915, ahmad al-Sharif was able to defeat Italian forces at times. Apart from regular financial and logistic support, the sultan-caliph awarded the Shaikh honours and decorations. When Italy joined the Entente Powers against, i.a., the Ottoman Empire in 1915, Ahmad al-Sharif was secretly appointed the sultan's representative (*na'ib ul-sultan*) with the rank of Vizier and the title of Pasha (*irade* of 6 August 1915). During the same year 1915, from June onwards, a regular communication with Istanbul was ensured by German and Austro-Hungarian submarines carrying arms, munitions and men to the Sanusi forces, but their guerrilla attack against the British in western Egypt failed (15 Rabi' I 1334/22–3 January 1916).

Ahmad al- Sharif retreated with 800 followers and was chased back to Djaghbub, from where he went on to the Sirtica region of Tripolitania. He maintained his relationship with the Ottomans, but the influence of his cousin, Sayyid Muhammad Idris (the later King Idris I al-Sanusi of Libya) was by now increasing. With the permission of Ahmad al-Sharif, Idris opened up negotiations with the British and the Italians (1917). In 1918, the Sanusi *shaikh* was made the sultan's representative in all North Africa, but his actual influence on affairs was steadily in decline. On 13 Dhu 'l-Ka'da 1336/21August 1918 Ahmad al-Sharif left Libya, for good as it turned out to be, brought by a German submarine to Istanbul.

He relinquished political leadership but remained the spiritual chief of the Sanusiyya *tarika* till his death, and his lasting prestige is evident from the fact that he was chosen to officiate at the ceremonial girding of the sword of the new Ottoman sultan, Mehemmed VI Wahid al-Din, at Eyyub in 1336/1918. Widely regarded as one of the fore-most fighters for Islam, Ahmad al-Sharif chose the side of the resistance against the Allies in Anatolia led by Mustafa Kemal Pasha, and became one of his emissaries in the provinces of Anatolia. (Mustafa Kemal was photographed in an Arab dress presented to him by the Sanusi *Shaikh* at this time).

In 1922, he journeyed to south-eastern Anatolia along the Turco-French front, *inter*

alia arbitrating a peace amongst the Arab tribes there, but after the definitive victory of Mustafa Kemal, Ahmad al-Sharif returned to Istanbul and became involved in the question of the Ottoman caliphate [see Khilafa], which was not after all offered to him, in spite of the support of his cause fby Ibn Su'ud, Imam Yahya of Yemen and Sa'd Zaghlul Pasha. In 1924 he left for Damascus. The French did not permit him to stay there, and he went on to the Hidjaz, dying at Medina on 13 Dhu 'l-Ka'da 1351/10 March 1933.

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A.H. DE GROOT

Saragt Baba

Saragt (Serakhs) Baba', pseudonym of the Yasawi saint Abul Fazl lived in the district of Serakhs, Ashkhabad region, near the Iranian border. It was active in 1982 according to *Sovet Turkmenistany*, 10 February 1982.

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EB

Shabistari, Mahmud B. Abd Al-Karim B. Yahya (d. 1287/8)

Mahmud B. Abd Al-Karim Shabistari was born at Shabistar, a small town near the north-eastern shore of Lake Urmiya. The date of his birth is unknown, but would have to be fixed about 686/1287–8 if the report that he died at the age of 33 (mentioned in an inscription on a tombstone erected on his grave in the 19th century) is accepted. He is said to have led the life of a prominent religious scholar at Tabriz. Travels to Egypt, Syria and the Hidjaz are mentioned in the introduction to the *Sa'adat-nama*. He may also have lived for some time at Kirman where, in later times, a

group of mystics, known as the Khwadjagan, claimed to descend from a marriage of his contracted in that city In the Persian *tadhkiras*, dates varying between 718/1318 and 720/1320–1 are given for his death. The tomb at Shabistar, where he was buried next to his teacher Baha' al-Din Ya'kub Tabrizi, has become a place of pilgrimage. It has been restored several times during the last century.

The fame of Mahmud rests entirely on a short *mathnawi* (1, 2008 *bayats* in the most recent edition), the *Gulshan-i raz* ('The rose gardon of the secret'). According to the poet's introduction, it was written in the month of Shawwal 717/December 1317–January 1318 in reply to a versified letter (*nama*) sent by a 'well-known notable' (*buzurgi mashhur*) from Khurasan. A generally accepted tradition, appearing for the first time at the 9th/15th century in Djami's *Nafahat al-uns* (ed. Tehran 1337/1958, 605), specifies that the letter contained question on difficult points of mystical doctrine and was composed by Husayni Sadat Amir, who was an expert writer on the subject in his own right.

These details are not confirmed by the text of the poem. The text of the letter, which in extant in some manuscripts of the *Ghulshan-i raz*, was probably only put together afterwards with lines taken from the lines of the poems itself, which precede each of the fifteen main divisions under the heading *su'al* ('question'). The answers given by the poet are subdivided into theoretical parts (*ka'ida*) and illustrative parts (*tamthil*). The subject-matter of the poem is the doctrine of man's perfection through gnosis. This involves a number of cosmological, psychological and metaphysical themes as well as topics proper to the Sufi traditions, such as the problem posed by expressions of identification with the Divine Being.

The influence of Ibn al-'Arabi, acknowledged by Mahmud in his *Sa'adat-nama*, is quite obvious. He also continues, however, the older tradition of Persian religious poetry as it appears from his treatment of poetical images as mystical symbols in the last sections of the *Gulshan-i raz*, and from a reference to 'Attar as his example.

The great value attached to the poem is reflected, especially, in the many commentaries which were written on it throughout the centuries. The diversity of its contents, in spite of its concision, made the *Gulshan-i raz* into a convenient starting-point to elaborate expositions of mystical doctrine, like the celebrated *Mafatih al-i'djaz* by Shams al-Din Muhammad b. Yahya al-Lahidji al-Nurbakhshi, dated 877/1472–3 (several editions, the latest by Ghulam-Rida Kaywan-Sami'i, Tehran 1337/1958). Other notable commentators were Diya' al-Din 'Ali Turka Khudjandi (d. 835/1431–2), Nizam al-Din Mahmud al-Husayni 'al-Da'i ila 'Ilah' (d. *ca.* 869/1464–5) and Shudja' al-Din Kurbali, who wrote his work between 856/1452–3 and 867/1462–3. As early as 829/1425–6, a Turkish translation in *Mathnawi* verses was dedicated to the Ottoman sultan Murad II by Elwan Shirazi. Imitations were composed until the present century, e.g., the *Gulshan-i raz-i djadid*, an appendix to the *Zabur-i 'adjam* (1927) by Muhammad Ikbal. A manuscript with glosses by an anonymous Isma'ili author was brought to notice by W. Ivanow (*JBBRAS*, viii [1932], 69–78) and published by H. Corbin.

The 17th-century traveller Jean Chardin was the first Western writer to note the importance of this poem to the Persian Sufis as a 'somme theologique' (*Voyages*, ed. Langles, Paris 1811, iv, 453). It was then used by F.A.D. Tholuck as a source of his study on Persian mysticism (*Sufismus*, Berlin 1821; wrongly ascribed to 'Asisi') and his anthology of mystcial poetry in German translation (*Bluthensammlung aus der morgenlandischen Mystik*, Berlin 1825). The text, with a full translation, was published by J. von Hammer-Purgstall (*Rosenflor des Geheimmnisses*, Pesth-Leipzing 1838) and by E. H. Whinfield (*The mystic rose gärden*, London 1880; repr. 1978). Several other editions were published in Iran and on the Indian subcontinent. A critical edition was prepared by Gurban-eli Muhammedzade (Baku 1973).

Of the other works ascribed to Mahmud Shabistari, the most likely to be authentic are the *mathnawi* called the *Sa'adat-nama*, on mystical theology, containing also valuable data for the biography of the author (cf. Rieu, ii, 871; Ates, no. 351/1; Munzawi, iv, 2909–10) and *Hakk al-yakin fi' ma'rifat rabb al-'alamin*, a prose work which was repeatedly printed (cf. Browne iii, 149–50; Munzawi, ii/1, 1129–30). The *Mir'at al-muhakkikin*, also in prose, is in some manuscripts ascribed to Ibn Sina or others (cf. Munzawi, ii/1, 842–4 and 1374–5).

No longer extant are the *Shahidnama*, mentioned in *Hakk al-yakin* as well as in Gazurgahi's *Madjalis al-'ushshak*, and a translation of Muhammad al-Ghazali's *Mishkat al-anwar*. The *mathnawi* called *Kanz al-haka'ik*, published under Mahmud Shabistari's name (Tehran 1344/1965), seems to be identical with a poem wrongly attributed to 'Attar (cf. H. Ritter, in, *Isl.*, xxv [1939], 158 f.; idem, in *Oriens*, xi (1958) 21 f.; Ates, no. 122/13). The real author is probably Pahlawan Muhmud Puryar Khwarazmi (cf. Ates, under nos. 351/2 and 382; Munzawi, iv, 3059–60). Some of his *ghazals* and quatrains are extant, in anthologies.

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Al-Shadhili, Abu 'l-Hasan (d. 1287)

Abu 'l-Hasan al-Shadhili was the founder of Shadhiliyya order. He was one of the most important currents of Sufism, associated with the teaching and spiritual authority of the great Moroccan mystic of the 7th/13th century.

This last, originating from northern Morocco, where he benefited from the spiritual teaching of 'Abd al-Salam b. Mashish, lived in Ifrikiya and, above all, in Egypt, where his preaching and spiritual precepts enjoyed an immense success. It does not seem that he himself had the idea of founding a strutted Sufi brotherhood. But the fervour of his disciples, who considered him as the Pole (*kutb*) of the universe for his age, and who therefore, saw in his words a direct divine inspiration, was transferred to his successor, the Andalusi Abu 'l-'Abbas al-Mursi (d. 686/1287).

The latter's authority and spiritual breadth knew how both to maintain the cohesion of the Shadhili group and to instill into it a lasting dynamic of expansion. Al-Mursi's work was completed by the enthusiastic work of an Egyptian scholar, Tadj al-Din Ibn 'Ata' Allah al-Iskandari (d. 709/1309 in Cairo; see Ibn 'Ata' Allah). Whereas neither his own master nor Abu 'l-Hasan al-Shadhili left behind any written work, Ibn 'Ata' Allah wrote, notably, numerous treatises of a doctrinal nature, as well as collections of prayers, which played a decisive role in the constituting of a genuine Shadhili spirituality.

His *Lata'if al-minan* forms one of the main sources regarding the teachings of the two first masters of the Shadhili school as for his collection of dicta, the *Hikam*, it had an immense diffusion all over the Islamic world and attracted several commentaries, notably by Ibn 'Abbad of Ronda (8th/14th century), Ahmad Zarruk (9th/15th) and Ibn 'Adjiba (12t-13th-18th-19th).

We know only imperfectly the formative period of the brotherhood. During the 8th/14th century it spread through Egypt and the Maghrib, where from the 9th/15th century it enjoyed a considerable success. One should stress that it never assumed the form of a centralised order, but early spread out into a multitude of ramifications with very relaxed links, of sub-branches energised by spiritual masters whose strong personality often raised up a specific strain amidst the generality of the Shadhili tradition. Certain of these ramifications had a limited implantation within a determined region, whilst others formed much wider groupings. But in all cases, the flexibility of a tradition presenting itself more as a school of spirituality than as a structured organisation allowed its adaptation to very diverse historical and local contexts.

It could thus avoid the rigidity and degeneration which often awaited mystical groups which were over-institutionalised. The Shadhiliyya was born in an urban milieu (Alexandria, Cairo, Tunis), and counted within its rank a good number of well-known intellectuals, such as the great 9th/15th-century polygraph Dahlia al-Din al-Suyuti. But it also found ready audience in rural areas, especially in he Maghrib. The affiliation to the order of the ecstatic popular saints of the 10th/16th-century 'Ali al-Sanhadji and his pupil 'Abd al-Rahman al-Madjdhub is characteristic in this regard. In the Maghrib properly speaking, but

equally in the Nile valley, the Shadhiliyya accompanied the development of a Sufism which tolerated—and even encouraged—cults around saints' tombs, in which the efficacy of the *baraka* of the master counted for more and more.

We shall not deal here with the Sufi currents which sometimes attached themselves to the Shadhili spirit in a purely mythical or lateral manner, such as the Badawiyya or Duskily; nor with those which, despite being impregnated with the Shadhili spirit, developed into new and independent orders (the Tidjaniyya and orders derived from the Idrisiyya). But one should mention, among the brotherhoods of the Shadhili tradition which affirmed their personality during that time, that, in Egypt, the Wafa'iyya, founded by the Ifrikiyan Shams al-Din Muhammad Wafa' al-Bakri (d. 760/1359) and his son 'Ali (d. 807/1404; on him, see al-Sha'rani's notice, in *Tabakat*, ii, 22–65), enjoyed a solid implantation and an undoubted spiritual and intellectual diffusion. The Hanafiyya were founded by Muhammad al-Hanafi (d. 847/1443), a highly charismatic personality who left a strong mark on his age. In Syria, the Shadhiliyya spread under the impulse of the Moroccan 'Ali b. Maymun al-Fasi (d. 917/1511) and his disciples, affiliates of the Madyaniyya branch.

In the Maghrib the Shadhili presence was even more wide-spread. One may mention, in particular, the Zarrukiyya, which arose out of the teaching of Abu 'l-'Abbas Ahmad al-Burnusi, called al-Zarruk (d. 899/1494). This Moroccan scholar had a stay in Egypt, where he became a disciple of the Wafa'i master Ahmad al-Hadrami and probably of another Hanafi one. Then he returned to the Maghrib and travelled in various regions. He left behind an important body of written work (cf., especially, his *Kawa'id al-tasawwuf*, Damascus 1968) and breathed fresh life into the Shadhili heritage there, raising up a fresh impulse.

Several Maghribi brotherhoods claimed connections with his teaching: the Darkawiyya, the Rashidiyya and its own branches, the Shaikhiyya, Karzaziyya and Nasiriyya. Another dynamic movement of Shadhili inspiration was stimulated by the figure of Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad al-Djazuli, a Sufi master originally from southern Morocco.

This last travelled to Fez, then had a long stay in the East (40 years?) and finally returned to. Morocco. After a period of hermit-like seclusion, he spread his teachings, which had such popular repercussions that he was persecuted by the political authorities and died—perhaps, from poison— in *ca.* 869/1465, the year of the fall of the Marinid dynasty. Later, his body was interred at Marrakech, and he became one of the seven patron saints of the city. This thaumaturge *wali* marks the origin of a new form of mass Sufism. Membership was no longer conditional upon personal intiation rites (*suhba*, *talkin*), and did not necessarily take place within a structured brotherhood, but resulted from a simple act of allegiance to a *shaikh* shown by a rite of transmission of *baraka* and devotional practice centred round reading a collection of litanies, the *Dala'il al-khayrat*.

This last became extremely popular, notably because of the miraculous benefits which certain people connected with its

recitation. Several later *tawa'if* attached themselves to the movement of al-Djazuli, including the 'Arusiyya, wide-spread in Ifrikiya (see Brunschvig, *Hafsides*, ii, 341 ff.), the Hansaliyya (see Depont and Coppolani, 492 ff.; Drague, 163ff) or also the 'Iswaiyya. The latyer, which owed its name yo Muhammad b. 'Isa al-Mukhtar (d, 931/1524), added to the Shadhili-Djazuli tradition shamanistic practices reminiscent of those of the Rifa'iyya: initiates were endowed with a totem animal, practised spiritual dealings and, in a trance, devoured snakes or pierced their bodies with sword blades. Analogous practices are also found in the related Moroccan order of the Hamdushiyya.

The historic success of the Shadhili Way probably depended on several factors of a historical nature. Within a North Africa engulfed in a permanent economic and political state of crisis, grouping in the bosom of a community based on intuitional solidarity had a certain attraction. The political authorities, such as the Marinids in Morocco or the Hafsids in Ifrikiya, often actively favoured the creating or expansion of the *zawaya* in their territories, and the integration of moderate Sufism in the teaching of the *madrasas*— or conversely, of *fikh* in the *zawaya*.

It is true that these last also at times played the role of centres of dissidence against the central power, as with that of al-Dila' in Morocco, which almost succeeded in seizing the sultanate power towards the middle of the 11th/17th century. Nevertheless, they were more often regarded as centres of social stability by virtue of the allegiance given by complete tribes or villages to the *shaikh*. They were often organised on a 'dynastic' manner of functioning, and to some extent regulated local and tribal particularism. But the especial success of the Shadhiliyya was due to the factors peculiar to itself.

Its strictly orthodox Sunnism and the respect for all exoteric tradition which it professed, its social discreetness (absence of distinctive garb or of spectacular public festivals or of begging), all of these aroused confidence and fervour. Finally, the active European encroachments in the Muslim lands—as e.g. that of the Shadhiliyya-Djazuliyya in Morocco in the warfare against the Portuguese in the 9th-10th/15th-16th centuries—accelerated the process of cohesiveness of Sufism and the social fabric in the Maghrib.

More recently, currents of revival attached to the Shadhili tradition have appeared. This is the case with the Darkawiyya. It goes back to Abu Hamid al-'Arabi al-Darkawi (d. 1823), who is to be placed in the Zarruki tradition without there being any new elements added, except for a reforming zeal in combating the material and spiritual corruption of the surrounding maraboutic Sufism. The great moral (and political) influence which he exercised from his *zawiya* in the region of Fez was prolonged after his death; new branches of the order then came into being, with a remarkable vitality extending right through the 19th century. Thus there was the Bu-Zidiyya, of which Ibn 'Adjiba, prolix author and head of an active *tarika* (d. 1809), was a member. One should also mention the Yashrutiyya branch, founded by the Tunisian 'Ali al-Yashruti (d. 1891), which became especially rooted in Syria, Palestine and Jordan; his history is known to us from the compendious

Rihla ila 'l-hakk written by the master's daughter, Fatima al-Yashrutiyya.

Finally, there is the 'Alwiyya, founded in 1914 in the Darkawiyya Bu-Zidiyya tradition by Ahmad b. 'Aliwa (d. 1934). His reforming dynamism and his new presentation of Islamic esotericism—which he spread forth in his journal *al-Balagh al-djaza'iri* and in many publications—attracted numerous disciples, including a certain number of Westerners.

It is not easy to trace the contours of such movements as these, since their attachment to the Shadhili *silsila* is sometimes very loose and blurred. It often happened that a Master would be brought up in several traditions, and multiplicity of affiliations by the simple attributing of a *khirka* became a custom more and more wide-spread over the lapse of centuries. Nasir al-Dar'i, founder of the Nasiriyya, had received the double Zarruki and Djazuli intiation; Muhammad b. 'Arus, who had frequented Shadili and Kadiri masters, did not claim kinship with any well-defined *tarika*. At that time, the historic correctness and authenticity of the *silsilas* was visibly less important than the efficacious presence of a master whose charisma authenticated his mission. This rather diffuse character of the brotherhoods' affiliations is illustrated and analysed for the eastern regions by E. Geoffroy in his *Le soufisme en Egypte et en Syrie sous les derniers Mamelouks et les premiers Ottomans: orientations spirituelles et enjeux culturels*, Damascus, 1995, part 3.

The present position of the Shadhiliyya can be delineated as follows. The order is mainly represented in North Africa, where it forms, with the Kadiriyya and the Khalwatiyya the chief living Sufi school. The Shadhili branches remain equally active in Egypt and also in the Sudan. But it would be erroneous to see in the Shadhiliyya an exclusively North African order. Branches of it have in effect spread throughout almost the whole Muslim world, most certainly in Syria and the Arab Near East, but also in Turkey and the Balkans, in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, in Indonesia and as far as China.

How, then may one characterise Shadhili spirituality as it has been formed, propagated and modified in the course of the centuries? First of all, one should note its attachment to orthodoxy and its carefulness not to give any appearance of contravening either the letter or the spirit of the *Shari'a;* it is only confident submission to the Law and total obedience to the *shaikh* that the novice can grasp the nature of his relationship with God. It gives little attention to phenomena of a miraculous appearance (*karamat)*, and commands a mystical cult of sobriety (*sahw*) which is circumspect regarding the states of mystical inebriation.

In general, it tolerates the practices of music and dancing (*sama')*, but with a clear display of prudence The excesses of ceremonies involving conditions of trance amongst the 'Isawiyya and Hamdushiyya are in any case marginal phenomena, and it is likely that the respective founders of these orders did not play any role in them. The Shadhiliyya advocate an attitude of action of continual gratitude (*shukr*) and try to avoid an asceticism involving renunciation which might lead to despising part of God's blessings and beauty; the Sufi who sees nothing else but God is spiritually less perfect than the one who sees God in everything (*Lata'if al-minan*,

Cairo, 1974, 89–90). In this spirit, al-Shadhili and other great masters after him ('Ali Wafa' and Muhammad al-Hanafi) deliberately dressed themselves in an elegant fashion.

It is not an 'intellectual' order, in the sense that a greater accent is placed on practice than on doctrine. This does not mean, as some have written, that the Shadhiliyya have no structured doctrine; the Wafa'iyya branch, in particular, provoked the production of an important corpus of texts which is still poorly explored. The work of Ibn 'Arabi was moreover spread within the Shadhili milieu as elsewhere within the fabric of Sufism. Indeed, the Shadhiliyya wished to make itself an order accessible to all Muslims, at whatever level of culture they might be, but reading is recommended to those with access to it.

However, by far the most used books are the collactions of prayers and litanies. For Shadhili spirituality is seen mainly through readings made out loud and the connotation of various texts: *ahzab* composed by the founding masters (al-Shadhili and al-Mursi), collections like al-Djazuli's *Dala'il al-khayrat* and poems in honour of the Prophet (al-Busiri, author of the celebrated *Burda* ode, was a Shadhili). An important part of the popular work *al-Mafakhir al-'aliyya* is thus consecrated to *dhikr* texts. These are those prayers and litanies recited congregationally which best represent Shadhili mysticism, based on deep immersion in the state of service to God (*'ubudiyya*) in humility and on the action of grace.

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Al-Shadhili, Ahzab, Abu'l Hasan (1196–1258)

Abu'l Hasan al-Shadhili was born in Ghumara, a village near Sabta in Morocco, in 593/1196. His full name was Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali Ibn 'Abd al-Jabbar, known as al-Shadhili. His descent goes back to al-Hasan ibn 'Ali ibn Abi Talib. Abu'l-Hasan memorised the *Qur'an* while he was young. Since his youth, he had shown a desire to lead the life of a Sufi. He received his *khirqah* from Abu 'Abd-Allah H. b. Harazim (d. 633/1236), a pupil of Abu Madyan. He also received from his knowledge of the principles of the *tariqah* (path).

It may be noted that Abu'l-Hasan had travelled to Tunis where he studied Arabic grammar and morphology as well as jurisprudence and *Tafsir*, *Hadith* and theology. He became a follower of Maliki school of law.

He travelled without delay to Egypt, Iraq, Palestine, Syria and performed his pilgrimage to Makkah several times. During his travels in Iraq looking for a *qutb* (pole) he was told that he had left the *qutb* in his homeland. After that, he went back and then he met 'Abd al-Salam ibn Mashish who was identified as a *Qutb*. Later on, he was advised to travel to Africa and to live in Shadhila, hence his surname al-Shadhili.

In A.H. 642, he went to Egypt with a large number of his disciples where he used to preach here and there for a number of years before he lost his sight in A.H. 645. Finally, he died in Humaythira, a village near the Red Sea, in 656/1258.

It may be noted that among the teachers of Shadhili the most eminent were ibn Harazim (d. 633/1236) and 'Abd al-Salam ibn Mashish (d. 625/1228). His teaching was mentioned by his disciples. Among them was Abu'l-Abbas Ahmad al-Muirsi (d. 686/1287), who was considered as his successor, and Taj al-Din ibn 'Ata-Allah 'Abbas (d. 709/1309) who wrote an account of the life and sayings of both Abu'l-Hasan and Abu'l-'Abbas.

However, Shadhili left us with no written books other than his *Ahzab* and *Awrad* which are discussed in this study.

These *Ahzab* and *Awrad* are scattered in various books such as in *al-Mafakhir al-'Aliyah fi al-Ma'athir al-Shadhiliyh, Lata'if al-Minan* and in *Durrat al-Asrar*.

The term *Hizb* (plural *Ahzab*) has the real meaning of *'wird'* (litany), a collection of *adhkar* (remembrance) and supplication. In his book, *al-Mafakhir al-'Aliyah fi al-Ma'athir al-Shadhiliyh*, Ibn 'Ayyad al-Shafi'i summarises, the function of the *Ahzab* and explains as to how they should be used for both worldly affairs and those of hereafter. First of all, he begins with analysing the meaning, the real concept of *Hizb*. He says, "*al-Hizb is al-wird* (litany) that is used for the sake of worshipping God... etc." Technically, *Ahzab* are a collection of *du'a'* (supplication). They are purposely composed for contemplation, remembrance, seeking refuge from evil and for seeking knowledge, goodness and uniting hearts in God, as well.

The difference between *wird* and *hizb*, says Padwick, is that a *wird* is a litany of approach development not only for reciting in a *dervish* order, but also used by the general public. The term may be derived from the words for reaching a watering-place, or may have originated as divisions of the *Qur'an* or office of an order, or the order itself. A *wird* is generally taught orally. It may be called *hizb;* but the term *hizb* has more of a connotation of semi-magical protection. They imply guardianship and many are used to subdue hostile forces of men or nature.

> "Some would be considered real devotions by Christians; others are apparently constructed as magical formulae."

In her book *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, Schimmel shows no such difference to exist between both *wird* and *hizb*.

> "Both are formulae given by the master to his disciples to be recited after the ritual prayer or in case of special need. Many of these prayers are credited with super-natural powers and the most one is probably the *Hizb al-bahr,* attributed to Shadhili and used mainly during travel as a protective charm."

However, in his book, *bayn al-Tasawwuf wa al-Adab,* al-Juyushi tried to differentiate between *wird* and *hizb: wird* is to be recited in a specific period of time whereas *hizb* is to be recited frequently and whenever the reciter wills. But this seems to be not correctly stated because if we, for instance, examine Shadhili's *Hizb al-barr,* known as *al-Hizb al-Kabir*. (the Great *Hizab*), we find that this *Hizb* is to be recited after the *Fajr* prayer.

According to Ibn 'Ayyad al-Shafi'i these *Ahzab* did not exist in the first century of Islam, but were collected by some pious and saintly people who were interested in bringing themselves and others closer to God.

In fact, Shadhili left us some sixteen *Ahzab* among them are the following:

1. *Hizb al-Bahr* (Ocean): This *Hizb* is to be recited while crossing an ocean or sea in other to protect oneself from harm and damage from the ocean. Its function also is to prevent man from evil, enemies and to brighten hearts.
2. *Hizb al-Ayat* (Signs): This *Hizb* is to be read for devotion and brightening hearts. Shadhili used to read it sometimes with *Hizb al-Barr a*nd sometimes without it.
3. *Hizb al-Fath* (Victory) known as *Hizb al-Anwar* (lights) is to be read at dawn. Its function is to strengthen *Imam* (faith) of believing that there is no God Save Allah Muhammad is His messenger, Adam is

His viceregent, *Nuh* (Noah) is His messenger, Abraham is His *Khalil* (friend). Moses is His spokesman, Jesus in His spirit and Muhammad is His beloved.

Hizb al-Nur (Light): This *Hizb* is almost the same as *Hizb al-Fath* (victory) with a slight difference of not having the same verses when they both start an end. It contains two *Qur'anic* verses. Devotion seems to be its main purpose.

5. *Hizb al-Latif* (Protector): It is to be recited when there are difficulties and hardships. It begins with *Surat* 'al-Fatihah' (the Opening). Its function is to protect from evil.

6. *Hizb al-Ikhfa* (Hiding): This *Hizb* is to be read during night and day in order to help prevent evil and harm from enemies and from illness.

The above-mentioned are some of the Shadhili's *Ahzab* and their functions. As far as *Hizb al-Barr* (land) is concerned, it begins with the following *Qur'anic* verse:

> "When those come to you who believe in Our Signs, say peace be on you: your Lord has inscribed for Himself (the rule of) Mercy: verily, if one did evil in ignorance and thereafter repented and amended (his conduct): He is Oft-forgiving, Most Merciful."

This *Ayah* (verse) is call *Ayat al-Istiftah* (opening). Shadhili begins his *Hizb* with it because it gives hope to those who had committed sins and wanted to repent. It also indicates the authority given to the Prophet for asking forgiveness for those who repent after they wronged themselves and ask for forgiveness. The Qur'an says:

> "And if, when they had wronged themselves, they had but come unto three and asked forgiveness of Allah and the Apostle had asked Forgiveness for them, they would have found Allah instead Forgiving, Merciful."

His saying:

> "O God, you know that I am known is ignorance while you are described by knowledge,"

gives the following inspirations:

1. Man's acknowledgement of his being ignorant.
2. God has knowledge of everything.
3. God's Mercy can cover everything.
4. God has power above everything.
5. Man should seek help from God.

As far as *Alif-Lam-Ra, Kaf-Ha-ya-'Ayn-Sad, Ha-Mim-Sin-Qaf,* are concerned, they might be considered here *Fawatih al-Suwar* (openings of *surahs*). However, numerous interpretations have been undertaken about these particles that occur in the beginning of some *Qur'anic surahs*. Ibn 'Abbas says about *Kaf-Ha Ya-'Ayn-Sad* that *Kaf* is from *Kafi* (protector), *Ha* is from *Hadi* (Guide), *Ya* is from *Hakim* (wise), *'Ayn* is from *'Alim* (knowing) and *Sad* is from *Sadiq* (Truthful). Thus, Shadhili is using them here for protection and guidance. By his saying:

> "Make us slaves of you at all times in all situations and teach us wisdom with which we become perfect in both life and death."

Shadhili wants to be slave to God at all times in all situations. As a result, he asks of *'ilm* (wisdom, knowledge) with which someone can be pure and perfect. As a matter of fact, he does not ask for any knowledge, but for

the useful one which leads to perfection and happiness. Shadhili refers to these *Qur'anic* verses:

> "Observe your duty to God. For it is God that teaches you."

Khamis says:

> "For any to whom God gives not light."

In tradition, the Prophet himself used to ask for useful knowledge and to take refuge from harmful knowledge, because knowledge can be helpful while, at the same time, it can destroy. Says Shadhili that knowledge to hearts is like money in hands. They can be used in both ways, useful and harmful.

Finally, *Hazb al-Barr* is a famous *hizb* and an influential one among Shadhili's *Ahzab*. Containing in very deep meanings, spiritually and intellectually, it is written in a very concrete and graphic style. According to Zaki Mubarak, *Hizb al-Barr* points to profound and secret meanings that can only be understood by the greatest ones among wise people.

The Qadiriyah (Kunta Hajji) Tariqah in North-East Caucasus (1850–1987): The North-Eastern part of the Caucasus, that is, the present-day Checheno-Ingush and Daghestan republics, is probably one of the last areas of the Muslim world to be penetrated by the Sufi brotherhoods. Today two *tariqahs* are represented there, the Naqshbandiyah, which predominates in Daghestan and Eastern Chechnia and the Qadiriyah, centred in the Chechen and Ingush territories.

The history of the Naqshbandiyah in the Caucasus is fairly well-known. It penetrated in Northern Daghestan for the first time in late 18th century from Turkestan and for the second time in early 19th century to the Southern Daghestan from the Shirwan and India. The Naqshbandi *murids* led the two major holy warns against the Russian invaders—in 1785–1791 under the conduct of Imam Mansur and in 1824–1859 under the three Daghestani *mams*. Ghazi Muhammad, Hamzat Beg and Shamil.

By contrast, the shorter but curious history of the Caucasian Qadiris is very little known. The *tariqah* appeared in North Caucasus only around 1850, at a time when the great resistance movement led by Shamil was already doomed and when the Russians—who at that time had in North Caucasus a half-a-million strong army—appeared as unavoidable victors.

In 1848 or 1849, a Daghestani shepherd, Unta Kishiev, left the Caucasus for a pilgrimage to Mecca. He was a Turk (Kumyk) native from the village of Inkho in Northern Daghestan, but lived in the Chechen village of Eliskhan-Yurt in the district of Gudermes and spoke Chechen. On his way back home, he stopped in Baghdad and visited the tomb of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qadir Gilani, the founder of the Qadiriyah brotherhood. According to a Chechen legend, while at the tomb Kunta Hajji was initiated into the order by the founder himself.

Back to his country he started his missionary activity, but in 1858, he had to leave Caucasus for a second *Hajj* to Mecca because of the hostility of Imam Shamil (who then was fighting his last battles against the Russians) towards his pacifist sermons. Kanta Hajji Kishiev returned to the Caucasus only after Shamil's final defeat. All the North

Cauasus and particularly the mountainous areas of Chechnia and of Upper Daghestan lay in ruins. After a fierce thirty-five-years long war, the human losses were appalling, especially among Chechens who have been the staunchest fighters of the Naqshbandi *Jihad.* Kunta Hajji preached non-resistance and acceptance of Infidel domination—slogans which became quite popular among the war-weary mountaineers.

The new brotherhood was known in the Caucasus under the name of 'Kunta Haji *tariqah'*. In the beginning, until 1863 at least, says one Russian observer, its preachings had an ascetic and mystical character quite detached from, worldly problems. It fitted well in the atmosphere of profound pessimism and of 'end of the world' which prevailed in North Caucasus following the Russian victory. The new *tariqah* practised the loud *dhikr* (*dhikr al-jahriyah*) as opposed to the silent *dhikr* of the Naqshbandis, with ecstatic dances, songs and later, the use of musical instruments, drums and violins. It enjoyed an immediate and spectacular success especially in Chechnia and in the high mountains of Avaristan—areas where the Russian pressure had been particularly hard. From western Chechnia, the Qadiri adepts penetrated into Ingushetia, which had remained until then a nearly entire animist territory and converted the Ingush to Islam. The last Ingush animist village became Muslim in 1870.

However, very rapidly, by 1863, the adepts of the Kunta Hajji *tariqah* were faced with the same political-religious dilemma which had confronted the leaders of the Naqshbandiyah in the early 1820s. Is it possible for a mystical to travel along the path leading to God without joining the *jihad* against Infidels when these dominate a Muslim land? In the Northern Caucasus the Russian presence was oppressive though they never attempted to mix-up with the religious life of the mountaineers and all Christian missionary activity was forbidden in Chechnia and Daghestan.

The majority of Kunta Hajji's adepts were Naqshbandi *murids,* former warriors of Shamil. Their spirit has not been broken by the defeat. They were still conscious of their fighting qualities. The new *tariqah* was a tightly known organisation by an iron discipline and an absolute devotion to their *murshid* (preceptor). Disappointed by the remorseless harshness of the Russian administration, the Qadiris began to switch from the 'non-resistance to evil' to the idea of resistance to the rule of the Infidels.

In January 1864, Russian authorities alarmed by the fast-growing number of Qadiri *murids* (disciples) and convinced that the *tariqah* was preparing a new uprising, arrested Kunta Hajji and several dozens of his *murids.* The *murshid* was not tried but simply declared insane and jailed in a prison-hospital in Central Russia where he died in May 1867. His companions were accused of planning a 'rebellion' against the Russian rule and deported to hard-labour camps in Siberia.

On 18th January, 1864, some four thousand *murids* who gathered in the Chechen village of Shah were attacked by Russian troops and dispersed by gunfire. More than 200 of them were killed, a thousand were wounded and hundreds were arrested and deported to Siberia. The Kunta Hajji brotherhood was not officially outlawed, but the loud *dhikr* was strictly prohibited and those

who were convinced of practising it were arrested and deported to Siberia.

In 1865, took place a massive migration of Chechens and Ingushes to the Ottoman territory. Some five thousand families (a minimum of 30,000 persons), mostly Qadiri adepts, left North Caucasus. But in spite of all that the expansion of the *tariqah* was not slowed down. It continued to expand westward into Ossetia and even the Kabarda and eastward in the direction of Daghestan. Kunta Hajji did not leave and direct lineage. After his deportation the spiritual unity of the brotherhood was maintained for a short while by his mother. After his death the order split into four groups (called *wirds* in Russian literature) with his former *vekils* at their head who became their hereditary *murshids*. They were:

(a) Bammat Giray Hajji Mitaev from the village of Avtura in the Chechen territory. At the beginning the *wird* was limited to one Chechen clan (the 'Gunoy' clan), but later on it extended to the entire Chechen nation. The leadership is hereditary in the Mitaev family.

(b) Batar Hajji Belhoroev, from the village of Surhohi in the district of Nazran in Ingush territory. At first limited to some Ingush clans, the brotherhood gained adeps in the Chechen territory and in Northern Daghestan. From the start, the first *murshid* inculcated in his followers a spirit of radical puritanism. Members of the Batal Hajji brotherhood were not supposed to marry outside their *wird* and were even forbidden to share a meal with the non-initiated. The principles of *Jihad* were strictly observed. During the century-long life of this order, nearly all its *murshids* and a large number of its adepts met violent death at the hands of Russian (Tsarist or Soviet) authorities.

The leadership of the Batal Hajji is still in the Belhoroy(ev) family.

(c) Chim Mirza, from the village of Mayrtup in the district of Shali in Chechen territory. The adepts of Chim Mirza use drums during their *dhikr* and are sometimes called 'Drummers' (*Barabanshchiki*) in Russian and Soviet literature.

(d) The 'regular' brotherhood of Kunta Hajji known in Russian and Soviet literature as 'Kunta Haji,' was directed after the death of its founder by six of his former vekils—two were Daghestanis Umar Hajji (a Kumyk) and Rajab Dibir Aliev of Tsumada (an Avar); two were Chechens: Qahraman Hajji of Shali and Yusuf Hajji of Mahkema in the district of Vedeno; and two Ingushes: Husayn Hajji of Plievo and Gharabig Hajji of Nazyr-Korta in the district of Nazran. The *tariqah* covered the territory of the present-day Checheno-Ingush republic and of North Eastern Daghestan.

The Struggle for Survival: In 1877/78 during the Russian-Ottoman war a great uprising against Russian domination took place in Daghestan-Chechnia. It was led by the feudal nobility but both Caucasian *tariqahs*—the Naqshbandiyah and the Qadiriyah— joined the revolt and played a significant role in it. In the Chechen country most of the insurgents were Qadiri adepts.

The uprising was crushed down in 1878 and the repression that followed was extremely

harsh. Those of the leaders who had not been killed in the battle were hanged and thousands of *murids* were deported to Siberia, others emigrated to the Ottoman Empire.

Nevertheless, the defeat of 1878, far from marking the decline of Sufism in North Caucasus, served as a starting-point for its new and spectacular expansion. But after 1878, the nature of North Caucasian Sufism changed. The 'Infidel' ruler being too powerful, the idea of an open *Jihad* was momentarily discarded and both the *tariqahs*, particularly the Qadiriyah, acquired the character of underground secret organisations which provided them considerable prestige. 'Between 1878 and the 1917 Revolution,' writes a Soviet historian, A. Salamov, "almost all of the adult population of Chicane-Ingushetia belonged to a Sufi brotherhood."

By a curious historical paradox, the Sufi brotherhoods had practically absorbed the official Islamic establishment in Daghestan and Chechnia (nearly all Chechen '*Ulama*' were members of a *tariqah*) had identified themselves with the national resistance to the Russian rule.

Such was the situation in North Caucsus when the October Revolution and the Civil War took place. It took there a specific character different from all other Muslim areas of the former Russian Empire: Middle Volga, Transcaucasia Turkestan, or the Kazakh Steppes where the leadership of the national movement was assumed by the liberal or moderate left-wing political parties. The moderate leaders caught in the maelstrom of the Revolution, for which they were badly prepared, tried in vain to manoeuvre between the Bolsheviks and the White counter-revolutionaries. And in the end they failed and collapsed, the majority were forced to emigrate or to join (in 1920) the winning side, the Bolsheviks.

Contrarily, the North Caucasian conservatives, led by Sufi *tariqah*, never hesitated, they fought back first the White Armies (1918 to 1920), then after their victory, the Bolsheviks (1920–1921). It were the Naqshbandis who led the last desperate revolt against the Bolsheviks. The nominal head of the 1920–21 revolt was Sa'id Beg, Shamil's grandson, but the effective leader was the Naqshbandi.'s *murshid*, Imam Najm al-Din Gotsinski. The revolt was finally quelled only in 1925 when the Bolsheviks captured and executed Najm al-Din Gotsinski. and the few surviving Naqshbandi leaders. It was followed by a ferocious repression, but, as after Shamil's defeat, the military defeat did not lead to the decline of the Sufi orders. In particular, the Qadiriyah's influence was growing fast.

According to Soviet official sources, in the mid-1920s, there were in Daghestan alone some 61,000 adepts, mostly Qadiris, out of a total population of 400,000.

The Qadiris did not participate massively in 1920/21 rebellion. During the first years of the Soviet regime some of their leaders played even a political role. Shaykh 'Ali Mitaev, son and successor of the founder of the Bammat Giray Hajji *wird* which number some ten thousand adepts in 1920, was even for a short while (1920–1923) one of the leading members, of the Chechen Revolutionary Committee set up by the Bolsheviks. Several Chechen Communist leaders were secret Qadiri

adepts. Elderkhanov, president of the Chechen Central Executive Committee, did not hide his sympathy for the brotherhood.

The curious, unnatural cooperation between the Sufis and the new godless regime did not last. In late 1923, a violent anti-religious campaign was launched in North Caucasus. All the *Shari'at* courts were abolished, many mosques closed and *waqf* properties taken over by the Soviet State. At the same time the Red Army began to disarm the Chechen population. In April 1924, Shaykh 'Ali Mitaev was arrested as 'counter-revolutionary; he was tried in 1927 and executed. In 1925, Elderkhanov and many leading Chechen communists suspected of sympathy toward the underground and now-outlawed Qadiri brotherhood were arrested and liquidated.

The year 1928 marked the beginning of the massive frontal offensive against Islam in North Caucasus (and elsewhere in the Muslim territories of the USSR as well). It was accompanied by an attempt to liquidate what Soviet authorities called the 'celerical leadership and their followers,' in other terms the two Sufi brotherhoods still active in Chechnia and Daghestan. It provoked a new wave of rebellions with Naqshbandiyah and different branches of the Kunta Hajji fighting side by side. It started in autumn 1929 and the guerrilla fighting went on until 1936 when it was quelled momentarily. At this time the Qadiris played leading role, especially the Batal Hajji group. Nine sons and seven grandsons of Batal Hajji Belhoroev, the founder of the order, ware killed in battle or executed by the Soviets.

One may ask what were the political and military goals of the rebels who are fought for nearly fifteen years without any external help. Soviet sources call the Sufi adepts 'reactionaries,' 'counter revolutionaries' and even 'agents' of various imperialis—Turkish, British and after 1933, Japanese and German. In reality, the rebels fought without any precise political goal in mind, simply because they could not submit to the new Soviet regime with its old Russian imperialism aggravated by its new militant Marxist atheism.

Deghestan and Chechnia-Ingushetia remained until the outbreak of war in 1941 an area of insecurity. Six months before the beginning of the German attack, in winter 1940, a major revolt took place again in Chechnia. Soviet historians maintain that it was manipulated by German agents, which is certainly contrary to historical reality. In February 1942, when German vanguards were still a thousand miles away from Chechnia, another major revolt broke out which was a large popular movement led by former members of the Communist Party. The Germans never reached Chechnia and the rebellion was crushed by the Red Army. The entire Chechen and Ingush population was rounded up in February 1944 and deported to Siberia and Kazakhstan. It is estimated that out of a total of some half a million deported mountaineers (including all Chechen and Ingush officers and soldiers serving in the Red Army) a quarter perished during the transportation to the camps.

The Sufi brotherhoods took an active part in the revolt and, because of their better organisation, succeeded to hold on longer than

other rebels. Their guerrillas led by Quraysh Belhoroy, the last surviving son of the founder of Batal Hajji, lasted in the higher mountains of Ingushetia and Eastern Ossetia until 1947 when the Shaykh was finally captured by the Soviet troop and deported.

Altogether, over one million of North Caucasian Muslims were deported. But the deportation had an unexpected and paradoxical result: far from destroying the Sufi brotherhoods, it actually promoted their expansion. For, the deported mountaineers deprived of everything. Sufi order, particularly the Qadiriyah, became not only the very symbol of their nationhood but also very efficient organisers ensuring their survival. The vitality of the Qadiris during the long years of deportation (1943–1955) in Siberia and Kazakhstan is revealed by the birth, around 1950, somewhere in Kazakhstan of the most radical and puritan Qadiri branch, the Vis (for Uwais) Hajj *tariqah* founded by a Chechen Vis Hajji Zagev, which soon became the most popular of all the Qadiri branches and gained adepts outside the Caucasian community among the Turkestanis: Kazakhs, Uzbeks and Karakalpaks.

After Stalin's death, the deported Caucasians were absolved of the crime of 'collective treason' and allowed to return to their mountainous homeland, but their social structure has been deeply modified. The clan system in particular, which has been before 1943 the verb basis of Chechen and Ingush communities, has been, if not completely destroyed, at least seriously disturbed. Moreover, during the deportation all the mosques of Chechen-Ingush republic had been destroyed. More than ever before the *tariqah*, especially the Qadiriyah, appeared as the only centre around which the surviving mountaineers could organise their national and spiritual life.

The Situation after Deportation: After their return to the Caucasus, Sufi brotherhood, particularly the Qadiris, were once again subjected to a systematic relentless pressure about which the Soviet press provides abundant information. Today, the *tariqahs* have no legal existence; they are underground, unlawful organisations and their adepts are hunted down as 'reactionaries,' 'anti-socialist elements' and even as 'criminals.'

They are accused of immutable hostility towards Soviet regime, of economic sabotage, banditism, terrorism and even 'armed rebellion,' especially in the case of the Ingush *Batal Haji* often called in Soviet press 'Gangster brotherhood.' Several important trials of Sufi adepts took place in Groznyi, the capital of Chechen-Ingush republic and in Nazran, in Ingush territory, in 1958, 1963 and 1964. The accused were tried for 'banditism.' The penalty was death.

All Sufi brotherhoods being outlawed and because of their strict clandestinely, our knowledge of te inner life of the Caucasian Qasdiris is necessarily incomplete, based mainly on Soviet sources which are biased by their extreme hostility.

The first and most paradoxical fact is the new geographical expansion of the Qadiriyah after World War II. Its centre is still today in the Checheno-Ingush republic, but it is fast spreading eastward to Northern Daghestan and westward to the Muslim part of Ossetia and Kabarda. Farther west it had planted its roots

among the two Turkic small nationalities which have been deported in 1943 together with Chechens and Ingushes: the Balkars, living in the high mountainous area of Kabarda and the Karachais, who live in the piedmont territory of the Karachais-Cherkess Autonomous Region. The Qadiris have also strong group sin southern Kazakhstan and in northern Kinghizia. In these two areas the adepts are either native Kazakhs, Uzbeks and Kirghiz or North Caucasians who stayed in Central Asia after 1958.

The present-day number of adepts is impossible to estimate, but we can make some approximate estimates. In the beginning of 1926, in spite of the human losses of the Civil War, there were 70,000 Sufi adepts in the Checheno-Ingush republic, 60,000 of them were Chechens (19% of the population) and 10,000 were Ingushes (13% of the population).

In 1930, after the heavy purges of 'clerical elements,' there were in the Checheno-Ingush republic, according to Oshaev, a Chechen historian, 10,000 adepts of the Bammat Giray Hajji and 800 of the Batal Hajji brotherhoods alone completely clandestine at that time. According to another Soviet expert, in 1974 "more than half of the believers of the Checheno-Ingush republic were adepts of a Sufi brotherhood," which corresponds to a minimum of 62,000 adepts, mostly Qadiris in the Checheno-Ingush republic alone, to which may be added at least 10,000 Qadiris in Daghestan, Kabarda, Ossetia and in various republics of Central Asia. A total of 70,000 Qadiris in the whole USSR may be considered as a reasonable figure. Thus, the *tariqah* has succeeded to survive seventy years of hard anti-religious pressure, several uprisings followed by severe repression and, between 1943 and 1958, an authentic attempted genocide.

Today, all the four traditional Qadiri groups, formed after the deportation and the death of Kunta Hajji Kishiev ('Bammat Giray,' 'Batal Hajji,' 'Chim Mirza' and the original Kunta Hajji) are active and to them was added a new group formed during the deportation in the 1950s, the 'Vis Haji,' today probably the most numerous, the leadership of the groups is hereditary; it is still in the families of the founders, Mitaev (for the Bammat Giray), Belhoroy (for the Batal Hajji), Chim Mirza and Zagiev (for Vis Hajji).

The leaders of the groups do not claim to be *murshids*, head of a new *tariqah* but simply *vekils* of Kunta Haji. The four "*wirds*", as they are called in Soviet literature, are distinguished by their organisation, ritual differences and their political attitudes towards the Soviet regime. All the Qadiris practise the loud *dhikr* with songs and dances. Chim Mirza use drums and Vis Haji violins. All *wirds* are well-structured hierarchies. The head of the brotherhood has *vekils* or delegates of his own who control and direct the 'elders' (in Chechen *khamada*) who are the brotherhood's representatives at the district level. Under the *tkhamada* the brotherhood is represented at the village level by a special category of executives (*turkhi* in Chechen).

According to Soviet sources, Batal Hajji are distinguished by their puritanism, their secrecy (they inter-marry only within their group) and their strong anti-communism attitude. In spite of their differences, all Qadiri groups are closely tied by a strong common

sense of purpose. Moreover, a new trend has appeared among them during the recent years: the attempt to 'federate' different *wirds* under a collective leadership, each group maintainng its characteristics while accepting collegial decisions of important political concern. The leading role is played today by the most dynamic and the most anti-Soviet of the *wirds*, the Vis Hajji.

The Qadiri groups are active in several spiritual and educational fields:

(i) They control numerous 'holy places,' generally *mazars* (tombs) of Sufi saints (most of them having fought Russian invaders) which are still visited by a number of pilgrims. In all North Caucasus and especially in the Checheno-Ingush country, where most of the mosques have been destroyed in 1942–44, the holy places represent real centres of religious life.

(ii) Sufi adepts run numerous clandestine religious schools where Arabic and elementary knowledge of Islamic theology are taught to children and adults.

(iii) Above all, they conduct a vigorous and constant missionary work among the population.

(iv) They publish underground works of purely religious character.

Soviet sources accuse all Sufi brotherhoods, in particular the Qaddiris, of 'conspiratorial political activity.' Can we accept these malevolent assertions? It is true that to such dedicated believers as the adepts of a *tariqah*, the entire Soviet system with its huge (but not very efficient) anti-religious propaganda machinery appears as godless and therefore evil. But it is difficult to accept at their face value various Soviet accusations launched from time to time against the Sufis, especially against the Qadiris, like criminal activity, banditry, armed resistance to Soviet justice, manslaughter, etc. I believe that for Soviet authorities the real social and political 'danger' of Sufism lies elsewhere:

(1) Militant religious radicalism represented by the Sufi orders, sanctifying the traditional Muslim way of life, presents the greatest obstacle to the assimilation (the so-called 'sovietisation') of the Muslims by the Russians;

(2) The Sufi brotherhoods are the breeding ground of the most radical form of nationalism and of the anti-Russian and anti-communist feelings of the Muslim population. Sufis are denounced for encouraging believers and unbelievers alike to isolate themselves from the 'Infidels,' to refuse to learn Russian and to avoid any contact with the Soviet public organisations dominated by Russian, such as the Communist Party or the Komsomol;

(3) Less frequently, Sufi brotherhoods are accused of being channels through which 'subversive' foreign propaganda (radio broadcasts, literature) reaches the Muslim territories of the Soviet Union;

(4) Sufi (especially the Qadiri) communities are closed societies which live outside the Soviet establishment. In the North Caucasus,

> Sufi rural communities are generally more prosperous than the official Kolkhoz. I believe that the Sufi brothers are the main target of Soviet propaganda because they provide eloquent testimony that large, well-organised communities with their own rules and discipline and their own institutions can survive and expand entirely outside Soviet political control. By their very survival Sufi brotherhoods demonstrate that even the most rigorous religious group can resist, indeed prosper, in spite of Soviet pressure, without losing a single element of its creed, ritual or way of life. Sufism is an implied promise to Soviet Muslims that the final historical competition between Islam and Marxism will be decided in favour of Islam.

What could be the future of Sufism and especially of its most puritan form, the Qadiri, in Soviet Union? It depends mainly on Moscow's religious policy. The vitality of the *tariqah* depends to an important extent on the lack of vitality of the official Muslim Establishments. Sufism thrives on adversity. As long as official Islam remains a mere facade Sufism will continue to play an important role in the life of the believers. To weaken militant Sufism, Soviet authorities must give a new life to the official Islamic Estblishment, which means to open more mosques and more religious schools and lessen anti-Islamic propaganda. For the time being, however, there is absolutely no evidence that Moscow is considering any change in its anti-religious strategy.

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Al-Sha'rani, 'Abd al-Wahhab b. Ahmad (1492–1565)

'Abd al-Wahhab b. Ahmad Al-Sha'rani (897–973/1492–1565), was an Egyptian Sufi, scholar, historian of Sufism, and a prolific writer about many religious subjects during a period otherwise poor in distinguished figures of learning and piety in the Arab lands.

The main sources for al-Sha'rani's life are his own writings, which must, of course, be used with caution. This is especially true of *Lata'if al-minan*, his lengthy account of the graces bestowed upon him by God, a work that beside recounting miraculous events, also includes many autobiographical elements. Paradoxically, al-Sha'rani's volumionus literary output obscures our view of him, because most of his biographers, such as his disciple 'Abd al-Ra'uf al-Munawi, drew heavily on his works, adding little new information. An important biography, *al-Manakib al-kubra*, was written in 1109/1697 by Muhammad Muhyi 'l-Din al-Malidji, an affiliate of the al-Sha'rani order (Cairo 1350/1932).

Origins and life: According to al-Sha'rani, his ancestor five generations back was Musa Abu 'Imran, son of the sultan of Tlemcen in Noryh Africa. Musa was a follower of Shaikh Abu Madyan Shu'ayb (d. 594/1197), the founder of the Shadhili Sufi tradition, who sent him to Egypt. Finally, the family settled in the village of Sakiyat Abu Sha'ra in the Minufiyya province, hence the *nisba.* Al-Sha'rani came to Cairo at the age of twelve and settled in the Bab al-Sha'riyya quarter and was raised in a Sufi milieu. He bacame a student of Cairo's best-known *'ulama'* of all the *madhahib*, not only his own Shafi'i one, and a follower of distinguished orthodox Sufis.

Yet, his spiritual director was an illiterate palm-leaf plaiter (hence, his *lakab*), named 'Ali al-Khawwas al-Burullusi (d. 939/1532–3). Al-Sha'rani became a successful and wealthy man and a popular writer thanks to his attractive personality, erudition and readable style. Inevitably, his popularity made him many enemies and rivals, the most prominent of whom was M'uhammad b. Ahmad b. Karim al-Din (d. 985/1578), the leader of the (then) unorthodox Khalwati *tarika*, but he claimed to have had personal contacts with members of the ruling class, from the pashas, the Ottoman governors of Egypt, down.

He died on 12 Djumada I 973/5 December 1565, and was buried in the *zawiya*, which had been built for him. His son 'Abd al-Rahim (d. 1011/1608) succeeded as the head of the *zawiya* and the *tarika*, although he did not have his father's personality and ability. Yet, the *tarika* survived into the 19th century. Ewliya Celebi mentions al-Sha'rani's *mawlid* in the second half of the 11th/17th century. The *tarika* is mentioned by al-Djabarti and by E.W. Lane, but not by 'Ali Basha Mubarak, whose *al-Khitat al-tawfikiyya al-djadida* is a major source for Egyptian Sufism in the late 19th century, nor by 20th-century sources and authorities on the subject.

His Sufism: Al-Sha'rani represents the orthodox, middle-of-the road, only moderately ascetic, and non-political brand of Egyptian Sufism. He was influenced by Shadhili ethics and literature, but did not identify with that *tarika*, since he considered it too aristocratic. Socially, he was associated with the Ahmadiyya or Badawiyya, the *tarika* of Sidi Ahmad al-Badawi (d. 675/1276), whom he venerated, but he fiercely attacked the antimony and vulgar Ahmadis and other similar orders for their 'excesses', their disregard of the *Shari'a* and lack of respect for the *'ulama'*. Likewise, al-Sha'rani criticises the Khalwatiyya, popular at that time among the Turikish soldiers, attacking its principle of *khalwa*, solitary retreat of the adherents, as causing hallucinations and not true religious experience. He never states his own *tarika* affiliation, and identifies generally with the *tarik al-kawm*, i.e. the orthodox way of al-Djunayd. His initiation into 26 *tarikas* seems to have been merely ceremonial or for the sake of obtaining *baraka*.

As a historian of Sufism (he compiled collections of *tabakat* containing lives and sayings of Sufis) and an apologist for it, al-Sha'rani insists that genuine Sufis have never contravened the *Shari'a* in word or deed, and if it seems otherwise, it is only because of a misunderstanding, misinterpretation, ignorance of the Sufi terminology, or interpolation by enemies. In this way, al-Sha'rani chose to defend the orthodoxy of the great mystic Muhyi 'l-Din Ibn al-'Arabi, whose ideas he epitomises in his *al-Yawakit wa 'l-djawahir*, rendering the mystic's complicated theories in a simplified way.

His fikh: In his *al-Mizan al-Kubra*, al-Sha'rani expounds a theory based on Sufi assumptions that aims at the unification of the four *madhahib*, or at least their equality and the need to narrow the gaps between them. He believed that there were no real differences between the founders of the *madhahib*, in contra-distinction to the opinions held by their narrow-minded imitators (*mukallidun*). The founders were *awliya'* and thus, had access to the Source of the Law (*'ayn al-Shari'a* whence they derived the precepts of religion. According to him, there is only one *Shari'a*, and it has two standards—strict (*azima*) for those who are resolute in their religion, and lenient (*rukhsa*) for those who are weak. Generally, al-Sha'rani criticised the *fukaha'* for troubling the common people with the finer points of jurisprudence, of little relevance to the essentials of Islam.

His social ideas: His weaknesses and inconsistencies notwithstanding, al-Sha'rani had a feeling for the essentials in religion. He also had a genuine empathy for the weak and under-privileged elements of society, such as

fellaheen, labourers, and women. He paid particular attention to the relations of Sufis with members of the ruling class and wrote a treatise advising *'ulama'* and *fakirs* how to get along with *amirs*. His criticism of the rulers' injustice in general and the Ottoman rulers of Egypt in particular, is typically circumspect, but he hints at the date 923/1517, the year of the Ottoman conquest, as a turning point for the worse, and elsewhere makes a hostile remark about the *kanun*, the Ottoman administrative law.

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M. WINTER

Al-Shawi (d. 1605)

Al-Shawi (*nisba* from Shawiya, Abu 'l-'Abbas Ahmad Muhammad, one of the most popular saints (*sayyid*) of Fas died there on 26 Muharram 1014/13 June 1605, and was buried in the *zawiya* which still bears his name, in the al-Siyadi quarter. Many notices of him are given by the Moroccan hagiographers and a collection of his *manakib* was made by the famous Abu al-Salam at-Kadiri (1058–1110/1648–98), entitled *Mu'tamad al-rawi fi manakib wali Allah sayyidi Ahmad al-Shawi*.

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EB

Sheikh Sherep

Sheikh Sherep (Sheref) was an ancestor of the Khojas of Nokhur (a sub-division of the Khoja tribe) near the village of Nokhur, in the Akharden district of the Ashkhabad region. Another *mazar* of sheikh Sherep is in Urgench, Uzbek SSR.

The *mazar* of Khojagan Baba, another ancestor of the Khojas, on the Murghab river in the district of Takhta Bazar.

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Al-Shiraj, Sadr al-Din (1572–1641)

Despite his reaction against Muslim Neo-Platonism in the name of a higher wisdom with roots both in Greece and the East, al-Suhrawardi never questioned the right of reason to probe the deepest religious mysteries. This right had been questioned by the Traditionist or conservative theologians, the jurists, many *Sufis* and the masses at large. The importance of al-Suhrawardi in the history of post-Avicennian thought lay in his vindication of the unity of religious and metaphysical truth and the duty of the conscientious searcher to seek truth wherever it can be found: in Greek philosophy, in ancient Persian thought, in Muslim Neo-Platonism and in *Sufism.*

The Ishraqi current which al-Suhrawardi unleashed continued to swell, particularly in Shi'ite circles during the Safawid period in Persia. The founder of the Safawid dynasty, Shah Isma'il (1500–1524), who claimed descent from a *Sufi* order going back to the thirteenth century, undertook to enforce the Shi'ite creed throughout the whole of Persia in a determined manner. As a consequences, interest in philosophy and theology, which had declined during the Mongol period, now revived, especially during the regin of Shah 'Abbas (1588–1629).

Numerous scholars flourished during this period, of whom Mir Damad (d. 1631) and Baha' al-Din 'Amili (d. 1621) are note-worthy. Both were teachers of the most illustrious philosopher of the Safawid period, Sadr al-Din al-Shirazi (d. 1641), "unanimously acclaimed as the greatest philosopher of modern times in Persia."

Born in Shiraz in 1572, al-Shirazi, more commonly referred to as Mulla Sadra, moved to isfahan, an important cultural center of the period, and continued his studies with Mir Damad as well as Mir Abu'l-Qasim Fendereski (d. 1640). Eventually he returned to Shiraz to assume a teaching position at a religious school (*madrasa*) founded by the governor of the province of Fars. It is said that he made the pilgrimage to Mecca on foot seven times and died at Basra on his way from the seventh in 1641.

In addition to numerous commentaries on *Hikmat al-Ishraq* of al-Suhrawardi, on *al-Hidayah fi'l Hikmah* of Athir al-din al-Abhari, on parts of Ibn Sina'a *al-Shifa'*, he wrote many original works. Among those which have come down to us are treatises on *Creation in Time* (*Hudith*), *on Resurrection* (*al-Hashr*), on the *Attribution of Being to Essence,* on *Predestination and Fee Will,* as well as *Kitab al-Masha'ir, Kitab Kasr Asnam al-Jahiliyah.* But there is no doubt that his major work is the mounmental *Kitab al-Hikmah al-Muta'aliyah* (*Transcen dental Wisdom*), also

called *Kitab al-Asfar al-Ara'ah* (*Four Journeys*). This work may be described as the *summa philosophie* of al-Shirazi since it embodies the substance of many of his own shorter treatises as well as that o post-Avicennia thought in general.

In the introduction to this work, al-Shirazi comments in melancholy terms on the plight of philosophy in his day and the public's general departure from its study. Having applied himself to its study, he became convinced that ancient philosophy, conjoined to revealed truth as imparted to the prophets and sages, was the highest expression of truth. Too sullen to express his ideas in writing, he cut himself of from the world for a long time and withdrew into himself until his 'heart caught fire', as he puts it, 'and the light of the divine world shone forth upon me... and I was able to unravel mysteries which I had not previously suspected.' As a result, he ws able to apprehend intuitively what he had originally learned discurrsively, as well as well as a lot more. By degrees, he realized that he was duty-bound to impart to others what he had been so privileged to receive as a grace from God. The result was this voluminous work, which he called the 'four journeys' (*al-Asfar al-Arba'ah*) of the soul from the Creation (*al-Khalq*) to the Supreme Reality (*al-haqq*), then to Reality back to Creation, and finally to Reality as manifested in Creation.

The conception of the divisions of philosophy outlined in this work is essentially Avicenian. Philosophy has two such main divisions; the one theoretical, aimed at the knowledge of things as they really are; the other practical, aimed at attaining those perfections to which the Soul is fitted. The consummation of the first activity is the attainment of the ultimate goal of all theoretical pursuits, namely, duplicating or reflecting the intelligible world, whereby the Soul becomes an intelligible world of its own, as al-Farabi and Ibn Sina has argued.

The consummation of the second is approximation to God, through a kind of *imitatio Dei* which makes the Soul worthy o such a privilege. The identity of the aims of philosophy and dogma on this view is complete, and the author cites various kornic verses, prophetic Traditions, and sayings of the first Shi'ite *Imam*, 'Ali in support of this thesis. Nowhere does he express the type of reservations or qualifications which Sunite writers on theological questions felt compelled to express when it came to the relationship of philosophy and dogma. Like al-Suhrawardi, alShirazi believed in the unity of truth transmitted in an unbroken chain from Adam down to Abraham, the Greeks, the *Sufis* of Islam, and the philosophers.

In another treatise he describes at length how Seth and Hermes (corresponding to the koranic Idris and the biblical Enoch) were responsible for spreading the study of wisdom (*al-hikmah*) throughout the world. The Greeks, who were originally star worshippers, according to him, were instructed in theology and the science of unity by Abraham. Of their ancient philosophers, he distinguishes between two groups associated with two different traditions: one initiated by Thales of Miletus and culminating in Socrates and Plato; the other initiated by Thales of Miletus and culminating in Socrates and Plato; the other initiated by Pythagoras, who received insturction in wisdom from Solomon, whom

he met in Egypt, as well as from the Egyptian priests. The pillars of wisdom in Greece, according to al-Shiazi, were Empedoles, Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle. Plotinus (al-Shaykh al-Yunani) is frequently referred to as a great figure.

Although the dissemination of wisdom through all lands is ascribed to those Greek sages, al-Shirazi often states, in the manner of most Muslim historians of philosophy from al-Sijistani to al-Shahrazuri, that those sages received the 'light of wisdom' from the 'beacon of prophecy' in the first instance. This explains their total agreement with the 'prophetic tradition' on such questions as the unity of God, the creation of the world and the resurrection which they continued.

We have seen how for al-Suhrawardi this historical chain is brought up to date and how the *Sufis* are said to be the genuine successors of the early Greek sages. Al-Shirazi had the same regard for the *Sufis*, with Ibn 'Arabi (to whom he sometimes refers as Ibn al A'rabi) at their head and is in fundamental agreement with al-Suhrawardi on the role of mystricism in the development of philosophical and religious thought.

An important aspect of his thought is the application of philosophical and *Sufi* concepts to Imanite (Shi'ite) theology. With the death of Muhammad, he argues, the period of prophecy ended. This marked the beginning of the period of *imamah* or *wilayah* in Islam. This period starts with the twelve Shi'ite *imams* and will continue until the return of the twelfth, who is in temporary concealment, at the end of the millennium. Generally speaking, however, the cycle of *wilayah* begins with Seth, who was to Adam what 'Ali was to Muhammad—his *imam* or successor.

Al-Shirazi finds a philosophical basis for this doctrine in Ibn 'Arabi's concept of the reality of Muhammad, i.e., the eternal, prophetic reality or '*logos*,' of which Muhammad is the last and fullest manifestation or embodiment. According to him, this reality has two dimensions: one overt (*zahir*) the other covert (*batin*). As Muhammad was the manifestation of the prophetic principle, the first *imam* ('Ali) and his successors are the manifestations of the *wilayah*. When the 'awaited' *imam* or Mahdi reappears at the end of time, the whole meaning of the divine revelation will be revealed and mankind will revert to the original monotheistic cult initiated by Abraham and confirmed by Muhammad.

The first part of *al-Asfar* deals with metaphysics or 'divine science.' As was cutomary in Avicennian and post-Avicennian circles, the analysis of the concepts of being and essence and their inter-relationship, formed a major part of metaphysical discussions. Al-Shirazi returns to these two themes with remarkable persistence in numberous other treatises and assets that being is indefinable, is so far as it has no *differentia*, species, accident, or property. It is, however, clearly distinguishable from essence in thought, so that the object of divine creation or production is not the essence, as al-Suhrawardi, al-Dawwani and others had argued, but rather being, in so far as it is made to supervene on the essence. It follows from this that essences have a certain priority over being in relation to the divine act of creation, if not per se. Consequently al-Shirazi identifies them with the 'fixed entities'

of Ibn 'Arabi, which are the archertypal forms upon which the universe is patterned.

Everything created is thus compounded of being and essence. The Necessary Being, however, is entirely free from such composition and imparts to every created entity the being which it possesses by a process of irradiation analogous to that of light. But since the effect must be proportionate to the cause, it is the being of created entities, not their essence, which emanates from the Necessary Being. Being the Light of Lights or Light per se, He imparts to created entities their luminous nature, whereby they are analogous to Him. Thie own essence, however, being precisely that whereby they differ from Him, cannot be attributed to His action, but is the darkness or isthmus, which in the language of Ishraq sets the creature apart from the Light of Lights, who is its genuine author.

In his formulation of this and similar metaphisical problems, al-Shirazi continually strives to bring together Avicennian, Ishraqi and *Sufi* elements. For one thing, he accepts the Avicennian concept of motion and its ultimate dependence on a first Unmoved Mover, without a sufficient appreciation of its detrimental implications for a creationist thesis of the conventional type, which he accepts. For another, he tacitly accepts the emanationist presuppositions of Neo-Platonism but seeks to fit them into a *Sufi*-Ishraqi frame-work.

Following Ibn 'Arabi, he distinguishes in the Supreme Reality (*al-Haqq*) between the rank of unity or Godhead which the *Sufis* call the blindness' or 'mystery (*al-ghayb*), on the one hand and the series of subordinate manifestations or determination of this Reality, on the other. The first phase of this manifestation corresponds to the order of essences or 'fixed entities' that exhibit the Supreme Reality without being commingled with it. The status of these entities, which he also calls 'possible essences,' is discussed at considerable length.

They have, he argues, a conceptual reality which is often misunderstood but which has two aspects: one whereby they are necessary in relation to their cause and share with it in the universal attribute of being and another whereby they fall short of this ideal and form so many subordinate rungs along the ladder of being. In short, they mark the first degree of diversification in the unity of the Supreme Reality, without being distinct from it and while multiple they form part of a single universal substance or intellect called in the language of *Sufism* the 'world of command,' and in the language of philosophy the 'intelligible world.'

The second degree of diversification corresponds to the universal Soul, of which all the particular souls and congitive faculties are the manifestation. This embodies the eternal decrees of God, is the articulate expression of His will since all time and serves for that reason as God's means of contact with the world, so to speak.

A characteristic feature of the Soul is that, unlike either the preceding or succeeding order, it is a mixture of light and darkness and serves thereby as a link between the intelligible and material realms. The latter realm begins with the universal sphere, which embraces all the subordinate spheres of Neo-Platonic cosmology. Owing to its subtlety, this universal

sphere is the border-line between the world of 'intellectual forms' or Souls, on the one hand and that of material entities in the world of nature, on the other.

Despite this diversification, the whole universe forms a 'single jewel' with many layers differing in the degree of their luminosity or subtlety, the higher being always the more luminous or fine. The whole heirarchy may be said to correspond alternatively to the varying degrees of divine knowledge, the manifestation of the divine attributes, the signs of the divine beauty, or the series of lights which exhibit God's 'face'.

Despite his deference for Ibn Sina, al-Shirazi rejects two of his major themes, the eternity of the world and the impossibility of bodily resurrection. As to the first theme, his view is that all the ancient philosophers, from Hermes to Thales, Pythagoras and Aristotle, are unanimous in their belief that the world is created in time (*hadith*). Their successors have simply misunderstood their teaching when they ascribed to them the contrary view. Be this as it may, the thesis of the eternity of time and of motion is untenable. The only reality which could precede the existence of time is God, who bring the world into being by His creative fiat (*l-amr).*

As a component of the created universe, neither the whole of time nor a part of it could have existed prior to this fiat. Both the sensible and intelligible worlds are subject to continuous permutation or change and cannot for that reason be eternal. The archetypal essences called 'fixed entities' by the *Sufis* and active intellects or intelligible forms by the philosophers, are no exception to this general law of mutation. Although they existed originally in God's mind, they had in that state of possibility no reality or being in themselves, but only the being they derived from the divine decree.

The teaching of the ancient philosophers, which is fully in conformity with that of the prophets and the saints, is not only that the world is created in time, but that everything in it will ultimately perish. The only reality which will abide forever is, as the *Koran* has put it, 'God's face'.

From this brief survey, it will appear how vast was the learning of this seventeenth-century philosopher and mystic and how complex was the fabric of his metaphysical eclecticism. Three fundamental strains went into the making of this fabric: the Neo-Platonic or Avicennian, the Ishraqi and the *Sufi.* It was primarily al-Suhrawardi, the founder of the Ishraqi movement and Ibn 'Arabi, the great exponent of unitary mysticism, who were his chief mentors. But in addition to those two and Ibn Sina, al-Shirazi drew freely on the whole philosophical tradition from Plato to Aristotle (or rather the pseudo-Aristotle of the *Theologia,* in the manner of most Ishraqi authors), to the pseudo-Empedocles, to al-Ghazali, Mir Damad, al-Tusi al-Shahazuri, F.D. al-Razi and many others.

Convinced of the unity of truth from whatever source it emanated and conscious of his vocation as its spokesman and advocate, he did not hesitate to draw on any source at hand. In the process a certain diffuseness and repetitiousness became unavoidable, but this should not detract from the achievement of al-Shirazi, who was the last great encyclo-

paedic writer in Islam. His voluminous output is an eloquent disproof of the view expressed by many historians of Islamic medieval philosophy that al-Ghazali had by the end of the eleventh century dealt philosophy a crippling blow from which it never recovered.

Mulla Sadra's many disciples and successors attest to his lasting influence, as well as to the continuity of the Shi'ite Ishraqi movement in Persia. Of his disciples we should mention his two sons Ibrahim and Ahmad, his two sons-in-law Fayaz 'Abdu'l Razzaq Lahiji (d. 1662) and Muhsin Fayd Kashani (d. 1680), Muhammad Baqir Mailisi (d.1700) and Nimatullah Shustari (d. 1691). His successors include Muhammad Mahdi Burujirdi (d. 1743), Ahmad b. Zain al-Din b. Ibrahim al-Ashsa'i (d. 1828), who reacted violently against Mulla Sadra and Mulla Hadi Sabzarari (d. 1878), who commented upon *al-Asfar* and other works of al-Shirazi and has been called by E.G. Browne "the last great Persian philosopher."

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EB

Al-Shushtari, Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali b. 'Abd Allah (1212–1269)

Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali b. 'Abd Allah Al-Shushtari of Malaga and Grenada was born in 610/1212, and died at Tina in 668/1269 and buried at Damiettas; his *nisba* derives from

Shushtar, here a *karya* or village of the Guadix district. His masters included Ibs Suraka al-Shatibi and other disciples of Abu Hafs 'Umar al-Suhrawardi (d. 632/1234), and he was in contact with the Sufi poet al-Nadjm b.Isra'il al-Dimashki, whom he met in 650/1252. But most influential for al-Shushtari was the philosopher and mystic Ibn Sab'in, whom he met at Bidjaya in 646/1248 and five years later in Egypt and at Mecca.

His prose works include *al-Makalid al-wudjudiyya fi asrar al-sufiyya* (ms. Cairo, Taymur, *tasawwuf*, 149, fols. 413–43); *al-Maratib al-imaniyya wa 'l-islamiyya wa 'l-ihsaniyya; al-Risala al-'alamiyya (*resume by Ibn Luyun); *al-Risala al-baghdadiyya* (ea. M.-Th. Urovoy, 8in *BEtr*, xxviii [1975], 259–61); *al-Risala al-kudsiyya fi tawhid al- 'amma wa 'l-khassa* (mss. Taymur, *tasawwuf* 149, see Urvoy, 259 n. 3, and Istanbul, Sehit Ali 1389/6); and *al-Urwa al-wuthka fi bayan al-suman wa-ihsa' al-'ulum*.... But al-Shushtari was best known for his poetry, with a *diwan* of odes, *muwashshahat*, etc., commented on by 'Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulusi (author of a *Radd al-muftari fi 'l-ta'an 'ala 'l-Shushtari*), Ahmad b. Muhammad al-'Adjiba al-Hasani and Zarruk (mss. of the *diwan* listed in Massignon, *Investigacions sobre Sustari*, 54).

It has been edited by 'A.S. al-Nashshar, Alexandria, 1960, and by F. Corriente, *Poesia estrofica (cejeles y/o muwassahat) atribuida al mistico granadino As-Sustari* (s. *XIII d.c.*), Madrid, 1988. In his *muwashshahat* and *azdjal* in dialedtical Arabic, set to melodies, he followed the way traced by Muhyi 'l-Din Ibn al- 'Arabi, who had made the *zadjal* a vehicle for mysticism (see Corriente, *La poesia estrofica de Ibn 'Arabi de Murcia*, in *Sharq al-Andalus*, iii [1986], 19–24).

Certain charismatic acts were attributed to him, and were gathered together by al-Ghubrini and reproduced by later biographers. As a disciple of Ibn Sab'in, al-Shushtari was considered to be of suspect orthodoxy and was allegedly an exponent of the doctrine of *hulul*, although the reserves concerning him are less than those for his master.

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T

Tufayl, Aby Bakr b. (d. 1185)

The second major figure in the history of Arab-Spanish philosophy is Aby Bakr b. Tufayl, a native of Wadi Ash, a small village northeast of Granda. Very little is known about his life, education, or public career. We can only surmise that he was born in the first decade of the twelfth century, studied medicine and philosophy at Seville and Cordova and was introduced to the Almohades caliph, Abu Ya'qub Yusuf, a generous patron of the sciences who cultivated a genuine interest in philosophy. His relationship with this enlightened prince is said to have been very cordial and he apparently was instrumental in presenting numerous scholars and philosophers to his patron. The most notable and felicitous presentation was without doubt that of the young Ibn Rushd, probably in 1169, since it appears to have launched the latter on his career as the commentator of Aristotle.

Apart from his service as royal physician to the caliph, Ibn Tufayl's functions at court are described in the vaguest terms by our authorities and we can only infer that he probably acted as companion or *aide* to the caliph, but not necessarily as vizier. In 1184, his patron died, but he continued to enjoy the same privileged position at court during the reign of Abu Ya'qub's son and successor until his death at an advanced age, in 1185.

Ibn Tufayl is said to have written numerous works on medicine, astronomy and philosophy. The only philosophical work of his to survive is *Hayy b. Yaqzan,* an allegorical novel in which he develops the esoteric themes of the solitary which Ibn Bajjah had placed at the centre of his ethical and metaphysical system. Al-Marakushi, the historian of the Almohades dynasty, states, however, that he saw a treatise on the Soul by Ibn Tufayl in his own handwriting. Apart from this treatise, our sources mention no other philosophical writing of his.

Hayy b. Yaqzan, it will be recalled, is the title Ibn Sina gave to one of his esoteric works. Whether anything can be made of the title, *Living, Son of Wakeful,* is a difficult and in some respects fruitless question. As will appear from our analysis, perhaps, the chief merit of this work lies in its original literary form, which had been tried by Ibn Sina and was far from being common. Its subject matter is much more ordinary. It is essentially an exposition

of general Neo-Platonic themes developed in the East by al-Farabi and Ibn Sina and in the West by Ibn Bajjah.

The first scholar to note its importance was Edward Pococke, the British Arabist of the seventeenth century who prepared an edition of the Arabic text accompanied by a Latin translation, with the informative, if long, title: *Philosophus autodidactus, sive episola... qua ostenditur quomodo ex inferiorum contemplatione ad superiorum notitiam ratio humana ascendere possit.* The was translated into English, Dutch, German, Spanish and French and enjoyed a considerable vogue in some circles. The question is sometimes asked whether Daniel Defoe, author of *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), was not acquainted with Pococke's *Philosophus autodidactus,* but the question is purely academic, since apart from the literary form the two works have very little in common.

Another significant feature of this philosophical allegory is the deliberate attempt to show that, once the solitary has apprehended truth through unaided reason, he is able to verify, upon entering into covers with his fellow-men, the harmony of philosophy and dogma, of reason and revelation. This was, as we have seen, a major theme of Muslim Neo-Platonism, which Almohades rulers, with Abu Ya'qub at their head, were particularly anxious to demonstrate.

In the preamble to *hayy,* the author states that his aim is to expound the 'illuminative wisdom' which Ibn Sina spoke of and which is reducible, according to Ibn Tufayl, to mysticism. What sets the philosophers apart from the mystics is that the former claim that mystical illumination can be attained through speculation only, whereas speculation leads the seeker at best to the threshold of that ineffable experience which is the crux of genuine mysticism. Even Ibn Bajjah had fallen short of that ideal, according to him.

In order to describe that condition which cannot be expressed in words, he resorts to allegory, a more suitable method because it is less direct and less explicit. The scene is set on a desert island in the Indian Ocean and the chief actor is Hayy, an infant generated spontaneously on that island. A deer who had lost her fawn gave Hayy suck until he grew strong and could vie with the bests in their pursuits. However, although he had led the life of beasts, he was soon struck by the fact that his skin was bare and that he lacked the natural means of self-defence with which the beasts were provided.

When he was seven he resorted to the expedient of covering himself with tree leaves or animal hides to protect himself against the elements. Eventually the deer which had nursed him died; this caused him great distress and led him to ponder the mystery of death. A crude autopsy enabled him at length to identify the cause of death as a disorder of the heart resulting in the departure of the spirit, the body's vital principle. Noting that death was not accompanied by any visible corporeal damage, he concluded that it was simply the outcome of the dissolution of the union of Soul and body. Thus, Hayy discovered life.

Hayy's second major discovery was fire, which he related to the phenomenon of life. His other empirical discoveries included the use of implements, the analogies between

animals and plants, their various ranks or species and the upward and downward movements of the elements. From these empirical observations he was able to rise to the discovery of the spiritual world. First, he noticed that every entity was made up of two elements: corporeity and the form of corporeity. In animate entitles this form corresponds to the Soul, which is the principle of life in the animal and as such is not an object of sense but only of thought. Second, he reasoned that it was upon the complexity of the powers of the Soul belonging to each class of animate objects that its grade in the scale of life depended.

By the age of twenty-eight, Hayy was able to rise to the awareness of the incorruptible world of the stars and to recognise the necessity of a Creator thereof. As to the duration of the world as a whole, he was unable to arrive that it was not gained through a bodily organ or power but through the soul, which is entirely distinct from body and which constituted at conclusion. But, as both Maimonides and St. Thomas Aquinas were to show later, he eventually understood that the problem of the eternity or non-eternity of the world was entirely irrelevant to the demonstration of the existence of its cause.

The contemplation of the beauty and order which are the unmistakable marks of the creation convinced Hayy that such a cause must be perfect, free and all-knowing, bountiful and beautiful; in short, it must possess all the perfections which we observe in the world and be free from all imperfection. By this time, Hayy was thirty-five years old.

When he proceeded to inquire how he had attained this knowledge of a Supreme Being, who was altogether immarterial, he could not help concluding the very essence of his selfhood. This discovery brought that it was not gained thrugh a bodily organ or power but through the soul, which is entirely distinct from body and which constitued him to a full awareness of the nobility of his Soul, it superiority over the whole material universe and as independence of the conditions of generation and corruption which affect body alone. The ultimate happiness of this Soul, he also realized, was bound up with the recognition of its kinship to the Necessary Being and its diligence in contemplating this Being, who is the supreme object of knowledge.

The same process of introspection that had led Hayy to an awareness of his genuine nature as a spiritual essence led him in fact to a three-fold awareness of his kinship to:

(1) the animal kingdom, by virtue of his animal impulses and faculties;

(2) the celestial spheres, by virtue of the Soul, which they also possessed; and

(3) the Necessary Being, by virtue of the immateriality and ability of his Soul, which is his true self.

As a practical consequence, he understood that he had a three-fold vocation in the world. With respect to the corporeal or animal aspect of his nature, his duty was to tend the body and be mindful of its essential needs, but only to the extent that this enabled his Soul to achieve its highest and noblest vocation, namely, the contemplation of God. He knew, however, that in this type of contemplation (i.e., the intellectual) the Soul never loses the

sense of its own identity and consequently its contemplation of God is not perfect or full. He who partakes of perfect contemplation will lose all consciousness of his self, since it is obliterated or annihilated in the process, like everything else save the True One or Supreme Being.

The ultimate goal of the seeker after truth, then, was annihilation of the self or its absorption in God (*fana'*), which al-Junayd had set up as the culmination of the mystical life. To attain this goal, the seeker should dwell on the two aspects of God's nature: the positive and the negative. Since the positive attributes of God are all deducible to His unity or the identity of attribute and essence in Him, the genuine knowledge of God resolves itself to the knowledge of His absolute unity. Since the negative attributes are reducible to His transcendence and incorporeity, knowledge rooted in these attributes is never adequate.

The consciousness of the corporeal, as indeed of the seeker's own identity, constitute a bar to the pure or genuine knowledge of the Being who is fully other. Hence, only once the finite self and the whole world of corporeal entities have been left completely behind and the seeker has risen to the realization that there is no other being except God, is it given him to "see what no eye has seen, no ear has heard and has not occurred to anyone at all." This final stage is a kind of intoxication, which has led some to identify themselves with the object of their contemplation, i.e. God. Hayy, however, was guarded from this temptation by God's grace.

Like other Sufi writers, Ibn Tufayl dwells on the ineffability of this ultimate condition of 'utter annihilation.' He does not refrain, however, from describing it in allegorical and oblique terms, although he held it to be clearly 'far above reason.' The final vision of Hayy is thus, described in graphic terms that represent a remarkable amalgam of Neo-Platonic and *Sufi* doctrine, similar in many ways to that of al-Ghazali. Upon attaining the final stage of utter annihilation (in which he presumably partlook of the *visio Dei*), Hayy was able to see the highest heaven and that immaterial entity (*dhat*) "which was neither the essence of the True One, the Soul of that heaven, nor something else." That entity may be compared to the reflection of the sun in a mirror, from which it is nevertheless distinct.

Next, Hayy perceived the firmament and its Soul, the spheres of Saturn and the other planets, with the corresponding Soul of each of them and finally the world of generation and corruption and its Soul. Each one of these Souls was resplendent with beauty and, like the Soul of the first heaven, was fully engrossed in the contemplation of God. Hayy was even able to perceive an immaterial prototype of is own Soul, reflected a thousand-fold in the innumerable Souls which were once united to their bodies. Some, like his own Soul, shone with great splendour, whereas others looked like distorted like distorted reflections in a tarnished mirror. Hayy had, in fact, caught a glimpse of the intelligible world of Neo-Platonism.

The epilogue of this allegory develops the second major theme of Muslim Neo-Platonism: the harmony of reason and revelation, of philosophy and religion. In a neighbouring island a religious creed introduced by an ancient prophet was current. Two of its adepts,

Absal and Salaman, were typical. The former inclined toward the inward or esoteric, the latter toward the outward or exoteric interpretation of this creed. Having heard of the desert island on which Hayy lived, Absal decided to retire there to spend the rest of his life in meditation and prayer; he was not aware of the existence of Hayy on that island.

One day, he sighted him from a distance but did not wish to disturb his peace. Hayy, for his part, did not realize what kind of creature this strange visitor was. Eventually, they met and their friendship grew daily. When Absal had taught him to speak, Hayy began to unburden himself of his experiences, especially the mystical ones. These revelations greatly impressed Absal and he now understood that the references of Scripture to the angels, prophets, heaven and hell were mere representations in sensible terms of the spiritual realities Hayy had perceived on his own. Hayy, on the other hand, relised that everything Absal had recounted to him concerning revelation and ritual was in conformity with what he had experienced himself. Hence, he could not but have total faith in the law laid down by the Prophet and supported by his unquestionable authority. Two questions continued to puzzle him, however.

(1) Why did the Prophet resort to such representations concerning the 'divine world' instead of speaking directly and openly to mankind, which would avoid involving them inextricable in anthropomorphic difficulties?

(2) Why did he prescribe particular ituals and permit the acquisition of wealth and the pursuit of the pleasures of food and sex, thereby encouraging people to occupy themselves with those vanities?

At the root of these questions, observes the author, lured a grave misunderstanding. Hayy had started by assuming mistakenly that all men were of 'superior parts.' However, it did not take him long to discover how ignorant and dull the masses are. Thereupon he was moved by compassion for them and felt the urge to go forth and preach the truth to them. He put his intention to Absal, who finally agreed to join him. And so, they set out together for Absal's birth-place, where Absal introduced Hayy to his friends, who, as he supposed, formed a privileged class. Salaman had risen to the rank of head of the island and so, Hayy began by instructing him. This adept of the outward and literal, however, was not very disposed to listen to the mystical and allegorical disquisitions of Hayy. The others, who were addicted to mundane pleasures and pursuits, were even less interested.

Gradually, Hayy realized that his instruction or preaching would be in vain, since the majority of his hearers were no better than beasts. Scripture had indeed been right in speaking to them in the only language they understood; that of similes and sensible representations. By this time Hayy had learned his lesson. He apologised to Salaman and is countrymen and admitted his own mistake in exhorting them to seek the hidden meaning of Scripture. His parting message was that they should carry on as they had done before and should cling to the prescriptions of the law (*al-shar'*). Together with Absal, he now understood that this was the only secure path

which the ignorant masses could follow and that if they were to forsake it they would be irretrievably lost. With a somewhat heavy heart, they returned to Hayy's island, where they resumed their worship of God in solitude. Having failed to win over those who were content with the 'outward' aspect of truth, they felt te only course left for them was to continue their contemplation of the elusive truth in the only way suitable to the people of 'superior parts' or exceptional ability.

Thus, does Ibn Tufayl express the Neo-Platonic postulate of the harmony of religion and pilosophy. Without doubting his sincerity or the sincerity of his predecessors, the reader of *Hayy b. Yaqzan* cannot overcome the suspicion of misrepresentation. The religious and philosophical truths which are so artfully reconciled or accommodated are obviously not on the same level. As shown in the life of Hayy, its chief spokesman, physiological truth attained through the natural process of experience or reflection is the only truth which is worthy of the privileged few. Religious truth, on the other hand, belongs to the many, who cannot and should not aspire to anything higher than a purely external or literal version of the genuine truth. Thus, Ibn Tufayl gives the final touches to this sublime doctrine of a superior or privileged class of seekers after truth, who alone are worthy of the divine favour of illumination or election, as Ibn Bajjah had argued.

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Ushurma, Shaikh Mansur (19th Century)

The Naqshbandiya penertated the north-eastern Caucassus at a relatively recent date. It seems that the first Naqashbandi to preach in the North Caucasus was Shaikh Mansur Ushurma, a Chechen from the aul of Aldy. There is no formal indication that he was a Naqshbandi and we do not know who his *murshid* was; however, according to oral tradition in Cghechnia-Daghestan, he belonged to the Naqshbandiya and had been initiated either in Bukhara or by some Bukharian Nawshbandi and had been initiated either in Bukhara or by some Bukharian Naqshbandi travelling through the North Causcasus to Mecca.

Some Russian sources confirm his Central Asian origins. For instance, N.V. Khaykov in his *Muridism and Murids* speaks of Mansur erroneously as "a native of Orenburg steppes", who borrowed his science and his fanaticism from the Bukharans or may himself have been a native of Bukhara. Other authors, including the Daghestani Hasan al-Qadri, claim that he was initiated somewhere in the Ottoman Empire and was sent by the Turks to incite the Chechens and the Daghestasni to join in a *jihad* against the Russians. However, analysis of the Ottoman archival material suggests that Turkish authorities knew nothing of Mansur's activities before his first success over the Russians in 1785. The theory of Anatolian origins is therefore doubtful.

After his victory in 1785 in the battle of the Sunzha river where he destroyed an entire Russian brigade, Mansur called the mountaineers to holy war against the enroaching infidels and for some years unified practically the whole of North Caucasus, from the Chechen territory in the west to the Kumyk steppes in the east. His appeal—at least, what we know of it—sounds very much like the appeals—to *jihad* by Naqshbandi *murshids* of later date, especially by Mohammed of Yaraglar. Imam Mansur tried unsuccessfully to arouse the western Caucasian Circassian tribes. Finally, he was captured by the Russians in the Ottoman fortress of Anapa in 1791. He was treated as a rebel, sentenced to life imprisonment, and died in the fortress of Schlusselburg two years later. The first Naqashbandi leader to preach holy war in Chechnia and Daghestan, Masnur left no successor there.

His adventure was too brief, and Russian repression was too severe. It is also possible that all his followers, adepts of the *tariqat*, disappeared with him. Be that as it may, the Naqshandiya vanished from the Caucasian scene for the next thirty years.

The second chapter of the Naqshbandiya adventure in the North caucasusis better known. The order reappeared in the early 1920s in Shirvan and and from there spread to central Daghestan and to Avaristan. The *silsile*, or lineage, is clearly established:

Shaikh Ismail of Kurdemir was the first Naqshbandi *murshid* to preach in northern Shirvan. He was the disciple of the Kurdis sheikh Khalid of Suleymaniyeh, himself a disciple of an Indian Naqshbandi, the Sheikh Abdullah of Delhi. Isma'il of Kurdemir initiated the sheikh Khas Mohammed, a Shivani or, according to other sources, a Bukharian, who initiated sheikh Mohammed Effendi of Yaraglar (or Yukari Yarag) in the Khanate of Kurin in southern Daghestan, who was the first to preach *jihad* in 1825. He initiated; Jemaleddin of Kazi Kumukh, in Central Daghestan, who was the master of Ghazi Mohammed, first *imam*, and of Shamil, third *imam* of Daghestan.

Henceforth, the Naqshbandiya *tariqat* was to play a very important role in Caucasian history. Iron discipline, total dedication to its ideals and the strict hierarchy on which it was based explain the epic resistance of the Caucasian mountaineers to Russian conquest—a resistance that lasted from 1824 till 1855—in which not only all the leaders of the movement but also the local authorities (*nabis*) and the majority of the fighters were Naqshbandis. It can said that the nearly fifty-year-long Caucasian wars made an important contribution to the material and moral ruin of the Tasrist empire and hastened the downfall of the Romanov monarchy.

The brotherhood achieved another deep and long-lasting result: it transformed the half-pagan mountaineers into strict orthodox Muslims, and introduced Islam into the animist areas of upper Chechinia and among the Circassian tribes of the western Caucasus.

The final defeat of *muridism* in 1859 and the subsequent massive migration of the Caucasian Muslims to Turkey did not destroy the Naqshbandiya in Daghestan and Chechinia; its roots had spread too wide and too deep. Nevertheless, it was considerably weakened by the crisis. After 1859 Jemaleddin of Kazi-Kumukh, the Naqshbandi *murshid* of Shamil's time, left Daghestan for Turkey, where he died Two of his successors whom he had designated before Shamil's defeat—Haqalu Mohammed of Kazi Kumukh and Haji 'Ali Asker of Tsakhul (a Shirvani, native of Kuba)—both left for Mecca where they died. Haji Nasrollah of Kabir in the Khanate of Kurin was killed in 1859 in the battle of Gunib, the last stronghold of Shamil.

Haji 'Abdurrahman of Sogratl, the main religious authority in Daghestan after Jemaleddin's departure, took an active part in the uprising in Daghestan and Chechnia in 1877; he was subsequently arrested by the Russians and died in Siberia. His son and *murid*, Mohammed Efendi who succeeded him as leader of the revolt, was also arrested and later left for Turkey. Mohammed Efendi of Usukh in the Khanate of Kurin was the only

one to return to Daghestan in the 1880s after a pilgrimage to Mecca. He began to initiate new *murids*.

Thus, for some twenty years, between 1859 and 1880 the activity of the *tariqat* was at a standstill. The leaders were either killed, died in Russian jails, or had left the country. The rank and file of adepts discouraged by defeat, ruthless repression and the military occupation to the country by the Russian army went over the another brotherhood, the Qadiriya.

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