

THE BOOK OF KNOWLEDGE
Being a Translation, with
Introduction and Notes of
AL-GHAZZĀLĪ'S BOOK OF THE
IHYĀ', KITĀB AL-'ILM

A THESIS
Submitted to the Faculty
of the
KENNEDY SCHOOL OF MISSIONS
Of the
HARTFORD SEMINARY FOUNDATION
In Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

William Alexander McCall

May, 1940

VITA

William Alexander McCall, the son of Thomas and Emmeline Sangster McCall, was born in Providence, Rhode Island, September the Third, 1897. A graduate of the Providence Technical High School, he entered Lafayette College in the fall of 1919 and received the degree of A. B. in June, 1923. In May, 1926, he completed his course of studies at Princeton Seminary with the degree of Th. B., as well as meeting the requirements for the degree of M. A. in Semitics from Princeton University.

Appointed in the spring of 1926 to serve under the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions in Syria, he arrived at Beirut in September of that year. After two years of language study in Beirut, he was assigned to Tripoli, where, with the exception of a year of furlough study spent at Hartford in 1931-32, he was principal of the Tripoli Boys' School until the summer of 1939.

The present work, begun at Hartford, was continued in Syria and completed during a year of residence at the Hartford Seminary Foundation in 1939-40.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
INTRODUCTION	
A. A Biographical Sketch of al-Ghazzālī	iv
B. Al-Ghazzālī's Dependence on Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī.....	vii
C. A Partial Analysis of the <u>Kitāb al-'Ilm</u>	xvii
D. A Summary of the <u>Book of Knowledge</u> ...	1
THE AUTHOR'S INTRODUCTION.....	I
His Table of Contents of the <u>Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn</u>	5
His Division of the Seven Parts of the Book of Knowledge.....	14
Part	
I. THE EXCELLENCE OF KNOWLEDGE AND TEACHING WITH EVIDENTIAL EXAMPLES FROM TRADITION AND REASON	16
A. The Excellence of Knowledge.....	16
1. Its Evidential examples from the Qur'ān	16
2. The traditions (<u>al-akhbār</u>).....	18
3. The traditions from the companions of Muhammad.....	23
B. The Excellence of Learning.....	29
1. The evidential verses of the Qur'ān..	29
2. The traditions from Muhammad.....	29
3. The records of the followers.....	31

	Page
C. The Excellence of Teaching	
1. Evidential verses of the Qur'ān.....	33
2. The traditions from Muhammad.....	34
3. The records of the followers.....	37
D. The Rational Evidential Examples.....	41
II. AN EXPOSITION OF PRAISEWORTHY AND BLAME- WORTHY KNOWLEDGE AND THE DIVISIONS AND REGULATIONS OF BOTH	50
A. An Exposition of that Knowledge Which Is a Personal Obligation.....	50
B. An Exposition of the Knowledge which Is a General Obligation.....	60
1. The science of fundamental sources...	62
2. The subsidiary principles.....	63
3. The preliminary sciences.....	64
4. The supplementary sciences.....	65
III. PART THREE CONCERNS WHAT THE MASSES CONSIDER TO BE PRAISEWORTHY SCIENCES, THOUGH THEY ARE NOT	116
A. An Exposition of the Cause of Blame in the Blameworthy Sciences.....	116
1. If it leads either its possessor or somebody else into harm.....	116

	Page
2. If it is harmful to its possessor in the majority of cases.....	118
3. The third reason is for one to be engrossed in a science of which he is not a master..	122
B. An Explanation of those Technical Terms which Were Changed.....	127
1. <u>al-fiqh</u> (jurisprudence).....	128
2. <u>al-'ilm</u> (knowledge).....	132
3. <u>al-tawhīd</u> (affirming the oneness of Allah	133
4. <u>dhikr</u> and <u>tadhkīr</u> (remembering and caus- ing to remember.....	138
This has been changed to:	
a). stories.....	138
b). Poetry.....	143
c). <u>shath</u> (extravagant utterances)..	144
which is divided into:	
1). Extreme pretension of love..	144
2). Words not understood.....	146
d). <u>tammāt</u> (ecstatic utterances)...	147 ✓
5. <u>al-hikmah</u> (wisdom).....	152
C. An Exposition of the Praiseworthy Amount of the Praiseworthy Sciences.....	153
In this respect knowledge is of three kinds:	
1. Little or much is blameworthy.....	154

	Page
2. Praiseworthy to the farthest depth of inquiry into knowledge.....	155
3. Only a special amount is praised.....	156
IV. THE CAUSE OF PEOPLE'S GIVING THEIR ATTENTION TO THE SCIENCE OF CONTROVERSY AND AN EXPLANATION OF THE DEFECTS OF DEBATE AND POLEMICS AND THE CONDITIONS WHICH MAKE THEM LAWFUL	167
A. An Exposition of the Deception of Trying to Make These Debates Resemble the Consultations of the Companions and the Conferences of the Fathers.....	171
To give mutual aid in the quest of truth is a part of religion, but it has eight conditions and signs.....:	
1. Since it is a general obligation, one who is not free from personal obligations should not engage in it...	171
2. One should not see another general obligation which is more important than debates.....	172
3. The debater should be an independent scholar (able to) give an opinion	174
4. One should debate an actually occurring	

problem or one about to occur.....	Page 175
5. Debate in solitude should be preferred to debate in public.....	176
6. The debater should make no distinction whether the truth appears by means of him or one who aids him.....	177
7. He should not prevent his opponent from changing from one proof to another.....	179
8. The debater should debate with one who is engaged in knowledge and from whom he expects some benefits.....	181
B. An Exposition of the Defects of Debating and Some of the Things Growing out of It Which Destroy Character.....	182
These will be discussed in the Quarter on The Things Which Destroy, but the sum total of them is:	
1. Envy.....	183
2. Pride and exalting one's self.....	184
3. Spite.....	185
4. Backbiting.....	186
5. Self-justification.....	186
6. Prying into private affairs.....	187
7. Joy in what harms people and sorrow over	

	their joy.....	Page 188
8.	Hypocrisy.....	189
9.	Disdain of the truth and hope of opposing it.....	190
10.	To act the hypocrite and regard people and seek to incline their hearts and turn their faces towards them.....	191
V.	PART FIVE CONCERNS THE MANNERS OF THE PUPIL AND THE TEACHER	197
A.	The Pupil's Outward Manners and Offices Are Many, But Their Different Aspects May Be Arranged under Ten Headings	
1.	To give precedence to purifying the soul from impure character and blameworthy qualities.....	197
2.	To diminish one's attachment to the oc- cupations of the present world and to draw away from one's people and native land.....	202
3.	Not to boast and feign knowledge or to become a ruler over his teacher.....	203
4.	In the beginning of the matter one who is going to plunge into knowledge should avoid listening to people's disagreements....	207

	Page
5. Not to forsake any part of the praise- worthy sciences nor any of its various kinds without giving it careful consid- ation by which its purpose and aim are studied.....	209
6. Not to plunge deeply into any particular sort of knowledge in one swoop, but to observe the gradations and begin with what concerns one most.....	210
7. Not to go deeply into an art before com- pleting the prerequisite art.....	213
8. To know the means by which one appre- hends the noblest of sciences.....	214
9. The pupil's present purpose should be to adorn and beautify his inner life with virtue and in the time to come, to draw nigh to Allah and ascend to the proximity of the archangels and those who draw near	215
10. To know the relation of the sciences to what is purposed.....	217
B. An Exposition of the Duties of a Teacher Who Guides	226
1. To have sympathy for one's pupils and to treat them as sons.....	228

	Page
2. To emulate the giver of divine law (Muhammad) and not seek recompense for giving benefit of knowledge.....	229
3. Not to reserve anything of his advice to the pupil.....	232
4. To prevent the pupil from bad character by way of implication as much as possible, and not to speak explicitly, and by way of compassion, not by way of censure...	234
5. Not to vilify, in the presence of the pupil, the sciences which are beyond him	235
6. To limit the pupil to the measure of his understanding and not give him something which his intellect has not reached.....	236
7. To give a weak pupil only the clear knowl- edge which is suitable for him, and not to mention the fact that beyond that there are fine points which are kept from him...	238
8. The teacher should practice what he knows and his deeds should not belie his words..	240
VI. PART SIX CONCERNS THE PERILS OF KNOWLEDGE AND AN EXPOSITION OF THE SIGNS OF THE OTHER WORLDLY AND THE CORRUPT DIVINES	242

	Page
Some of the signs that distinguish the other-worldly divines from others are:	
1. They do not seek the present world by their knowledge.....	248
2. Their deeds do not contradict their speech	260
3. Their concern is to obtain knowledge which is useful for the next abode and which re- quires obedience, and they shun the sci- ences the benefit of which decreases, and about which disputation and talk increase	268
4. They are not inclined to lead an easy life (in respect to) luxury in food and drink, soft clothing, and ornamented furnishings and dwellings.....	273
5. They try to be remote from the sultans and not to visit them at all as long as there is a way of escape from them.....	282
6. They are not precipitate in giving legal opinions.....	288
7. Most of their concern should be about mystic knowledge and watchfulness of the heart and knowledge of the way and their journey to the next abode.....	295
8. They should have a strong concern to	

strengthen certain belief.....	Page 300
<u>al-yaqīn</u> is used by two groups in a particular sense for different ideas. They are the speculative and scholastic theologians	302
They use it to express absence of doubt.	303
There are four degrees in the soul's inclination to believe anything:	
a). When belief and disbelief are evenly balanced.....	303
b). When the soul inclines toward one of two matters in spite of a perception that its contradiction is possible.....	303
c). When something overcomes the soul and no other possibility occurs to the mind.....	304
d). True knowledge obtained by way of demonstration so that doubt is excluded.....	304
The second technical usage for <u>al-yaqīn</u> is the special usage of the jurisconsults and Sūfīs and most of the learned, which concerns ruling and dominating the mind.....	306

	Page
9. They should be sad, contrite, downcast, silent, and give the appearance of piety on their countenance, and by their clothing, conduct, motion, quiescence, speech, and silence.....	314
10. Most of their discussion should be about practical knowledge and about what cor- rupts it and confounds hearts and incites satanic thoughts and stirs up evil.....	322
11. In regard to their knowledge, their depend- ence should be on their intelligence and on their understanding with purity of heart, not on pamphlets and books and not on imi- tation of what they hear from others.....	327
12. They should be strictly on their guard against new things, even if a great many should agree on them; and (not be deceived by) people's agreement on what has happened after the time of the Companions.....	332
VII. PART SEVEN CONCERNS INTELLIGENCE, ITS NOBILITY, ITS VERACITY, AND ITS DIVISIONS	346
A. An Exposition of the Nobility of Intelligence	346
B. An Exposition of the Veracity and Divisions of Intelligence.....	353

The name al-'aql is ascribed to four ideas:

1). That quality by which man is differentiated from the rest of the animals and by which he is prepared to receive the speculative sciences and to manage the hidden reflective arts..... 354

2. The knowledge which comes into existence in the essence of a child (dhāt al-tifl) which distinguishes between the possibility of the possible and the impossibility of the impossible..... 356

3. Knowledge acquired from the experience of passing circumstances..... 356

4. The power of this natural disposition leads one to know the issue of affairs and to tame and conquer his appetite which tempts him to follow fleeting delight..... 357

C. An Exposition of People's Disparity in Intelligence..... 363

NOTES TO THE Kitāb al-'Ilm..... 372

Bibliography..... 420

PART I

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

A. A Biographical Sketch of al-Ghazzālī¹

When directly in front of me lie approximately ten books and articles which treat the life of our author, Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad Bin Muḥammad Bin Muḥammad al-Ghazzālī (450/1058-505/1111), it would be preumption on my part to do more than mention the bibliography and add a few observations on certain points.

Though reputed to have been of a critical and sceptical turn of mind even in his youth, he must have absorbed much of the spirit of Ṣūfīism from his early surroundings which prepared him to receive it in his later life, when he was dissatisfied with the results of theology and speculation. So his experience resembles that of a youth, nurtured under the sweet influence of a simple homely religious faith, who goes off to school where more critical ideas disturb his heart and leave him dissatisfied, until he returns again to the shelter of his earlier religious experiences.

In one sense he was not a thorough-going Ṣūfī, because he could never sever himself from his years of study and the influence of theological speculation.² He was a mystic

who emphasized the importance of knowledge and learning, having zealously sought it himself. This is illustrated by one of the traditions which he uses in this book. About al-Junaid, al-Sarī said, "May Allah make you a possessor of tradition as a Ṣūfī, and not make you a Ṣūfī who is a possessor of tradition", thus indicating that one who first acquires tradition and learning and then becomes a Ṣūfī will succeed, while whoever becomes a Ṣūfī before obtaining knowledge³ exposes himself to danger.

He himself became a Ṣūfī after having acquired a solid foundation of learning which undoubtedly prevented him from indulging in many excesses of the Ṣūfīs and contributed much to his ability to mediate between unsympathetic orthodox Muslims and the mystical Ṣūfīs and finally set Ṣūfism on an accredited basis in Islām.

He speaks thus about his zeal for learning, "Accept this advice from one who spent his whole life in it and outstripped his predecessors in respect to writing, investigating, disputing, and proving. Then, inspiring him to think⁴ aright, Allah made him see his fault and forsake it."

In his spiritual crisis and inner struggle about relinquishing his position at Baghdad many of the Ṣūfī pre-⁵cepts mentioned in this book were undoubtedly before his mind: "The learned should avoid mingling with sultans and

not visit them at all as long as there is a way of escape from them⁶; "The learned are the messengers' trustees for the people, as long as they do not mingle with the sultans. When they do that, they are unfaithful to the messengers⁷"; and "If you see a learned person who likes the present world, consider him to be against your religion."⁸

One can imagine his acquaintances trying to persuade him not to give up his position and using this argument: "In exhorting and visiting them you may be able to lead them out of wrongdoing and establish some perceptions of the divine law",⁹ but more than the praise of man was his fear of his Lord, and he wanted to draw nigh to Him. So the only thing for him to do was to follow his conscience.

Yet for him to be a Sūfī did not mean the neglect of study which he continued to the end as de Boer points out: "His closing years were chiefly devoted to pious contemplation and the study of the traditions, which as a youth he could never remember. A beautifully complete and rounded life, in which the end comes back to the beginning."¹⁰

And what is more beautiful than the account of his death which I quote from Macdonald's Life of al-Ghazzālī, "On Monday, at dawn, my brother performed the ablution and prayed. Then he said, 'Bring me my grave-clothes', and he took them and kissed them, and laid them on his eyes and

said, 'I hear and obey to go in to the King.' And he stretched out his feet and went to meet Him, and was taken to the good will of God Most High."¹¹

B. Al-Ghazzālī's Dependence on

Abu Tālīb al-Makkī

Al-Ghazzālī's position in Islam is indicated by the tradition quoted by both Scherer and Zwemer: "If there had been a prophet after Mohammed, it surely would have been al-Ghazali."¹²

"In the opinion of his compatriots", said Schmolders, "his great work, the Revival of the Religious Sciences, of which he always speaks with pride, is his greatest right to honor. This was the book which earned him the honorary title 'Proof of Islam' and which was in such vogue among the faithful that, according to the testimony of one of his biographers, the Muslims were wont to say, 'If all Islam should come to be lost, the loss will be of small import, provided that this work remains.'"¹³

That his works were well known goes without saying. Even today his books are in great vogue in Arabic speaking countries, while some of them have been translated into various tongues such as Spanish, Italian, German, French, and English; and Schmolders notes Logica et philosophia

Algazelis Arabis, a poorly done Latin translation of Mi'yāru 'l-'Ilm which appeared as early as 1506, the year of Columbus' death, but which had become so rare that neither Tiedemann nor Tennemann knew it!¹⁴

Al-Ghazzālī has enjoyed and continues to enjoy great renown, as has been indicated; yet there are some who would diminish his fame somewhat by pointing out that he was not such an original scholar as had been supposed.

Writing in 1842 Auguste Schmolders pointed out that much of his Tahāfutu 'l-Falāsifa was a compilation and rearrangement of other works. Paraphrased, the passage reads thus: "In this book---he does not seek to oppose them with arguments drawn from his own philosophy: gathering various criticisms made by others, he simply arranges them in such a way as to show that the opinion of one philosopher contradicts that of another, that such and such a system overturns another; in short, that among the philosophers dissent reigns perpetually. Such was his aim; so the author himself declares at the close of the first chapter of his book; and, the remarkable thing is that no modern writer whom I know has noticed this passage; otherwise one should have refrained from showering on Ghazzālī titles which absolutely do not belong to him and his reputation of philosopher would have been less elevated. The book, Tahāfutu 'l-Falā-

sifa, even as a compilation would not be able to give its author celebrity, for nearly all that is gathered together in it is borrowed from the scholastic theologians who, long before Ghazzālī, had hurled the same arguments at the Muslim philosophers; Ghazzālī has simply brought them together in an orderly manner and given them a kind of methodical arrangement."¹⁵

Orientalists of the West have realized for some time that the great "Proof of Islam" had drawn from various earlier sources in compiling his own voluminous writings.

In her article, The Forerunner of al-Ghazzālī, Margaret Smith begins with this statement: "In his al-Munkidh min al-Dalāl al-Ghazālī states that he studied the works of al-Muḥāsibī, together with those of Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, al-Junayd, Shiblī, and Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī, and of these Ḥārith b. Asad al-Muḥāsibī (ob. 243/857) was the earliest and the most prolific writer, and to him al-Ghazālī owes more of his teaching than has been generally realized, and much that has been attributed to al-Ghazālī as representing his original ideas, is in fact based upon the earlier teaching of al-Muḥāsibī and, in many instances, is directly borrowed from him."

"This seems to have been the case with a good deal of al-Ghazālī's eschatological teaching, for passage after

passage in, e.g. the Durrat al-Fākhira shows a close resemblance to the contents of al-Muḥāsibī's al-Ba'th wa 'l-Nu-shūr (MS. Paris, 1913) and the Kitāb al-Tawāhhum (MS. Oxford Hunt. 611). But it is in his ascetical and mystical teaching that al-Ghazālī has built most obviously upon the foundations laid by al-Muḥāsibī, with an occasional acknowledgment of his indebtedness, but more often by the simple appropriation of al-Muḥāsibī's definitions, doctrines, and illustrations, to serve his own purposes. In the account which al-Ghazālī gives of his own religious experience, culminating in his conversion, he has very obviously taken al-Muḥāsibī's account of his spiritual difficulties and experiences as his model."¹⁶

In the Encyclopaedia of Islam Massignon, writing a biographical sketch of Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad Bin 'Alī al-Hārithī al-Makkī, states, "His principal work is Qūt al-Qulūb (Cairo 1310, 2 vols.) whole pages of which have been copied by al-Ghazālī into his Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn."¹⁷

Again in the same work Brockelmann, writing a notice on al-Rāghib al-Isfahānī, said, "As a quotation in the preface shows, he had already written his principal work on Ethics, Kitāb al-Dharī'a ilā Makārim al-Sharī'a before the Kitāb Mufradāt; al-Ghazzālī is said to have always had a copy of this by him."¹⁸

"Without attempting a complete review", Nicholson says in speaking of the Kitāb al-Luma', "I would mention as especially novel or noteworthy the chapters on Sūfistic interpretation (istinbāt) of the Koran and the Ḥadīth; those on audition and ecstasy, which embody excerpts from the lost Kitāb al-wajd of Abu Sa'īd b. al-A'rābī and (which) have been utilized by Ghazzālī in the Ihyā; ---." ¹⁹

In his Essai, commenting on al-Muḥāsibī's Ri'āyah, Massignon states in a footnote, "A comparison with Makkī (Qūt al-Qulūb) and Ghazzālī (Ihyā') is highly instructive. Makkī gives only a feeble reproduction of Chap. iv (i,75), v (i,178), xiv and xxiv (ii,158); and Ghazzālī in his Things that Destroy only summarizes Chap. lix (iii,113), vii (iii,203), liv (iii,237), lviii (iii,264); cf. v(iv,1). Neither of them gives the connection of the states of conscience, the method of experimental psychology taught by ²⁰ Muḥāsibī.

The Sayyid Murtada gives a list of the books which al-Ghazzālī used and from which he received benefit. Of these books those which I noticed mentioned repeatedly throughout the Kitāb al-'Ilm include the following: al-Hilyah of Abū Nu'aim al-Isfahānī, al-Dharī'ah of Rāghib al-Isfahānī, and Qūt al-Qulūb of Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī; while in the section on Intelligence mention is frequently made to Dā'ūd Bin al-Muḥabbar's

Kitāb al-'Aql which I have not been able to locate.

Of the books mentioned by the Sayyid Murtaḍa I have been able to examine only certain parts of Qūt al-Qulūb, but even this far from exhaustive examination reveals the large extent of al-Ghazzālī's dependence on Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī.

Of the many references indicated by the commentator I have been able to identify and compare approximately one hundred quotations varying in length from one to sixteen lines in Qūt al-Qulūb which means from two to sixty lines in the Kitāb al-'Ilm. In addition I have recognized numerous other passages in the Qūt al-Qulūb which I had read in the Kitāb al-'Ilm but which I have not brought together for comparison. Finally there are still a great many more which are mentioned by the commentator, where he says, "Ṣāhib al-Qūt says--", but which I failed to locate. So the approximately one hundred passages which I have been able to compare represent only a fraction of the actual references to the book, Qūt al-Qulūb, as indicated by the Sayyid Murtaḍa.

Some of these passages agree word for word with the Qūt al-Qulūb; others convey the same idea but with synonyms introduced here and there; there are others where only the gist is given; and then there are some where the order of the words is altered thus indicating a dislocation of the text or pos-

sibly the use of a text which differed from that which I had before me or even that both had drawn from another source such as al-Muḥāsibī. However, in my references to the Qūt al-Qulūb I have not tried to indicate their nature, but have simply noted their location.

One of the longest quotations is found on page 404 of the Ihyā' beginning at the third line from the foot of the page and extending to the third line from the foot of page 406. This passage follows the Qūt al-Qulūb, i;p.198: 21-199:11, practically verbatim although it does contain certain slight variations of the various kinds already mentioned.

Most of this variation in the text as found on the margin may be traced to the fact that he had probably read the account in more than one source. On page 404, for example, the Sayyid Murtada says that Ibn al-Qaiyim (who is too late for al-Ghazzālī) mentions this in Miftāh dār al-Sa'ādah and Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī in al-Qūt and Rāghib in al-Dharī'ah and Abū Nu'aim in al-Hilyah.

The extract beginning at the end of the Ihyā', i; p.446 and continuing to line 8 of page 447 is an example of al-Ghazzālī's carelessness in handling his material. Its parallel is Qūt al-Qulūb, ii; from the foot of page 60 to 61:4. The commentator says, "--and Sahl's words have ended (here,

i.e. after 'ignorance of his ignorance'). Then Ṣāhib al-Qūt begins, and he says, 'And to consider the (circumstances of the) masses and listen to the words of the heedless (is easier for them, i.e. the Abdāl, because they do not lack that where they are in the ends of the earth. And it has become obvious to you, from what precedes, that the words of Sahl al-Tustari, are this amount, "The greatest disobedience is ignorance of one's ignorance", whereas what follows is what Ṣāhib al-Qūt mentions, all of which our author suspected to be Sahl's words. So he mentioned the three sentences together and suppressed the predicate which is his (Ṣāhib al-Qūt's) saying, "--is easier for them",--."

After all, al-Ghazzālī was not interested in knowledge per se, but rather as it was a means to guide one to the right way and draw one nearer to his Lord. He was more interested in what he could do with knowledge than in where he obtained it. As Skellie says in an unpublished thesis, "As a writer al-Ghazzālī was not original in the use of the material which he incorporated in his many books. ---He was influenced by all the systems which he studied, and appropriated for his own teaching what he deemed to be the truth wherever he found it. He followed the teaching of the proverb he quoted, (p.151), 'Eat the vegetable wherever it comes from, and do not ask where the garden is.'" ²¹

Most of the references which I located are included
in the parallel lists here appended:

<u>Ihyā', i</u>	<u>Qūt al-Qulūb</u>	<u>Ihyā', i</u>	<u>Qūt al-Qulūb</u>
73:11-13	11; 5:25-26	334:26-28 cf. 11; 12:15	
:21-23	13:1	340:13-14 SMZ	1; 198:2-3
74:6-8	12:23	:29-34	197:25-198:1
86:3-7	1; 198:23-24	348:3-10	11; 9:21-23
88:1-5	11; 12:24-25	349:2-4	16:15
94:7-8	1; 198:10	355:14-356:5	10:21-24
111:7-18	11; 24:8-12	357:20-32 cf.	:17-21
121:5-122:26	1; 199:12-21	359:6-9	1; 200:3-4
135:1 ff. cf.	193:14 ff	362:2-6 cf.	11; 9:5-6
153:25-32 cf.	198:7-10	:8-12	1; 200:7-8
157:14-20	11; 9:8-10	363:17 ff.	11; 14:1-2
224:35-39	1; 194:14-16	365:1-18	:3-10
229:3-4	:16	:19-37	:11-16
:8-10	:17	366: all	15:1-11
242:1-6	11; 21:13-14	367:1-4	14:21
243:3-7	:14-15	:5-17	:16-20
244:2-14	22:4-7	:18-27	15:14-15
246:12-247:9	49:14-19	368:1-7	:23-24
264:28-266:5	13:20-26	372:9-10 cf.	9:16 ff.
276:32-277:7	1; 196:12-14	375:1-4	5:13-14
290:6-21	11; 20:21-21:1	:4-9	:15-16

<u>Ihyā', i</u>	<u>Qūt al-Qulūb</u>	<u>Ihyā', i</u>	<u>Qūt al-Qulūb</u>
375:11-15	11; 5:22-23	400:1-16	11; 11:9-15
376:1-14	9:16-20	:19-30	19:16-19
:16-24	1; 194:19-21	401: all	:23-20:7
:24-377:2	197:3-6	403:3-15	5:10-13
377:5-9	:8-9	404:21-406:17	1; 198:21-199:10
:10-15	200:5-7	409:12-410:9	201:6-13
:16-20	11; 16:1-2	419:2-4 cf.	11; 8:20-21
384:13-16 cf.	185:5-10	:4-9 "	:24-25
392:1-10	1; 199:23-25	:4-27 "	:26-9:4
:15-23	:25-200:2	420:8-14	10:15-17
393:1-4	11; 3:1	421:2-4	:17
:4-8 cf.	:9-10	:4-8	:24-25
394:4-6	1; 195:3-4	:8-22	11:4-8
:8-9	:4-5	:23-422:5	10:25-11:2
397:all	:5-8; 10-12	422:5-24	11:22-26
398:11-14	:13-14	:25-32	25:26-26:2
:15-21	196:2-4	:32-423:24	12:2-11
:21-27	:4-5	423:40-424:17	16:3-9
:29-32	:6	424:18-36	17:7-11
399:1-4	1; :7	428:4-430:7	23:6-18
:4-11	:8-10	438:14-439:3	40:1-3
:11-15	197:10-11	439:7-13	:3-5
:18-20	:24-25	442:1-6	48:1-2

<u>Ihyā', i</u>	<u>Qūt al-Qulūb</u>	<u>Ihyā', i</u>	<u>Qūt al-Qulūb</u>
442:6-17	11; 48:9-12	444:7-17	11; 59:21-23
:21-26	:16-17	:18-23	60:10-11
:27-32	49:5-7	:27-445:23	:1-10
443:8-19	:20-22	446:12-447:8	60:26-61:4
:20-24 cf.	:23-24	447:35-39	:24-25
:27-32	58:5-7		

C. A Partial Analysis of the Kitāb al-'Ilm

Ghazzālī's theory of knowledge, treated among others by Macdonald, Carra de Vaux, and Skellie (in an unpublished thesis), is dependent on his theory of the visible and the invisible worlds, the latter of which being the real world, the former, merely transitory and a reflection of the other. Just as the visible world is perceptible to man by his organs of sense, so the invisible world should be perceptible to the soul by means of spiritual sight. What prevents it are the encumbrances of the body and the encrustations of sin; but when cleansed of these, the soul is able to arrive at spiritual vision and know realities which are ordinarily hid from man. So there are two doors to knowledge: the door of the senses, and that of the spirit: that is, the mystical way.

Skellie states that man, according to al-Ghazzālī, is potentially capable of knowledge because of the principle that like can know like; that al-Ghazzālī accepted the old Greek idea of man as a microcosm and "that man is an epitomy of the world in which there is a trace of every form in the world. For his bones are like the mountains, his flesh as the dust, his hair as plants, his head as heaven, his senses as the planets,---the power in his stomach is like the cook, that in the liver like the baker, that in the intestines like the fuller, and that which makes milk white and blood red is like the dyer."

However, in his Kitāb al-'Ilm Ghazzālī mentions these ideas only incidentally, his main purpose being to treat of the science of practical religion as it concerns belief, performance, and abstention; not mystical knowledge.

This knowledge is further subdivided as follows:

practical knowledge

exterior knowledge
which deals with physical
members

interior knowledge
which deals with states of the
heart and characteristics of
the soul

acts of wor-
ship

usage

praiseworthy

blameworthy

Though al-Ghazzālī describes mystic knowledge in various ways such as, "It is a light cast into the heart (201)

"Knowledge of Allah is a sea, the utmost depths of which is not known" (212), "Inner knowledge is the ultimate goal of all knowledge" (76), "'Ilm al-mukāshafah is an expression to designate the illumination that appears in a heart after its purification from blameworthy qualities" (77), he does not believe that this is what is meant in the injunction, "Seek knowledge---." He limits the scope to religious knowledge and says it "is knowledge of how to perform the religious works which are well known to be obligatory upon Muslims" (50-60).

As to the question of how one obtains knowledge, he states that some knowledge is axiomatic, some is gained by experience, some comes by study, while the highest and best comes by direct inspiration or revelation. This grouping is shown in his section on intelligence. He says elsewhere, "Allah only cast the light of knowledge into a heart by means of angels" (198), "The blessed receive it by illumination, the wretched are denied it" (41). It is obtained by having the concealing cover of the heart removed. He says, "We mean by mystical knowledge that the cover is raised until the essence of reality in these matters is absolutely made clear for one with a clearness ~~who~~^{which} acts the same as seeing in which there is no doubt. This would be possible in the soul of man were it not that the filth of

the present world has been heaped up by rust and dirt on the mirror of his heart" (79). Allah dilates one's bosom, if He wants to cast some knowledge into it, thus making it favorable to reception of knowledge (322).

It comes by spiritual struggle: "The spiritual struggle results in vision and the minutiae of the sciences of the heart by which fountains of wisdom spring up from the heart" (296).

In his scheme of things books and teaching play a subordinate role. He says, "As for books and teaching, they do not fulfil one's expectation, but the wisdom which is beyond restriction and computation is truly opened up by (spiritual) struggle and watchfulness and practicing both physical and spiritual acts and sitting alone with Allah with a receptive heart and pure thought and cutting one's self off from everything which is other than Allah. This is the key to divine inspiration (ilhām) and the fountain of revelation (kashf)" (296); and he says, "Knowledge will not give you any part of itself until you give it all of yourself" (202).

Regarding the objective of knowledge he says, "In short, the most honorable of sciences and their utmost limit is to know Allah" (212). Education is meant to cure man of some of the things that keep him from knowing Allah and

and drawing nigh to Him, because "A learned person is better able to forsake his disobedient acts than an ignorant person" (365) and better able to tame his fleshly inclinations. "To show one that disobedient acts are deadly and destructive is one of the very beginnings of that knowledge" (201).

Man's chief concern is to obtain knowledge that is useful in the next abode. So a teacher should call a pupil's attention to the fact that the objective of the quest of knowledge is to draw nigh to Allah; not leadership, rivalry, and contention" (232) This goal is shown negatively, when both pupil and teacher are reminded that knowledge is not for the purpose of having precedence in the present world. Neither of them should seek wealth and prestige through his learning. It should be for the glory of Allah only and to please Him, whereas "--teaching in order to obtain some worldly benefit--is destruction (for one's self) and causing (others) to be destroyed, from which we take refuge with Allah" (228).

All knowledge does not have the same rank. Some is praiseworthy; some, blameworthy. Some is for the elite; some, for the masses; since the former reach an understanding of mystic knowledge which the minds of the masses can not reach.

If knowledge is one of Allah's attributes, some people

would object to its being pronounced blameworthy, but it is not knowledge per se which is blamed. It is only in respect to Allah's creatures that any blame is attached to it. This is so when it leads to harm as in the case of knowledge of magic or talismans which Ghazzālī said was real, for the Prophet himself had been affected and sickened by means of them. (116-117) It is also blameworthy, when it harms its possessor in most cases as is true of the speculative side of astrology which is pure conjecture and has no benefit. (118-121). And it is also blameworthy, when one becomes engrossed in a science of which he has not learned the prerequisites (122).

In the theory that there is a sufficient amount of knowledge for the masses and an unlimited amount for the gnostics for whom Allah has prepared what eye hath not seen and ear hath not heard, there is evidence of what Macdonald designates "an economy of learning". In connection with those who sat at the feet of certain leaders such as Sahl al-Tustarī, Ghazzālī says, "--whatever is very precious and expensive is for special people only. What is bestowed on the masses, that is easily obtainable" (327).

Because the prophets knew that the understanding of the masses was deficient, they spoke mostly about practical knowledge and only in a veiled way about mystic knowledge.

Since the learned are the heirs of the prophets and the principle of usage was so commonly accepted, there was nothing for them but to follow the same method and imitate the prophets (11).

When the masses were well grounded and knew the essentials, a teacher was advised not to disturb their beliefs, if he saw that their minds could go no further. To stir up doubts in them would be to spoil them for their work of sustaining mankind and by which the elite continue to live (240).

Although knowledge had certain benefits and was sought by some because of that, Ghazzālī points out that it entails great risk and responsibility. Those who by their knowledge seek anything but Allah's reward in the next abode are not only deserted but destroyed by knowledge. For that reason Muḥammad said, "The person most severely punished on the day of resurrection is the learned man whom Allah did not cause to benefit by his knowledge" (194). "For the danger of knowledge is great and its seeker is a seeker of eternal kingdom or perpetual bliss. There is no separation from either the kingdom or destruction" (194). "Verily a learned person will receive double punishment for his disobedience, because he disobeyed in spite of the fact that he knew (better)" (246). "Woe to one who knows, but a seven-fold woe to one who knows and does not do" (261), and "When a learned

person falls, a world of people fall with him" (264).

"Knowledge is like a sword,---. For that reason one is not permitted to sell to anyone who he knows, by the nature of his circumstances, wants to use it in highway robbery" (344). That is, the teacher must use his discretion in giving anyone knowledge. That is his responsibility.

In the field of pedagogy Ghazzālī's ideals of the office of a teacher deserve to rank with those of Hippocrates in medicine. Every young teacher would do well to read his estimate of the exalted rank of one who is going to train and teach a pupil. He says, "After prophecy, the noblest of these four professions is to provide knowledge and to train people's souls away from destructive and blameworthy character and to guide them to praiseworthy character which brings happiness; and this is what is meant by teaching" (47).

If one is to judge this work according to its scope of activity, he finds that it is most noble, as it deals with man's heart. "The noblest being on the face of the globe is man, while the noblest part of man's substance is his heart; and a teacher is engaged in perfecting, polishing, purifying, and guiding it to proximity of Allah. From one aspect teaching knowledge is a kind of worship of Allah; and from another aspect, a kind of vice-gerency of Allah; for to the heart of a learned man, Allah has granted knowl-

edge, which is the most particular of His attributes" (48-49).

He should treat his pupils as sons (228), restrain them from undertaking a subject of which they have not studied the prerequisite subject (232), correct their character by implication rather than by open censure (234), restrict pupils to the limit of their understanding (236), and emulate the master teacher, Muhammad, by not expecting any recompense for teaching, but rather to consider that the pupil has done a favor by lending him his heart as a kind of planting place (229-230).

On the other hand pupils have their offices to perform. A far cry from the present-day self expression theories were Ghazzālī's notions about a pupil's etiquette. In the hands of his teacher he should be pliable, serve him as a donkey, rush to his aid and champion him against all critics, be the first to render him a service, and to question his teacher only up to a certain extent and not press him too far.

Since knowledge is worship of the heart, a pupil's first office is to cleanse the soul of impure character (197); knowledge requires sacrifice on the part of a pupil: he should cut himself off from his home and city ties, as these are distractive (202). Allah has not made man with two hearts in his breast. So a pupil must choose between knowl-

edge and other things and give it all of himself. A pupil should begin with what concerns him most and not plunge into any branch of knowledge at one swoop (210-211). He should be able to recognize the near and the far objectives of knowledge, the latter being to meet Allah and contemplate His face.

In relation to the happiness of meeting Allah, Knowledge is divided into three parts similar to that of the pilgrimage: a) preparation, b) journeying, and c) the arkān.

It is the heart that tries to draw nigh to Allah, while the body is merely a vehicle for it. That Ghazzālī viewed knowledge from the practical as well as from the ideal side is shown in the fact that he did not despise the other sciences such as arithmetic, medicine, and jurisprudence. All of these he considered necessary because of the set-up of the present world as well as because they helped the heart by helping its vehicle. However these sciences could not hold the same rank as mystic knowledge.

As for mystic knowledge, there is no permission to reveal it (223). Happiness and salvation come through this knowledge. Salvation is obtained by every traveler provided his objective is real, that is, security from eternal destruction; but only those who know Allah obtain happiness (220). The well-grounded have apprehended this by inner

sight which is stronger and clearer than physical sight (221).

From what precedes we may conclude that our author was interested in rescuing his ideal of knowledge from the then prevalent usage of considering it to be mostly jurisprudence or scholastic theology which in his opinion did not deal with the root of knowledge, it being inner and other worldly, rather than outer and worldly.

His method of proof is to present evidential verses from the Qur'ān, like our "proof texts" from the Bible. These are followed by traditions: first, those about Muḥammad; secondly, about the Companions; then, if more proof were considered necessary, he drew upon the reason. This, however, was used to bolster up and support a premise, rather than to discover new truth.

The method is one which looks backward to a standard: the Qur'ān, the law-giver Muḥammad, and the Companions. Therein lies one's safety. In innovation lurks destruction. Imitation is the key to safety, provided one imitates the proper examples. Those whom he cited were all god-fearing, ascetic seekers of the next abode unmoved by the petty jealousies of the controversial debaters then known as "the learned".

Ghazzālī's idea of knowledge was theological in that the ultimate aim of knowledge was to bring one nearer to

Allah, and the standard by which to judge it was whether it fulfilled this function or not. Yet in spite of this, he recognized that, because of the present set-up of this world and human nature being what it is, various branches of knowledge such as medicine, arithmetic, and jurisprudence are necessary to regulate life, and they are not to be despised; but they should be recognized as instruments to this end and not considered as the knowledge the search of which is obligatory on every Muslim.

Knowledge comes to a person in various ways, but the highest method the direct illumination or revelation.

Finally, in various ways illustrated by comparisons with the pilgrimage, physicians, the sick, agriculture, and so on, he would warn all of us that knowledge is of absolutely no avail unless it is acted upon. To know the rules of health is not the same as to enjoy good health, to describe the delights of food will not appease one's appetite, and to know what medicine one should take is of little value unless he actually begins to take it. So knowledge in itself will not help one to reach the next abode unless he actually steps out and begins to journey upon the way.

NOTES

on the

INTRODUCTION

1. The spelling of this name is discussed by Macdonald in JRAS, 1902, pp. 18-22.
2. See the Mystics of Islam, R. A. Nicholson, pp.24-5
3. page 86, translation; An Early Mystic of Baghdad, Margaret Smith, p. 27
4. pp. 163-4, translation
5. i.e., Kitāb al-'Ilm
6. p.282, translation
7. p. 284 ditto
8. p. 285 "
9. p. 287 "
10. See the History of Philosophy in Islam by T.J.de Boer, translated by E.R. Jones, London, p. 158
11. See Macdonald, the Life of al-Ġhazzālī, JAOS, xx, 1899, p. 107
12. Scherer, O Youth, p. 3; Zwemer, A Moslem Seeker after God, p.21
13. Essai sur les Ecoles Philosophiques chez les Arabes,

A. Schmolders, p. 216

14. Schmolders, op. cit., p. 220

15. ditto , ditto p. 215

17. See Ency. of Islam, iii, 174

18. ditto , iii, 1097 f.

19. See The Kitāb al-Luma' fī 'l-Tasawwuf of Abū Naṣr
'Abdallāh B. 'Alī al-Sarrāj al-Ṭūsī, edited by R. E.
Nicholson, London, 1914, pp. viii-lx.

20. See Essai, L. Massignon, p. 216, note 1

21. See The Religious Psychology of al-Ghazzālī, an un-
published thesis in the Case Memorial Library, Hartford,
by W.J. Skellie, p. xi

PAGINATION

The summary of the Book of Knowledge
begins arbitrarily at page number(1)
fifty.

A SUMMARY OF THE BOOK OF KNOWLEDGE

The Introduction: The author ascribes praise to Allah and prays for His success-bringing aid in his undertaking of composing the book. He tries to silence the blamers, as he tells what impelled him to write it. No competent guides to the next world are left. There are only imitators who are in the clutches of Shaitān and who believe that jurisprudence and dialectics comprise all knowledge. Real knowledge which Allah mentioned in His book has become folded away leaving a breach in Islām which he proposes to close.

He has composed the book on four quarters: 1) a quarter on Religious Services, 2) one on Customs, 3) one on the Things Which Destroy, and 4) one on the Things Which Save. All this begins with the Book of Knowledge in which he distinguishes the useful knowledge from the harmful and proves that the present generation has deviated from the true way and is satisfied with the husk rather than the kernel. This is followed by a table of contents.

Then he tells what he plans to mention in each quarter, which is largely what the other-worldly divines consider to be important. The Ihyā' differs in five respects from other

books on these subjects: 1) unveiling and discriminating, 2) arrangement of material, 3) condensing and corroborating, 4) omitting what others accurately wrote, and 5) establishing and clarifying certain obscure matters.

There are two reasons for arranging the book in four parts: the first is that this branch of knowledge is divided into practical and mystical, each of which have two parts, thus making four; the second is that the popular science of jurisprudence, which many follow, is in four divisions and "one who follows the style of one who is beloved becomes beloved." Somebody once did this to attract a prince to the study of medicine, but this knowledge is more important than medicine, for it concerns the soul. To do this, that is to use this device to attract people to that knowledge which gives meaning to life eternal is more important than attracting them to knowledge which benefits only the physical body. Then there follows a table of contents of the Book of Knowledge which is divided into seven parts.

Part One: THE EXCELLENCE OF KNOWLEDGE AND TEACHING WITH
EVIDENTIAL EXAMPLES FROM TRADITION AND REASON

A. The Excellence of Knowledge (as Shown in)

1. Evidential verses from the Qur'ān
2. The Traditions about Muḥammad (al-akhbār)

3. Traditions about the Companions (al-āthār)

The learned are the only ones placed in the category of men, because the peculiar property by which man is differentiated from the rest of the animals is divine learning. As a sick man dies without nourishment and medicine so dies the heart, if its nourishment which is knowledge is withheld. People are sleeping; but they will pay attention, when it comes time for them to die. In this world try to benefit by acquiring what will benefit you in the next world; that is, knowledge. Knowledge elevates one's rank as is shown by the case of a certain slave. When he acquired knowledge, he was able to refuse a ruler of a city entrance to his house. If one is poor, knowledge is wealth for him; if he is rich, it is adornment.

B. The Excellence of Learning (as Shown in)

1. Evidential verses of the Qur'ān
2. Traditions about Muḥammad (akhbār)

Even the angels lower their wings in humility to a learned person who does well. To go early to learn knowledge is preferable to one hundred cycles of the worship. It is a treasure chest. To attend the public audience of a learned man is preferable to one thousand cycles of worship.

3. Traditions about the Companions (āthār)

How can one who does not seek knowledge be impelled to noble action? To learn a problem (of religion) is preferable to spending a night in (worship). The death of one thousand worshippers is easier to endure than that of a learned person. In seeking knowledge one's aim must be true.

C. The Excellence of Teaching (as shown in)

1. The Evidential Verses of the Qur'ān

Allah entered into covenant with those to whom knowledge had been given that they should reveal it and not hide it. Allah said, "Teach them the Book and divine wisdom" (2:123).

2. The Traditions about Muhammad

The learned who teach are to Allah as some of his angels; their intercession is acceptable. Knowledge passes with the passing away of the learned. A word of wisdom which you teach to a brother Muslim is equivalent to a year's worship. All manner of creatures pray for a teacher who teaches people to do good. The Prophet himself preferred a session of teaching to one of supplication. He likens people to diverse plots of ground: some receive benefit, some give benefit, some do neither. A guide to the good is like one who does it. Envy is allowable in the case of a man to whom Allah gave wisdom, who does it, and who teaches it. Muhammad's successors are those who revive and teach his law.

3. The Traditions from the Companions

A learned man mediates between Allah and His creation. The learned are lamps of their time. By their teaching the learned help mankind to rise above the level of beasts. The learned are more compassionate on Muslims than their own fathers; they keep them from the Fire. In the sight of Allah to learn knowledge is reverential fear; to teach it is almsgiving; by it Allah elevates people. It is the leader; religious works are its followers. The blessed receive it by illumination; the wretched are denied it.

D. Rational Evidential Examples

What is sought is recognition of the great value and excellence of knowledge. Therefore one must first know the meaning of excellence.

The word "excellence" is derived from fadl which is "that which is extra". Excess of perfection gives one thing excellence over another. Thus knowledge is an excellence in relation to other attributes, and it is an excellence in itself irrespective of relationship to anything else, for it is an attribute of Allah's perfection. Precious objects are sought for various reasons. What is sought for its own sake, like knowledge, is nobler and superior to what is sought for other reasons.

What is sought for its own sake is happiness in the next

world to which knowledge is the only way of approach. So it is a most excellent possession. It is a source of happiness in the present and the next world. This is not strange for the excellency of anything is known by its fruits. The fruit of knowledge is to approach the Lord of the Worlds, while in the present world it gives one great influence, as revealed by the uncultured people's respect of a learned man.

Various branches of knowledge differ in excellence. The excellence of learning and teaching is obvious from the preceding statements. If knowledge is the most excellent thing, to teach it must be most excellent. The present world is a seed-bed for the next world. In the present world man's activities are in three main divisions: first, what is fundamental; second, what is preparatory; and third, what is complementary. The noblest of these are the fundamental, while of them, political science is the noblest.

The political science which seeks to improve mankind and guide them to the straight road which saves in the present world and the next abode is of four ranks: the first and highest is the rule of the prophets; the second, the rule of caliphs, kings, and so on over both leaders and masses on their outer deeds only, not on their inner thoughts; the third, those who know Allah and whose jurisdiction is over the inner things of leaders; and fourth, the jurisconsults' rule over

the inner life of the masses only.

After prophecy the noblest of these four professions is teaching. This is nobler because of certain considerations: first, the excellence of the intellectual sciences over the lingual; second, the universality of the benefit; third, the sphere where the work is carried on. A teacher deals with the noblest part of man: his heart. He polishes and perfects it for the next abode. His service is a kind of worship, a kind of vice-gerency of Allah. He is like a keeper of His most precious treasures, and is permitted to spend it for anyone who needs it. He is an intermediary between Allah and His creatures.

Part Two: An EXPOSITION OF PRAISEWORTHY AND BLAMEWORTHY

KNOWLEDGE AND THE DIVISIONS AND REGULATIONS OF BOTH

This contains an exposition of what constitutes a personal and a general obligation and the limits of the place of theology and jurisprudence and the superiority of the knowledge of the next abode.

A. An Exposition of that Knowledge Which Is a Personal Obligation.

The Prophet said, "The quest of knowledge is an obligation on every male Muslim." "Seek knowledge, even if it be in China." People have become divided into more than twenty

groups over the kind of knowledge he meant. Each group tried to make it mean its ideas of knowledge. The jurisconsults said, "It is jurisprudence"; the commentators, "It is knowledge of the Book and usage"; the Ṣūfīs, "It is Ṣūfī teachings", but they disagreed among themselves. Abū Ṭālīb al-Makkī said it was to know the five pillars of Islām.

Since this book is concerned with only practical knowledge, we shall stop at it. It is in three parts: 1) belief, 2) performance, and 3) abstention. At puberty a rational man needs to know the two words of the testimony and needs nothing more unless new contingencies arise. He may take this knowledge on faith. This fulfils his immediate personal obligation.

These contingent circumstances may involve 1) performance of the required duties, 2) omission of some actions, or 3) may pertain to articles of faith.

Let us first consider the active duties. After the morning worship the coming of the noon worship renews a man's obligation to know how to perform the ablution and worship. One can say, "The necessity of knowledge, which is a condition of action, comes after the necessity for the act--." The same is true in the case of other acts of worship. Ramaḍān brings new obligations to know the meaning of the fast. Wealth brings the need to know about the religious tax. Likewise the pilgrimage brings new obligations. Individual requirements are

graded according to one's circumstances. A mute need not learn what is forbidden of speech, for example, as it is not obligatory to learn what does not concern one. As for beliefs, he must have knowledge of them as doubts enter his mind and he needs to learn what will clear up his doubts. These doubts may come to one's mind naturally or by being in a country where current practices stir up doubts. "Whoever learns the necessary knowledge and the time of its obligation has learned that knowledge which is a personal obligation." He will learn from part four what he needs.

It is necessary to know evil to avoid falling into it. Most of this is contained in the Perils of the Heart, which is in Part Four. Complementary to the "two words" is faith in the Garden, the Fire, the Judgment Day, and the Resurrection. Ordinarily one should hasten to learn what he expects to happen in the near future. So what Muhammad meant by knowledge which he made definite by Alif and Lam is knowledge of how to perform the religious works which are well-known to be obligatory on Muslims.

B. An Exposition of the Knowledge Which Is a General Obligation.

Obligations are distinguished by reference to the divisions of the sciences. Sciences related to general obligations are divided into 1) religious, and 2) secular. The former are

those learned from the prophets, not by use of the reason. The latter are divided into what is: a) praiseworthy, b) blameworthy, and c) permissible.

a) the praiseworthy are connected with what is beneficial to the present world, as medicine and arithmetic, and are divided into what is a general obligation and what is a virtuous act though not obligatory. A general obligation is every science which is indispensable to the set-up of the present world, such as medicine and arithmetic. If some undertake them, the obligation falls away from others. The fundamentals such as agriculture, weaving, political science, and even cupping and tailoring are among the general obligations. Without them people would be distraught with fear of destruction. A virtuous act is extra study in medicine and arithmetic beyond what is necessary.

b) The blameworthy sciences are knowledge of magic and making talismans and so on.

c) the permissible is the science of poetry which has nothing unsound in it, history of tradition, and so on.

The sciences which we intend to expound are all praiseworthy; but since some which are really blameworthy are sometimes confused with them, we divided them into praiseworthy and blameworthy. The praiseworthy have four divisions: 1) fundamentals, 2) subsidiary, 3) introductory, 4) supplementary.

1) The science of fundamental sources has four parts: a) the Qur'ān, b) usage of His Messenger, c) agreement, and d) traditions about the Companions. Agreement and the traditions about the Companions are fundamental principles because they prove usage. The Companions witnessed what others did not see.

2) The subsidiary principles are those understood from the fundamental principals by inference, if not literally. This is of two kinds: what is concerned with that which is conducive to good in the present world, and the next abode. The jurisconsults are responsible for the former. The latter concerns knowledge of the state of the heart. This is found in the latter half of the Ihyā'. The part which proceeds from the heart and affects the limbs^b in their worship is contained in the first half of the book.

3) The preliminary sciences act as instrumental sciences as philology and grammar which aid in obtaining knowledge of the Book and usage. Though not sciences in themselves pertaining to the divine law, studying them is necessary because the law came in the language of the Arabs. Penmanship is another, though not necessary; for the Prophet illiterate.

4) The supplementary sciences are divided into: what is connected with a) the words, as variant readings; b) meaning, as exposition of the Qur'ān; and c) the regulations of

the Qur'ān, as 1) knowledge of the verses that abrogate and those that are abrogated, 2) Those that have general or universal application and those that are special and particular, and 3) knowledge of verses that are definite proof texts and those whose meanings are merely probable. This science is called the Fundamental Principles of Jurisprudence and is related to the science of Usage.

Supplementary to the science of traditions is knowledge of the pedigree, rectitude, and life periods of the traditionists. All this is praiseworthy, but classed as general obligations.

Jurisprudence and jurisconsults are connected with the present world and world divines because there would be no need of them if contentions about the present world were to cease. So they need jurisconsults to help rule them. Jurisprudence is also connected with religion because the present world is a seed-bed for the next abode, and religion is only brought to completion in the present world. The state and religion are twins: religion is a foundation, while the sultan is a watchman. The way of control is by settling quarrels by jurisprudence. In jurisprudence a knowledge of the ways to govern and guard is found. The Companions used to guard against giving legal opinions but not about the science of the Qur'ān and the way to the next abode. If you object

about what is mentioned about Fasting and Prayer in the Quarter on the Various Kinds of Worship or about the Exposition of the Lawful and the Unlawful in the Section on Practice, you should know that the matters dealing with the next world most frequently discussed by the jurisconsult are three: 1) al-Islām, 2) worship and the religious tax, and 3) the lawful and the unlawful. The jurisconsult's thought is limited to the present world. He judges a man's Islam by an expression of the tongue even under constraint of the sword; the heart is outside his scope. The effect of this applies to blood and wealth, but not to the wealth of the next abode. In judging worship to be valid he depends on the outward form, not on the presence of the heart and humility and attentiveness which give the real value to the outer forms. Regarding the religious tax he is satisfied to have the sultan's requirements met, though trickery may be practiced.

As for the lawful and the unlawful, scrupulousness (war') from the unlawful comes from religion, but it has four degrees: 1) That by which a man fulfils what is due the testimony he gives. This guards from what is obviously unlawful; 2) that of the virtuous which guards from doubtful things; 3) that of the pious who forsake the clearly permissible lest it lead to the unlawful; and 4) that of believers who turn away from everything except Allah lest they spend any time on that

which does not bring them closer to Him.

All except the first degree are outside the scope of the jurisconsult. He does not speak about the scruples of one's heart. Only incidentally does he speak about the qualities of the heart and the next abode. The noble part of knowledge is to act according to it. Then how can a jurisconsult's knowledge of divorce, accusation of adultery, commercial down-payments, and hiring a thing out be considered as food for the way to the next abode.

In reply to your objection that I have made jurisprudence equal to medicine, I should say that jurisprudence is nobler from three points of view: 1) it deals with divine law, 2) neither the healthy nor the sick can dispense with it, 3) it is near to the science of the way to the next abode, because it deals with acts which in turn originate from the heart. On the other hand, sickness and health originate from the four humours which are attributes of the body. However jurisprudence is viewed in relation to medicine, its nobility is obvious.

Knowledge of the way to the next abode is in two parts: a) mystical or spiritual knowledge, and b) the science of practical religion ('ilm mukāshafah wa-'ilm mu'āmalah). The first is inner knowledge ('ilm al-bāṭin), the goal of all knowledge. It is an expression to designate the illumination that appears

in a heart after its purification from blameworthy qualities. By this many things about the Being of Allah, His attributes, and His works are disclosed as well as about the Prophet and revelation and about the Garden. After the fundamentals there are various stages in man's knowledge of these matters. Some believe all of it is symbolical; some, that part are symbolic and part are in accord with the real nature understood from the words; some, that the end of man's knowledge of Allah is his confession of the impossibility to know Him; some claim great knowledge of Him; and others, the limit is the belief of the masses.

Mystical knowledge makes these things as clear as the seeing in which there is no doubt. This is possible for man except when the mirror of his heart is heaped up with dirt. Knowledge of the way to the next abode means knowing how to clean this mirror. It is to abstain from the appetites and follow the example of the prophets. This needs discipline, knowledge, and teaching. This is not written in books and is only discussed by people who share in it.

b) the science of practical religion('ilm al-mu'āmalah) is knowledge of the states of the heart, both praiseworthy and blameworthy. For the former the author lists most of the accepted virtues and ends with mention of the science of eschatalogy. The blameworthy are mostl man's defects

which center around too great a concern for self and the things which pertain to a fleeting present world. Knowledge of the definition, real nature, causes, fruits, and ways to improve the praiseworthy characters is knowledge of the next abode and is a personal obligation. Destruction awaits one who avoids them. A jurisconsult would refrain from replying if consulted about one of them like sincerity, for example; but would tell you volumes about divorce or racing. He too, should give precedence to personal obligations, not the general. Medicine, a general obligation, is neglected in many cities, while there is competition in jurisprudence. Is this to obtain control of endowments and surpass one's contemporaries in a way which is not possible in medicine?

The deception of false teachers has effaced the science of religion. Leaders like Al-Shāfi'ī and Aḥmad Bin Ḥanbal used to consult Shaibān al-Rā'ī and Ma'rūf al-Karkhī, thus acknowledging their particular kind of knowledge. So it was said, "Those who are learned in the externals are an adornment of the earth and the visible world, just as the mystics are an adornment of the heavens and the heavenly kingdoms."

The words of al-Sarī, al-Junaid's teacher, indicate that to succeed a Ṣūfī should acquire tradition and learning before becoming a Ṣūfī. The beneficial proofs of scholastic theology are found in the Qur'ān. Beyond this is innovation.

Though not known in the time of the Companions it has become a general obligation. Philosophy is composed of four parts: mathematics, which is permissible provided people do not go too deeply into it; b) logic; c) metaphysics, which is also included in theology and some of which is false; d) natural science, some of which is contrary to religious law and true religion. There is no need of the seven sciences included in natural science. Theology became a general obligation in order to protect the masses from it. But for the innovator there would have been no need for more than what was known in the time of the Companions. A theologian should consider himself as a guard on the way of pilgrimage. He has no more religion than the belief of the masses; mystical knowledge of Allah does not appear in scholastic theology which must come by soul-struggle.

This pushes back the scope of the theologian and juriconsult to that of guarding and preserving. Why do you demean them so? For answer I say to know the truth is the ideal way, not to know it by means of men who represent it. These men agree that they are outstanding; however precedence is by knowledge of the next abode and walking on its way. Abu Bakr's precedence was due to something in his heart. Seek that. There were thousands who knew Allah in the time of the Prophet but who knew nothing of scholastic theology and the fatwa.

'Umar was one of them. He used to refer people to the Amirs, when they came for opinions. At his death people said that nine-tenths of the knowledge of Allah had died. Favor with Allah is one thing; fame with man, another. Abu Bakr's fame was in the caliphate; his excellency, in the knowledge of Allah because of the conscience which was put in his heart. Jurisconsults and scholastic theologians are like caliphs, judges, and the learned. Allah is pleased with those of them who seek to please Him with their knowledge. A physician and a sultan may draw nigh to Allah by trying to please Him with their work.

Drawing nigh to Allah has three divisions: 1) knowledge alone, 2) work alone, and 3) work and knowledge combined. Try to be in the group that knows and works. Those who followed the early Imams wronged them (by their desire for prestige), for the early Imams sought only to please Allah and guard a worshipper's heart from harm. What we mention will show that we our criticism was leveled at the unworthy followers of these Imams, not at the Imams themselves. The five Imams: al-Shāfi'i, Mālik, Aḥmad Bin Ḥanbal, Abū Ḥanīfah, and Sufyān al-Thawrī, were all ascetics and devotees and tried to please Allah by his jurisprudence. The present jurisconsults follow them in only the one quality which is suitable for both the present and the next world: preserving the subordinate elements of

jurisprudence.

Then follows a group of examples to point out the other four qualities in the lives of the five Imams: Worship, asceticism, knowledge pertaining to the next abode, and good intention. Al-Shāfi'i devoted one third of the night to worship; for sixteen years he did not know satiety in food and drink; he venerated the name of Allah by not swearing by it; he knew how to be silent as well as not to listen to evil; he proved his asceticism by his open-handedness and his fear of Allah; He did not acquire his fear and asceticism from knowledge of salam and ijārah and so on, but from knowledge of the next abode obtained from the Qur'ān and traditions.

Maxims transmitted by tradition prove his knowledge of the heart. He said allurement is the secret of hypocrisy. Testing comes before achievement which is a grade of the prophets. Abraham, Moses, Job, and Joseph were all tested. A man is learned when he knows a science for a certainty.

As for his desire to please Allah by his discussions and jurisprudence, he never wanted his opponent to err. He wanted the truth to appear. Aḥmad Bin Ḥanbal prayed for him for forty years. Compare this with the enmity between the moderns. Aḥmad said no one writes without being indebted to al-Shāfi'i. Most of this comes from a book by Shaikh Naṣr Bin Ibrāhīm al-Maqdasī on the virtues of al-Shāfi'i.

On the search of knowledge Mālik said one should stick to what he needs from morning to evening of life. His extreme veneration of the science of religion led him to perform an ablution before relating anything. This shows his recognition of Allah's majesty. Had he not desired to please Allah by his knowledge he would not have permitted himself to reply, "I do not know", to many questions. Even a caliph's whip did not prevent him from relating what he considered true. His asceticism is shown in his refusal to accept three thousand dinars from Harūn al-Rashīd and leave al-Madīnah. Whatever came from his admirers, he distributed. He was ashamed to ride a horse over the ground ^{of the city} where the Prophet lay buried. So he gave away beautiful steeds presented to him. He told Harun al-Rashid that people should come to knowledge, rather knowledge go to people.

Abū Ḥanīfah had these four qualities . As a man of prayer, he kept all night vigil. As an ascetic, he endured twenty lashes rather than be overseer of the treasury. Ibn Mu-bārak said he was offered the present world and fled from it. Abū Ja'far al-Mansūr gave him ten thousand dirhams which he refused to use and which he commanded his son to return at his death. His knowledge of the next abode is proved by the intensity of his fear of Allah. His taciturnity is a sign that he had mystical knowledge.

This book is replete with tales of Ahmad and Sufyan. So we shall not go into details now. The knowledge of the three whom we mentioned is the fruit of knowledge higher than the ordinary jurisprudence.

PART THREE: PART THREE CONCERNS WHAT THE MASSES CONSIDER TO BE PRAISEWORTHY SCIENCES, THOUGH THEY ARE NOT.

A. An Exposition of the Cause of Blame in the Blameworthy Sciences

Knowledge is blamed with respect to creatures for one of three causes:

1). When it leads either its possessor or somebody else into harm, such as magic and talismans which are used for harming people. Whatever is a means to evil is evil.

2). What is harmful to its possessor in the majority of cases, as astrology, which in itself is not blameworthy. It has two parts: a) this is concerned with calculation, and b) this is concerned with the decree of the stars and is inferential. The Prophet disapproved of this. Astrology is forbidden from three aspects: a) It is harmful to most people who get the impression that the stars cause effects, as most of man's observation is limited to the subordinate causes. b) It is pure conjecture. Disapproval lies in the fact that it is ignorance. Prognostication is right only by coincidence.

c) There is no benefit in it and results in a great loss of time. What is decreed is finished, and it is impossible to guard against it.

3). Knowledge is blamed when people get in beyond their depth. Many people would have been better had they stuck to the essential beliefs. To show that ignorance sometimes benefits he gives a story of how a doctor cured a woman of barrenness. Be content to following the Companions' usage. Much that you know is harmful to you. The Companions are the doctors of hearts. If you judge their usage by your intellect, you will perish. Their prescriptions are likened to those of a clever physician but which seem to be the height of improbability. Just as the mind fails to grasp all the benefits of medicine, it fails to apprehend the mysteries of the knowledge of the next abode. Experience can not help, because no one has returned from the dead. It is enough that the mind lead you to a belief in the veracity of the Prophet. This is why he said, "In knowledge there is ignorance; and in speech, weakness."

B. An Explanation of those Scientific Terms Which
Were Changed

The garbling of terms has lead to confusion between the blameworthy and the lawful sciences. They are five terms:

fiqh, 'ilm, tawhīd, tadhkīr, hikmah, all of which are praiseworthy names now given to blameworthy ideas.

1. The first is al-fiqh (jurisprudence). This has been given to study of the unusual subdivisions of legal decisions, while in the first Muslim century it meant knowledge of the way to the next abode, and philologically fiqh and fahm have one meaning. Piety is the fruit of fiqh, not of giving judgments and opinions. The real faqīh helps people to know Allah's compassion, His circumvention (makr), His mercy, and does not forsake the Qur'ān. Mālik called attentive study of the Qur'ān and numbering Allah's mercies fiqh. Muhammad said that it is to detest people for the sake of Allah and to know the Qur'an has many aspects. It did not mean to memorize subordinate branches of legal opinions. In general it was ascribed to knowledge of the next abode. People turned to the newer specialization of the word and avoided knowledge of the next abode and qualities of the heart. Since mystic knowledge is abstruse and difficult, they more readily turned to legal decisions and judgments.

2. The second term is al-'ilm (knowledge). From knowledge of Allah the word has been particularized to mean knowledge of controversy about fiqh and other subjects. Now the word 'ālim is ascribed to one who knows practically nothing of Allah, His rules, deeds, and attributes.

3. The third term is al-tawhīd (affirming the oneness of Allah). This has been ascribed to scholastic theology, the Mu'atazilites calling themselves "the people of justice and the affirmation of the oneness of Allah", though their particular science was unknown in the first Muslim century. It really is to see clearly that all good and evil come from Allah, a fruit of which is trust. Others are satisfaction and surrender. Al-tawhīd has two coverings. The first is to say in contradiction to tathlīf, "There is no god but Allah". The second, which is the tawhīd of the masses, is to have no contradiction or denial of what he understands of this statement. The heart of the matter is that all but Allah be severed from one's attention so that He alone is worshipped. This excludes following one's evil desires (al-hawa), the most odious god in the sight of Allah. It also excludes anger and seeking approval from people. This tawhīd was a station of the righteous. Notice how the name has become bankrupt of meaning. Unless his heart is present one's tawhīd has no meaning, for the tongue sometimes lies. Allah looks at the heart.

4. The fourth term is dhikr and tadhkīr (remembering and admonishing). There are many traditions in praise of sessions of dhikr. Muhammad said the gardens of the Garden are the sessions of dhikr. Modern exhorters persist in: a) stories, b) poems, c) extravagant utterances (shath), and d) ecstatic ut-

terances (tāmnāt).

a) Stories are innovation which appeared about the time of the Civil War in 'Alī's time. Ibn 'Umar, Sufyān, Ibn Sīrīn, al-A'mash, and Ahmad Bin Hanbal declared them innovation. 'Alī expelled story-tellers from the Basrah mosque, but permitted al-Ḥasan to remain, for he was reminding people of Allah, which is praiseworthy reminding. Story-tellers have transferred "tadhkir" to their fabulous tales. Some have some good in them. The Prophet's stories are allowed, if the relater is veracious. Praiseworthy stories are those contained in the Qur'ān as well as valid traditions. Rhymed prose is forbidden.

b) To employ much poetry in the address is blameworthy. Most of the poetry employed by exhorters stirs up passions. It should have a lesson or wisdom in it, though it may do no harm in a group of people well known for their love of Allah.

c) By shath we mean two classes of speech introduced by some Sufis. (1) attainment of the stage of identification and doing away with externals so that they imitate al-Ḥallāj and al-Bistāmī. It has such great harm for the masses that to kill one who practices it is preferable to causing ten to live. Al-Bistāmī's words should be considered as quotation, not as though he thought he was Allah. (2) They are words which the speaker does not understand or they are understood, but he can not find would to express his ideas. This has no

benefit, as each one will understand it according to his inclination and nature. Muhammad advised confining one's self to what people can understand.

d) Ecstatic utterances (tāmmāt), sharing what was mentioned about shath, are characterized by changing the obviously understood sense of jurisprudence terms to inner meanings which have no benefit, thus leading to a loss of confidence in the terms. This is like the custom of the Bāṭiniyah sect whose doctrines are refuted in our book al-Mustazhiri. The absurdity of this is well known by well established information and is forbidden in accordance with Muhammad's saying, "Let the dwelling of one who explains the Qur'ān according to his opinion be in the Fire." For one to falsely interpret the Qur'ān is like falsely ascribing a tradition to Muhammad, but the evil is greater, as it robs the Qur'ān of meaning.

5. The fifth term is al-hikmah (wisdom). The name hakīm is now used indiscriminately for a physician, a poet, and an astronomer, and even for one who rolls dice in the streets, although al-hikmah is what Allah praised. Notice what it stood for and to what it has been changed.

The corrupt divines harm more than the devils, for by them the devil becomes equipped to remove religion from the heart. The sciences of the Fathers are effaced; people run after innovation nowadays.

C. An Exposition of the Praiseworthy Amount
of the Praiseworthy Sciences

In this respect knowledge is of three kinds :

1). What is blameworthy, be it little or much, has no benefit in religion or the present world and wastes one's time. The harm of some of it exceeds what benefit one might get out of it.

2). What is praiseworthy in its entirety is knowledge of Allah in all its phases. One's life time is too short to spend in it, for it is a bottomless sea. Not written in books, it can be seen in the lives of the other-worldly divines, and needs constant struggle to be reached. Devotional exercises help one to attain it.

3). That of which only a special amount is praiseworthy is what we mentioned at the beginning of the section under "General Obligations". Each of these has a minimum, a moderate amount, and an excess. Then be one of two men: (a) occupied with your own soul, or (b) devoting yourself to others after finishing with yourself, but do not try to improve others before improving yourself. If you are occupied with yourself, engage in only what your circumstances require, most important of which are the inner attributes of the heart. Weed out the blameworthy. Only quacks emphasize the externals. One who

destroys himself in doing what is advantageous to others is simple-minded. General obligations may be undertaken, when one has finished with himself. He should observe a gradual progress; first the Qur'ān, then usage, and so on. Then he may engage in the subsidiary sciences dealing with religious practices, a minimum amount of which should suffice. In exposition this amounts to double the Qur'ān ; a moderate amount, triple it; while beyond that is excess. In tradition a minimum is the two Ṣaḥīḥs; a moderate amount, what is not in these but is in the four sound sunan; excess is what goes beyond this. In jurisprudence a minimum is our Khulāṣah of al-Muzani's Mukhtasir; a moderate amount is our al-Wasīṭ min al-Madhhab which is three times that; exhaustive research is what goes beyond what is mentioned in al-Basīṭ. The necessary amount of theology to preserve orthodoxy is what we set forth in the Kitāb Qawā'id al-'Aqā'id in the Iḥyā'; moderation, al-Iqtisād fī 'l-I'tiqād which is necessary to combat innovators. Beliefs are rarely changed once they become crystallized. If they are changed by argument, they may be changed back by other arguments. Kindness, mercy, and advice in private is better. This advice is not from one who is ignorant but one who outstripped his fellows in these matters. Polemics, not known by the Fathers and the Companions, is an outlet for vanity and prestige, harmful to the truth. One should consider him-

self alone with Allah, while at hand are Death, the Day of Judgment, the Day of Reckoning, the Garden, and the Fire. Let him ponder over what is before him and leave all else. A tradition says, "After having had guidance, people only err, when they are given polemics." Another says, "Logic is given to a people only to hinder their good works."

PART FOUR: THE CAUSE OF PEOPLE'S GIVING THEIR ATTENTION TO
THE SCIENCE OF CONTROVERSY AND AN EXPLANATION OF THE DEFECTS
OF DEBATE AND POLEMICS AND THE CONDITIONS WHICH MAKE THEM
LAWFUL

After the rightly-guided caliphs came those who held the office without desert and who were obliged to seek the help of the learned who in turn shunned them. People, seeing the influence of knowledge, sought it to obtain prestige. Questions about theology and legal opinions were prevalent. Later people, seeing the destructive results of these subjects, forsook scholastic theology and problems concerning al-Shāfi'i and Abū Ḥanīfah. Had the leaders chosen to discuss other Imams, the people would have followed them and said they were trying to defend religion and draw nigh to Allah.

A. An Exposition of the Deception in Trying to Make
These Debates Resemble the Consultations of the
Companions and the Conferences of the Fathers

People were attracted by gradual delusion on the basis of seeking the truth. The process was likened to that of the Companions in giving mutual aid in deciding problems. To do this has eight conditions or signs:

1) Since it is a general obligation, one who is not free from personal obligations should not engage in it. This is like one neglecting worship himself in order to get clothes for a worshipper.

2) He should not see some other general obligation which is more important than debates. That would be like neglecting Muslims who are dying of thirst, while he teaches the art of cupping. Medicine is a general obligation with a crying need that is being neglected, while many engage in debate.

3) The debater should be independently able to give an opinion. Then he will follow the truth regardless of the name of the school with which it is connected. Otherwise there is no benefit in debating.

4) In general one should debate only an actually occurring problem or one about to occur. The Fathers debated only new problems.

5) It is better to debate in seclusion than in auditoriums. The latter cause a debater to strive for prestige.

6) The debater should be like one seeking a stray animal and care little on whose tongue the truth appears. Thus he

would consider his opponent as a helper in the quest for truth, as the Companions did. Even a woman corrected 'Alī. One who seeks the truth is impartial, but present day debaters are not so.

7) The debater should not prevent his opponent from changing from one proof to another and he would exclude all the novel refinements of dialectics from the debate. He would not assert that some things he knows are not incumbent on him to mention. That may be true according to dialectics, but not according to divine law. The Fathers never prevented anyone from changing from one proof to another.

8) One should debate with one engaged in knowledge from whom he expects some benefit, whereas modern debaters seek one who is less learned.

These will suffice to show the difference between one who debates for Allah and one who debates for a worldly cause.

B. An Exposition of the Defects of Debating and

Some of the Things Growing out of It

Which Destroy Character

Debates arranged for the purpose of overcoming an opponent and so on are the source of all character blameworthy with Allah and praiseworthy with His enemy, Iblīs. Their relationship to internal evils is the same as that of drinking wine to external evils. The Quarter on the Things That Destroy

will mention the blameworthiness of these characteristics. Here we mention the sum total of what these debates stir up.

1) Envy. A debater does not cease envying. Ibn 'Abbās said, "--jurisconsults--are as jealous of one another as goats in a fold."

2) Pride and self-exaltation. The debater persists in magnifying himself and fighting for a certain seat in the assembly. He terms humility, baseness; and pride, prestige of religion, as he attempts to explain his attitude.

3) A debater is hardly ever free of spite, while Muhammad said, "A believer is not spiteful."

4) Backbiting. Allah likened this to eating something dead. He quotes what harms his opponent.

5) Self-justification, while Allah said, "Do not justify yourself--" (53:33). A debater is not void of self-praise.

6) Prying into private affairs. A debater seeks to find his opponent's defects so that he may mention them if necessary.

7) Joy in what harms people and sorrow over their joy, whereas one who does not desire the same good for his brother Muslim which he wants for himself is far from a true believer. This is not the free fellowship and ease of minds which existed among the former Muslim divines. Knowledge was a uniting bond.

8) Hypocrisy. Outwardly debaters are mutually gentle in speech, while inwardly they are mutually hateful in heart.

9) To hate and disdain the truth and to covet opposing it, so that the most hated thing for a debater is for the truth to be made known on the tongue of his opponent. So he denies and disowns it.

10) to act the hypocrite and seek to turn people toward one's self. A debater only wants to show off before people and set their tongues wagging in praise of him.

From each of these ten others branch off which are mentioned as a group. The less respectable are drawn into fist-cuffs; the more respectable debaters, conceal these traits. The same bad qualities are found in those engaged in admonition and sermonizing, if their aim is the present world. So knowledge destroys or gives gives life forever. Its danger is great. One who seeks leadership is on the road to destruction, while others are sometimes reformed by him.

There are three kinds of learned: (a) those who are destroying themselves and others, (b) those who help to save themselves and others, and (c) those who are destroying themselves and saving others.

Notice to which division you belong. Allah will accept knowledge and action done purely to please Him.

PART FIVE: THE MANNERS OF PUPIL AND TEACHER

A. The Pupil's Outward Manners and Offices Are Many,

But Their Different Aspects May Be Arranged under Ten Head-
ings

1) To give precedence to purifying the soul from impure character and blameworthy qualities, for knowledge is worship of the heart, secret prayer, and a mystical oblation to Allah. As in worship, the physical members must be clean; so in this worship of the heart, the inner life must be clean. Allah casts the light of knowledge into hearts by means of angels who will not enter a house where there are dogs. So cleanse your heart of the dogs which may be considered as its evil qualities. Some who seem to have knowledge and whose character is bad, have only the shell; for one of the beginnings of knowledge is to show that sin is destructive.

2) To diminish one's attachment to the present world and draw away from one's people and native land. These are distractive, and knowledge will not give you a part of itself until you give it all of yourself.

3) One should not feign knowledge and become a ruler over his teacher, but he should be soft and pliable in the hands of his teacher. As one escaping from a lion accepts aid from all sources, he should accept knowledge wherever it comes from. The pupil should be to his teacher as soft earth which receives the copious rains. He should even set aside his own opinion in favor of his teacher's experience.

He should not press for an explanation, as it is a teacher's right not to be questioned too much. And a pupil should be the first to help a teacher.

4) At the beginning one who is going to plunge into knowledge should avoid listening to disagreement, for that is bewildering and might cause him to despair of attaining. For teacher he should choose one who can arrive at independent decisions. A novice cannot imitate the well-grounded, for because of their extra ability they have more liberty.

5) A student should not forsake any part of the praiseworthy sciences nor any one of its various kinds without giving its purpose and aim careful consideration. Then, if time permits, he may go deeper into it. The sciences are mutually helpful.

6) One should not plunge deeply into any particular sort of knowledge in one swoop, but observe the gradations, and begin with what concerns him most, and perfect the noblest of sciences, that is, knowledge of the next abode. I mean certain belief, the fruit of the light which Allah has cast into the heart and by which Abu Bakr surpassed others. The ultimate aim of knowledge is to know Allah and man's highest degree in it is that of the prophets.

7) One should not go deeply into an art until he completes the prerequisite art, for the sciences are arranged

in an exact necessary order. Study to get nearer to the next higher art. Do not drop one of them because of one man's mistake in it nor accept another because one man succeeded in it. Rather know the truth about it.

8) One should know the means by which to apprehend the noblest of sciences. That is the nobility of the fruit and the reliability and strength of the proofs. Thus knowledge of Allah is noblest because its fruit is everlasting life.

9) The pupil's present purpose should be to adorn and beautify his inner life with virtue and in time to come, draw nigh to Allah and ascend to the proximity of the archangels. With such an aim he would seek knowledge of the next abode. This does not mean that we despise the others sciences, as all have their place and excellence is only relative. Allah will benefit all who aim to please Him with no matter what science.

10) One should know the relation of the sciences to the objective in order to prefer what is high and near to what is distant and what is of most concern rather than something else. One's greatest concern is his business in this world and in the next. Like the pilgrimage the sciences have three grades: preparation, the journey, and the essentials. Medicine and jurisprudence resemble preparations for the pilgrimage. The discipline of the inner life resemble the journey. Knowledge

of Allah and His attributes resembles the essentials. Jurisprudence and medicine are likened to getting a camel and provisions ready for the pilgrimage because they deal with the body, whereas it is the heart that seeks Allah. The body is only its vehicle. On the way to Allah the body acts for the spirit as a camel does for the body on the way of pilgrimage. Medicine is the art of balancing the bodily humors, while jurisprudence or political science is the art of preserving a balance in man's contentions and disputes. Those engaged in jurisprudence resemble those who are engaged in buying the camel, not those who are traveling on the way.

B. An Exposition of the Duties of a Teacher Who Guides

Acquiring knowledge, like acquiring wealth, has four states: seeking, obtaining, enlightenment, and the noblest of all, enlightening others. One who does the last will be called great in the kingdom of heaven, but teaching carries a grave responsibility. Some of a teacher's offices are:

1) He should have sympathy for his pupils and treat them as sons. When the teacher and pupils aim at the next abode there will be only harmony and love among them; if their aim is the present world, only destruction results.

2) He should emulate the giver of the divine law and not seek recompense, but teach for the sake of Allah, nor should

he consider that he does them a favor, rather they favor him in entrusting their hearts to him. Were it not for the pupil he would not receive Allah's reward for teaching.

3) He should hold back no advice to the pupil, and should prevent him from exposing himself to a rank for which he is not prepared and from engaging in the hidden knowledge before finishing the clearly obvious. He should remind him that the objective of the quest of knowledge is to draw nigh to Allah, and he should show him that leadership, rivalry, and contention are ugly. He should leave a pupil who seeks the present world with his knowledge.

4) He should prevent the pupil from bad character by implicit rather than explicit ways. If people are forbidden to do something, they think there is some good in it.

5) One who is responsible for one of the sciences should not villify, in the presence of the pupil, the sciences that are beyond it. He should rather enlarge the way to it.

6) He should limit the pupil to the measure of his understanding and not give him something which his intellect has not reached.

7) He should give a weak pupil only the clear knowledge which suits him and not mention that he keeps back some of the fine points, for that makes him imagine that his teacher is miserly. The most stupid consider themselves most bright.

Doubts should not be stirred up in the masses, for it spoils their work by which the elite are sustained.

8) The teacher should practice what he knows, and his deeds should not belie his words. The teacher who guides aright and the pupil who seeks guidance resemble a tree trunk and its shadow and a mold and the clay; how can the clay be molded by something which has no shape, and when will a shadow be straight, while the tree trunk is crooked? Therefore a teacher should not prohibit people what he does himself. That makes the crime of a learned person greater than that of an ignorant one.

PART SIX: THE PERILS OF KNOWLEDGE AND AN EXPOSITION OF THE
SIGNS OF THE OTHER-WORLDLY AND THE CORRUPT DIVINES

The 'ulamā' al-dunya are the 'ulamā' al-sū'; those whose objective in the present world is soft living and prestige. So much has been said about their punishment we should know their signs. Then follow many quotations to emphasize the responsibility of a learned person as well as his danger of great punishment, such as, a learned person will receive double punishment for his disobedience. 'Īsa said, "The corrupt divines are like a rock dropped on the source of a water-course. It neither drinks the water nor leaves it free for agriculture. The other-worldly divines succeed in getting close

to Allah and have signs that distinguish them from others.

1) They do not seek the present world by their knowledge. The lowest grade of learned person recognizes the contemptibleness of the present world and the majesty of the next. He realizes that the two are contradictory. Then follow many quotations to show how the learned despise the present world. Several of them occur also in Qūt al-Qulūb, one of which is: Allah has described the corrupt divines as eating the present world by knowledge, and He describes the other worldly divines with "humility and asceticism".[#] Another shows that all living things pray for the learned person who uses his knowledge rightly, while one who sells it for a price will be bridled with a bit of fire on the resurrection day. This also is in Qūt al-Qulūb. Ma'ādh Bin Jabal gives a tradition which describes different kinds of learned persons on seven different steps of the Fire. This too is in Qūt al-Qulūb. Hasan al-Baṣrī refused five thousand dirhams and ten changes of clothes. So the other-worldly divines despise the present world.

2) Their deeds do not contradict their speech, rather they do not enjoin what they would not be the first to do. Then follow many traditions to show how this is dislike with Allah, such as, "Woe to one who does not know, but a seven-

Qūt al-Qulūb, ii; p. 14:1-2

fold woe to one who knows and does not do", said Abū al-Dardā' . "When a learned man falls, a world of people fall with him", said 'Umar, and the fall of a learned man is one of the things that destroy Islam.

3) Their concern is to obtain knowledge which is useful for the next abode and which requires obedience, and they shun the sciences the benefit of which decreases, and about which disputation and talk increases. To engage in dialectics rather than knowledge concerned with acting is like an invalid's neglecting his medicine and talking about the art of medicine. In thirty years Ḥātim al-Aṣamm felt that he had learned only eight things from his teacher, but they all were useful in the next abode. So his teacher declared he had obtained all that is in the Tawrah, the Injil, the Zubur, and the Qur'ān. Al-Dahhāk Ibn Mazāḥam said, "I knew the Companions, and they only learned scrupulousness from one another, whereas today they only learn theology."

4) They do not lead an easy life in respect to luxury in food and drink, softness in clothing, and ornamented furnishings and dwellings, but prefer moderation and imitate the Fathers and incline to be satisfied with a little. Then follow three anecdotes about Ḥātim al-Aṣamm rebuking certain learned people in Rai, Qazwīn, and al-Madīnah for their elegant living. Though the Fathers lived in threadbare clothes

and forsook adornment, the latter is not forbidden as is shown in an exchange of letters between Yahya Bin Yazid al-Nawfalī and Mālik Bin Anas. A peculiarity of the godly divines is reverence, while a peculiarity of reverence is to be well away from places that are suspected of danger.

5) They try to be remote from sultans and avoid visiting them as long as there is a way of escape. Rather one should avoid mingling with them, even though they should come to visit him. The present world is attractive, and one who visits sultans can not help being enamored with it. Then follow anecdotes indicating the danger of associating with sultans: Sufyān said, "In Jahannam there is a valley where reside only Qur'ānic readers who often visit kings." In this there is proof that one who visits sultans is not at all safe from hypocrisy which is contrary to faith. Yet Shaitān tempts one by asserting or suggesting that if he visits them, he might be able to change their ways.

6) They are not precipitate in giving legal opinions, but are hesitant and wary. Many quotations follow, many of which are from Qūt al-Qulūb, to the effect that the learned were not afraid to say, "I don't know", when questioned. Al-Sha'bi said, "'I do not know' is half of knowledge--." Somebody else said, "When a learned person is asked about a problem, he feels as if his molar is being extracted." The

learned used to refer questioners to others and some even wept, when consulted. In the present time the affairs of the learned are quite the opposite.

7) Most of their concern should be about mystic knowledge and watchfulness of the heart, and knowledge of the way and their journey to the next abode. Vision and the minutiae of the sciences of the heart by which fountains of wisdom spring up from the heart are the results of spiritual struggle. Books and teaching fall short of one's expectation. Spiritual struggle, sitting alone with Allah, , having a receptive heart and pure thought, and cutting one's self off from all else but Allah; this is the key to divine inspiration and the fountain of revelation. Then Allah opens up subtleties of wisdom which astound the minds of those who are possessed with intelligence. The way one receives the mystic light depends on external knowledge. Of the Qur'ānic secrets many a fine distinction occurs to the minds of the devotees of remembering and reflection which the most excellent commentators do not know. The other-worldly divines' knowledge derives most of its benefit from doing and continuing to struggle.

8) They have a strong concern to strengthen certain belief (al-yaqīn), for it is the invested capital of religion. The Prophet said, "Certain belief is faith in its entirety."

There is no escape from learning the knowledge of certain belief. People are advised to sit with the learned to obtain it. The speculative and scholastic theologians use the expression al-yaqīn for different ideas. They use it to express the absence of doubt. There are four degrees in the soul's inclination to believe anything: (a) when belief and disbelief are evenly balanced. This is doubt or uncertainty (al-shakk), (b) the soul inclines toward one of two matters, though it feels the possibility of its contradiction. This is supposition or a preponderant belief (al-zann), (c) the soul inclines to believe something because it overcomes the soul and no other possibilities occur to the mind. This approaches al-yaqīn, but is not true knowledge. It is the belief of the masses (al-i'tiqād) concerning all their religious ordinances; (d) this is true knowledge obtained by demonstration which removes all doubt. When doubt is removed, it is called al-yaqīn by the speculative philosophers.

The second technical usage, that of the jurisconsults, Sufis, and most of the learned, pays no attention to probability and uncertainty, but to ruling and dominating the mind. This kind is described by "weak" and "strong" belief, and has various degrees. Other-worldly divines should remove doubt and then set up certain knowledge as sultan over the soul. It is characterized by: (a) strength and weakness, (b) paucity

and abundance, and (c) obscurity and clarity.

Some of the principal ideas connected with certain belief are al-tawhīd which is to consider that everything comes from Allah and to pay no attention to the intermediaries. This eliminates giving vent to one's feelings about everyday happenings. From this comes confidence that Allah will supply his daily needs, which would eliminate greed and cupidity. Then one realizes that Allah is always watching him. So he guards all his acts. He cares more for building up his inner life and adorning it for Allah than he does for pleasing people. So he acts as though he were always in the presence of a great king. This gives rise to many praiseworthy qualities like modesty and fear of Allah. Certain belief is the origin and foundation and many of its parts will be mentioned in the quarter on The Things Which Save.

9) An other-worldly divine should be sad, contrite, downcast, silent, and give the appearance of piety on his countenance, his clothing, his conduct, his motion and his quiescence, and his speech and his silence. The other-worldly divines are known by their sign of tranquility, submissiveness, and humility. Numerous traditions follow to illustrate, many of which occur in al-Qūt. 'Alī said, "If you hear knowledge, stop speaking; and do not mix it up with sport, for then the intellect rejects it." One of the Fathers said, "If a

learned person laughs vociferously, he is absolutely refected from knowledge." In short, the other-worldly divines continue to have the traits of character which the Qur'ān brought because they learned the Qur'ān for the sake of acting, not for the sake of leadership. Five of their traits of character are understood from five verses of the Book: fear, submission, humility, good character, and to prefer the next abode to the present world, which is asceticism.

10) Most of their discussion should be about practical knowledge and about what corrupts it and confounds hearts and incites satanic thoughts and stirs up evil; for surely the root of religion is to guard against evil. The worldly divines spend their time following the strange rarely occurring cases of law, while the Fathers were more concerned with the states of the heart. Some learned about evil in order not to fall into it. Such was Hadhīfah's case, who was called sāhib al-sirr. Most of mankind take the easy way, whereas the way of truth is arduous. Its possessor endures bitterness now in order to enjoy sweetness in the next life, while the worldly divines reach it bankrupt. While countless numbers listened to the worldly divines of Basrah, only a few listened to Sahl al-Tustarī, al-Ṣubḥī, and 'Abd al-Rahman Bin Yahya al-Aswad, because whatever is very precious and expensive is for special people only.

11) Their knowledge should depend on their intelligence and understanding with purity of heart, not on pamphlets, books, and imitation of what is heard from others; for in reality Muhammad and the Companions are the ones who should be imitated. One should seek to understand Muhammad's secret and not be a mere memorizer. One whose heart Allah has enlightened becomes followed himself; he can accept some knowledge and reject other, as Ibn 'Abbās did. Those who were closest to the Prophet have more claim to be followed, for some of his light was shed on them and they saw his acts. As depending on others was disliked, so is depending on books which, after all, are a recent innovation. Some even objected to writing down the Qur'ān. In the fourth Muslim century books on theology appeared and drew people to its study and to narrations and exhortation. So certain knowledge began to be effaced from that time. The disputative theologian was called "learned" as was also the story teller who adorned his speech with rhymed prose, and the name passed on to their children. Except for the specialists the difference between 'ilm and kalām disappeared.

12) One should be strictly on his guard against new things, even if a great many should agree on them, and not be deceived by people's agreement on what has happened since the time of the Companions. Examine the lives of the Com-

panions to see where their concern lay. The most learned of the time are those who most nearly resemble the Companions and who are most informed about the way of the Fathers. Al-Hasan asserted that two new types of man had arisen: one who states that the Garden is for one who thinks as he does, and an effeminate man who worships and seeks the present world. Both should be cast into the Fire. Numerous traditions follow to warn one to steer clear of innovation. "Every newly-happened thing is an innovation", "The worst part of anything is its newness", and "It is not necessary for one to whom something good has been revealed to do it until he hears of it in the traditions of the Companions." Others show how innovations had been resisted as in the introduction of the platform in the place of worship and covering the floor with carpets. The Prophet explained "deceive your people" by saying, "For one to introduce an innovation which he instigates people to do." Another person stated that all that has originated since the time of the companions which goes beyond the bounds of necessity is sport and pastime. A fairly long selection from Qūt al-Qulūb[#] indicates that Iblīs' army had no power against the believers who imitated the Companions. One can learn what Iblīs said, because Allah reveals knowledge to certain people. Disapprove what exceeds your

Qūt al-Qulūb, ii; p.60: 1-10

limit; ignorance is better than intelligence which leads to a denial of such matters as the saints of Allah. Sahal al-Tustarī said, "Truly, the greatest disobedience is to be ignorant of one's ignorance--". The disobedient masses are more fortunate than those who are ignorant of the way of religion and who believe they are learned, for the masses confess their shortcomings and seek forgiveness. For the religious man the safest course is withdrawal as he will see in the book of "Withdrawal".

Be one to whom these qualities are ascribed or one who confesses his shortcomings, but do not be a third (ie. one who disavows).

PART SEVEN: INTELLIGENCE; ITS NOBILITY, VERACITY,
AND DIVISIONS

A. An Exposition of the Nobility of Intelligence

Since the nobility of knowledge has been shown and since intelligence is to knowledge as a tree is to fruit not much time will be spent in trying to make the nobility of intelligence obvious. Beasts and uncultured peoples respect intelligence. Then follow excerpts from tradition and the Book to indicate its nobility. An intelligent person is one who obeys Allah; the ignorant person, he who disobeys Him. Mon-

keys and pigs are more intelligent in Allah's sight than one who disobeys Him. Allah's first and most honorable creation was intelligence. A worshipper's faith is not perfected till his intelligence is made perfect. The Prophet said that everything has a vehicle and a man's vehicle is his intelligence; it is religion's support, a worshipper's objective and motive, and the merchandise of the dilligent. One who is most perfect in respect to his intellect is he whose fear of Allah is strongest and who is the very best in respect to observing His commands and prohibitions.

B. An Exposition of the Veracity and Divisions of Intelligence

Various ideas being ascribed to al-'aql cause a disagreement about its definition, for it is a name ascribed jointly to four different ideas.

1) The first is that quality by which man is differentiated from the rest of the animals and by which he is prepared to receive the speculative sciences and to manage the hidden reflective arts. Just as life is an innate instinct which distinguishes the animal world from the mineral, so intelligence is an instinct which differentiates man from animals.

2) The knowledge which comes into existence in the essence of a child which distinguishes between the possibility

of the possible and the impossibility of the absurd, such as the knowledge that two is greater than one and that one person cannot be in two places at one time.

3) Knowledge acquired from experience. One having it is said to be intelligent; one without it, simple and ignorant.

4) The power of this natural disposition leads one to know the issue of affairs and to tame and conquer his appetite which tempts him to follow after fleeting delight.

The first is the foundation; the second is closest to it; the third is a branch of both, while the fourth is the ultimate aim. The first pair come by nature; the latter, by acquisition.

The Prophet said that an intelligent person is one who is pious, even if he is contemptible in the present world. The word originally denoted the innate quality and it was ascribed to knowledge from the point of view that it is its fruit, just as something is known by its fruit. The hidden powers are brought out by certain happenings and are like the water under the ground which is gathered together, when man digs a well.

C. An Exposition of People's Disparity in Intelligence

People differ in all except the second division which is axiomatic knowledge. As for the fourth, the domination

of a strong will in taming fleshly inclinations, not only is there disparity among people but even in an individual's attitude toward various activities. Sometimes it is due to a difference in fleshly inclination; sometimes, to a difference in knowledge of the harm of the appetite. Fear of the consequences becomes a soldier for intelligence. So a well-instructed person is better able to forsake his disobedience. People also differ in experiential knowledge both in amount and speed of understanding. This may be due to a disparity in the innate quality which is witnessed in the wide difference between a dull-witted man at one end and the prophets at the other. They received much by illumination (ilhām) which differs from clear revelation (al-wahy) which is hearing a voice with the auditory sense and seeing an angel by vision. Knowing the degrees of revelation does not evoke its function; even a sick doctor may know the stages of health. There are many differences in people's instinct of intelligence. Allah said He had created as many diverse kinds of intellect as the grains of sand. Certain Sūfīs blame intelligence because people have twisted its real meaning to that of dialectics and debate. As for the mystic light of intelligence by which Allah and the veracity of His prophets are known, how can one blame that? We mean by intelligence what (our interlocutor) means by 'aīn al-yaqīn and nur al-imām,

and it is the mystic quality by which the human being is differentiated from animals so that by it he understands the real state of matters.

Most of the confusion has come from the ignorance of people who sought inner realities from outer terms, and they were confused about them on account of people's confusion in the use of conventional terms.

This suffices as an exposition of intelligence. The Book of Knowledge is completed with praise to Allah. If He wills, the Book of the Rules of Beliefs will follow.

And we praise Him alone, first and last.

PART II

TRANSLATION

NOTES

BIBLIOGRAPHY

INTRODUCTION

1

In the name of Allah, the Merciful and Compassionate.

Firstly, I utter the praise of Allah abundantly and unceasingly even though the declaration of praise of those who utter praise is insignificant, less than what is due to His majesty.

Secondly, I ask blessing and peace for His messengers, a blessing which shall include, along with the chief of mankind, the rest of those sent as messengers.

Thirdly, I pray Him, who is exalted, to prosper me in what my resolution has impelled me to (undertake, namely) to compose a book on Ihya' 'Ulūm al Dīn, The Vitalizing of the Religious Sciences, and,

Fourthly, I hasten to put a stop to your expression of amazement, O you who blame others but blame too much, you who disapprove heedlessly and go too far in your reproach and disapproval.

For what has loosened the bond of silence from my tongue and imposed the responsibility of speech and the obligation of utterance on me is (first) your persistent

blindness to the true state of the Divine Reality along with your obstinate aid of what is baseless and your approval of ignorance, and (secondly) the stirring up of evil against anyone who prefers to depart slightly from the ways followed by mankind and who inclines a little from adherence to prescription and towards practice as knowledge requires, out of eager desire to obtain that purity of soul and soundness of heart by which Allah attached him to His service or worship, and (thirdly) to rectify some part of my past life which was wasted, despairing (however), of completely redeeming and restoring it, (but) escaping from the depths (in which those are) of whom the bringer of divine law (Muhammad) said, "The man most severely punished on the Day of Resurrection will be the learned person to whom Allah did not cause benefit to come by his learning".

By my life! there is no reason for your persistent disapproval except ignorance and the disease of insufficient observation of the high importance of this matter which has spread over high and low, nay rather embraces great multitudes. This is a dreadfully serious matter. The next life is approaching; the present world is vanishing. The appointed time of life is near, the journey is far, food for the journey is small in quantity, dan-

ger is great, the road is blocked, and whatever learning or work is not purely to please Allah is rejected in the presence of the All-seeing Critic.

With neither guide nor companion the journey on the road to the next life, with its many pitfalls, is toilsomely tiresome. The guides to the road are the learned who are the heirs of the prophets, while our age is left without them, and only those who seek to resemble them remain, while Shaitān has the mastery over most of them. Going to excess in disobedience has led them astray, and every one of them has become infatuated with his worldly fortune. They have begun to consider the approved as disapproved and the disapproved as approved so that to the ends of the earth the banner of religion has become effaced and the light of guidance has disappeared.

They made the people imagine that there is no knowledge except (1) the formal legal opinion of a government by which judges seek help in settling law-suits, when the foolish people quarrel; or (2) ability in disputation by which one who seeks glory arrays himself to conquer and silence by argument; or (3) adorned rhymed prose by which² the exhorter seeks to delude the masses gradually, since they do not see anything but these three as a trap and a snare to secure the unlawful vanities (of this world).

As for knowledge of the next life according to which the religious fathers walked and which Allah, in His book, called "discernment" (6:65), "wisdom" (2:272), "knowledge" (3:5), "illumination" (21:49), "light" (5:18; 39:23), "right guidance" (2:14; 6:70), and "rectitude" (2:182), it had become folded away and quite forgotten among the people. After this had become a penetrating breach and an intensely black calamity in religion, I considered it an important duty for me to occupy myself in composing this book in order to vitalize the religious sciences and to reveal the ways of the early Imams (religious leaders) and to clarify the prohibitions of the beneficial sciences current among the prophets and righteous fathers.

I have put it in four parts which are (1) a quarter on Religious Services, (2) a quarter on Customs, (3) a quarter on the Things which Destroy, and (4) a quarter on the Things which Save.

The whole I have prefaced by the Book of Knowledge; because it is of the highest importance that I disclose first of all that knowledge by seeking which the notables, in accordance with the words of the prophet, worshipped Allah. For the Prophet of Allah said, "To seek knowledge is a duty for every Muslim".

In it I distinguish useful knowledge from that which

is harmful; for he (Muhammad) said, "We seek refuge with Allah from any knowledge which does not benefit." I prove that the present generation has deviated from the right rule of conduct and that they are being deluded by the glimmer of a mirage and that they are being satisfied with the husk rather than the kernel of the religious sciences.

The quarter on Religious Services embraces ten books:

- 1) the Book of Knowledge,
- 2) the Book of the Articles of Faith,
- 3) the Book of the Mysteries of Ceremonial Purity,
- 4) the Book of the Mysteries of Worship,
- 5) the Book of the Mysteries of the Religious Tax,
- 6) the Book of the Mysteries of Fasting,
- 7) the Book of the Mysteries of the Pilgrimage,
- 8) the Book of the Proper Manner of Reciting the
Qur'ān,
- 9) the Book of Invocations and Supplications,
- 10) the Book of the Arrangement of the Devotional
Portions in their Appointed Times

As for the quarter on Customs, that also embraces ten books:

- 1) the Book of the Etiquette of Eating,
- 2) the Book of the Etiquette of Marriage,

- 3) the Book of the Rules of Gain,
- 4) the Book of the Lawful and the Unlawful,
- 5) the Book of Etiquette of Friendship and Association with Various Kinds of People,
- 6) the Book of Seclusion from Society,
- 7) the Book of the Etiquette of Travel,
- 8) the Book of Mystical Audition and Ecstasy,
- 9) the Book of Commanding the approved and Prohibiting the Disapproved,
- 10) the Book of the Etiquette of That Whereby One Lives and the Character of the Prophet

As for the quarter on the Things which Destroy, it also embraces ten books:

- 1) the Book of the Explanation of the Marvels of the Heart,
- 2) the Book on the Discipline of the Soul,
- 3) the Book of the Defects of the Two Appetites, the Physical and the Sexual,
- 4) the Book of the Defects of the Tongue,
- 5) the Book of the Defects of Anger, Hatred, and Envy,
- 6) the Book of Blameworthy Aspects of the Present World,

- 7) the Book of Blame of Wealth and Stinginess,
- 8) the Book of Blame of Repute and Hypocrisy,
- 9) the Book of Blame of Pride and Self-Conceit,
- 10) the Book of Blame of all Blameworthy Deceit

As for the quarter on the Things which Save, it also embraces ten books:

- 1) the Book of Repentance,
- 2) the Book of Patience and Thanksgiving,
- 3) the Book of Fear and Hope,
- 4) the Book of Poverty and Asceticism,
- 5) the Book of Belief in the Unity of Allah and
Reliance on Him,
- 6) the Book of Love and Ardent Longing and
Pleasure and Satisfaction,
- 7) the Book of Intention, Sincerity, and Pure
Devotion,
- 8) the Book of Godly Watchfulness and Examina-
tion of Conscience,
- 9) the Book of Meditation,
- 10) the Book of the Remembrance of Death

As for the quarter on Religious Services, I plan to mention in it some of their obscure ways and minute usages and their secret meaning which the man who learns and prac-

tices has need of; rather there are none of those who are learned in the knowledge of the next life who do not study them, although they are , for the most part, neglected in the department of jurisprudence.

As for the quarter on Customs, I plan to mention in it the mysteries and hidden depths of the current manner of carrying on transactions among people and their minute usages and the ways to be scrupulously pious that are obscure. They are a part of the things which a religious man cannot do without.

As for the quarter on the Things which Destroy, I plan to mention in it every blameworthy characteristic which the Qur'ān declared should be extinguished and from which the soul should be cleansed. I plan to mention the definition and real nature of every one of these characteristics. Then I plan to mention the cause from which it originates; then the defects of which it is made; then the signs by which it is recognized; then the methods of treatment by which one is saved from each one of them. (To all this) evidentiary verses (of the Qur'ān) and traditions³ (spoken by Muḥammad and coming from the Companions) are joined.

As for the quarter on the Things which Save, I plan to mention in it every praiseworthy characteristic and

desirable quality of those who are near Allah and of the righteous by which a creature draws near to the Lord of the Worlds. In regard to every quality I plan to mention its definition and real nature, the means by which it is acquired, the fruit from which benefit is received, the signs by which it is recognized, and the excellence for the sake of which it is desired; (all of this) along with some evidentiary examples of the law and reason which are related to them.

People have composed books concerning some of these ideas, but this book (the Ihyā') differs from them in five ways: the first, unbinding what they bound and unveiling what (they veiled and making clear what) they gathered together without discrimination; the second, arranging what they scattered and putting in order what they separated; the third, abbreviating what they made lengthy and proving what they reported; the fourth, omitting what they wrote accurately; the fifth, establishing the truth of certain obscure matters which were difficult to be understood and which were not presented in books at all.

Although the 'Ulamā' have one way of acting, it is not to be denied that every one of the travelers also calls attention to some matter that is peculiar to himself and that his companions are heedless of. Or they are not

heedless about calling attention to it, but they neglect to mention it in books. Or they do not overlook it, but something prevents them from removing the cover from it (and making it clear). So these are the special properties of this Book, besides its inclusion of all these various kinds of knowledge.

Only two things induced me to arrange this book in four parts. The first and fundamental motive is that this arrangement in establishing what is true and in making it understandable is, as it were, inevitable; because the branch of knowledge by which one starts towards the next ⁴ world is divisible into the knowledge of practical religion and mystical knowledge.

By mystical knowledge I mean that by which only the unveiling of that which is to be known is sought. By knowledge of practical religion I mean that knowledge from which practice of it is sought as well as its unveiling or discovery. That which is sought from this book is only knowledge of the practice of religion; not mystical knowledge which is not allowed to be put into books, even though it is the ultimate goal of devotees and the object which the great believers aspire to see.

The knowledge which deals with the practice of religion is the way to it (mystical knowledge), but the

prophets spoke with the (rest of) creation only concerning knowledge of the way and guidance to it. As for mystical knowledge, they spoke concerning it only by figure and sign, by simile and generalization, because they knew that the understandings of men were deficient in ability to bear with (such knowledge), and "the learned are the heirs of the prophets".⁵ So there is no way open for them to turn aside from the path of imitation and conformity in keeping it hidden.

Then the knowledge of practical religion is divided into (a) exterior knowledge- I mean knowledge of the physical activities- and (b) interior knowledge- I mean knowledge of the activities of the heart:

(a) Those that take place through the physical members are either (1) acts of prescribed worship, or (2) acts that are in accordance with custom.

(b) The influence which comes, from the Unseen World of Spirits,⁶ upon hearts which are in the predicament of being kept separated from the external senses, is either (1) praiseworthy, or (2) blameworthy.

So it must needs be that this branch of knowledge should be divided into two parts, external and internal. The external part, which is connected with the physical members, is subdivided into acts of worship and acts that

pertain to traditional usage. The internal part which is connected with the states of the heart and the characteristics of the soul, is likewise subdivided into blameworthy and commendable states. So the total makes four divisions, and consideration of the branch of knowledge dealing with the practice of religion does not depart from these divisions.

The second motive is that I saw that the eager interest of students was trustful concerning the science of jurisprudence which is suited (for those who do not fear (Allah) to be put on for the sake of showing superiority and manifesting one's high rank and position in personal aspirations. It (jurisprudence) is set forth in four divisions, and he who follows the style of one who is beloved becomes beloved.

So I did not put away (my desire) that the arrangement of this book should be in the form of the Science of Jurisprudence in a gentle effort to win hearts over gradually. For this same purpose some one who desired to have the hearts of princes feel an inclination for medicine acted in a subtle manner and composed something in the form of an astronomical chart set in tables and figures which he called the Chart of Health, in order that their enjoyment of that sort might attract them to its study. Acting in a

subtle way to attract hearts to the knowledge which will give meaning to life eternal is more important than subtle acting to attract them to medicine which benefits only the physical body, for the fruit of this branch of knowledge is the medication of hearts and spirits by which one reaches a life which lasts forever.

For (in comparison) where does one rank the science of medicine by which one treats bodies which, by necessity, are exposed to corruption in the nearest limits of time. Then let us ask Allah for His success-bringing aid to the right guidance and the right course, for He is gracious and generous.

THE BOOK OF KNOWLEDGE CONTAINING SEVEN PARTS

Part One: the Excellence of Knowledge, Teaching,
and Learning

Part Two: the Sciences that Are Personal and General Obligations, an Explanation of the Definition of Jurisprudence and Scholastic Theology in the Science of Religion, and an Explanation of the Science of the Next Life and the Present World

Part Three: What the Masses Regard as the Sciences of Religion but Which Are Not; Containing an Explanation of the Kind and Extent of Science Which Is To Be Condemned

Part Four: The Science of the Differences in Doctrine and Practice of the Schools and the Science of Dialectics

Part Five: the Etiquette of the Teacher and the Student

Part Six: the Defects of the Learned's Knowledge as well as the Signs Which Differentiate the Worldly Divines from the Other-Worldly

Divines

Part Seven: Concerning Reason: Its Excellence, Divisions, and What Is Mentioned about It in the Traditions

PART ONE

THE EXCELLENCE OF KNOWLEDGE AND TEACHING WITH EVIDENTIAL EXAMPLES FROM TRADITION AND REASON

A. The Excellence of Knowledge

1. Its evidential examples from the Qur'ān are His saying, "Allah, the angels, and men endued with knowledge testified that there is no god but He, performing righteousness---" (3:16). Notice how He began with Himself and mentioned secondly the angels and thirdly the people of knowledge. This ought to satisfy you with respect to its honor, excellence, and majesty as well as to its being endowed with superior qualities.

Allah said, "Allah will raise to lofty degrees those of you who believed and those to whom knowledge is given", (58:12).

"The learned", said Ibn 'Abbās,⁷ "are as much as seven
⁸hundred degrees above the believers. Between each two degrees is a distance of a five hundred year journey".

"Say, 'Are those who know and those who do not know equal?'" , said Allah, (39:12).

He said, "Those of Allah's creatures who fear Him are the learned ('Ulamā')". (35:25)

Allah said, "Say, 'Allah suffices as witness between me and you and the one who has knowledge of the book.'" (13:43)

Allah said, "The one ⁹ who has some knowledge from the book said, 'I will bring it to you'", (27:40) as a notification that he was able to do it by the power of his knowledge.

He said, "Those who were given knowledge said, 'Woe to you. Allah's reward to one who believes and does good is better.'" (28:80) He made it plain that the great value of the next abode is known by knowledge.

"And these examples we set forth to man, and no one understands them except those who know", said Allah. (29:42)

Allah said, "Were they to refer it to the Messenger and to those of them who have authority, then those of them who investigate would know it." (4:85) (Then observe how) He actually referred His judgment concerning events to their investigation and (how He) joined their rank to the rank of the prophets in unveiling the judgment of Allah.

In (one of) His sayings we read, "O, children of Adam, we have sent down to you a garment to cover your nakedness", that is, knowledge, "and ornament or excellent clothing",

that is, certainty, "and the garment of piety", that is modesty. (7:25)

Allah said, "And we surely brought them a book which we have made distinct according to knowledge". (7:50)

"Let us explain to them with knowledge," said Allah. (7:6)

He said, "But they are signs which are very clear in the breasts of those to whom knowledge was given." (29:48)

And Allah said, "He created man; He taught him discrimination." (55:2,3) And He mentioned that only to show the bestowal of benefit.

2. The traditions (al-akhbār)

The Messenger of Allah said, "Allah causes one whom He wishes to honor to be a fagīh in religion (one who has keen discernment), and He inspires him (yulhimuhu) with respect to right conduct."

He said, "The learned are the heirs of the prophets", and it is known that there is no rank above prophecy and no honor above the inheritance of that rank.

Muhammad said, "All that is in the heavens and on earth ask forgiveness for the learned man". What position exceeds that of one for whom the angels of heaven and earth occupy themselves in asking forgiveness, for he is engaged

in his own affairs while they are engaged in asking forgiveness for him?

"Wisdom adds nobility to the noble and raises the servant till he reaches the attainment of kings", said he. By this he has called attention to its fruits in the present world, and it is well known that the next abode is better and more enduring.

Muhammad said, " In a hypocrite two qualities do not exist: 1) good conduct, and 2) discernment in religion." Do not doubt (this) tradition on account of the hypocrisy of some of the learned (fukahā') of this time, for by it he did not mean the "figh" which you think.

The meaning of "al-figh" will follow. The least degree of a "faqih" is that he should know that the next abode is better than the present world; and he is freed from hypocrisy and sham by this cognition, if it is believed and if it masters him.

He said, "The most excellent of men is the learned believer, who, when needed, is useful; and when there is no need of him, he makes himself free from want."

"Belief is naked and its garb is piety", said Muhammad. "Its adornment is modesty; and its fruit, knowledge".

"Those nearest to the degree (darajah) of prophethood", said he, "are the people of knowledge and religious

warfare". As for the people of knowledge (ahl al-'ilm), they directed people to that which the messengers brought; and as for the religious warriors (ahl al-jihād), they waged a religious war with their swords in accordance with what the messengers brought.

He said, "Truly the death of a tribe is more convenient than the death of a learned man."¹¹

"Men are like mines of gold and silver", he said. "The elect among them in the Days of Ignorance are the elect in al-Islām, if they have discernment."

Muhammad said, "On the Day of Resurrection the ink of the learned will balance the blood of the martyrs."¹²

"On the Day of Resurrection I shall be a mediator and a witness for anyone who memorizes forty traditions of my law in order to give them to my people", said he.

(Again) he said, "Whoever of my people will carry forty traditions will meet Allah on the Day of Resurrection as a man possessing knowledge (faqīh) and learned.

"Allah will put an end to the anxieties of one who becomes well versed in His religion", said Muhammad, "and He will provide the necessities of life from where he least expects."

He said, "Allah revealed by inspiration (auha) to Ibrāhīm, 'O, Ibrāhīm, surely I am learned. I love every

learned one."

"A learned man", he said, "is the person on earth in whom Allah confides."

"There are two categories of my people", said Muḥammad. "If they are in sound condition, mankind is in sound condition; and if they are bad, mankind is bad. They are the princes and the those who have discernment (al-fuḡahā')".

He said, "If there should come a day in which I do not increase in respect to knowledge which draws me nearer to Allah, then in the rising of the sun of that day there is no blessing for me."

Concerning the superiority of knowledge over religious service and testimony he said, "The superiority of a learned man over a worshipper is like my superiority over the lowest of my disciples." So see how he made knowledge to be joined to the rank of prophecy and how he put down the rank of action without knowledge, even if the worshipper is not void of some knowledge of the religious service in which he perseveres and without which there would be no religious service.

He said, "The superiority of a learned man over a worshipper is like the superiority of a full moon over the rest of the planets."

"On the day of resurrection three (groups) will inter-

cede", said he. "(They are) the prophets, then the learned, then the martyrs." How great is a rank which follows prophecy and is above martyrdom!

Muhammad said, "Allah is not worshipped by anything more excellent than discernment in religion, and (I am sure that) one person of discernment (faqīh) has more power over the adversary (shaitān) than a thousand worshippers. Everything has a support; and the support of this religion is discernment (fiqh)."

He said, "The best of your religion is the most convenient of it, and the most excellent of worship is discernment (fiqh)."

"The superiority of the believer who is learned over the believer who is (simply) a worshipper is seventy degrees", said Muhammad.

He said, "Verily you are in a time (that has) many people of discernment, few devotees of reading the Qur'ān and reciters of public prayers; its (the time's) askers are few, its givers are many. In it to do is better than to know, and there will come a time to mankind (when) the people of discernment will be few; the reciters of public prayers, many; the givers, few; the askers, many; in which it will be better to know than to do."

"Between a learned man and a worshipper", he said,

"there are a hundred degrees. Between each two degrees is the distance which a well-trained horse can run in seventy years."

When he was asked, "O, Messenger of Allah, what action is most excellent?" he replied, "Knowing Allah".

(Pushing their inquiry further) they said, "We mean 'actions'."

"Knowing Allah", he replied.

Then they said to him, "We ask about action, and you reply about knowledge."

So he said, "Truly a little action with knowledge benefits, whereas much action with ignorance does not benefit."

Muhammad said, "On the Day of Resurrection Allah will raise the worshippers; then He will raise the learned. Then He will say, 'O, company of learned, I put my knowledge in you only because I knew you, and I did not put my knowledge in you in order to punish you. Go, for I have surely forgiven you'."

3. The traditions from the companions of Muhammad (al-
āthār)

a ruler, while wealth is something ruled; and (as for) wealth, dispensing decreases it, whereas knowledge increases by spending." ¹⁵

'Ali also said, "The learned is more excellent than one who fasts, who performs his religious duties, and who wages a religious war; (and) when a learned man dies, he makes a great breach in Islām which only one who succeeds him closes." ¹⁶

In verse he said,

"Glory is only for people of knowledge, for they,
To those who seek guidance, are guides to the right
way.

Each man's value lies in that in which he is well-
versed,

Whereas the ignorant are enemies of the learned.
Devote yourself to knowledge, and by it you will live
forever;

Mankind is dead, but the people of knowledge are
living."

¹⁷
Abu al-Aswad said, "There is nothing more highly esteemed than knowledge. Kings are rulers over people, while the learned are rulers over kings."

¹⁸
Ibn 'Abbās said, "Sulaimān bin Dā'ūd was allowed to choose among knowledge, wealth, and dominion; and he chose

knowledge. Then he was given wealth and dominion with it."

¹⁹
Ibn al-Mubārak was asked, "Who are the (perfect) people?" and he answered, "The learned."

Then they asked, "Who are the best kings?"

"The ascetics", he answered.

"Who are the most base?" they demanded.

He said, "Those who use their religion for this present world."

The only ones he placed in the category of men were the learned, because the peculiar property by which man is differentiated from the rest of the animals is divine learning. For man is a man through that (quality) by reason of which he is noble (i.e. knowledge). And he is not so (i.e. noble) by the strength of his body, for the camel is stronger than he; and not by his size, for the elephant is larger than he; and not by his bravery, for the lion is braver than he; and not for his eating, for in respect to his belly the ox is more capacious than he; and not because he copulates, for the sparrow is stronger in covering than he; but he was created only for the sake of divine knowledge.

One of the learned said, "Would that I knew what one who has missed knowledge comprehends and what thing escapes him who comprehends knowledge."

Muḥammad said, "One to whom the Qur'ān is given and

who thinks that anyone is given something better than it (the Qur'ān) has certainly minimized what Allah magnified."

20

Fath al-Mawṣili said, "Does a sick person not die when food, drink, and medicine are withheld?"

"Certainly", they replied.

He said, "Likewise the heart. If wisdom and knowledge are withheld from it three days, it dies."

He certainly spoke the truth, for the nourishment of the heart is knowledge and wisdom, and by these two is its life just as the nourishment of the body is food. Then the heart of one who loses knowledge is sick and his death is inevitable, but he does not feel it, for his love of this world and his preoccupation in it obliterate his feelings just as the predominance of fear sometimes absolutely nullifies the pain of a wound, while it is actually taking place. For when death puts the burdens of this world away from him, he senses that he is perishing and he has very great regret. Then it does not benefit him. That is like the feelings of one who is saved from his fear and one awakened from drunkenness, in regard to the injuries which he incurred in his state of drunkenness or fear. So we take refuge with Allah from the day of removing the cover (i.e. taking away ignorance). Truly people are sleeping; and when they die, they will begin to pay attention.

21

Al-Ḥasan said, "(On the Day of Resurrection)[#] the ink of the learned will be weighed against the blood of the martyrs, and the ink of the learned will over-weigh the blood of the martyrs."

22

Ibn Mas'ūd said, "Seek to have knowledge (i.e. of traditions) before it is taken away, and it is taken away by the death of those who narrate it. By the One who has my soul in His hand, men killed as martyrs in the way of Allah want Him to raise them as learned because they have seen how much respect they have. For no one is born as a learned person; truly knowledge ('ilm) comes by learning."

Ibn 'Abbās said, "Meditating (alone or with others) about knowledge part of a night is more liked by me than passing (the whole of) it awake (in worship)." In like manner (this is related) on the authority of Abu Hurairah and ²³ Ahmad bin Hanbal: Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī said, in commenting on Allah's saying, 'O, our Lord, give us some good in this world and in the next abode', (2:197) "Verily in this world it is knowledge and worship; in the next abode, the Garden."

24

Some one said to one of the philosophers (ḥukamā'), "What things do you acquire?"

He replied, "Those things which will float with you, when your boat sinks: that is knowledge." Some one said,

"By 'the sinking of the ship' he meant the destruction of

#Reading with S. M. Z. yaum al-qiyāmah

his body by death."

Somebody said, "People will take as an Imām one who takes wisdom as a bit, and eyes will regard with respect one who is known by his wisdom."

25

Al-Shāfi'ī said, "It is a part of the nobility of knowledge that everyone to whom it is ascribed, even in a trifling matter, is happy; while he from whom it is withheld is sad."

26

'Umar said, "O, people, seek to get knowledge, for Allah has a robe which He likes, and with which He will clothe one who seeks a portion of knowledge; and if anyone sins in any way, He will grant him His good will three times lest He should despoil him of that robe, even if that sin continues with him till he dies."

27

Al-Aḥnaf said, "The learned are almost masters; and all majesty which is not strengthened by knowledge results in humiliation."

28

Sālim Ibn Abī al-Ja'd said, "My master bought me for three hundred dirhams and set me free. So I asked (myself), "What kind of work shall I take?" Then I took knowledge as my occupation; and before a year had passed, the ruler of the city came to pay me a visit; and I did not permit him (to enter)."

29

Zubair bin Abū Bakr said, "My father wrote to me in

Iraq, 'Seek to get knowledge; for if you become poor, it will be wealth for you; and if you become rich, it will be beauty for you'." And that was related in Luqmān's³⁰ advice to his son. He said, "O, my son, sit in the company of learned men and crowd as closely as possible to them, for Allah revives hearts with the light of wisdom just as he revives the earth with the heavy rains of the heavens."

One of the philosophers (ḥukamā') said, "When a learned man dies, the fish in the sea and the bird in the air weep for him; his face may be missed, but what he said is not forgotten."

³¹Al-Zuhrī said, "The word 'knowledge' is masculine (in gender), and only strong men like it."

B. The Excellence of Learning

1. As for the evidential verses of the Qur'ān, there is His saying, "And if a party of every band of them march not out (to war), it is that they may instruct themselves in their religion." (9:123)

Allah said, "Then ask the learned, if you do not know."³²
(16:45; 21:7)

2. As for the traditions from Muḥammad (akhbār),

there is his saying, "If one follows a road on which he seeks knowledge, Allah will cause him to walk on a road to the Garden by means of it (i.e. knowledge)."

"Truly the angels, pleased with what the seeker of knowledge does, lower their wings in humility to him", he said.

Muhammad said, "Your going early to learn some kind of knowledge is preferable to your performing one hundred cycles (rak'ah) of the worship."

"Any branch of knowledge which a man learns", he said, is better for him than the present world and what is in it."

He said, "Seek knowledge, even though it be in China."

"Knowledge is a treasure chest the keys of which are the asking of questions", said Muhammad. "Therefore ask, for truly four persons are rewarded by it, namely; the one who asks, the one who is learned, the one who hears, and the one who loves them."

He said, "It is not necessary for the ignorant person to remain silent on account of his ignorance, nor for the learned man to keep silent on account of his knowledge."

(This is found) in a tradition of Abu Dharr, ³³ "Attending the public audience of a learned man is more excellent than performing a religious service of one thousand cycles

visiting a thousand sick people, and being present at a thousand funeral services."

So somebody asked, "O, Messenger of Allah, and (is it better) than reading the Qur'ān?"

He countered, "Does the Qur'ān benefit without knowledge?"

"There is only a difference of one degree in the Garden", he said, "between the prophets and one who dies while seeking knowledge by which to revive Islām."

3. As for the records of the followers (āthār), Ibn 'Abbās said, "I was humble while I was a seeker (of knowledge); therefore I became respected and sought."

34

In like manner Ibn Abī Mulaikah said, "I certainly have not seen any one like Ibn 'Abbās: when I see him, I think he is the most handsome man in appearance; and when he speaks, the clearest man in speech; and when he gives an opinion, the most learned."

Ibn Mubārak said, "I marvel how the soul of one who does not seek knowledge can impel him to noble and generous action."

One of the philosophers (hukamā') said, "I pity no one the way I pity one of two men; 1) a man who seeks knowledge and does not understand it, and 2) the man who

understands knowledge and does not seek it."

³⁵
 Abu'l-Dardā' said, "To learn a problem (of religion) is more preferable to me than to spend a night (in worship)." And he also said, "Both the learned and the student are partners in (doing) good; the rest of the people are ignoramuses in whom there is no good." And he also said, "Be learned or a learner or a listener, but do not be a fourth, for you will perish."

³⁶
 'Aṭā' said, "A session of knowledge atones for seventy (i.e. innumerable) sessions of entertainment (lahw)."

'Umar (bin al Khaṭṭāb) said, "The death of a thousand worshippers who spend the night in worship and the day in fasting is easier (to endure) than the death of a learned person who is keen to know the things permitted and forbidden of Allah."

Al-Shāfi'i said, "Seeking knowledge is superior to performing the supererogatory worship."

³⁷
 Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam said, "I was studying under Mālik, and noontime came. So I gathered up my books in order to perform the worship (i.e. the nāfilah). He said to me, "Say there, what you have got up to do is not superior to what you were doing, if your aim is true." (i.e. if you are learning in the desire to act upon your learning).

Abū 'l-Dardā' said, "If anyone thinks that rising early in the morning to seek knowledge is not religious warfare, he is lacking in thought and reasoning power."

C. The Excellence of Teaching

1. As for the evidential verses of the Qur'ān, there is His saying, "Let them warn their people, when they return to them, that they may take heed to themselves", (9:123), which means to teach and guide.

There is Allah's saying, "And when Allah entered into covenant with those to whom the Book had been given, it was that it might surely be made known to men and that they might not hide it", (3:184) which is a positive direction to teach.

And His saying, "And truly there is a party of them that surely hide the truth, though they know (it)" (2:141), prohibits concealing (it) just as the Exalted One said concerning testimony, "And whoever conceals it, surely causes his heart to sin." (2:283).

The Prophet said, "Allah did not give a learned man (knowledge) without also taking a pledge on account of it similar to the pledge which He took from the prophets to explain it to mankind and not to hide it (i.e. His message)."

Allah said, "And who speaks better than one who invites (people) to Allah and does good?" (41:33) Again He said, "Then summon (people) to the way of your Lord with wisdom and beautiful preaching." (16:126)

Allah said, "Teach them the Book and divine wisdom." (2:123)

2. As for the traditions (akhbār), there is Muḥammad's saying, when he sent Mu'ādh³⁸ to al-Yaman, "Surely that Allah³⁹ should guide one man by you is better for you than that you should have the present world and what is in it."

The Prophet said, "Whoever learns a section of knowledge ('ilm) in order to teach mankind is given the recompense of seventy great believers."

⁴⁰ 'Isā said, "One who is learned and does good works and teaches is called great in the kingdom of heaven."

The Messenger of Allah said, "When the Day of Resurrection comes, Allah will say to His worshippers and His people who take part in religious warfare (al-mujāhidīn), 'Enter the Garden'; and the learned will say, 'By the excellency of our teaching they worshipped and carried on the warfare'. Then Allah will say, 'To me you are as some of my angels. Intercede, and your intercession will be accepted'. Then they will intercede and enter the Garden,

and this will only be by knowledge translated into teaching, not by passive knowledge which is not carried over (into action)."

Muhammad said, "Allah does not directly take away knowledge from mankind after He has given it to them; but it goes with the passing away of the learned; and whenever a learned person passes away, whatever knowledge he had passes away with him so that there remain only ignorant chiefs; they, when asked, give an opinion without knowledge; and they erreand cause others to err."

The Prophet said, "On the Resurrection Day Allah will bridle with fire anyone who understands some knowledge and hides it."

"The most excellent gift and the most excellent present is a word of wisdom which you hear and which you fold (to your breast), ^{which you fold} then you carry it to a brother Muslim to whom you teach it; (this word) is equivalent to a year's worship", said Muhammad.

He said, "The present world is under a curse; what is in it is cursed except remembering Allah and what He likes: either as a teacher or as a pupil."

The Prophet said, "Truly Allah, His angels, and the people of His heavens and His earth, even to the ant in its hill and the whale in the sea pray for the teacher who

teaches people what is good."

"A Muslim does not actually do his brother Muslim a better service than to pass along to him a good tradition which he has received", said Muhammad.

He also said, "A word of good which a believer hears, teaches, and practices is better for him than a year's worship."

On a certain day the Messenger of Allah went out. He saw two sessions. (In) one of them (they) were petitioning and supplicating Allah, while (in) the second (they) were teaching people. He said, "These are asking Allah; and if He wills, He will grant their request; and if He wills, He will refuse them; but as for these, they are teaching the people. And truly I was sent as a teacher." Then he turned towards them and sat with them. (i.e. the latter group).⁴¹

Muhammad said, "Allah sent me with guidance and knowledge just as the plenteous rain which comes to some land in which there is one plot of ground which receives the water and causes many herbs and much grass to spring up; and in which there is a (second) plot of ground which holds the water by which Allah benefits the people: they drink from it, irrigate, and plant; and in which there is

a (third) section of bottom land which does not hold water and does not cause herbage to spring up." The first he mentioned as an example of one who receives benefit by his knowledge; the second, he mentioned as an example of one who confers benefit; and the third, of one who is refused these two. (i.e. one who has no share in them).

Muhammad said, "When a man dies, his work is cut off unless there are three (things); (first) knowledge by which one is benefitted; (secondly, continuing alms; and thirdly, a virtuous child who prays for him).[#]

"The guide to the good is like one who does it", said Muhammad.

He said, "Envy is allowable only in two instances: a man to whom Allah gave wisdom, who judges according to it, and teaches it to mankind; and a man to whom Allah gave wealth and to whom He gave authority to spend it for good."

Muhammad said, "The mercy of Allah is on my successors." (So) somebody asked, "Who are your successors?"^{*}

He replied, "Those who revive my law and teach it to the worshippers of Allah."

3. As for the records of the followers (āthār), 'Umar said, "One who relates a tradition which somebody acts upon

reading with SMZ .

* SMZ says "those who love my law"

has a reward like that of one who performs that act."

Ibn 'Abbās said, "Everything even to the fish in the sea asks forgiveness for the teacher who teaches people good."

And one of the learned ('ulamā') said, "A learned man mediates between Allah and His creation. So let him be careful how he mediates."

It is related that Sufyān al-Thawrī⁴² arrived at 'As-qālān,⁴³ (where) he stayed (a while). Nobody asked him (about anything). So he said, "Hire (a conveyance) for me that I might go out of this city. This is a country in which knowledge is dying." In truth he said that because of his zeal for teaching and in trying to make knowledge remain in it (the country).

'Aṭā'⁴⁴ said, "I visited Sa'īd Bin al-Musaiyib, while he was weeping, and I asked, "Why are you weeping?' He replied, 'There is no one who asks me anything'."

Somebody said, "The learned are the lamps of their time; everyone is a light of his time from whom the people of his epoch seek light."

"Had it not been for the learned, mankind would have become like animals; that is, by their teaching, they cause mankind to rise from the level of beasts to the level of humanity", said al-Ḥasan.

45

'Ikrimah said, "Surely this knowledge has a price."

Whereupon someone asked, "What is it?"

He replied, "That you put it in the one who is fit to carry it and who will not lose it."

46

Yahya bin Mu'adh said, "The learned are more compassionate on the people of Muḥammad than their fathers and mothers."

"How is that?" demanded some one.

He answered, "Because their fathers and mothers keep them from the fire of the present world, while they (the learned) keep them from the fire of the last abode."

It is said, "The beginning of knowledge is silence, then hearing, then memorizing, then performance, then spreading it."

It is said (again), "Teach the ignorant person your knowledge, and learn from one who knows what you do not know; and surely, if you do that, you will learn what you were ignorant of, and you will keep what you knew."

Mu'adh bin Jabal, on (the excellence of) teaching and learning, said, "I saw it also transmitted (by tradition as from Muḥammad), 'Learn knowledge, for in the sight of Allah learning it is reverential fear. Seeking it is a religious service. Studying it with another is an act of praising. Discussing it is religious warfare. Teaching it to one who

does not know it is almsgiving. Giving it to those who deserve it is an offering (oblation: a means of reaching Allah) (qurbah). It is a joy in privacy, a friend in solitude, a guide in religion, and that which makes you persevere in both good and bad times. It is a vizier (or distinguishing attributes of a man) among friends, a neighbor among strangers, and a lighthouse on the way to the Garden. By it He elevates peoples. He makes them leaders, masters, and guides in good whom the guides to the good imitate, whose tracks they follow, and whose actions they attentively scan. The angels desire their friendship and stroke them with their wings. Everything green and dry asks forgiveness for them even to the great fishes and reptiles of the sea, the beasts and cattle of the land, and the heavens and their stars. For knowledge is the life of hearts instead of blindness, and the light of eyes instead of darkness, and the strength of bodies instead of weakness. By it the worshipper reaches the stages of the righteous (manāzil al-abrār) and the high degrees (daraʿāt al-ʿulā). Meditation about it is equivalent to fasting; studying it with some one, to spending the night in worship. By it Allah is obeyed, by it He is worshipped, by it His unity is declared, by it He is magnified, by it one refrains from sin, by it blood relationship is maintained, and by it the things that are permitted and those that are

forbidden are known. It is the leader (imām), and the religious works are its followers. The blessed receive it by illumination (yulhamuhu); the wretched are denied it. Let us ask Allah for His success-bringing aid.

D. The Rational Evidential Examples

(al-shawāhid al-'aqliyah)

You should know that the thing sought after in this chapter is recognition of the great value and excellence of knowledge; and unless excellence is understood in itself, and unless what it means is realized, it is not possible for you to know its existence as an attribute of knowledge or of any other things. Surely he who desires to know if Zaid is wise or not, while he himself does not understand the meaning and specific nature of wisdom, has erred from the road (of guidance).

The word "excellence" (fadīlah) is derived from "fadl" which is "that which is extra". If two things share in a matter and one of them is distinguished by superiority, one says, "It exceeds it and has superiority over it, whatever may be its excess in that which is a perfection of that thing", as one says, "A horse is preferable to a donkey", in the sense that it (the horse) shares with it in strength of carrying and exceeds it in strength of attack (wheeling

about and returning to the attack) and retreat, in speed of running, and in beauty of looks. Let it be supposed that a donkey is distinguished by having a greater market value, one would not say that it is preferred to a horse, because that is a superiority in something which is material and a deficiency in what is ideal, and is not part of the perfection of a thing. An animal is sought for the idea connected with it and its qualities, not on account of that which is material.

If you understand this, it will not be hidden from you that knowledge is an excellence, when you consider it in relation to other attributes just as the horse has an excellence, when you consider it in relation to other animals. Though swiftness of pace is an excellence in the horse, it is not an absolute excellence (or an excellence without restriction), while knowledge is an excellence in itself and (also) independent of relationship to anything else; for it is an attribute of Allah's perfection and one in which lies the nobility of the angels and the prophets. Intelligence in a horse is better than stupidity, for it is an excellence irrespective of any other relationship.

You should know that a precious object which is desired may be classified into 1) what is sought for some reason other than itself, and 2) what is sought for itself, and

3) what is sought both for the sake of itself and some other reason. Whatever is sought for its own sake is nobler than and superior to what is sought for some other reason. Among things sought on account of some ulterior reason are silver and gold coins, for both are metals without benefit. If Allah had not made it easy to satisfy our needs with them, they and pebbles would have been one in value.

That which is sought for its own sake is happiness in⁴⁹ the next world and the delight of contemplating the face of Allah. That which is sought sometimes for itself and sometimes for another reason is like soundness of the body. For soundness of the leg, for example, is desirable because it means freedom from pain for the body, and it is a thing required for walking and reaching our desires and necessities. In this respect, if you consider knowledge, you would find it delightful in itself. For it would be a thing sought for its own sake and you would find it a means of access to the last abode and its happiness, and a means of approach to Allah. There is no reaching Him except by it (knowledge); and the greatest thing a man may have is his eternal happiness, while the most excellent thing is whatever is a means of access to it. It will never be reached except by knowledge and religious works, and one will never arrive at religious works except by knowing how to act. Thus the source of hap-

piness in the present world and in the next abode is knowledge, which is therefore the most preferable act.

How should this not be so, when the excellence of anything is known by the nobility of its fruits? You certainly know that the fruit of knowledge is to approach the Lord of the Worlds and to rise to the regions of the angels and companionship of the archangels.⁵⁰ This is in the next abode, while in this present world there is power, dignity, and influence on kings in their judgment, and the instinct to show respect which is revealed in the natural dispositions. Even unintelligent Turks and uncivilized Arabs find their natural dispositions compelled to respect their elders on account of their great and special qualities of knowledge acquired from experience. Indeed, a beast, by nature, respects man because it perceives how man differs from it in a perfection which exceeds its own rank.

This is the excellence of knowledge irrespective of all else. Then the various branches of knowledge differ according to the following exposition: and without doubt, their excellencies differ as the various sciences differ.

As for the excellence of teaching and learning, that is obvious from what we have mentioned. If knowledge is the most excellent of things, to learn it is to search for that which is most excellent, and to teach it is beneficial for

the most excellent. The explanation of this is that the aims of mankind are brought together in religion and the present world.

The only orderly system for religion is through the order of the present world, for surely the present world is a seed bed (mazra'ah) for the next abode.. It is the instrument which causes that one to reach Allah who takes it as an instrument and a temporary abode, not for one who takes it for a permanent dwelling place and his native land. No worldly matter is rightly arranged except by human actions.

Man's actions, professions, and crafts, are encompassed in three divisions: (the first) of which is fundamental activities without which there would be no permanence for the world, and these are four: 1) agriculture which is for food, 2) weaving which is for clothing, 3) building which is for shelter (or dwelling), and 4) political science which has for its object the forming of alliances, the organization of society, and mutual cooperation to secure and maintain the means of existence.

The second (grand division) is that which is a preparation for each of these arts and which serves them, as blacksmithing, which serves agriculture and many of the arts by preparing its tools, and as carding and spinning cotton which serves weaving in giving a sphere for it.

The third (grand division) is that which completes and improves the fundamental activities, as milling and baking do to agriculture, and as bleaching and tailoring do to weaving. That is by being related to the maintenance of the order of the present world, as the parts of a person are related to its whole.

That consists of three kinds also: 1) either fundamental parts like the heart, the liver, and the brain; or 2) that which serves them as the stomach, veins, arteries, nerves, and veins (which acquaint us with the heart); or 3) that which completes and adorns them as the fingernails, fingers, and eyebrows.

The noblest of these arts are the fundamental ones, and the noblest of these fundamental ones is political science which forms alliances and seeks to make improvement. Therefore this art is sought in the perfect equipment of one who has it as his responsibility in a measure that the rest of the arts do not demand; and therefore, without question, the possessor of this art asks the rest of the artisans to serve.

The political science which seeks to improve mankind and guide them to the straight road which saves in the present world and the next abode is of four ranks:

The first, which is the highest, is the rule of the prophets and their jurisdiction over both the leaders and the

masses in their outer deeds and inner thoughts.

The second is the rule of caliphs, kings, and sultans and their jurisdiction over both the leaders and the masses; but on their outer deeds, not on their inner thoughts. The third is (the rule of) those who know Allah and His religion---these are those who are the heirs of the prophets-- and their jurisdiction is over the inner things of the leaders only. The understanding of the masses does not rise high enough to receive benefit from them, (i.e. from the 'ulamā') and their power does not extend to the point where they can direct the outward acts of the masses by compulsion and prohibition and making laws.

The fourth is (the rule of those skilled in fiqh) and the exhorters whose jurisdiction is over the inner thoughts of the masses only.

After prophecy, the noblest of these four professions is to provide knowledge and to train people's souls away from destructive and blameworthy character and to guide them to praiseworthy character which brings happiness; and this is what is meant by teaching.

We said this is better than the rest of the occupations and arts only because the nobility of a profession is known by three things: 1) by giving consideration to the natural talent by which one reaches knowledge of it, as the excel-

lency of the intellectual sciences over the lingual. For divine wisdom is apprehended by the reason, and language by the sense of hearing; and the reason is nobler than hearing; or 2) by giving consideration to the universality of the benefit, as the excellence of agriculture over goldsmithing; or 3) by giving consideration to the sphere in which (the work) is carried on, as the excellence of goldsmithing over tanning; for the sphere of one of the two is gold, whereas the field of the other is the skin of a dead animal.

It is not hidden that the religious sciences which are the discernment of the road to the next abode are apprehended only by the perfection of the reason and clarity of intellect. The mind is the noblest of man's qualities, as will appear in its exposition (in Part Seven), for by it he (i.e. mankind) received the trust or obligation (⁵¹amānah) of Allah and by it he reaches to proximity of Allah. As for the universality of benefit, there is no doubt of it; for its benefit and its fruit is the happiness of the next abode. As for the nobility of its sphere, how can it be denied, when a teacher deals with the hearts and souls of man?

The noblest being on the face of the globe is man, while the noblest part of man's substance is his heart; and a teacher is engaged in perfecting, polishing, purifying, and guiding it to proximity of Allah. From one aspect

teaching knowledge is a kind of worship of Allah; and from another aspect, a kind of vice-gerency of Allah; for to the heart of a learned man, Allah has granted knowledge, which is the most particular of His attributes.

He is like a keeper of the most precious of His treasures. Then he is permitted to spend some of it for anyone who needs it. What rank is more sublime than that of being a servant who is an intermediary between his Lord and His creatures in bringing them nearer to Allah and in leading them to the Garden as their final resting place? May Allah make us one of them by His grace, and may Allah bless all His chosen servants.

PART TWO

AN EXPOSITION OF PRAISEWORTHY AND BLAMEWORTHY KNOWLEDGE AND THE DIVISIONS AND REGULATIONS OF BOTH

In it there is an exposition of what constitutes a personal obligation and a general obligation and an exposition of the limits of the place of theology and jurisprudence in the science of religion, and the superiority of the knowledge of the next abode.

A. An Exposition of that Knowledge Which Is a Personal Obligation

The prophet of Allah said, "The search of knowledge is an obligation on every male Muslim." He also said, "Seek knowledge, even if it be in China."

People have differed about the question of what knowledge it is that is obligatory for every male Muslim, and concerning it they have become divided into more than twenty groups. We will not take much time to repeat details, but the short of the matter is that each group tried to make the obligation apply to the knowledge in which it was engaged.
52
(For example) the theologians said, "It is scholastic the-

ology (al-kalām)⁵³, for by it the doctrine of Allah's unity (al-tawhīd) and the essence and attributes of Allah are known."

The people who specialized in jurisprudence⁵⁴ said, "It is the science of jurisprudence, for by it are known the various kinds of worship, things permitted and forbidden, and what kind of actions are forbidden and what are allowed", by which they meant what individual Muslims need to know, apart from special rare happenings.

The commentators and the relators of traditions said⁵⁵ respectively, "It is knowledge of the Book and usage: for by these two, one reaches to all sciences."

The Sūfis⁵⁶ said, "What is meant by it is this knowledge", (i.e. the Sūfī teachings. Then they disagreed and) some of them said, "It is the worshipper's knowledge of his own state (hāl) and station (maqām)⁵⁷ in respect to Allah", while others said, "It is the knowledge of pure devotion (ikhlas) and the defects of souls and the ability to distinguish between the visitation of the angel (lammat al-malak)⁵⁸ and the visitation of the evil one (lammat al-Shaitān). Even others of them said, "It is esoteric knowledge ('ilm al-bāṭin) which is incumbent on special people who are the people of that (knowledge)." And they withheld from making it common.

⁵⁹Abū Ṭālib (al-Makki) said, "It is to know what the tradi-

tion which has the foundations of Islām contains. This is the Prophet's saying, 'Islām is built on five (pillars): the testimony (shahādat) 'There is no god but Allah' and the rest of the saying."

60

For what is obligatory are these five, and knowledge of the method of performing them is obligatory as well as the quality of the obligation. There is no doubt that the stopping place should be the summary which we shall mention. It is that knowledge, as we have already proved in the introduction of the book, is divided into practical and mystical knowledge ('ilm mu'āmalah wa 'ilm mukāshafah) ; and what is meant by "knowledge" (in this book) is only "practical knowledge".⁶¹

The practice which is imposed on the intelligent adult worshipper is in three parts: belief, performance, and abstention.

When a man who is rational attains, by experiencing the signs of puberty of age, the forenoon of his life, let us say, his first duty is to learn the two words of the testimony and to understand their meaning. It is the saying, "There is no god but Allah (7:158): Muḥammad is the messenger of Allah" (48:29).

It is not necessary for him to discover that by himself by means of logic, investigation, and organizing the evidence;

but it is sufficient for him to believe it and trust in it without any doubt or hesitation. That can be obtained by means of imitation and listening without investigation and proof; for from the unlearned Arabs the Messenger of Allah was satisfied with their belief and confession without the learning of proofs. If one does that, he fulfils his immediate obligation. The knowledge which was a personal obligation at that time was to learn and understand these two words.

At that time he did not need anything beyond this, the proof of which is, had he died after that, he would have died obedient to Allah, not disobedient. Anything more than that becomes obligatory (for the believer) only through some other contingency that may present itself. That may not happen necessarily for every individual. On the contrary it is quite possible to conceive (that some people) will be quite free from them. Those contingent circumstances may involve performance of the required duties or omission of some actions or may pertain to articles of faith.

Let us first consider active duties. A man will survive from the time of his performance of the early morning worship until the time when the noon worship becomes obligatory. Then, because he has entered upon the period when the noon worship has become obligatory, the requirement that he know how to

perform the ablution and the worship is renewed. Even though he is in a valid state, and would be were he to wait until the sun declines, still he would not be able to know and do completely all he should within the prescribed time limits. Rather the time limit would pass by, if he were to engage himself in learning (what was required of him). For that reason it would not be far fetched, if we should say, "Apparently it (i.e. to know this much) is (not a contingent but) a permanent (obligation). So it is obligatory for him to know what is required before the time limit begins, and it is permissible to say, "The necessity of knowledge, which is a condition of action, comes after the necessity for the act and not to consider it as obligatory (merely) before the sun declines."

The same holds true in the case of the other performances of the worship. If he should survive until the month of Ramadān, ⁶² that would obligate him to know the duties of the fast. This means that he should know that the period of fasting extends from the first appearance of dawn until the sun has set. Also he should know that he must express his intention to fast, that he must refrain from eating, drinking, and marital relations; and further, that ⁶³ all that ends when the crescent of the next month of Shawwāl is observed.

Likewise, if any wealth comes to him, when he has reached

the age of responsibility, he must learn his obligations in connection with the religious tax. But the tax is not obligatory for him immediately. It becomes a requirement at the end of the year according to the Muslim calendar. Further, if he possesses only camels, he need not learn about the religious tax on sheep. Similarly with other things.

Then, when the pilgrimage months come, he need not hasten to learn all about the pilgrimage; since the time for doing it is extensive. So it need not be learned immediately. Nevertheless the learned Muslims should remind him that the pilgrimage is an individual obligation, even though delayed, on everyone who possesses food or a beast of burden, if he is a proprietor, so that he might possibly think it to be prudent for himself to hasten. Then, when he determines to do it, he needs to learn how to perform the pilgrimage; but it is not necessary to learn more than its prescribed elements (arkān) and duties without the supererogatory actions (nawāfilah). If he does that (the nāfilah), it is a supererogatory deed, and his learning also is supererogatory. Learning it is not a personal obligation. With regard to the absolute prohibition (that applies to the learned) against refraining from drawing attention to the obligation to perform the duty of the pilgrimage at once, that is a matter which deserves consideration; and it is proper to discuss the sub-

ject in books of jurisprudence.

There is a similar gradation in the obligation to learn about the other acts which are individual requirements. One must learn the things from which the Muslim must abstain, as new conditions arise; and these vary with each individual. For it is not necessary for a dumb person to learn what is forbidden of speech, nor for a blind person to learn what is forbidden to see, nor is it necessary for a desert-dwelling Badāwi to learn what kind of dwellings are unlawful. All that is necessary as circumstances indicate.

To learn what does not concern him is not obligatory, and what concerns him should be pointed out to him by the learned Muslims just as if on entering Islām he were wearing silk or sitting unlawfully or looking at one whom he is not forbidden to marry.⁶⁵ It is obligatory to make him acquainted with all that. It is obligatory to teach him whatever else is not familiar to him now, but to which he is going to be exposed in the near future such as food and drink; so that, if he were in a country where wine is drunk or pig's meat is eaten, he must be taught and warned against it. And what is obligatory to be taught, he is obliged to learn.

As for the beliefs and acts of the heart, he must have knowledge of them insofar as they occur to his mind. For if a doubt enters his mind concerning the ideas which the two

words of the testimony teach, then he must learn what will enable him to clear up that doubt. But if that fails to enter his mind and he dies before he believes, for instance, that the speech of God is eternal and that He will be visible (to believers in the next abode) and that He is not a locus for temporal attributes or accidents, and so on, as will be mentioned in the (section on) beliefs in (Book Two),⁶⁴ then he certainly dies a Muslim according to agreement (ijmā').

But as to those thoughts which make certain beliefs obligatory, some of them come to the mind naturally; some of them come to the mind through hearing them from the people of the country (in which one resides). If he is in a country in which scholastic theology is wide-spread and the people converse about new doctrines and practices, then it is necessary for him to be kept from it in his early puberty by causing him to hear the truth; and, if they have caused falsehood to reach him, then it is necessary to remove it from his heart. That is often difficult, just as if this Muslim were a merchant and the practice of charging interest were widespread in the business transactions of that country; yet it would be incumbent on him to learn to avoid taking interest. This is what is right in regard to knowledge which is a personal obligation.

It means knowing how to do the necessary things. Whoever

learns the necessary knowledge and the time of its obligation has learned that knowledge which is a personal obligation. That which the Sufis mention about understanding the disturbing thoughts caused by the enemy (i.e. Shaitān) (khawāṭir al-⁶⁶'adūw) and the visitation of the angel messenger (lammat al-malak) is right also, but it is (only) right for the one to whom those things occur. Since, for the most part, no man keeps free from the urge to evil, hypocrisy, and covetousness; he must therefore learn, from Part Four (of the Ihyā) on the Perils of the Soul, that which he finds himself to be in need of.

Why is this not necessary, since the Apostle of Allah has said, "There are three harmful things: 1) avarice which is obeyed, 2) an evil desire which is followed, and 3) self-conceit. No man is clear of them. The rest of the blameworthy things of the heart which we shall mention later such as pride, vanity, and their like follow these three. To remove them is a personal obligation.

It is impossible to remove them without knowledge of their definitions, cause, signs, and remedies; for the one who does not know evil will fall into it. The remedy is to oppose the cause by its opposite, but how is this possible without knowing the cause and the effect?

Now most of what we mentioned about personal obligations

is in the Quarter of the Ihyā' on the Perils of the Heart. Man has forsaken them entirely, being engaged in that which has no benefit. What should be taught him without delay, if he has not come over from one religious group to another, is faith in the Garden, the Fire, the Judgment Day, and the Resurrection so that he may have faith in them and believe. This is complementary to the two words of the testimony (al-shahādah). For after believing that Muhammad is an apostle, one should understand the message which he brings. This is that whoever obeys Allah and His messenger is entitled to the Garden; and whoever disobeys Him (Allah) receives the Fire. If you pay attention to this gradual process (of learning), you learn that the Religion of Allah is this (and none other). You become certain that both day and night every worshipper in his ordinary every-day life is not free from incidents, in his worship and practice, which have new consequences. Then he should ask about every unusual incident that happens to him. Ordinarily he should hasten to learn what he expects to happen in the near future.

So then it is apparent that what Muhammad meant by "the knowledge" which was made definite by the Alif and the Lam in his dictum, "The search for 'the knowledge' (al-'ilm) is an obligation on every Muslim", is knowledge of how to

perform the religious works which are well known to be obligatory upon Muslims. So the aspect of the gradual process and the time in which something is obligatory have become clear, and Allah knows best.

B. An Exposition of the Knowledge Which Is a General Obligation

You should know that one obligation is distinguished from another only by reference to the divisions of the sciences. The sciences related to the obligation which is under consideration are divided into: 1) those related to divine law (i.e. religious), and 2) those not related to the divinely revealed law (i.e. secular).

By those "related to the divine law" I mean those which are learned from the prophets, i.e. not something to which reason acts as a guide such as arithmetic, (for example); nor (something arrived at by) experiment, such as the science of medicine; nor (something reached) by hearing, as the science of language, (for example).

As for the sciences which are not related to the divine law, they are divided into a) what is praiseworthy, b) what is blameworthy, and c) that which is permissible.

The praiseworthy are those which are bound up with benefit to the present world such as the science of medicine and

arithmetic; and they (the praiseworthy) are divided into what is a general obligation and into what is a virtuous but not a prescribed act.

As for the general obligation, it is every science which we cannot dispense with in the set up of the present world such as the art of medicine, for (knowledge of) it is necessary in our need to preserve our bodies; and such as the science of arithmetic, for it is necessary (also in) practical affairs and in settling wills, inheritances, and other things. These are the sciences which, a lack of someone in the country to carry them on, cause the people of the country to become distracted with fear. If one should carry them on, it is sufficient; and the obligation falls away from all others.

You should not be surprised at our saying that the arts of medicine and arithmetic are part of the general obligations; for the fundamentals of the arts also, such as agriculture, weaving, and political science are part of the general obligations; and even the art of cupping and tailoring. Indeed, if the country were void of cuppers, destruction would speedily fall on the people; and they would be distracted with fear of exposing themselves to destruction. Truly the One who sent down disease sent down the remedy, directed (man how) to use it, and prepared the means to ob-

tain it. Therefore it is not permissible to expose one's self to destruction by neglecting it.

As for that which is counted a virtue (faḍīlah), not an obligation (farīdah), it is thorough investigation into the details of arithmetic and the real nature of medicine and other things which we can do without; but which provide ability additional to the amount which is absolutely needed.

As for the blameworthy pursuits, they are the knowledge of magic and the making of talismans, and the knowledge of legerdemain and mystifications.

As for the permissible, it is the science of poetry which has nothing unsound in it, history of traditions, and the like.

As for the religious sciences which we intend to expound, they are all praiseworthy; but those which are thought to be legitimate, though really blameworthy, are sometimes confused with them. Therefore they are divided into praiseworthy and blameworthy. As for the praiseworthy, they have fundamentals and subsidiary; introductory and supplementary which make four divisions.

1. The first division is the science of fundamental sources which has four parts: a) the Qur'ān, b) usage of His Messenger, c) agreement (ijmā') of His people, and d) traditions of the Companions (āthār al-ṣaḥābah).

Agreement is a fundamental principle from the point of view that it proves usage. It is a principle of the third grade; likewise the traditions (āthār), (form a fundamental of the second rank), for they also prove usage; because the companions witnessed the divine inspiration (⁶⁷wahy) (which came to Muḥammad) and the sending down of the Qur'ān) and were able to apprehend, by means of the circumstances that accompanied the revelation, the things which were absent from the eye-witness of others.

Oftentimes the terms that are used do not include all that may be apprehended by means of (a knowledge of) the accompanying circumstances. And from this point of view the learned thought it best to emulate them and to hold to their traditions. That is with a special condition for one who considers it so, but its exposition is not suitable for this branch (of knowledge).

2. The second division is about the subsidiary principles. They are those that are understood from these fundamental principles, not necessarily by what they say literally but by what they mean which the mind is made to perceive and the understanding is enabled to reach so that something else is understood from the literal expression. For example, from Muḥammad's dictum, "A judge should not give judgment while he is angry", one understands that he should not judge

while he is retaining his urine or while he is hungry or suffering from pain of illness.

This (division) is of two kinds: one of which is concerned with what is conducive to good in the present world (maṣāliḥ al-dunya) and which books of jurisprudence contain. Those responsible for it are the canon lawyers who are the worldly divines ('ulamā' al-dunya). The second (of the two) is what is connected with what is conducive to good in the next abode (maṣāliḥ al-ākhirah), which is knowledge of the state of the heart, its praiseworthy and blameworthy characteristics, and what pleases and displeases Allah.

This is what the latter half of this book contains. I mean the whole of the book Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn. A part of it is the knowledge of what proceeds from the heart and effects the limbs in their worship and religious customs. This is what the first part of this book contains.

3. The third division concerns the preliminary sciences, which act as instrumental sciences such as knowledge of philology ('ilm al-lughah) and grammar (al-naḥw),⁶⁸ for these two are means of knowledge of the book of Allah (the Qur'ān) and the usage of His prophet.

In themselves philology and grammar are not sciences pertaining to divine law, but study of them is necessary be-

cause of the law; for this law came in the language of the Arabs. Every system of divine law was revealed in some language, and the learning of that language becomes an instrument (for one to understand the law).

Another of these preliminary sciences is the art of writing or penmanship; but that is not absolutely necessary, for the Messenger of Allah was illiterate. If we suppose that one is able to memorize everything he hears; then he could do without writing; but it becomes necessary under the rule that most people are unable to do that (i.e. to memorize everything).

4. The fourth division concerns the Supplementary Sciences which come under the science of the Qur'ān. They are divided into those connected with a) the words, as the science of the variant readings and the places of the pronunciation of the letters (i.e. phonetics), and b) what is related to the meaning, as the Science of the Exposition of the Qur'ān. It also depends on tradition, for the science of language alone is not adequate, and c) what is related to the regulations of the Qur'ān, such as 1) knowledge of the verses that abrogate and those that are abrogated, 2) those that have general or universal application and those that are special and particular, and 3) knowledge of verses which are

70

definite proof texts and verses whose meanings are merely probable. One needs to know also how to use one rather than another of these sciences. This science is called the Fundamental Principles of Jurisprudence (Usūl al-Fiqh) . It is also related to the Science of Usage (Sunnah).

As for the sciences supplementary to the traditions from the Companions (al-āthār) and those from Muḥammad (al-akhbār) , these are the knowledge about the traditionists including their pedigrees together with the names and other characteristics of the Companions. It includes knowledge of rectitude in the narrators of traditions. It includes their qualifications in order to distinguish those that are of weak authority from those that are strong. It includes knowledge of their life periods (i.e. when they lived) in order to distinguish the tradition lacking the authority of a Companion (mursal)⁷¹ from a supported tradition (musnad)⁷² and, likewise, what is connected with it. All these are praiseworthy sciences pertaining to divine law, but all of them are classed as general obligations.

If you should say, "Why did you connect jurisprudence (fiqh) with knowledge ('ilm) of the present world (al-dunya) and the canon lawyers with the worldly divines ('ulamā' al-dunya)?" you should know that Allah caused Adam to come forth from the ground. He caused his descendants to come forth

"from a most excellent sort of clay" (23:12) and "from sperma genitale" (86:6). He brought them forth from the loins to the womb; from them to the present world, then to the grave, then to the Judgment Day, then to either the Garden or to the Fire. The first is their beginning, the last is their end, and these are their stopping places.

He created the present world as food for the journey to the future life so that from it people may obtain provisions for the next life. If they were to obtain them by justice, contentions would cease and canon lawyers would have no work; but they obtain them by their passions (shahawāt) from which contentions are born. So they are in great need of a sultan to rule them, and he requires a law to govern them.

A canon lawyer knows the laws of governing; and he knows how to mediate between mankind, when they quarrel because of their appetites. A canon lawyer, then is (in the position of) one who teaches a sultan and guides him how to govern and order mankind so that their affairs might be regulated in this present world by their uprightness. By my life! it (jurisprudence) is also connected with religion though not by itself, but by means of the present world. For the present world is a seed-bed (nursery) of the next abode, and religion is only brought to completion in the present

world.

The state and religion are twins: religion is a foundation, while the sultan is a watchman. Whatever has no foundation is destroyed, and whatever has no watchman is lost, and government and control are only brought to completion by the sultan. The way of control is in settling quarrels by jurisprudence.

Just as governing mankind by authority is not part of the science of religion in the first rank but an aid for that without which religion is not completed, so, in like manner, is knowledge of the way to govern. It is well known that the pilgrimage is only completed by an escort which guards (one) from the Arabs on the way. The pilgrimage, however, is one thing and the journey to the pilgrimage is another. To set watch, without which the pilgrimage is not completed, is a third thing; and to know the manner, technique, and rules of guarding is a fourth. In short, in jurisprudence a knowledge of the ways to govern and guard is found. What was related in a supported tradition (musnad) proves this: "Only three kinds of people may give a legal opinion. They are: 1) a commander (amīr), 2) one under command (ma'mūr), or 3) one who assumes the responsibility (mutakallif).^{the amir}" The commander is the leader (imām) and they were the jurisconsults (muftiyūn); he who is under command is his representative; and he who as-

sumes responsibility (mutakallif) differs from both of them. He is one who takes on that responsibility without need.

The Companions used to guard themselves against giving legal opinions to the extent that each one of them used to refer (the opinion) to his companion, but they did not shrink from it when they were asked about the science of the Qur'ān and the way to the next abode. In some traditions "hypocrites" (al-murā'ī) occurs instead of "al-mutakallif"; for whoever assumes the responsibility of (giving) a legal opinion, without being appointed for the sake of the need, aims only at seeking reputation and wealth.⁷³

If you should say, "Even if you are right concerning regulations about punishments, injuries, fines, and settling quarrels, you are not right concerning what the Quarter on the Various Kinds of Worship contains about Fasting and Prayer, nor are you right concerning the Exposition of the Lawful and the Unlawful which the Section on Practice contains," then you should know that the matters dealing with the next world which the jurisconsult most frequently discusses are divided into three classes: 1) al-Islām , 2) worship and the religious tax, 3) the lawful and the unlawful. If you consider the scope of the jurisconsult's thought, you will know that it does not go beyond the boundaries of the present world to the next abode. Then, if you recognize this limitation in these three, it will be more obvious in other things.

As for al-Islām, truly the jurisconsult discusses what valid and false Islām are and what their stipulations are. He pays regard only to the tongue. As for the heart, that is outside the province of the jurisconsult; because the Messenger of Allah removed those who had swords and authority from giving consideration to it, where he said, "Have you split open his heart?" (in the famous case) of one who had uttered the word of al-Islām (i.e. the testimony) and who was killed on the pretext that he said it only from fear of the sword.

The jurisconsult judges a man's Islām to be valid under the shadow of the sword, although he knows that the sword does not reveal his inner purpose to him and that it does not drive the covering of ignorance and perplexity from his heart; but it is a guide to the possessor of the sword; for the sword is stretched out to kill him and the hand is stretched out for his wealth. This word on his tongue should protect his neck and his wealth as long as he has a neck and wealth; that is, in the present world. Therefore the Messenger of Allah said, "I was commanded to wage war against people until they would say, 'There is no god but Allah'; and when they say that, they preserve their blood and their wealth from me."

The effect of that applies to blood and wealth; but as

for the next abode, it is not wealth[#] that benefits but the manifestations of truth and secrets and sincerity of the heart, which is not part of the science of jurisprudence. If the jurisconsult enters into it, it is just as though he enters into theology and medicine thus stepping outside of his own art.

As for worship (al-ṣalāt)⁷⁴, the jurisconsult decides that it is valid, when one presents the form of the actions with its outward requirements even though (the worshipper) be heedless in all his worship from beginning to end, except at the takbir⁷⁵, being engaged in thinking about the account of his transaction in the market place. This worship does not benefit in the next abode, just as speech with the tongue (only) has no benefit in becoming a Muslim. But the jurisconsult gives a valid opinion saying, "Obedience to the form of the command results from what he does, and by it killing and the use of force are removed from him."

As for humility (al-Khushū'), and attentiveness of the heart which are acts related to the next abode and by which the outward act has value, the jurisconsult does not consider them; and should he consider them, he would be (acting) outside the scope of his profession.

As for the religious tax (zakaḥ), the jurisconsult

SMZ reads al-amwāl al-zāhirah

observes that by which the demands of the sultan are met so that, if (one) refrains from fulfilling his duty and (paying), then the sultan takes it by force. Then he (the jurisconsult) judges that his (the sultan's) conscience is clear.

It is quoted that Abū Yusuf, the Qāḍī,⁷⁷ used to give his wealth to his wife at the end of the year and seek a gift from her wealth to evade the religious tax. This was told to Abi Ḥanīfah who said, "That (is) due to his (understanding of) jurisprudence."⁷⁶ He was right; for that is part of the jurisprudence of this world; but its harm in the next abode is greater than every (kind of) trickery. It is knowledge like this which is harmful.

As for what is lawful and what is unlawful, scrupulous abstinence (al-war')⁷⁸ from the unlawful comes from religion; but scrupulous abstinence has four degrees:

The first is the scrupulous care through which a man fulfils what is due to the testimony which he gives (before the judges), the judgment (that is passed), and the obedience (which is due). This degree of scrupulousness guards against what is obviously unlawful.

The second is the scrupulous care of the virtuous, and it is guarding from doubtful things in which various possibilities confront one another. He (Muḥammad) said, "Leave what causes you to doubt for what does not cause you to

doubt." And he said again, "Sin is those things that cause uneasiness in the heart."

The third is the scrupulous care of the pious in leaving the clearly permissible which he fears will lead him to what is unlawful. The Prophet said, "A man is not counted one of the god-fearing until he puts aside that in which there is no harm because of fear of that in which there is harm."

That is like scrupulous care in conversation about the circumstances of men for fear of being drawn into slander and (also like) abstaining from stimulating food for fear of inducing high spirits and disregard of others which lead to the commission of things that are forbidden.

The fourth is the scrupulous care of the believers which is their turning away from everything except Allah lest they should spend an hour of this life on something which does not result in a closer approach to Him, even though they are sure that it does not lead to something that is unlawful.

All these degrees are outside the scope of the jurisconsult except the first which is the scrupulousness of witnesses and judges. Whatever impairs one's rectitude and the performance of one's duty in that regard does not wipe out one's guilt in the next abode. The Messenger of Allah said to Wābiṣah, "Seek an opinion from your heart, even if they give

you an opinion, even if they give you an opinion, even if they give you an opinion."

A faqīh (jurisconsult) does not speak about the scruples of one's heart and how to deal with them but only about what impairs one's rectitude ('adālah). Therefore all the thought of a jurisconsult is related to the present world wherein lies the right way to the next abode. Should he say anything about the qualities of the heart and the regulations of the next abode, it would enter his speech incidentally just as sometimes something of medicine, accounting, astronomy, and theology enter his speech, and just as philosophy enters into astronomy and poetry.

Sufyān al-Thawrī, a leader of the school of the literal interpretation of the Qur'ān, used to say that the quest for this is not food for the way to the next abode. How can it be when they have agreed that the noble part of knowledge is acting according to it? Then how does one think that it is knowledge ^{of} temporary separation by the formula zihār,⁷⁹ the form of accusation of adultery and the defense (li'ān),⁸⁰ commercial down-payments (salam),⁸¹ hiring anything out (ijārah),⁸² and exchange? Whoever learns these things as a means to draw near to Allah is possessed by the Jinn (majnūn), for one obeys Allah with the heart and limbs together. Knowledge of these matters is what constitutes true nobility.

If you should say, "Why did you make jurisprudence equal to medicine, when medicine too is connected with the present world and things conducive to its good which is the health of the body, while that (jurisprudence) is also connected with the good of religion? This equality contradicts the agreement of the Muslims," you should know that it is not necessary to make them equal; but that between the two there is a difference which is that jurisprudence is nobler than it from three points of view.

One of them is that it is a science which deals with
⁸³divine law; for it was acquired from the prophetic office, quite the opposite of medicine which is not one of the sciences which deal with the divine law.

The second (point) is that absolutely no one, neither the healthy nor the sick, who is proceeding on the way to the next abode can dispense with it; but as for medicine, only the sick need it; and they are in the minority.

The third (point) is that the science of jurisprudence is near to the science of the way to the next abode, because it considers bodily actions; and the source and origin of physical actions are the qualities of the heart. Praiseworthy acts issue from praiseworthy character which saves in the next abode, while blameworthy acts issue from blameworthy character. The union of the limbs and heart is not hidden.

As for health and sickness, their origin is the four humours⁸⁴ of man (which make up his constitution) and which are attributes of his body, not his heart. However jurisprudence is viewed in relation to medicine, its nobility is obvious; and, if the science of the way to the next abode is compared to jurisprudence, then also the nobility of the way to the next abode is obvious.

If one should say, "Give me a clear exposition of the science of the way to the next abode in (such) detail as will interpret it even though it is not possible to exhaust the explanation of it", you should know that it is divided into two parts: a) mystical or spiritual knowledge, and b) the science of practical religion ('ilm mukāshafah wa 'ilm mu'āmalah).

The first is the knowledge of mystical religion⁸⁵ which is inner knowledge ('ilm al-bāṭin). This is the ultimate goal of all sciences. One of the mystics (al-'ārifīn) said, "I fear an evil end for one whose lot it is not to have this knowledge. His best chance is to believe and hand it over to those worthy of it."

Another said, "None of this knowledge is given to one who has two qualities: innovation and vanity."

And someone said, "Whoever loves the present world or persists in a wandering desire (hawa) is not confirmed in

it (spiritual religion), though he may be assured of the rest of the sciences. The least punishment of one who denies it is that he will not taste any of it." [#] And (as an example) he recited this saying, "Be content with one who backbites you, for that is a sin which has its own punishment."

It is the knowledge of the great believers (al-siddiqīn) and those who are near to Allah (al-muqarribīn). I mean mystical or spiritual knowledge ('ilm al-mukāshafah). It is an expression to designate the illumination (nūr) that appears in a heart after its purification from blameworthy qualities. By that illumination many things are disclosed, the names of which were formerly heard but for which many general and obscure ideas were conjectured. Then they were made clear so that there resulted the true knowledge of the Being of Allah and of His perfect and eternal qualities, His works, His wisdom in creating the present world and the next abode and the reason He made the next life to depend upon this, knowledge of the meaning of prophetship and prophet, the meaning of revelation, the meaning of Shaitān, the meaning of the utterance of the angels and the Shaitāns, the manner of the Shaitāns' hostility towards man, the manner of the manifestation of the angel visitor to the prophets, the manner in which revelation reaches them, knowledge of the kingdoms

 #SMZ reads la yarzuq instead of la yadhūq

of the heavens and the earth, knowledge of the heart and the way the armies of the angels and the Shaitāns clash in it, knowledge of the difference between angelic and Satanic visitation (lammah), knowledge of the next abode, the garden, the fire, the torment of the grave, the bridge, the balance, the reckoning, the meaning of His (Allah's) saying, "Read your book. Your soul (nafs) is sufficient for you as a reckoner on that day," (17:15), the meaning of His saying, "Verily the habitation of the next abode is (the place of) life, if only you knew it" (29:64), the meaning of meeting Allah and observing His beneficent face, the meaning of being near and abiding in proximity to Him, the meaning of realizing happiness by companionship with those who dwell in the highest places and entering into companionship with the angels and prophets, the meaning of the different stages of the people of the garden so that they see one another just as (one of us) sees a planet in the heavens, and so on, the explanation of which would be lengthy.

After belief in the fundamental principles there are various stages for man in (the knowledge of) the meanings of these matters,. Some of them consider all of that as symbols and that which Allah has prepared for His righteous servants is what eye has not seen, nor ear heard, nor has it entered
 86
 into the mind of man. Indeed all that man has of the garden

are its attributes and names. Some hold the opinion that some of these matters are symbolic and that some of them are in accordance with the real natures which are understood from their words. In like manner some of them consider that the end of knowledge (ma'rifah) of Allah is confession of the impossibility to know Him. Some of them claim great things for their knowledge of Allah. Others say that the limit of one's knowledge of Allah is that belief to which the masses come which is that He is a Being, omniscient, omnipotent, all-hearing, seeing, and speaking.

We mean by mystical knowledge that the cover is raised until the essence of reality in these matters is absolutely made clear for one with a clearness which is the same as (the kind of seeing in which there is no doubt. This would be possible in the soul of man were it not that the filth of the present world has been heaped up by rust and dirt on the mirror of the heart.

By knowledge of the way to the next abode we mean simply knowledge of the way to clean this mirror from these evils which are a veil (which conceals) Allah and the knowledge of His attributes and acts. The way to clean and purify it is simply to abstain from the appetites and to follow the example of the prophets in all their circumstances. By as much as the heart is cleared off and the face of truth confronts

it its realities will sparkle in it. The only way to accomplish this is by discipline, the explanation of which will come in its proper place, and by knowledge and teaching.

These are the sciences which are not written in books, and the one on whom Allah has graciously bestowed some of it discusses it only with the people who share in it by discussing its mysteries. This is the hidden knowledge which he (Muhammad) meant in his saying, "Some knowledge resembles that which is concealed which only mystics know; and if they speak of it, only the people who are heedless about Allah are ignorant of it. So do not despise a learned man to whom Allah has given some knowledge; for Allah did not despise him, since He gave it to him."

As for the second division, which is the Science of Practical Religion, ('ilm al-mu'āmalah), it is a knowledge of the states of the heart. As for what is praiseworthy of them, such as patience, thanksgiving, godly fear, hope, satisfaction, renunciation of the world, godliness, contentment, generosity, recognizing that gratitude belongs to Allah in ^{all} circumstances, beneficence, thinking well of others, beauty of character, beauty of companionship, truth, and sincerity, it is a knowledge of the real natures of these states, their definitions, the means by which they are acquired, their fruits, their signs, and dealing with the weak until they

become strong. This does not stop until he is made acquainted with the Science of Eschatology.

As for what is blameworthy, it is fear of poverty, vexation at what is decreed (by Allah), malice, spite, envy, insincerity, the quest of high rank, love of eulogy, a desire to remain long in the present world for enjoyment, pride and hypocrisy, anger and contempt, enmity and violent hatred, covetousness and avarice, voracity and boasting, ingratitude and disregard of others, flattering the rich and despising the poor, pride of ancestry and self-conceit, ungenerous emulation and glory (in one's wealth, knowledge, and position), magnifying one's self above his right and meddling with what does not concern him, verbosity and haughtiness, making a good appearance before men and flattery, vanity and busying one's self in the faults of others instead of in his own faults, the absence of sorrow from one's heart (because he does not place importance on the matters of the next abode) and the departure of fear from it, emphasis on self-justification when something humbling comes to the heart and weakness in championing the truth, preferring those who follow the outward observance of religion to the enmity that the mystical life excites in others, safety from Allah's deception (⁸⁷makr allah) by despoiling what was given and dependence on obedience, deceit and treachery, hypocrisy and great

hope (for the postponement of something), harshness and rudeness, joy in the present world and regret over its passing away, enjoyment of created beings and grief on being separated from them, lack of sympathy and frivolity, precipitation (in blameworthy matters), and paucity of shame and mercy. These and similar attributes of the heart are seed beds of atrocious sins and the fertile soil of forbidden actions.

Their opposites, which are the praiseworthy characters, are sources of obedience and oblations. Knowledge of the definitions of these matters, their real natures, their causes and their fruits, and ways to improve them is the knowledge of the next abode ('ilm al-ākhirah) which is a personal obligation according to a legal decision of the other-worldly divines ('ulamā' al-ākhirah). One who avoids them perishes by the power of the King of Kings in the next abode just as one who avoids the external deeds (prayer, fasting, pilgrimage, and almsgiving) perishes by the sword of the sultans of the present world according to the decision of the jurisconsults of the present world. For the scope of the jurisconsults is the personal obligations in relation to the welfare of the present world, while this is in relation to the welfare of the next abode.

If a jurisconsult is asked about one of these spiritual

matters even about sincerity, for example, or about dependence (on Allah) or about a way to avoid hypocrisy, he would hold back in it, although it is a personal obligation of his own, the neglecting of which would be his death in the next abode. If you should ask him about imprecations, divorce, racing, and throwing the palm branch (i.e. as a javelin), he would tell you volumes about their minutes details, no particle of which is needed till the end of time. Even if they were needed, the country would not be void of some one who would do it and the difficulty of the task would satisfy him. He does not cease to toil at it night and day and to memorize and study it, while he is heedless of what is important for himself in religion; and, if he were asked about it, he would say, "I was engaged in it because it is the science of religion and a general obligation", and he would deceive himself and others by his pretext[#] (in learning it). An intelligent person would know that if his aim were to fulfil what was due in the matter of a general obligation, he would give precedence over it to a personal obligation; he would give precedence to many others of the general obligations (rather than to this particular one).

In many (Muslim) cities there is no doctor except one⁸⁸ who is a member of the subject peoples (i.e. Jews, Christians, and heathen) the acceptance of whose testimony in matters

which concern doctors and which are related to jurisprudence is not permissible. Yet we do not see anyone engaged in it (i.e. medicine) , while they compete in the science of jurisprudence especially concerning the things about which there are differences of position and evidences, while the country is full of jurisconsults who are (of the kind who are) alone in the legal opinions they pronounce and in replying to objections or slander. I wish I knew how the jurisconsults of religion can permit themselves to be engaged in general obligations which many people are undertaking, while they neglect what is not being undertaken. Is there any other cause for this than to arrive at the control of endowments and wills, to get possession of the wealth of orphans, to assume judgeship and rule (over the funds), to surpass one's contemporaries, and to exercise power over enemies which is not made easy by medicine? Away with it!

The science of religion has been effaced by the deception of false teachers. May Allah, who is our refuge and strength, protect us from this deceit which causes the Merciful One to be angry and which makes the Shaitān laugh. And the scrupulous doctors of the literal and external expression of religion have acknowledged the superiority of the experts in the spiritual life and psychologists of religion.

The Imām al-Shāfi'ī used to sit at the feet of Shaibān

⁸⁹
al-Rā'ī just as a boy sits in school, and ask him, "How should one act in this case and that?"

Some one said to him, "(Is it fitting for) one like you to ask this Bedouin?"

He replied, "This man has been given what we have neglected."

⁹⁰
Ahmad bin Hanbal and Yahya bin Mu'īn used to go frequently to Ma'rūf al-Karkhī who was not as expert in the outward observances of religion (with which jurisprudence has to do), and question him. And why not since, when the Messenger of Allah was asked, "How should we act if some matter comes to us which is not in the Book and the Sunnah", he replied, "Ask the virtuous, and make it a (matter of) consultation among them."

Therefore it was said, "Those who are learned in the externals ('ulamā' al-Zāhir) are an adornment of the earth and the visible world (al-mulk) just as the mystics ('ulamā' al-bāṭin) are an adornment of the heavens and the heavenly kingdoms (al-malakūt)."

⁹²
Al-Junaid said, "My teacher, al-Sarī, asked me one day, "If you left me, with whom (at whose feet) would you sit?"
⁹⁴
I replied, 'Al-Muḥāsibī.' Then he said, 'Yes, take theology and culture from him and leave alone his hair splitting dogmatics and his refutation of the scholastic theologians.'

Then when I turned my back, I heard him say, 'May Allah make you a possessor of tradition as a Ṣūfī (i.e. when you are already a Ṣūfī), and not make you a Ṣūfī who is a possessor of tradition', indicating that one who first acquires tradition and learning and then becomes a Ṣūfī will succeed, while whoever becomes a Ṣūfī before (obtaining) knowledge exposes himself to danger."

If you should say, "Why do you not mention theology and philosophy among the divisions of the sciences and make clear that both of them are blameworthy or praiseworthy?" you should know that the beneficial proofs which the science of theology (al-kalām) contains are contained in the Qur'ān and the traditions. Whatever is outside of these two is either a blameworthy disputation which is innovation, as its forthcoming explanation (will show), or a stirring up of trouble related to the dissensions of parties and prolonging the transmission of sayings, most of which are inconsequential, which the natural disposition despises, which the (sense of) hearing rejects, and some of which involve what is not connected with religion.

(Among the companions and followers) none of it was familiar in the first (Muslim) century, and studying it deeply was a complete innovation, but now its predicament has changed. There appeared innovations which lead away from

following the clear statement of the Qur'ān and the Sunnah (usage); and there sprang up a group which joined doubtful matters to them (i.e. the innovations) which they put into (books of) theology (already) composed. By the law of necessity that forbidden thing became permitted; but it became one of the general obligations. This is the amount with which an innovator must be confronted when he tries to invite people to (accept) innovation. That is to a definite limit which we shall mention in the section which follows this, if Allah wills.

As for philosophy, it is not a science by itself, but is composed of four parts, one of which is geometry and arithmetic. These two are permissible as we have seen, and no one is withheld from them except one who fears that he will go beyond them into the blameworthy sciences, for most of those practising them have departed from them into innovations. The weak are guarded from them not on account of (any harm they have in) themselves but as a boy is guarded from the edge of a river for fear that he may fall into it, and as a novice in Islām is guarded from association with unbelievers because of fear for him, although (even) the person who is well-grounded in his Islām is not recommended to associate with them.

The second (part of Philosophy) is logic which discusses

the manner and rules of demonstration and the manner and rules of definition, both of which enter into the field of theology.

The third is (the science of) metaphysics which is a discussion about the essence and attributes of Allah, which also is included in theology. In these matters the philosophers did not have a unique kind of knowledge, but they had their own doctrines, some of which are unbelief and some of which are heretical innovation. And just as the doctrine of the Mu'tazilah⁹⁵ is not a science in itself, but its proponents are a sect of scholastic theologians, and the logicians had their own false doctrines, so likewise are the philosophers.

The fourth is natural science, some of which is contrary to religious law and true religion; for it is ignorance, and not a science (in the sense) that it should be mentioned in the classification of the sciences. Some of it is a discussion of the qualities and special properties of bodies and their manner of change and modification. This resembles doctors' diagnosis except that they consider particularly in man's body what concerns sickness and health, while the others observe all bodies from the point of view of change and action; but medicine has the superiority in that there is need of it. As for the (seven) sciences included in the natural

sciences, there is no need of them. Therefore theology became a member of the group of arts which are general obligations in order to keep the minds of the common people away from the conceptions of the heretical innovators.

Really that, (that is, the fact that theology became a general obligation) took place only because of the heretical innovations, just as it became necessary for a man to hire a convoy on the way of the pilgrimage because of the Arabs' wrong doing and highway robberies. If the Arabs had desisted from their hostility (and had refrained from highway robbery), to hire guards would not have been one of the conditions of making the pilgrimage. In like manner, if the innovator had left his nonsense, there would have been no need of more than what was known in the time of the Companions. Then let the theologian know his limit in religion which is in reality the place of a guard on the way of pilgrimage. If the guard devotes himself entirely to guarding, he will not be one of the group of the pilgrimage. And if the theologian devotes himself entirely to controversy and defense (of the faith of the laity) and does not walk on the way to the next abode and is not engaged in taking care of the heart and its welfare, he is not one of the group of the religious doctors ('ulamā' al-dīn) at all.

All the religion that a dogmatic theologian has is the

belief which the rest of the common people share with him and which is part of the external actions of the heart and the tongue, and he is distinguished from the common people only by the science of apologetics and defense. As for his knowledge of Allah and His attributes and His acts and all that we have pointed out in the science of mysticism, it does not appear in the science of scholastic theology, but theology is likely to be a veil over it and a hindrance to it. Indeed, arriving at it is by the soul-struggle which Allah made as a preliminary to guidance, where he said, "Those who struggle for us (our sakes) we shall guide to our ways, and surely Allah is with the benefactors" (29:69).

If you say, "You have pushed back the scope of the theologian to that of guarding the belief of the common people from the confusion of the innovators just as the scope of the guards is that of guarding the goods of the pilgrims from pillage by the Arabs. You have pushed back the scope of the jurisconsult to that of preserving the law by which the sultan prevents the evil of some unjust people from (harming) others. These two ranks are low in relation to the science of religion, while the nation's learned ones who are famous for their excellence are the jurisconsults and theologians who are Allah's most preferable creatures. So why do you lower their ranks to this mean degree in rela-

tion to the science of religion?" you should know that whoever recognizes the truth by means of the men who represent it is perplexed (and) in the wilderness of error. Rather you should know the truth; and you will know its people, if you are walking on the way of the truth. If you are satisfied with imitation and consideration of the ranks of excellence which are well known among men, do not disregard the Companions and the height of their rank. Those jurisconsults and theologians whom you have undertaken to mention have agreed that they take precedence, have the greatest ability, that their position in religion is not reached, and that nobody can outstrip them. However, their precedence is not by theology and canon law, but by knowledge of the Next Abode and walking on its way.

96

Abu Bakr did not excel people by much fasting or prayer or by much quoting of tradition or by legal opinion or theology, but by something which rested in his heart just as the master apostle testified of him. Covet to seek that secret which is a precious jewel and a well guarded pearl. Abandon what the majority of people agree in and regard with veneration and magnify for reasons and motives, the explanation of which would be lengthy.

Assuredly when the Messenger of Allah died, there were thousands of Companions all of whom were learned about Allah

(and all of) whom the Messenger of Allah praised. Yet there was none of them who was well-versed in the art of scholastic theology and only about ten who put themselves in the position of giving a legal opinion.

('Abdullah) bin 'Umar (bin al-Khaṭṭāb) certainly was one of them, and when he was asked about giving a legal opinion, he used to say to the questioner, "Go to So-and-So, the Amīr who has taken upon himself the disposal of the affairs of men, and let him be responsible", as an indication that the power to give an opinion in court cases and rule belongs to those who have control of government and authority. And when 'Umar died, Ibn al-Mas'ūd said, "Nine tenths of knowledge has perished."

So somebody said to him, "Do you say that while we have some of the famous Companions with us?"

He replied, "I did not mean the science of giving an opinion and judgments; I mean only knowledge of Allah."

Then do you think that he meant the art of scholastic theology and disputation? Why do you not strive for that knowledge of which nine-tenths perished when 'Umar died: the one who closed the door of scholastic theology and disputation and whipped Ṣabīḡ⁹⁷, when he brought him a question on the contradiction of two verses in the Qur'ān, and banished him and commanded the people not to associate with him.

As for your saying that the most famous learned men are the jurisconsults and the scholastic theologians, you should know that that by which favour with Allah is obtained is one thing, and that by which fame with man is attained is another. The fame of Abū Bakr al-Siddīq was by means of the caliphate, (i.e. because he succeeded Muḥammad), while his excellency was because of the conscience (sirr)⁹⁸ which was put in his heart. 'Umar's fame was in political science and in closing the mouths of disputers, while his excellency was in the knowledge of Allah, nine-tenths of which perished by his death, and in his purpose to draw near to Allah in his rule and his justice and his sympathy for His creatures. That was an inner quality of his heart. As for the rest of his outward acts, it may be imagined that they resulted from the quest of prestige and name and good repute and a desire for fame. So his fame is in that which perishes and his excellency in that which is a secret (sirr) which nobody looks upon.

The jurisconsults and scholastic theologians are like caliphs, judges, and the learned; and they are divided into classes. Some of them sought to please Allah by (spreading) His knowledge (abroad), by His opinion, and by defending the usage of His prophet, neither pursuing hypocrisy nor good repute by this. They are the people with whom Allah is

well pleased and who have favour with Allah for acting according to their knowledge and for their seeking to please Allah by their opinion and their study.

For all knowledge which is acted upon is gainful work, but not all work is knowledge. A physician is able to draw near to Allah by his knowledge (if he wishes to please Allah by it), and he is rewarded for his knowledge as one who is working for Allah. (In like manner) the sultan mediates between people for Allah which pleases Allah who rewards him not from the point of view that he is entrusted with the science of religion, but that he has taken upon himself a work through the knowledge of which he aims to draw near to Allah.

There are three divisions by which one draws near to Allah: a) knowledge alone, that is, mystical knowledge; b) work alone, such as the justice of the sultan, for example, and his control over people; and c) work and knowledge combined, which is knowledge of the way to the next abode whose possessor belongs among both the learned and the workers together.

Then watch out for yourself. On the day of judgment (do you wish to be) in the party of those who know about Allah, or the workers for Allah, or in both parties? Then aim your arrow at both groups. This is more important for you than simply imitating that which is generally known, as

someone said, "Take what you see, and leave anything about which you have (merely) heard. With the rising of the sun you have no need of Saturn."

Therefore we shall quote from the life of the jurisconsults of the olden times that by which you will know that those who embraced their ways wronged them and they (i.e. those Imāms) will be their most severe adversaries on the day of judgment, for by their knowledge they sought only to please Allah. From their circumstances some signs are seen that indicate that they were (of the group) of other-worldly divines, an explanation of which will follow in the part on the Marks of the Other-Worldly Divines. They were not simply devoted to the science of jurisprudence but they were engaged in knowing and guarding hearts. But what prevented them from teaching and writing about it (i.e. knowledge of hearts) is the same thing that prevented the Companions from writing about and teaching jurisprudence, even though they were independent jurisconsults in the science of the fatwa (opinion of a jurisconsult).

Since the hindrances and motives are well known, there is no need to mention them. Now we shall mention some of the circumstances of the jurisconsults of Islām by which you will know that what we (previously) mentioned was not to defame them, but the one who appeared to imitate them and embrace

their ways, while they differed from them in their actions and their lives. The jurisconsults who are chiefs in jurisprudence and the leaders of the people, I mean those whose schools have numerous followers, are five: a) Al-Shāfi'ī,⁹⁹ b) Mālīk,¹⁰⁰ c) Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal, d) Abū Ḥanīfah, and e) Sufyān al-Thawrī, each one of whom was a devotee, an ascetic, learned in the sciences of the next abode, and a discerner of the welfare of the people in the present world who desired to please Allah by his jurisprudence.

Of all these five qualities the present jurisconsults follow them (ie. the five Imāms) in only one which is extravagant diligence in preserving the subordinate elements of jurisprudence, because the four qualities (which are: worship, asceticism, knowledge pertaining to the next abode, and good intention) are good only for the next abode. This is the one quality which is suitable for the present and the next abode; and, if the next abode is sought by it, its suitability for the present world becomes less. Hasten to get it that you may claim a resemblance to those Imams. But this is far-fetched. Do not compare angels with blacksmiths.

Then let us now mention some of their circumstances which point to these four qualities, for their acquaintance with jurisprudence is obvious.

As for the Imām al-Shāfi'ī, what was related about the

way he used to divide the night into three parts: a third for knowledge, a third for worship, and a third for sleep, proves that he was a devotee.

Al-Rabī'¹⁰¹ said, "In Ramaḍān al-Shāfi'ī used to finish the Qur'ān sixty times all of which (was) in the worship; and in Ramaḍān, one of his friends, al-Buaitī,¹⁰² used to finish the Qur'ān once every day."

Al-Ḥasan al-Karābīsī¹⁰³ said, "I lodged with al-Shāfi'ī more than once, and he used to pray nearly one third of the night, and I failed to see him exceed fifty verses; but, if (perchance) he recited many more, then possibly a hundred; and it was not his habit to pass by a mercy verse without asking mercy of Allah for himself, for all Muslims, and believers. Nor did he pass by a verse mentioning punishment unless he asked for salvation from it and asked safety for himself and the believers just as if, for him, fear and hope were brought together."

Then observe how his limiting himself to fifty verses proves that he went deep into the secrets of the Qur'ān and scrutinized them carefully.

Al-Shāfi'ī said, "I have not satisfied myself with food and drink for sixteen years, because satiety overburdens the body, hardens the heart, lessens one's natural ability, induces sleep, and makes one too weak to perform his worship."

S So notice his wisdom in mentioning the evils of satiety and (notice) his diligence in worship; since, for its sake, he cast satiety aside. (As some one said,) "The beginning of worship is to diminish one's food."

Al-Shāfi'I said, "Neither as a truthful person nor as a liar have I ever sworn by Allah."

So observe how he kept the name of Allah sacred and how he venerated Allah and how that proves his knowledge of Allah's majesty.

On being asked about a certain matter al-Shāfi'I remained silent. So they asked, "May Allah bless you, are you not going to answer?"

He replied, "Not until I know whether excellence lies in my silence or in my replying."

Then observe how he guarded his tongue (by not speaking), although it is the most difficult member for jurisconsults to rule and the hardest to control and conquer. From this it is plain that he was accustomed to speak and to be silent only to acquire excellence and seek a reward (from Allah).

104

Aḥmad bin Sibṭ Yaḥya bin al-Wazīr said, "One day al-Shāfi'I went out of the candle market, and we followed him. Behold, a man was cursing a learned man. Al-Shāfi'I turned his head towards us and said, 'Let your ears refrain from hearing obscene words just as you refrain your tongues from

uttering them. For one who listens is a partner (in guilt) of the speaker, and certainly a wicked man sees the ugliest thing in his heart and desires to pour it into your hearts. When a wicked man's word is rejected, the one who rejects it feels as happy as the one who says it feels miserable."

Al-Shāfi'ī said, "One philosopher wrote to another, 'Knowledge was given to you. So do not profane your knowledge with the darkness of sins, for then you will remain in darkness on the day when the learned will run by the light of their knowledge.'"

As for his asceticism, al-Shāfi'ī has said, "Whoever asserts that he has united love of the present world and love of its Creator in his heart has lied."

¹⁰⁵Al-Ḥamīdī said, "Al-Shāfi'ī went out to al-Yaman with one of its governors. With ten thousand dirhams (in his possession) he departed for Mecca and pitched his tent in a spot outside the city, (where) people used to come to him; and he did not leave that place until he had distributed all of it. Once, on coming out of the bath, he gave the bath attendant much money. Another time he gave fifty dinars to a man who had picked up a whip which had fallen from his hand."¹⁰⁶
¹⁰⁷

More famous than can be recounted is al-Shāfi'ī's liberality which (quality) is the starting point of asceticism, because whoever loves a thing retains it and does not distri-

bute it, since only one in whose eyes the present world has become small distributes wealth. That is the meaning of asceticism.

One of the things that indicate the severity of his asceticism, the strength of his fear of Allah, and his being concerned about the next abode is the fact that (when) Sufyān bin 'Uyainah¹⁰⁸ related a poorly attested tradition, al-Shāfi'i fainted; and somebody said to Sufyān, "He has died."

He replied, "If he has died, then the most excellent of the people of his time has died."

(The same is true regarding) what 'Abdullah Ibn Muḥammad¹⁰⁹ al-Balwā related. He said, "'Umar Ibn Nabātāt and I were seated discussing devotees and ascetics, when 'Umar said to me, 'I have not seen a more pious person nor a more elegant speaker than Muḥammad bin Idrīs al-Shāfi'i'. He, al-Ḥarith bin Labīd,¹¹¹ and I went out to al-Ṣafā'.¹¹² Ḥarith, a pupil of al-Ṣāliḥ al-Murri,¹¹³ began to read (the Qur'ān), and his voice was beautiful. He read this verse to him: 'This day they will not speak, and they have no permission, and they will offer excuses' (77:35). I noticed al-Shāfi'i. His color had changed, his skin shivered, he trembled exceedingly, and he fell down in a faint. When he recovered, he began to say, 'I seek refuge with Thee from the station of the liars and the places of the heedless. O, Allah, to Thee have the hearts

of those who know submitted and to Thee are the necks of the yearners humbled. O, my God, bestow on me Thy liberality, and cover me with Thy veil, and by the generosity of Thy Presence forgive my shortcomings'.

He said, "Then he went on, and we left (Mecca). When I entered Baghdad, while he was in 'Iraq, I sat on the shore for the ceremonial ablution before worship. Behold, a man passed who said to me, 'O, youth, do your ceremonial washing well and Allah will do well to you in this world and in the next.' I turned to look, and behold, I saw a man whom a crowd was following. So I hastened in my ceremonial ablution, and began to follow his steps. Turning to me he asked, 'Do you need something?' I replied, 'Yes, teach me some of what Allah has taught you.'

He said to me, 'You should know that whoever believes Allah is safe (from His punishments) and whoever is careful of His religion is safe from destruction, and the eyes of one who abstains in the present world (i.e. avoids its delights) will be refreshed in the future by what he will see of Allah's reward.'

I said, 'Yes.'

He said, 'Whoever has in him three qualities has perfected his faith: a) he who commands what is legal, and himself keeps that command; b) he who forbids what is unlawful,

and himself observes the prohibition; and c) he who observes the regulations about punishment that Allah has prescribed.

'Shall I not give you more?' he asked.

'Certainly', I replied.

He advised, 'Be indifferent to this present world, yearn for the next abode, be sincere toward Allah in all your affairs (secretly and openly), and you will be saved with the saved.'

Then he went away, and I asked, 'Who is that?'

They answered, 'Al-Shāfi'i.'"

Then notice his falling down in a faint, then how his preaching proves his asceticism and his extreme fear which are only obtained through mystical or experimental knowledge of Allah. Surely those of Allah's servants who fear Him are the learned. Al-Shafi'i did not acquire this fear and asceticism from knowledge of the book of Commercial Down-Payments and Hiring Anything Out (salam and Ijārah) and the rest of the books of fiqh (jurisprudence), but (he acquired it) from his knowledge of the next abode obtained from the Qur'ān and traditions; since the maxims of both ancients and moderns have been deposited in both of them.

As for his being learned in the secrets of the heart and the science of the next abode, you know it from the maxims transmitted by tradition about him.

It is related that he was asked about hypocrisy and he replied without premeditation, "Hypocrisy is a temptation (fitnah) which passion has tied in front of the eyes of the hearts of the learned which they looked at by evil choice of their souls, and their deeds came to nought."

Al-Shāfi'I said, "If you are afraid of being conceited about your deed, then remember [#] the pleasure of the one you seek, ask what reward you desire, from what punishment you flee, what result is praiseworthy, and what troubles you remember. Then, if you reflect on one of these five items, your deed will diminish in your sight."

Then notice how he mentioned the essence of hypocrisy and the remedy for conceit, both of which make up some of the great evils of the heart.

Al-Shāfi'I stated, "The knowledge of one who does not preserve his soul will not benefit him." And he said, "The heart of hearts of one who obeys Allah with his knowledge will benefit him."

He said, "There is nobody who does not have some one who loves him and some one who hates him. If that is the case, be included among those who obey Allah."

It is related that 'Abd al-Qādir bin 'Abd al-'Azīz, ^{##} 114

reading SMZ udhkur instead of unzur

reacing SMZ Qādir instead of Qāhir

a righteous and scrupulous man who was acceptable to al-Shāfi'ī on account of his piety, used to ask al-Shāfi'ī questions about piety. One day he said to Al-Shāfi'ī, "Which is more excellent, patience, testing (al-mihnah), or achievement (al-tamkīn)?"¹¹⁵

Al-Shafi'i replied, "Achievement belongs to the grade of the prophets, and there is achievement only after testing. When one is tested, he is patient; and when he is patient, he achieves." Do you not see that Allah tested Abraham? Then He made him attain. He tested Moses. Then He made him attain. He tested Job; then he made him attain. He tested Solomon; then he made him attain and gave him dominion. Achievement is the most excellent of the ranks. Allah said, 'Thus we firmly established Joseph in the land' (12:21; 56), and Job was firmly established after his great testing. Allah said again, 'And we gave him his people and their like with them' and so on (21:84).

These words from al-Shāfi'ī prove how deep he delved into the secrets of the Qur'ān and how well he knew the stations (maqāmāt) of the prophets and saints who were travelers to Allah, all of which is part of the science of the next abode.

"When is a man learned?" al-Shāfi'ī was asked.

He replied, "When he knows a science for a certainty, then he will know it; and he will address himself to the rest

of the sciences and observe what passed him. Then he will be learned."

116

Somebody said to Galenus, "For one disease, you prescribe many remedies gathered together."

He replied, "Their purpose is single (i.e. only one of them is intended for the cure); the other things are put with it to lessen its power. For a single one is fatal."

This and the examples which are innumerable prove the height of his rank in the knowledge of Allah and the science of the next abode. As for his desire to please Allah by his jurisprudence and his discussions, this is proved by what it related that he said, "I desired that people would be benefitted by this knowledge and that none of it would be related to me (i.e. ascribed to me).

Then notice how he knew the evil of knowledge and seeking reputation by it [#] and how his heart was free from paying regard to it solely by means of the purity of his intention in seeking it for the sake of Allah.

Al-Shafi'i said, "I never disputed with anyone, while wanting him to err."

He (also) said, "I never spoke to anyone without wishing him to prosper, to hit the mark, to be helped, and to have Allah's protecting care over him. Nor did I ever speak to anybody without caring that Allah would make the truth clear
reading SMZ bihi instead of lahu

on my tongue or on his."

He said, "I never mentioned the truth and the proof to anybody who accepted it from me without reverencing him and believing his love, and no one opposed me in (accepting) the truth and contended against the proof without falling in my estimation, and I left him."

These are the signs which prove his desire to please
Allah by his jurisprudence and his debating. You see how, of these five qualities, the people followed him in one quality only and then how they contradicted him in it also (by lack of sincerity). Because of this Abū Thaur ¹¹⁷said, "Neither I nor anyone else has seen anyone like al-Shāfi'ī." And Ahmad bin Ḥanbal said, "For forty years I have not prayed without praying for al-Shāfi'ī."

Then notice the impartiality of the intercessor (ibn Ḥanbal) and the rank of the one prayed for. With this compare their peers and their likes (from among the learned) in these times as well as the amount of enmity and hatred that takes place among them. Then you will know their shortcomings is their assertion of imitating these (Imāms).

On account of the great amount Ibn Ḥanbal's intercession for al-Shāfi'ī Ibn Ḥanbal's son said, "What a man this al-Shāfi'ī must be for you to pray so much for him!"

reading SMZ irādatihi wih Allah instead of irādati Allah

Aḥmad replied, "O, my son, al-Shāfi'i is like the sun to the present world and like health to people. Notice and see if there is any substitute for these two."

Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal used to say, "No one puts his hand to an inkstand (i.e. no one begins to write) without being tremendously indebted to al-Shāfi'i."

"I have not performed a worship service for forty years",
¹¹⁸
 said Yahya bin Sa'id al-Qaṭṭān, "without praying for al-Shāfi'i on account of the knowledge which Allah revealed to him and in which He prospered him to reach his aim."

Then let us limit ourselves to mentioning this brief account of his conditions, for they are limitless. Most of these virtues we have taken from a book which the Shaikh Naṣr
¹¹⁹
 bin Ibrāhīm al-Maḡdasī composed of the virtues of al-Shāfi'i. May Allah be pleased with him and with all Muslims.

As for the Imām Mālik, who also was adorned with these five qualities, some one asked him, "What do you say, O, Mālik, about the search for knowledge?"

He said, "It is very good, but pay attention to that which is necessary for you from morning to evening (of life). Then stick to it."

He went to such an extreme degree in venerating the science of religion that, when he wished to narrate (something) he performed a ceremonial washing, sat on his (rolled up)

bed, combed his beard, employed perfume, and sat firmly established out of respect and veneration (for his subject). Then he used to narrate (something).

On being asked about all this, he replied, "I like to venerate a tradition of the Messenger of Allah." Mālik said, "Knowledge is a light which Allah places wherever He wills and which does not depend on the amount of relating." This respect and reverence of knowledge proves the strength of his recognition of the majesty of Allah.

As for his desire to please Allah by his knowledge, that is proved by his saying, "Argument in religion is nothing." And what al-Shāfi'i said proves it, "I was present at Mālik's when he was consulted about forty-eight questions, to thirty-two of which he replied, 'I do not know'. Whoever does not desire to please Allah by his knowledge does not permit himself to admit that he does not know. For that reason al-Shāfi'i said, "When the learned are mentioned, Malik is 'the brilliant star' (86:3), and no one has more favour with me than Mālik."

120

It is told that Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr prevented him from relating the tradition about compulsory divorce. Then he secretly sent somebody to him who asked him, and in a group of people he related, "There is no divorce for the one under com-
pulsion (al-mustakrah)."¹²¹ So he beat Mālik with a whip, but

he did not stop relating the tradition.

Mālik said, "There is no man who is truthful and who does not lie regarding tradition but is granted enjoyment of mind; in his old age neither disease nor weakness of mind comes upon him."

As for his asceticism in the present world, what it was related that Maḥdī, the Commander of the Faithful, asked him proves that. He said, "Do you own a house?"

He replied, "No, but I shall relate (a tradition about it). I heard Rabi'ah bin Abd al-Raḥmān say, 'A man's lineage is his house.'"

(Harūn) al-Rashīd (also) asked Mālik, "Do you have a house?"

He replied, "No."

So Harūn gave him three thousand dinars and said, "Buy a house with them."

So he took them but did not spend them. Then, when al-Rashīd wanted to go (from Ḥejāz to 'Irāq), he said to Mālik, "You must go along with us, for I am resolved to induce the people to do what is contained in the Muwatta', just as 'Uthmān induced them to follow the Qur'ān."

Mālik replied, "As for inducing people to follow the Muwatta', there is no way for it; for, after the Prophet's death, his Companions were scattered among various countries

where they related stories; and the people of each country have knowledge (of traditions that is exclusive to them); and Muhammad has said, 'The disagreement of my people is a blessing.' And as for going along with you, there is no way for it. The Prophet of Allah has said, 'Al-Madīnah is better for them, if only they knew it.' And he said, 'Al-Madīnah removes their wickedness just as a blacksmith's bellows remove the dirt (rust or tarnish) from iron.' Here are your dinars just as they are. If you wish, take them; and if you wish, leave them. That is to say, that by this you are obliging me to leave al-Madīnah for the favour you have done me, but I do not prefer the present world to the city of the Messenger of Allah."

Such was Mālik's asceticism regarding the present world. When great wealth was brought to him from the ends of the earth on account of the spread of his knowledge and disciples, he used to distribute it in a benevolent way. This generosity proves his asceticism and the meagerness of his love of the present world. Asceticism, (however) is not merely being deprived, but asceticism means to empty the heart of it. So during his reign Solomon was certainly one of the ascetics.

Mālik's disregard of the present world is shown by what al-Shāfi'i related, when he said, "At the door of Mālik's

house I saw some horses and weapons: steeds from Khurasan and mules from Egypt, the equal of which I had not seen. So I said to Mālīk, 'How beautiful!'

"He replied, 'This is a present from me to you, O, Abā 'Abdullah.'

"So I said, 'Keep one of them for yourself so you can ride.'

"He replied, 'Before Allah I am ashamed to have a hoof of my mount trample the ground in which the Prophet of Allah lies buried.'"

"Therefore observe his generosity, when he donated all that in one single swoop, and (also) his reverence of the soil of al-Madīnah. What is related about him proves his desire to please Allah by his knowledge and his disregard for the present world; for he said, "I went to see Harūn al-Rashīd, and he said to me, 'O, Abā 'Abdullah, you must come to us often so that our sons may hear the Muwatta' from you.'"

He continued, "I told him, 'May Allah exalt you, our Lord the Prince. This knowledge has come from you (i.e. Bani Quraysh). If you exalt it, then it is exalted; and, if you debase it, then it is debased. Knowledge is the thing come to; it does not come, (i.e. one must seek after knowledge; it does not seek anybody).' Then he said, 'You are right. Go along to the mosque to listen with the people.'"

As for Abū Ḥanīfah, he also certainly was an ascetic worshipper who knew Allah mystically and feared Him and desired to please Him by his knowledge.

As for his being a devotee, that is known by what was related by Ibn Mubārak, who said, "Abu Ḥanīfah was a man of noble manliness and much prayer."¹²⁸

¹²⁷ Hammād bin Abī Sulaimān related that he used to stay awake all night in devotion, and it was related that he used to spend half the night awake in devotion. Then one day as he was passing along the street a man pointed him out, while he was walking, and said to another, "He is the one who keeps vigil all the night." So after that he did not cease to keep vigil all the night, and he said, "I am ashamed before Allah to have men say I perform worship which actually I do not perform."

As for his asceticism, (the following) is related on the authority of Rabī' bin 'Āṣim:¹²⁹ "Yazīd bin Hubairah sent for me, and I brought Abī Ḥanīfah along with me. He wanted him (Abū Ḥanīfah) to be overseer of the treasury, (but) he declined. So he gave him twenty lashes. Then observe how he fled from governing and endured his torture."¹³⁰

¹³¹ Al-Ḥakam bin Hishām al-Thaqafī said, "In Damascus I was told a tradition about Abū Ḥanīfah (to the purport) that he was one of the greatest of men as regards faithfulness. The

sultan offered him the choice of taking charge of the keys of the treasury or have his back beaten. He chose their torture rather than the punishment of Allah."

It is related that Abū Ḥanīfah was mentioned in the presence of Ibn al-Mubārak who said, "Are you mentioning a man to whom the present world in its fullness was offered and who fled from it?"

It is related on the authority of Muḥammad bin Shujā' ¹³² on the authority of some of his companions that somebody said to Abū Ḥanīfah, "The Commander of the Faithful, Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr, has commanded that you be given ten thousand dirhams."

He said, "And Abu Hanifah was not pleased. " (Then) he said, "When the day in which it was expected that the money would be brought, he performed the morning worship. Then he covered himself with his clothes and did not speak. Then the messenger, al-Ḥasan bin Qaṭṭabah, ¹³³ brought the wealth and entered the place where he was. So some of them present said, 'He only speaks a word to us now and then.' That is, it is his custom.

"Then he (i.e. the messenger) said, 'Put the money in this wallet', (and he left it) in a corner of the house. Then after that, Abū Ḥanīfah bequeathed the furniture of his house and said to his son, 'When I die and you have buried me, take this purse of money and carry it to al-Ḥasan bin Qaṭṭabah and

say to him, 'Take (back) your trust which you deposited with Abū Ḥanīfah.'

"His son said, 'So I did that and al-Ḥasan said, 'The mercy of Allah be on your father. He certainly was strict in his religion'." "

It was related that he was invited to become a judge and he said, "I am not good enough for that."

They asked, "Why?"

He replied, "Were I honest, then I should not be good enough for it; and if I were a liar, a liar is not good enough to give judgment."

As for his knowledge of the way to the next abode and the way to the affairs of religion and his mystical knowledge of Allah, the intensity of his fear of Allah and his asceticism in the present world prove this.

¹³⁴
Ibn Juraij said, "I have come to hear that your Kūfī,
¹³⁵
al-Na'mān bin Thābit, is very intense in his fear of Allah."

¹³⁶
Sharīk al-Nakh'ī said, "Abū Ḥanīfah was very taciturn, continually thinking, and seldom spoke to people", which is one of the clearest signs of his mystical knowledge and occupation in the important things in religion. One who has received silence and asceticism has been given all knowledge.

This, then, is a short sketch of the characteristics of the three Imāns. As for the Imāms Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal and Sufyān

al-Thaurī, their followers are fewer than those of these (three), and Sufyān has less followers than Aḥmad, but the fame of these two in scrupulousness and asceticism is more obvious. This entire book is replete with tales of their deeds and sayings. So there is no need of going into detail now.

Therefore let us now observe the lives of these three Imāms and consider their characteristics and sayings and deeds in shunning the present world and in devotion to Allah. Are they simply the fruit of knowledge of the subordinate sciences of jurisprudence such as knowledge of commercial down-payments (salam), hiring a thing out (ijārah), temporary separation by the formula "zihār", the oath not to cohabit (ilā')¹³⁷, and the form of accusation of adultery and the defense (li'ān); or are they the fruit of a knowledge higher and nobler than they? Then observe those who pretend to follow them. Are they honest in their pretense or not?

PART THREE

Part three concerns what the masses consider to be praiseworthy sciences, though they are not. In it there is A) an exposition of the point of view from which certain sciences are sometimes blameworthy, B) an exposition of the interchanging of the names of the sciences such as "jurisprudence" (fīqh), "knowledge" ('ilm), "the doctrine of Allah's unity" (tawhīd), "reminding" (tadhkīr), and "wisdom" (hikmah), and C) an exposition of the amount of legal sciences which is praiseworthy and the amount which is blameworthy in them.

A. An Exposition of the Cause of Blame in the Blameworthy Sciences

Suppose you should say, "Knowledge is cognition of a thing as it is, which is one of Allah's attributes. Then how can a thing be knowledge and, at the same time, blameworthy?" You should know that knowledge is not blamed in itself, but it is blamed with respect to creatures for one of three causes.

1) The first is if it leads either its possessor or somebody else into harm, just as the knowledge of magic and

talismans is blamed. And this knowledge is real, for the Qur'ān testified to it. ¹³⁹ It is a cause of separation between married people. (Even) the Messenger of Allah was enchanted and sickened by it until Jibrīl ¹³⁸ informed him of it and removed the enchantment from under a stone at the bottom of a well.

It is a branch of knowledge which is derived from the special properties of substances and mathematical reckonings of the appearances of the stars. From these substances a shape in the image of the enchanted person is obtained, and one watches for a special time of the star's appearance at which time certain unlawful words of unbelief and wickedness are uttered. By means of them he succeeds in getting help from the Shaiṭāns. From all this, strange conditions result in the enchanted person by the customary working out of Allah's decrees. Knowledge of these causes as knowledge per se is not blameworthy.

But it is only suitable for harming people, and whatever is a means to evil is evil. That is the reason for its being a blameworthy science. Nay more, in the case of a person who is following one of Allah's saints in order to kill him, while the saint is hidden in a well guarded place, should the wrong-doer inquire about his hiding place, one may not reveal it; but it is necessary to lie about it. To mention

the place is to guide and to provide knowledge of a thing as it is, but it is blameworthy, because it leads to harm.

2. The second is harmful to its possessor in the majority of cases, as in the science of astrology. This in itself is not blameworthy in its essence and is in two parts: a). the first part is concerned with calculation. The Qur'ān has mentioned that the movement of the sun and moon is calculated, for Allah said, "The sun and the moon (run their courses) according to a (certain) reckoning; or through a series of mansions (or constellations), the bounds of which they do not transgress" (55:4)¹⁴⁰

He said, "And as for the moon, We have decreed stations for it so that it returns (changes) like an old palm branch" (in resemblance to crescents of the old and new moons). (36:39)

b). The second part is the science of the decrees of the stars (i.e. astrology)¹⁴¹ the sum and substance of which are related to inference about phenomenal events by means of causes. This resembles the inferences as to what will happen to an invalid which a doctor makes after counting his pulse. This is a knowledge of the usual course of Allah's custom and practice in dealing with His people, but of which divine law disapproves.

142

Muhammad said, "If decree (qadar) is mentioned, hold

back; if the stars are mentioned, hold back; and if my companions are mentioned, hold back."

He said, "I fear for my people after me in three respects: (first) injustice of the Imāms; (second) belief in stars; (third) disbelief in decree."

'Umar bin al-Khaṭṭāb said, "From the stars learn that by which you can be guided on land and sea; then hold back."

Astrology is forbidden from three aspects:

(1). the first of which is that it is harmful to most people. For if they are told that these happenings occur after the course of the stars, they will get the impression that the stars are the things which cause the effect and that they are the gods who regulate (affairs) because they are noble heavenly substances. The impression in their hearts will become great and one's heart will continue to turn toward them and he will see the good and the evil forbidden or desired from that point of view, while the remembrance of Allah will be erased from his heart. As for one who is poorly grounded in faith his consideration will be limited to the media (al-wasā'it). And the well-grounded person is one who knows that the sun, moon, and stars are compelled to work (musakhkharāt) by the command of Allah. (cf. 7:52; 16:12)

The poorly-grounded person's consideration of the coming of sunlight after the sun rises would be like that of

an ant, had it been given a mind and were it on a sheet of paper. It would notice the black writing being made to appear, which it would think was the work of a pen. Its observation would not mount up to seeing the fingers, then from them to the hand, then from it to the will of the one who moves the hand, then from it to the writer who is capable and who wills, then from him to the Creator of the hand, the ability, and the will. Most of man's observation is limited to the subordinate causes (and is) cut off from looking up to the Causer of Causes. So this is one of the reasons for prohibiting the study of astrology.

(2). The second (of them) is that astrology is pure conjecture. In regard to particular individuals it does not attain to certainty nor to probability; deciding by it is deciding by ignorance. The disapproval of it lies in the fact that it is ignorance, not because it is a science. And it (i.e. astrology) was an evidentiary miracle given to Idrīs according to what is told, and which knowledge was effaced, blotted out, and annihilated. That part of the astrologers' prognostications which actually happens is of rare occurrence. It is a coincidence, because he knows some of the causes; and the effect is only known after many conditions, to know the truth of which is not in the power of man. If it happens that Allah decrees the rest of the causes, the event occurs;

and if He did not decree (them), he (the astrologer) fails.

That is like the conjecture of a man who says, "It will rain today", whenever he sees clouds gathering and coming from the mountains. Then he thinks that it is probable, and maybe the day will be warmed by the sun, the clouds will vanish, and it may be just the contrary. The clouds alone are not sufficient to bring on the rain, while the rest of the causes are not known.

Likewise is the conjecture of a sailor, (who surmises) that his ship will be safe, depending on his knowledge of the custom of the winds, while those winds have hidden causes which he does not know. At one time he may be right in his conjecture; at another time, wrong. For this reason the strongly-grounded person also is forbidden (to study) astrology.

(3). The third of them (i.e. causes for forbidding the study of astrology) is that there is no benefit in it. The least of its characteristics is that it is getting one's self engrossed in extra things and losing man's most precious stock-in-trade, time, without benefit. This is the epitome of loss.

Once upon a time the Messenger of Allah passed by a man around whom some people had gathered. So he inquired, "What is that?"

They replied, "A very learned man."

"In what?" he asked.

"In poetry and Arabic genealogy", they replied.

He said, "Knowledge of it does not benefit, and ignorance of it does not harm."¹⁴³

Muhammad said again, "Knowledge is a decisive verse (āyah muhkimah)¹⁴⁴, established usage (sunnah qā'imah), or an equitable duty (farīdah 'ādilah)."

Therefore to enter deeply into (the study of) astrology and the like is to rush into (great) danger and enter deeply into (the sea of) ignorance without benefit. As a matter of fact, that which is decreed, is; and it is impossible to guard against it. This is in contrast to medicine, for there is a crying need for it, and most of its evidences can be known. This is also in contrast to interpretation (of dreams) even though it is conjecture, because it is one of the forty-six parts of prophecy, and there is no possibility of evil in it.

(3). The third reason (for knowledge being blamed): being engrossed in a science of which the seeker is not master,[#] as learning the details of science before the great truths, or the hidden things before the plainly seen, and discussing divine secrets is blameworthy in itself; for phi-

reading SMZ la yastagill instead of la yastafid

losophers and theologians study them, yet are not masters of them. Only prophets and the saints were masters of them, and only the fringe of some of them. It is necessary to turn people away from discussing them and to turn them back to that about which the law speaks, which ought to be sufficient for a believer.[#] How many people get engrossed in sciences and are harmed by them! If they had not delved deeply into them, their condition might have been better than that to which they came. So do not deny the fact that a science may be harmful to some people just as birds' meat and certain light sweets harm a nursing child.

Ignorance in some matters benefits many a person, for it has been related that a man complained to a doctor that his wife was barren and did not beget children. Then the doctor took her pulse and said, "You need no medicine to help you to conceive. Your pulse indicates that you are going to die within forty days."

Then the woman experienced great fear; and, her life being harassed, she withdrew her money, spent it, made out her will, and remained neither eating nor drinking until the time passed; but she did not die. So her husband went to the doctor and told him, "She has not died!"

Then the doctor said, "I knew that. Now resume marital

mūqin and mūfiq are given as variants

relations with her, and she will conceive."

So he asked, "How is that?"

He replied, "I saw that she was fat and that the fat around the mouth of her womb had become thickened (knotted). Knowing that she would become thin only by fear of death, I frightened her that way until she reduced and the obstacle to child-bearing disappeared."

This warns you of the feeling of danger in some sciences and causes you to understand the meaning of Muhammad's saying, "We take refuge with Allah from the knowledge which does not benefit."

Take a warning then from this story, and do not be a prober into sciences of which the divine law disapproves and which it forbids, but stick closely to following the Companions and limit yourself to following their usage. For safety lies in following: risk in investigating things and independence of thought. Do not be very conceited in your ideas, your intelligence, your demonstrations, your proofs, and your assertion: "I probe into things to know them as they are. What harm is there in reflecting on sciences?" You should know that the evil which comes to you is greater (later on). In regard to many a thing which you know, the fact that you

#SNZ gives variant al-ishtighāl (bima la ya'nī)

##reading SMZ al-tabajjuh instead of al-lujaj

know it is such a great harm to you that it is going to destroy you in the next abode, if Allah does not overtake you with His mercy.

You should know that just as a clever doctor understands the secret of treating a disease which those who do not know regard as incurable , so in like manner the prophets are the doctors of hearts and those who know the means of attaining to the next life. So do not judge their usage by your intellect, or you will perish.

When something happens to a finger, many a person decides to smear it with medicine until a clever doctor warns him that the proper treatment is to smear the palm of his hand. He finds this to be the height of improbability, because he knows neither how the nerves and their roots branch nor the direction of their winding through the body. This is the situation about the way to the next abode and about the details and practices of the usages of divine law. In its beliefs by which people worship there are secrets and subtleties which the capacity and power of the mind are not able to fully master, just as in the peculiar properties of stones there are many strange things, the knowledge of which has departed from craftsmen to such an extent that no one is able to know the reason why a magnet attracts iron. The miracles and wonders in beliefs and religious works and their

benefits are the lucidity,[#] purity, and holiness of hearts and purifying and making them fit to ascend to the proximity of Allah and presenting them to the gifts of His favour which are more numerous and greater than that which is in medicines and medicinal plants.

Just as the intellect fails to apprehend the benefits of medicines although experience is a way to it, so they fail to grasp that which benefits in the next abode, although experience is not an approach to it. Experience would be an approach to it could somebody return from the dead and tell us about the acceptable and beneficial deeds which draw one very near to Allah and about the deeds which separate from Him, and likewise about beliefs. But that is beyond hope.

Concerning the benefits of the intellect, it should suffice you that it leads you to a belief in the veracity of the Prophet and causes you to understand the sources of his comments. Withdraw your mind from undertaking (something that does not concern it) and adhere to following the law, for you are only safe in (doing) it. (And may all the Muslims be safe).

For that reason Muhammad said, "In knowledge there is ignorance; and in speech, weakness,¹⁴⁵ while it is known that knowledge is not ignorance; but in (causing) harm, it has

reading with SMZ safā' instead of li safā'

the effect of ignorance.

He also said, "A little bit of success-bringing aid¹⁴⁶ (from Allah) is better than a great deal of knowledge."

'Isa said, "How many trees there are, but not all have fruit! How much fruit there is, but not all of it is good! And how much knowledge there is, but not all of it is useful!"

B. An Explanation of those Technical Names of the Sciences which Were Changed

You should know that the source of confusion between the blameworthy and the lawful sciences is the garbling of the praiseworthy names and substituting and removing them, with corrupt intentions, to ideas other than those which the righteous followers of the first (Muslim) century had in mind.

These are five terms: 1) jurisprudence, 2) knowledge, 3) the doctrine of Allah's unity, 4) devotional exercises, and 5) wisdom. These are praiseworthy names, and those characterized by them are those who have high positions in religion. But now the names are given to blameworthy ideas, and hearts have begun to have an aversion from the defect of one who holds such ideas, because of the common ascription of such names to them.

1. The first term is al-fiqh (jurisprudence).

They practiced craft in it by applying the term to a special part of the science, not by transferring or changing its name; for they made it peculiar to a knowledge of the unusual subdivisions of legal decisions, knowing the minutiae of their (hidden) causes, desiring many words about them, and memorizing declarations connected with them. They called one who was most intent in delving deep and working hardest in them "the most informed in fiqh"¹⁴⁷, while in the first (Muslim) century the name "fiqh" was given to knowledge of the way to the next abode, knowing details of the evils of souls and things which pollute actions, the capacity to fully understand contempt for the present world, the intensity of anticipation of the blessedness of the next abode, and fear ruling over the heart. Allah's saying, "Let them become well versed in religion and let them warn their people, when they return to them" (9:123), proves this for you.

That by which warning and frightening are obtained is this "fiqh", not the subordinate branches of divorce (ṭalāq), emancipation ('atāq), the form of accusation of adultery and and the defense (li'ān), down-payment (salam), and of hiring a thing out (ijārah). Nor are warning and frightening obtained by that, but continually devoting oneself entirely to

it hardens the heart and removes godly piety from it, as we see in these days among those who devote themselves to it.

Allah said, "They have hearts by which they do not understand" (7:178), by which He meant the doctrines of the faith, and not (knowledge of) giving legal opinions. I swear that philologically fiqh and fahm, "understanding", are two words having one meaning.

He speaks about the customary use of it in ancient and modern times. "Surely fear of you", said He, "is more intense in their hearts than fear of Allah (because they are a people who do not understand)" (59:13).

The meagreness of their fear of Allah and their regarding people's power as great he ascribed to the small amount of their understanding (fiqh). Then notice if that was the result of their failure to keep (to) the subordinate branches of giving legal opinions or the result of the lack of those sciences which we mentioned.

Muhammad said, "¹⁴⁸ 'Ulamā', hukamā', fuqahā'", to those who came to him.

¹⁴⁹ Sa'd bin Ibrāhīm al-Zuhrī was asked, "What people of the city are most capable in fiqh?"

He replied, "Those who are most pious", just as if he indicated the fruit of fiqh, for piety is a fruit of inner knowledge and not of giving opinions and judgments.

Muhammad said, "Shall I (not) tell you about the faqīh, the real faqīh?"

They replied, "Certainly."

He said, "He is the one who does not make people despair of Allah's compassion and who does not make them safe from Allah's circumvention (makr allah) and who does not cause them to despair of Allah's mercy and who does not leave the Qur'ān, forsaking it for something else."

When Anas bin Mālik related Muḥammad's saying (about devotional exercise), "To sit with people that remember Allah from early dawn to sunrise is more loved by me than emanci-¹⁵⁰ pating four slaves", he turned to Yazīd al-Raqāshī and Ziyād¹⁵¹ al-Numairī and said, "The meetings for devotional exercise were not like these meetings of yours. One of you preaches his sermon to his companions and narrates traditions uninterruptedly, whereas in our practice of fiqh we used to sit and mention faith and study the Qur'ān carefully and become well versed in the science of religion and number Allah's mercies towards us."

He called attentive study of the Qur'ān and numbering Allah's mercies fiqh.[#]

Muḥammad said, "A worshipper does not know fiqh completely until he detests people for the sake of Allah and[#] -----
SMZ reading fiqh instead of tafaqquh

until he sees that the Qur'ān has many aspects; and along with his saying, it is related (in a tradition) carried back to Abi al-Dardā', "Then he sets upon his own self, and he is most severe in his abhorrence of it (his self)."

¹⁵²
Farqad al-Sabakhī asked al-Ḥasan about something. On receiving a reply, he said, "The faqīhs disagree with you."

¹⁵³
Then al-Ḥasan said, "May thy mother be bereft of thee, poor little Farqad. Have you ever seen a faqīh with your own eyes? A (real) faqīh is ascetic in (regard to) the present world, desirous of the next abode, and clear-sighted in his religion. He is continually worshipping His Lord, is scrupulously pious (al-war'), abstains from what Muslims avoid, refrains from (sharing) their wealth, and is an advisor to all of them."

In all that he did not say (that a faqīh is one who) memorizes the subordinate branches of legal opinions. And I do not say that the name fiqh was not given to the handing down of legal decisions concerning judgments about externals, but for the most part it was general and inclusive or by way of supplement. In general they ascribed to it the meaning of "knowledge of the next abode".

From this specialization a confusion appeared which impelled people to devote themselves to it and avoid the knowledge of the next abode and the qualities of hearts. In this

(respect) they found an ally in nature in the fact that mystic knowledge ('ilm al-bāṭin) is abstruse and difficult to follow, and it is nearly impossible to reach one's ambition to rule, judge, and win reputation and wealth by it. Thus the Shaiṭān found a way to make it (appear) good to people by means of the particularization of the name of fiqh which is a praiseworthy name in religious law.

2. The second term is al-'ilm (knowledge).

That used to be ascribed to "knowledge of Allah, His verses, and His acts towards His worshippers and His people" so that, when 'Umar died, Ibn Mas'ūd said, "Nine-tenths of knowledge has died." He made the word definite by the use of the definite article. Then he explained it as "knowledge of Allah". They (the present generation) employed themselves in particularizing it until they gave it currency, in general, as one who engages his adversaries in controversy about problems of fiqh and other subjects. Then they say, "He is really learned" and "He is very strong in knowledge", and one who does not practice that and engage in it is counted among the weak ones, and they do not count him among the company of the people of knowledge.

This also is employing one's self in particularization, while most of the virtues of learning and the learned which have come (down in tradition) are about those who knew Allah

His rules, deeds, and attributes.

Now it has happened that it (the name 'ālim) is given to one who understands practically nothing of the science of divine law except dialectical definitions about problems of apologetics, and because of that he is counted among the great 'ulamā' in spite of his ignorance of interpretation, tradition, knowledge of (different) schools of fiqh, and other things. This has become a cause of destruction to many who seek knowledge ('ilm).

3. The third term is al-tawhīd (affirming the oneness of Allah).

Now it has become an expression for the science of scholastic theology, knowledge of the way to dispute, thorough mastery of the ways to contradiction of an opponent's proposition, ability to be diffuse in it by asking many questions, and stirring up doubts and drawing conclusions to the point that some groups of them (al-Mu'tazilah) call themselves "the people of justice and affirmation of the oneness of Allah"¹⁵⁴. The scholastic theologians are called "those who are learned in the affirmation of the oneness of Allah" (al-'ulamā' bi 'l-tawhīd) in spite of the fact that nothing at all that is peculiar to this science was known in the first (Muslim) century, but they (the Fathers) were swift to repudiate anyone who used to open the door to dialectics and bitterness.

As for the clear proofs contained in the Qur'ān which the intellect accepts on the first hearing, that was well known to all. Knowledge of the Qur'ān was the whole of knowledge; and with them (the people of the first Muslim century) al-tawhīd was an expression for another matter which most scholastic theologians do not understand; and if they did understand it, they would not perform it. [#] It is to see in such a clear way that severs one's solicitude for causes and means so that he only sees all good and evil as from Allah which is an honorable position.

One of its fruits is trust (on Allah) (al-tawakkul), an exposition of which will come in the book on Trust (Book thirty-five of the Ihyā'). Satisfaction (with Allah's decrees) and surrender to the rule of Allah and abstaining from accusing people and being angry against them are included in its fruits. One of its fruits is what Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq said when during an illness he was asked, "Shall we bring you a doctor?"

He replied, "The doctor caused my illness."

(There is also) the saying of another who, when ill, was asked, "What did the doctor say about your illness?" and he replied, "He said to me, 'I am one who does what I desire.'"

Proofs of that will appear in the "Book of Trust and the Book of the Affirmation of Allah's Oneness". (Book thirty-five)

[#] SMZ reads lam yaqūmū bihi instead of lam yattasifū bihi

The doctrine of Allah's oneness is a precious jewel which has two coverings, one of which is farther from the essence than the other. People have used the name particularly for the covering and the art of guarding the covering, and they have neglected the heart of the matter entirely.

The first covering is to say with your tongue, "There is no god but Allah." This is called tawhīd "asserting the doctrine of Allah's oneness" in contradiction to tathlīf asserting the doctrine of the trinity" which the Christians clearly state (in their books), but this sometimes arises from the (conduct of a) hypocrite whose inner life contradicts his public life.

The second covering is that in one's heart there shall be no contradiction or denial of what he understands of this statement, but the outer part of his heart takes hold of belief in that and knows it. This is tawhīd of the masses. As we have seen, the scholastic theologians are the ones who guard this covering from the confusion of innovators.

The third, which is the heart of the matter, is to see that all things are from Allah in such a clear way as to sever his attention from the means, and to worship Him in such a way that He alone is worshipped, and not to worship any other. Following one's evil desires (al-hawa) is excluded from this tawhīd, for everyone who follows his own evil desire has taken

his desire as the object of his worship.

Allah said, "Have you considered the one who has taken his evil desire as his god?" (25:45)

"In the sight of Allah, the most odious god worshipped on earth is evil desire", said Muḥammad.

In truth anyone who reflects, knows that an idol worshipper worships not the idol but his own evil desire; for his soul is inclined towards the ways of his fathers which he follows. This inclination of the soul to familiar things is one of the ideas which is expressed by al-hawā ."

(Both) to be angry with people and to turn to them (for approval) are excluded from this tawḥīd, for how can one who considers that everything comes from Allah be angry with others? Assuredly tawḥīd has been an expression for this station (maqām) which is the station of the righteous.

Then notice what this (term tawḥīd) has been changed to and with which of its coverings one is satisfied and how people rely on this, as they vie with one another for glory and boast by something the name of which is praiseworthy, at the same time bankrupting it of the meaning which deserves true praise. That is like the bankruptcy of one who rises in the morning, turns toward the qiblah and says, "I face toward the One who created the heavens and earth, in the manner of one who turns from a false to the true religion" (6:79). (¹⁵⁵hanīfān)

This is the first lie by which he addresses Allah each day, unless the face of his heart is directed toward Allah in sincerity. Then, if he means by "the face" an external face, he has certainly directed himself only to the ¹⁵⁶Ka'bah, and turned away from other directions. The Ka'bah is not the direction of the One who created heaven and earth so that anyone turning toward it is (also) turning toward Allah, lest directions and regions should limit him.

If by this he means "the face of the heart", which is the object the one worshipped demands of a worshipper, how is he truthful in his speech, while his heart is concerned with his worldly needs and necessities, and while he is employed in his quest for schemes and is multiplying means to accumulate wealth and reputation and facing entirely towards them?

When he turns his face towards the One who created heaven and earth, then his word is information about the real tawhīd. For the man who affirms Allah's oneness is he who sees only the One and turns his face towards Him only which is obeying Allah's saying, "Say: It is Allah. Then leave them immersed in their play" (6:91) .

This does not mean speaking with the tongue (only), for the tongue is only an interpreter that sometimes speaks the truth and sometimes lies. Verily the place to which Allah looks is the heart, of which it is the interpreter and which

is the mine and source of tawhīd.

4. The fourth term is dhikr and tadhkīr (remembering and causing to remember or admonishing), for Allah has said, "Call to mind, for calling to mind benefits the believers" (51:55).

Many traditions have come down in praise of the sessions of dhikr (remembering Allah) such as Muḥammad's saying, "If you pass by the luxuriant gardens of the Garden (al-jannah), eat and drink to your satisfaction."

Somebody asked, "What are the gardens of the Garden?"

He replied, "The sessions of dhikr."

In a tradition (we find), "Allah has angels, other than angels of the world of created beings, traveling around in the present world. When they see sessions of dhikr, they call to one another, 'Come to your desire'; and they come and surround them and listen. Then remember Allah, and admonish yourselves."

That has been changed to what you see most exhorters of this time persisting in; that is: a) stories (qisas), b) poems¹⁵⁷ (ash'ār), c) extravagant speech (shath), and d) ecstatic utterances (tāmmāt)¹⁵⁸. As for stories, they are innovations. An interdiction of the religious fathers against listening to storytellers has come (down to us). They said, "That was not current in the time of the Messenger of Allah nor in the time of Abū Bakr nor of 'Umar until (in 'Alī's time) the Civil War¹⁵⁹

160

broke out; then the story-tellers appeared."

It is related that Ibn 'Umar came out of a place of worship and said, "Nothing but a story-teller made me leave; had it not been for him, I should not have come out."

161

Ḍamrah said, "I said to Sufyān al-Thaurī, 'We receive the story-teller gladly.'" Then he said, "Turn your backs on innovation."

162

163

Ibn 'Aūn said, "I went in to see Ibn Sīrīn, who asked, 'What news have you today?' I replied, 'The Amīr has prohibited story-tellers from spinning tales.' He said, 'He has done the right thing'".

164

Al-A'mash entered the mosque of al-Baṣrah, where he saw a story-teller relating a story and saying, "Al-A'mash handed down to us----", and he (i.e. al-A'mash) then stood in the middle of the circle and began to pluck out hair from his armpit. So the story-teller said, "O, shaikh, are you not ashamed?"

He replied, "Why? I am following usage, and you are lying. I am al-A'mash, and I certainly have not related traditions to you!"

Aḥmad (Ibn Ḥanbal) said, "In respect to lying, those who lie most are the story-tellers and beggars (al-su''āl)."

'Alī expelled story-tellers from the place of worship of the mosque of al-Baṣrah; but when he heard the words of al-
165
Hasan al-Baṣri, he did not expel him; for he was speaking

about knowledge of the next abode, reminding (them) about death, warning about defects of the soul, actions, the disturbing influences of the *Shaitān* and the manner of guarding against them, mentioning Allah's grace and mercies and the worshipper's shortcoming in his thanksgiving, making known the insignificance of the present world, its faults, transitory nature, its failure to fulfil its promises, and the risks and terrors of the next abode.

In respect to the divine law this is praiseworthy reminding which is urged in a tradition of Abū Dharr, where he said, "Attending a session of remembrance (dhikr) is more excellent than performing a worship of one thousand cycles (rak'ah), and attending a session of knowledge is preferable to visiting a thousand sick people, and attending a session of knowledge is preferable to being present at a thousand funerals."

Somebody asked, "O, Messenger of Allah, (is it preferred to) reading the Qur'ān?"

He countered, "Is there any benefit in reading the Qur'ān without knowledge?"

'Atā said, "One session of remembrance (dhikr) pardons¹⁶⁶ seventy sessions of pleasure."

Having taken traditions as a proof to justify themselves, those who bedeck their speech with lies have transferred the name of "reminding" (tadhkir) to their fabulous tales, neglected

the way of praiseworthy remembrance (dhikr), and engaged in stories which are subject to changes, accretions, and deficiencies and which depart from and add to the stories mentioned in the Qur'ān. Some of the stories contain something worth hearing; some, that which is harmful, even if it be true. Whoever opens this door on himself is unable to distinguish between the true and the false; the useful and the harmful. On account of this it is forbidden.

For that reason Ahmad ibn Ḥanbal said, "What a great need people have for a veracious story-teller!"

If it be one of the Prophet's stories in which there is some connection with their religious affairs and the story-teller is really veracious in his recital, I see no harm. So beware of lying (story-tellers) and tales of circumstances which lead to faults or complaisancies, the meaning of which the common man's understanding fails to grasp or (he fails to understand) that it is a rarely occurring fault which is accompanied by expiations which are rectified by good deeds which cover them. For the common man will take refuge in that (in regard to) his complaisancies and faults, and prepare an excuse about it for himself and will offer the pretext that such and such a thing was told about some of the elders and notables : "Since all of us come into contact with disobedience; there should be no surprise if I disobey Allah, when somebody

who is more notable than I has disobeyed Him." That helps one to be bold towards Allah in ignorance; but after avoiding these two things, there is no harm in it.

Then he returns to praiseworthy stories: those which the Qur'ān contains as well as valid traditions in the sound books. Among people there is the person who finds it permissible to write stories which cause a desire to obey. He asserts that his aim in them is to invite people to Allah (al-ḥaqq). These are defamations of the Shaiṭān. Verily there is ample scope to avoid lying, and (in confining one's self to) what Allah and His apostle have mentioned, one may keep clear of inventing anything new in making the address (al-wa'z) Why (should he do so) when the affectation of rhymed prose is disliked?

147

Sa'd bin Abī Waqqāṣ said to his son, 'Umar, on hearing him recite rhymed prose, "This is what makes me dislike you. I will never give you what you need until you repent", when his son went to him about something he needed.

148

Muḥammad said to 'Abdullah Ibn Ruwāḥah about rhymed prose of three words, "Beware of rhymed prose, O Ibn Ruwāḥah."

Forbidden rhymed prose is what exceeds a few words (or two words). Therefore (concerning what) the man said about the blood-money of the unborn child:

"For one who has neither drunk nor eaten

Should we pay blood-money,

Or for one who has neither cried loudly

Nor uttered the sound of the new-born?

One like him must go unavenged,"

the Prophet said, "Is he speaking in rhymed prose like that
of the Arabs (Badū) ?"¹⁴⁹

As for poetry, employing much of it in making the address is blameworthy. Allah said, "It is the poets whom the erring ones follow. Do you not see how they are wandering about love-stricken in every valley?" (26:224-225). And He said, "We did not teach him poetry, nor is it seemly for him" (36:69).

Most of the poetry which the exhorters are accustomed to is that which is connected with describing passionate love and the beauty of the one so loved, the joy of union and the pain of separation, while (that kind of) assembly contains only coarse common people whose inner life is supercharged with sensual appetites and whose hearts still turn to pleasant forms. So the poems only stir up what is hidden in their hearts. Then fires of passion are kindled in them, and they cry involuntarily and dance, most or all of which goes back to a kind of corruption (in religion). So one must use only that poetry which has a lesson or wisdom in it by way of bringing (something) forward as evidence and illustration. The Prophet said, "Surely there is wisdom in some poetry."

If the session contains special people who are well known for their heartfelt love for Allah and no one else is with them, poetry which has a surface meaning for ordinary people does not harm them; for, in accordance with a demonstration of the truth of what follows in the book of Hearing Music,¹⁵² the listener applies everything he hears of that which takes possession of his heart.

Al-Junaïd used to speak to a small group of about ten people; and, if the number increased, he did not speak, though the people of his session never amounted to twenty.

A group was present at the door of Ibn Sālim's,¹⁵⁰ and somebody said, "Speak, for your disciples have come."

He replied, "No, these are not my friends. They are the friends of the session. My friends are the special people."

(c). As for shath, by it we mean two classes of speech which some of the Sufis introduced. (1). One of them is extreme pretension of love to Allah and attainment of the stage where they can dispense with external actions to the extent that some people reach a claim of identification and a lifting of the veil and seeing by vision and addressing by speech. And they say, "Such and such was said to us, and we said such and such."

In this they imitate or resemble Ḥusain bin Manṣūr al-Hallāj¹⁵¹ who was crucified for uttering words of this kind, and

they call to witness his saying, "I am the divine Reality", and what was told about Abu Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī who said, "Praise be to me! Praise be to me!"

This is a kind of speech which has such great harm for the masses that many agriculturists leave their cultivation of land and manifest a like pretension. Truly, nature finds this speech delightful; for, in it, there is the giving up of work to accompany the purification of the soul and attainment of stations (maqāmāt) and states (ahwāl). The foolish are not loath to claim that for themselves nor to swallow ambiguously embellished words; and whenever that is denied them, they are not loath to say, "The source of denial is (external or intellectual) knowledge and dialectics. Knowledge is a veil and argument is the work of the self, while this information only appears from the inner self by uncovering the light of reality."

This and its like is part of that the sparks of which are scattered about the land while the harm of which has become so great among the masses that it is preferable concerning Allah's religion to put to death one who utters any of it than to cause ten to live.

As for Abu Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī,¹⁵³ what is quoted¹⁵⁴ is not certified about him. Even if that were heard from him, perhaps he was quoting it about Allah in words which he was repeating

to himself, just as if he were heard while saying, "Verily I am Allah. There is no god but me, Then worship me." So it is only fitting to understand that from him by way of quotation.

(2). The second classification of Shath is words not understood (but) which have external beauty and in which there are terrifying expressions with no benefit behind them. That is, that they are either not understood by the speaker---- rather their source is due to his confused mind and disordered imagination because of his meagre mastery of words which he has heard, which is more often the case---- or they are understood by him, but he is not able to make them understood and state them in an expression which indicates what he has in mind because of his meagre practice of knowledge and lack of learning how to express his ideas in elegant words. There is no benefit in this kind of speech; it only confuses hearts, perplexes minds, and bewilders intellects, or induces people to understand from it ideas not meant by them. Each one will understand according to his inclination and nature.

Muhammad said, "Certainly none of you has ever told people a tradition which they do not understand without its being a disturbance to them."

He said, "Talk to people about what they know and leave what they do not know. Do you want to give the impression

that Allah and His Messenger lie?"

This was said about something which the master of the subject understands and which the mind of the hearer does not attain to. Then how (would it be) about something which the speaker does not understand? Even if the speaker understands and the hearer does not, one is not permitted to mention it.

'Isa said, "Do not give wisdom to other than its people (i.e. those who deserve it) ; for you will oppress it; and do not withhold it from its people, for you will oppress them. Be like a kind doctor who puts his medicine on the place of the disease."

And in another saying, "Whoever gives wisdom to other than its people is certainly ignorant, and whoever withholds it from its people has surely oppressed. For wisdom has its right and its people. Then to everyone who has a right, give his right."

(d). As for the ecstatic utterances (tāmmāt), what we mentioned about shath applies to these also. Another thing characterizes them. This is the changing of the terms of jurisprudence from their obviously understood (sense) to inner matters from which no benefit to the understanding is anticipated. (This is) like the custom of the ¹⁵⁵Bāṭiniyah sect in allegorical interpretations. For this is forbidden also and its harm is great. For if the terms are changed from their

from their literal meanings without holding fast to authoritative tradition from the lawgiver (Muḥammad) or without reason making it necessary, that leads to loss of confidence in the terms. In this way the benefit of the words of Allah and of His Messenger falls, and there is certainly no reliance on what goes forth from it to the understanding.

That which is subjective (bāṭin) has no steadfastness, but thoughts conflict in it and it may be applied in many ways. This also is part of the innovation which is widespread and of great harm. Its proponents mean to say strange things because the soul inclines toward the unusual and finds delight in it. In this way the Bāṭiniyah arrive at the destruction of all that is lawful by interpreting its obvious sense and applying it according to their opinion, as we quoted from their doctrines in our book "al-Mustazhiri"¹⁵⁶, composed in refutation of the Bāṭiniyah.

Likewise the way some of the people of extravagant ecstatic utterances (ahl al-tāmmāt) interpret the Qur'ānic verse, "Go to Pharaoh. He is tyrannical" (20:25, 45), by saying that it is an allusion to one's heart. They say that what is meant by "Pharaoh" is it (the heart) which is the tyrant over mankind.

They turn Allah's saying, "Throw down they rod" (28:31) into, "Everything except Allah on which one leans and depends

ought to be cast aside."

Concerning Muḥammad's words, "Eat the meal called the sahūr, for in the sahūr there is a blessing", they say that he meant, "Ask forgiveness just before daybreak."

Examples of that are numerous. They even tamper with the literal sense of the Qur'ān from beginning to end, as well as its explanation handed down from Ibn 'Abbās and other learned ones. The absurdity of some of these interpretations is known absolutely, such as the changing of 'Pharaoh' to 'heart'; for, like Abū Jahal, Abū Lahab, and some of the unbelievers, Pharaoh is a tangible person, mention of whose existence and of Mūsa's challenge to him having been handed down to us in succession by trustworthy people. He was not of the genus demon (shaitān) or angel (malak) which are not perceived by the sense so that he should be forced to mean those terms. In that way they make 'early morning meal' (al-sahūr) to mean 'seeking forgiveness' (al-istighfār), whereas in reality, Muḥammad used to take the food and say, "Eat the meal called the sahūr, and hasten to the blessed repast."

The absurdity of these matters is known through well established information (tawātur) and through sense perception (ḥass) by way of tradition. Some of them are known by probability which is in matters with which perception is not con-

 # reading with SMZ alfāziha instead of alfāzihi

nected. All of that is prohibited, leads astray, and corrupts religion for people. None of it has been handed down from the Companions (sahābah) nor from the Followers (tābi'īn) nor from al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī despite the fact that he was intent on challenging and admonishing people.

In Muḥammad's saying, "Let the dwelling of one who explains the Qur'ān according to his opinion be in the Fire", no other kind of meaning is obvious. It is that his aim and his opinion is to establish and confirm a matter, So he wishes to draw the testimony of the Qur'ān as evidence and tries to apply it without giving a linguistic, philological, or traditionally transmitted proof in favour of its revelation. From this it is not necessary to understand that it is incumbent not to explain the Qur'ān after investigation and reflection. Concerning some of the verses, what is quoted from the Companions and commentators, has five, six, or seven meanings; and we know that not all of them were heard from the Prophet, for they are sometimes incompatible one with another and do not admit being harmonized. That is discovered by good understanding and deep thinking. For this reason Muḥammad said to Ibn 'Abbās, "O, Allah, give him understanding and teach him interpretation."

Any one of the people of extravagant ecstatic utterances (ahl al-tāmmāt) who deems things like these allegorical inter-

160

pretations (ta'wīlāt) lawful, though he knows that they are not what the words (of the Qur'ān) mean, and asserts that by them he purposes to call creatures to their Creator, resembles one who deems it lawful to invent and falsely ascribe to the Messenger of Allah something true in itself, but which the divine law did not mention, such as one who falsely ascribes a tradition to the Prophet for every matter which he considers right. That is wrong, a deviation from the right way, and comes under the threat understood from Muhammad's saying, "Let the Fire be the resting place of one who intentionally makes me a liar."

But the evil of changing these words is even greater, because they nullify confidence in the words and entirely rob the Qur'ān of meaning and understanding. For you have recognized how the demon (shaitān) induced people to change from the praiseworthy to the blameworthy sciences, all of which was due to the deceit of those corrupt divines ('ulamā' al-sū') by interchanging their names. If, depending on a well known name, you follow these without having regard to what was known in the first (Muslim) century, you would be like one who wants the honor of wisdom by following one who is called wise. For, in this century, it has come to pass that the name wise man (or philosopher, hakīm) is used without qualification for a physician, a poet, and an astronomer. This is by being heed-

less of the changing of the terms.

5. The fifth term is al-hikmah(wisdom). The name hakīm (wise man) has come to be used indiscriminately for a physician, a poet, and an astronomer, and even for one who rolls dice for Sudanese saddles in the public streets, although al-hikmah (wisdom) is what Allah praised. He said, "He gives wisdom to whomever He wills; and the one to whom wisdom has been given, has been given much good" (2:272).

"One word of wisdom which a man learns", said Muḥammad, "is better for him than the present world and what it contains."

So notice what al-hikmah (wisdom) once stood for and to what it has been changed. Do the same with the rest of the terms and guard against being deceived by the obscure renderings or dissemblings of those who are corrupt divines ('ulamā' al-sū'). Their harm to religion is greater than that of the devils (shayāṭīn); for, by means of them (i.e. the 'ulamā'), the devil becomes equipped to remove religion from the hearts of mankind. For this reason the Messenger of Allah refused to reply, when he was asked about harm to mankind. He said, "O Allah, forgive them." So they repeated their question, and he said, "They are the corrupt divines ('ulamā' al-sū')."

You certainly know the praiseworthy and blameworthy knowledge and how ambiguity upsets things (mithār al-iltibās).

You have the choice to look either to yourself and follow the Fathers or to descend to the bottom (by means of) the rope of deception and imitate the moderns. All the sciences that the Fathers found satisfactory are effaced, and most of that which people are intent on getting is modern innovation. Muḥammad's dictum, "Islam began as an alien religion, and it will return to where it began. Then blessed be the aliens", has become true.

Being asked, "Who are the aliens?" he replied, "Those who reform these customs of mine which people have rendered corrupt, and those who revive these customs of mine which people have killed."

In another tradition he says, "They are those who hold on to what you are following now."

In another tradition (ḥadīth) (we read), "The aliens are a few righteous people in the midst of many people. Those who hate them are more numerous than those who love them."¹⁶¹

These sciences became alien because one who mentions them is hated. Therefore al-Thaurī said, "If you see a learned man who has many friends, be sure that he is one who renders things dubious to hearers;¹⁶² because, if he spoke the truth, they would hate him."

C. An Exposition of the Praiseworthy Amount of the Praiseworthy Sciences

You should know that in this respect knowledge is of three kinds: 1) both a small and a large amount of one kind are blameworthy; 2) both a small and a large amount of a second kind are praiseworthy; and whenever it is in abundance, the better and more excellent it is; and 3) a sufficient amount of a third kind is praiseworthy, but an excess and deep study of it is not praiseworthy.

They (i.e. these three kinds) are like the bodily conditions, for among them there is 1) that of which a small and a large amount are praiseworthy such as health and beauty; and among them is 2) that of which both a small and a large amount are blameworthy such as ugliness and evil character; and among them there is 3) that in which moderation is praised such as liberality in wealth, though squandering it, which is a kind of liberality, is not praised. It is like bravery (in regard to moderation); for rashly rushing headlong into danger, even though it be a kind of bravery, is not praised. And knowledge is like that.

1. The Blameworthy kind, be it little or much, is that in which there is no benefit in religion or in the present world; for its harm overbalances its benefit, such as knowledge of magic, talismans, and astrology. Some of it has no benefit in it at all. To spend a lifetime, which is man's most precious possession, in obtaining something like it is to squan-

der it (life), and to squander a precious object is blameworthy. Part of it is that in which the harm exceeds the necessities of the present life which one expects to obtain by it, and which is of no account in comparison with the harm obtained from it.

2. As for the kind which is praiseworthy to the farthest depth of inquiry into knowledge, it is knowledge of Allah, His attributes, His deeds, His laws towards His people, and His wisdom in basing the next abode on the present world. This is knowledge sought for itself and ^{by} which one may attain to future happiness. To spend one's decreed time (i.e. one's life) in utmost endeavor (to obtain it) is to fall short of the necessary limit; for it is a lake, the bottom of which is not known. As much as they can, the thirsty hover around its shores and extremities. Only prophets, saints, and those well grounded in knowledge entered deeply into its extreme limits on the basis of their differences in rank according to their different proximity [#] (to Him) and dissimilarity of Allah's decree concerning them. This is the hidden knowledge which is not written in books.

Learning and seeing the circumstances of the other worldly divines ('ulamā' al-ākhirah) help to call attention to it just as (you will see in) the description of them which will

 # reading with SMZ qurbihim instead of quwwatihim

follow. This is the beginning of the matter. Devotional exercises, purifying and emptying the heart of worldly ties, and imitating the prophets and saints in these things in order to make it clear for everyone who is hastening in search of it, according to what Allah gave him, not according to exertion---all these help him at the end. But in it there is no doing away with struggling against difficulties (al-ijti-had), for struggle is a key to the right path; and there is no other key to it (cf. 29:69).

3. As for the sciences of which only a special amount is praised, they are those which we mentioned (at the beginning of the section) under "General Obligations". For in every one of these sciences there is a minimum, which is the least amount; and there is a moderate amount, which is intermediate; and there is excess beyond what is moderate, which cannot be passed while life lasts.

Then be one of two men--either occupied with your own soul, or devoting yourself to others after finishing with yourself. Take care to see that you are not occupied in improving others before improving yourself. Then, if you are occupied with yourself, busy yourself only with that knowledge which is your particular duty according as your circumstance demands and that part of it which is connected to it by outward actions such as learning the worship, ablution,

and fasting.

Surely the most important thing which all neglect is knowledge of the attributes of the heart: those that are praiseworthy and those that are blameworthy. For no man is without some blameworthy attributes such as cupidity, envy, hypocrisy, conceit, and the like. All of them are destructive; and to neglect them, along with occupation in external acts, resembles being busy in rubbing ointments on the surface of the body, when one suffers from the itch and boils, and failing to draw out the cause by bloodletting and purging.

Those whose knowledge is superficial advise the external acts just as quack doctors advise one to smear the surface of his body. The other-worldly divines only advise one to purify his inner life and cut off the substance of the evil by destroying its sources and uprooting its origins from the heart.

Most people resort to external deeds instead of purifying the heart only because external acts are easy, while acts of the heart are difficult, just as one who finds it difficult to drink bitter medicine takes refuge in smearing the surface. So he does not cease to weary himself in smearing, and he increases the causes, and his ailments are doubled in him.

But if you desire the next abode and seek salvation and wish to flee from everlasting destruction, busy yourself in knowledge of the inner maladies and their remedy, as we have presented in detail in the Quarter on the Things That Harm. Then withoutdoubt that will draw you to the praiseworthy stations mentioned in the Quarter on the Things That Save. For when the heart is emptied of the blameworthy, it is filled with the praiseworthy. If the earth is cleansed of weeds, various kinds of sweet-smelling flowers and plants will spring out of it. But if it (the earth) is not emptied of the one, this other will not spring up. So do not busy yourself in the general obligations especially when there is a group of people who have already fulfilled them.

For one who destroys himself in doing what is advantageous to others is simple-minded. How great is the foolishness of one under whose clothes snakes and scorpions have crept intent on killing him, while he (himself) is searching for a fly-swatter to drive flies away from others who do not free him from want or save him from the snakes and scorpions which he meets, when they are intent on killing him.

When you have finished improving yourself and you have become able to forsake the outer and the inner sin and that has become a habit and an easy custom for you---and how remote that is from you!---then engage in the general obligations

and pay attention to the method of gradual progress in them. Begin with the Qur'ān, then the usage of His Apostle, then the science of exposition and the rest of the Qur'ānic sciences (such as) the science of the abrogating (¹⁶³nāsikh) and the abrogated verses (mansūkh); what is severed (in respect to meaning) (¹⁶⁴mafsūl) and joined (in respect to utterance) (¹⁶⁵mauṣūl); the decisive (¹⁶⁵muḥkam) and the figurative (mutashābih); ¹⁶⁶and likewise with usage .

Then engage in the subsidiary sciences which form the part of jurisprudence dealing with religious practices, not apologetics or controversy. Then engage in the principles of jurisprudence and likewise for the rest of the sciences as long as life permits and time allows. But do not engross yourself in one of these arts in the hope of fathoming it, for knowledge is voluminous and life is short. These sciences are instruments and preliminaries, and they are not desired for their own sake but for something else. In the case of that which is desired for some reason other than itself, it is fitting not to forget the object desired and want much of it (the former). In the widespread science of language, be content with that by which you understand and speak the language of the Arabs. Of the obscure expressions (of the science of language, be content) with those of the Qur'ān, and the traditions, and abandon the practice of going deep

in them. In grammar (nahū) be content with what concerns the Book and usage. There is no science which does not have a minimum amount, a moderate, and an exhaustive investigation which we will point out in tradition (hadīth), in exposition (tafsīr), in jurisprudence (fiqh), and in theology (kalām), in order that others may be compared with them.

A minimum amount in exposition is that which amounts to double the Qur'ān in quantity such as al-Wajīz which 'Alī¹⁶⁷ al-Wāhidi al-Nisābūrī composed, while a moderate amount is what amounts to three times the Qurān as al-Wasīṭ which he composed. Whatever is beyond that is going to an excess which one can do without. And there is no overtaking them (these books) to the end of life.

As for (the science of) tradition, a minimum in it is¹⁶⁸ to obtain what is in the two Sahīhs by making a sound copy from an experienced teacher who knows the text of the tradition. As for remembering the names of the men, you are relieved of that by what those who preceded you undertook in your stead. Relying on their books you need not remember the texts of the two Sahīhs; but you ought to get such a good grasp of them that you can seek what you need at the time of need. As far as a moderate amount of it is concerned, you may add to what is not in both of these what is given in the (four) sound sunan. Exhaustive investigation is to go

beyond this and take up everything transmitted---the weak and the strong, the sound and the poorly attested, with a knowledge of the many ways of transmission and a knowledge of the circumstances of the men, their names, and their qualities.

As for jurisprudence, a minimum amount of it is in accordance with what the Mukhtasir of al-Muzani comprises, and which we arranged in order in our Khulāṣat of the Mukhtasir. A moderate amount is what amounts to three times that much which is the amount we mentioned in al-Wasīṭ min al-Madhhab. Extensive (research) which goes beyond what we mentioned in al-Basīṭ would be called exhaustive investigation.

The amount of theology that should be desired is as much as will preserve the articles of faith which the Sunnis have transmitted from the orthodox Fathers, and that is all. To do more than that is to seek to unveil the real nature of things by a way that is not suitable. The objective in learning the Sunnah is to attain to the minimum measure of it along with faith that is small in amount. This is the amount which we have set forth in the Kitāb Qawā'id al-'Aqā'id¹⁶⁹ which is part of this book (i.e. al-Ihyā').

Moderation in it is what amounts to about one hundred leaves (double pages), which we set forth in (our) book, Moderation in Belief (al-Iqtisād fī 'l-I'tiqād) and which is

needed to debate with the innovator and oppose his innovation with something that invalidates it and removes it from the heart of the masses. That only benefits the masses before their partisanship crystallizes. As for the innovator, to speak with him (about beliefs) rarely benefits him, once he knows something about polemics, though it be very little. In fact, even if you silence him, he does not forsake his tenets, but shifts his failure to his (own inability to understand) and supposes that someone else has some answer for it, even though he has none, and that you obscure it for him only by your ability to dispute. As for the masses, if they are changed from the right way by one kind of polemics, it is possible that they might return to it by its like before their partisanship becomes firmly set by their wandering desires. If their partisanship is crystallized, their case is hopeless; for partisanship is a means which crystallizes beliefs in persons; and it is one of the defects of the corrupt divines ('ulamā' al-sū'), for they zealously exert themselves in partisanship (to make) the truth (apparent) and regard with ridicule and contempt those who differ. In them there is stirred up the accusation of retaliation, opposition, and (ill) treatment. Their motives show regard to the desire for the victory of what is false, while their purpose is strengthened to hold fast to that with which they are as-

sociated.

Had they tried to use kindness, mercy, and advice in private, not an exhibition of partisanship and contempt, they would have succeeded in it. But when prestige exists only by getting followers and nothing wins followers like partisanship, cursing, and reviling adversaries, they adopted partisanship as their customary instrument, and named it "protection of the faith" and "defense of the Muslims", while in reality the destruction of people and the establishing of innovation in people's (hearts) is in it.

As for the disputed points (about the tenets) which have appeared in these latter times and which are produced in essays, books, and debates, the like of them was not met in the time of the Fathers. (O traveler on the road to the next abode), see that you skirt round them and thoroughly avoid their deadly poison, for it is a severe malady. That is what turned all the learned (fukahā') back to strive for priority and show respect for persons, the destructive force of which we will detail to you.

Many a time someone is heard to utter these words and then it is replied, "People are enemies of that of which they are ignorant." Do not think that. "Upon one who knows you have stumbled."¹⁷⁰ Accept this advice from one who spent his whole life in it and outstripped his predecessors in respect

to writing, investigating, disputing, and proving. Then inspiring him to think aright, Allah made him see his fault and forsake it. Then he worked (or became busied) by himself. So do not be deceived by the words of one who says, "The legal opinion (fatwa) is the pillar of the law and its hidden defects are only known by knowledge of apologetics"; for the defects of the tenets are mentioned in books of tenets.

In addition to that are the polemics which neither the Fathers (al-awwalūn) nor the Companions knew, and they were more learned than others in the defects of giving legal opinions. (In addition to the fact that) they (the defects) are not beneficial in the science of tenets, they are harmful (to the canon lawyer) and corrupt his natural discernment in jurisprudence. In most matters it is not possible to make one who has witness borne to him that he has the intuitive sagacity of the Mufti, when his natural taste for fiqh is sound, to walk according to the stipulations of polemics. For one whose nature is accustomed to the rules of polemics submits his intellect to its requirements and is hesitant to submit his taste for jurisprudence. For one who is engaged in the quest of reputation and prestige occupies himself in them and pretends that he is seeking the defects of the tenets. Sometimes his life ends without his attention

being turned or directed to the science of tenets. So render yourself safe from the demonic devils (shaiyātīn al-jinn) and be on your guard against the human devils (shaiyātīn al-ins) (who are the corrupt divines, 'ulamā'al-sū'), for they for they give the demonic devils rest from their labor of seducing and leading astray.

In short the acceptable thing with those who know is that you consider yourself in the present world alone with Allah, while at hand there are Death (al-mawt), the Day of Judgment (al-'ard), the Day of Reckoning (al-hisāb), the Garden (al-jannah), and the Fire (al-Nār). Of that which is before you, ponder over what concerns you and leave everything else. And (may) peace (be on the people who practice surrender).

One of the Elders (al-shuyūkh) saw one of the Learned (al-'ulamā') in a dream and asked him, "What's the news regarding those sciences about which you used to argue and debate?"

Opening his hand and blowing on it, he said, "It has all gone with the wind, and the only benefit I got was from two cycles (rak'atain) (which I performed) in the middle of the night and which were free from mixed motives." ¹⁷¹

In a tradition (there is this saying), "After having had guidance people only err, when they are given polemics."

Then he recited, "They assuredly mentioned it to you only to dispute: nay, they are a contentions people" (43:58)

In the tradition about the meaning of the verse, "As for those in whose hearts there is a tendency to err" and so on (3:5), they are the polemicists whom Allah meant in His saying: "So be on your guard against them" (63:4)

One of the Fathers said, "In the latter days there will be a people against whom the door of deeds will be bolted and to whom the door of polemics will be opened."

In one of the traditions (al-akhbār) (we find this), "You are in a time in which you are inspired to act, and there will come a people who will be inspired to dispute." Another well known tradition (reads), "The one most hated by Allah is he who is most vehement in contention", (while another says), "Logic is given to a people only to hinder their good works."

PART FOUR

Part four concerns the cause of people's giving their attention to the science of controversy and an explanation of the defects of debate and polemics and the conditions which make them lawful.

You should know that, after the Messenger of Allah, the rightly guided caliphs ruled the caliphate and they were (real) Imams who were learned about (the being and attributes of) Allah and who understood His judgments; and they were independent in giving legal opinions concerning their judgments. Only rarely were they accustomed to seek help in giving legal opinions which was in cases where they could not do without some advice. Muslim divines devoted themselves to the knowledge of the next abode and gave themselves entirely up to it. They used to resist giving legal decisions and the worldly affairs connected with the rules and regulations of mankind. They applied their whole attention to Allah with sincere zeal, as is narrated in their biographies.

After them, when the caliphate came to people who ruled

it without desert and without independence in the science of giving legal opinions and judgments, they (the caliphs) were obliged to seek help from the jurisconsults (fugahā') and to associate with them in all their circumstances in order to ask them for legal opinions concerning their current regulations. There remained some of the learned followers ('ulamā' al-tābi'in) who continued on the old way and clung to the side of religion and persevered in the way of the learned Fathers ('ulamā' al-salaf). When requested (to take government positions), they used to flee and avoid them. So the caliphs were obliged to insist on their request to take office of giving judgments and exercising authority. The people of that time saw the prestige of the learned and the way Imams and rulers favoured them in spite of the fact that (the learned) avoided them, and they (the people) were inclined to seek knowledge as a way to get prestige and reputation from the rulers. So they gave their attention to the science of giving legal opinions. They presented themselves to them, and they sought provinces and gifts from them. Among them werethose who failed and those who succeeded (in their requests), while the successful one was not free of the humiliation of asking and the shame of losing his honor. After having been sought, the jurisconsults became seekers. After having been respected by avoiding the sultans, they (all) became

humiliated by rushing after them, except those who are learned in Allah's religion and whom He causes to prosper in every century.

In those centuries the greatest preference was for the science of legal opinions and judgments because of the stringent need of them in states and governments. Then, from among the notables and princes after them, there appeared those who listened to the sayings of people about the articles of the faith. So they wanted to hear the proofs concerning them, and their desires tended towards debates and arguments about theology. People gave their attention to the science of scholastic theology ('ilm al-kalām) about which they produced many writings and set forth the manner of argumentation. They derived the arts of contradicting propositions. They asserted that their aim was to defend the religion of Allah, protect the sunnah, and subdue innovators just as their predecessors had asserted that their aim in engaging themselves in legal opinions was religion and taking upon themselves the affairs of the Muslims was because of compassion for Allah's people and in order to advise them.

Then, after that, there appeared from among the notables some who did not approve deep investigation into theology and opening the door to debate about it because of what had resulted from opening the door (such as) harmful partisanship

and widespread rivalries which lead to bloodshed and destroy the country. They wanted to debate jurisprudence and explain the preferable things of the tenets of al-Shāfi'ī and Abū Ḥanīfah especially. So people forsook scholastic theology and the arts of science and entered whole-heartedly on tackling the apologetic problems between al-Shāfi'ī and Abū Ḥanīfah especially.

In regard to the differences between Mālik, Sufyān, Aḥmad (Ibn Ḥanbal), and others they were more complaisant. They asserted that their purpose was to discover the minutiae of the divine law and confirm the allegations of the schools and clarify the principles of legal opinions. They greatly increased writings and investigations about them, and set forth the kinds of argument and writings about them which they continue to do up to the present .

We do not know what Allah will cause to happen in the centuries to come. This alone, and nothing else, is the motive for their perseverance in controversy and debate. Had the souls of the masters of the present world inclined to apologetics with some other Imams or to some other science, they (the people) would have inclined with them. They would not have refrained from offering pretexts that what they were engaged in was the science of religion and that their only desire was to draw nigh to the Lord of the worlds.

A. An Exposition of the Deception in Trying to Make
These Debates Resemble the Consultations of the
Companions and the Conferences of the Fathers

You should know that they sometimes attracted people to that by gradual delusion (istidrāʾ)¹⁷² by(saying), "The purpose of our debates is to discuss the truth in order to clarify it, for the truth is what is sought."

(They also assert:) to give mutual aid in contemplating knowledge and to let thought meet thought is useful and effective. This was the custom of the Companions in their conferences, as they conferred about the problem of (the inheritance of) the grandfather and brothers, and about the punishment for drinking wine, and whether the Imām should pay a fine, if he committed sin as is handed down about the woman who suffered a miscarriage because of (her) fear of 'Umar, and just as is handed down about the questions of inheritances and other things as well as what was handed down about al-Shāfi'i, Aḥmad, Muḥammad bin al-Ḥasan, Mālik, Abī Yūsif,¹⁷⁴ and others of the learned. What I shall mention will inform you about this deception (talbīs). It is that to give mutual aid in the quest of truth is a part of religion, but it has eight conditions and signs.

1. The first (is that) since it is a general obligation,

one who is not free from personal obligations should not engage in it. One who ought to perform a personal obligation but engages in a general obligation and asserts that his object is the truth is a prevaricator. He is like one who neglects worship himself and devotes himself to getting and weaving clothes and says, "My aim is to cover the person of the naked worshipper who does not find clothes."

Perhaps that might happen, and its occurrence is possible, the same way as the jurisconsult asserts the possible happening of rare events about which there is controversial discussion. Those who engage in debates neglect the affairs which, by agreement, are a personal obligation. And one who is faced with the return of a pledge immediately, but who does what is unlawful with the worship--which is the nearest approach to Allah--disobeys Him. For a person to be obedient it is not sufficient that his act should belong to the category of obedient acts, while he pays no regard in doing it to the elements of time, condition, and order.

2. The second stipulation is that he should not see some general obligation which is more important than debates; for , if he sees what is more important and does something else, he disobeys by his action. He is like the one who sees a group of thirsty people on the point of dying whom people have neglected and whom he is able to revive by pour-

ing out water for them; but he engages in teaching the art of cupping and asserts that it is a general obligation and that, if it did not exist in the country, people would perish. When he is told that there are plenty cuppers in the country, he says, "That does not prevent this action from being a general obligation."

The state of one who does this and neglects to occupy himself with what actually happens to a group of thirsty Muslims is like the state of one who is occupied in debating while in the country general obligations are neglected which no one is undertaking. But as for giving legal opinions a group of people are doing that, while the country is not empty of a number of neglected obligations to which jurisconsults pay no attention.

The most urgent of them is medicine, for in most cities there is no Muslim doctor on whose testimony one might depend concerning those things about which a doctor's word is usually accepted according to divine law, while none of the jurisconsults desires to engage in it. The same (is true) in regard to commanding what is lawful and forbidding what is unlawful which are general obligations. Many a time in a debate a debater might see silk worn and used as furnishing (these are some of the forbidden things), but he keeps silent about them and debates problems that do not occur,

and that, if they should happen, a number of jurisconsults undertake. Then he asserts that he desires to draw close to Allah by general obligations.

Anas related that someone inquired, "O Messenger of Allah, when does one leave off commanding what is lawful and forbidding what is unlawful?"

He replied, "When hypocrisy appears in your elite and abomination in your evil ones and authority is transferred to your youths and fiqh (jurisprudence) to your evil ones."

3. The third stipulation is that the debater should be
 173
an independent scholar and give a legal opinion according to his own opinion, not according to the school of al-Shāfi'ī and Abū Ḥanīfah and others; so that, if the truth appears to him according to the tenets of Abū Ḥanīfah, he will forsake what is in accord with al-Shāfi'ī's opinion and give an opinion according to what seems (right) to him just as the Companions and Imāms used to do.

As for one who does not have the rank to give an independent opinion based on his own research, which is the case with all the people of this century, he gives a legal opinion about somebody's problem by handing down something from the school of his master. If it seems to him that there is a weakness in the school, he is not permitted to leave it. Then what benefit does he have in debating, while his school

is known and he does not have the ability to give an opinion according to some other way? (When) something is complicated for him, he has to say, "Perhaps the leader of my school has an answer for this; but, as for me, I have no right to form an independent opinion on the sources of the divine law."

If his discussions were about problems which have two points of view or two definite statements of his master, these words of his would more nearly resemble the truth. Perhaps he would give an opinion about one of the two and benefit from the discussion, while leaning towards one of the two sides, whereas you do not see debates going that way at all; but many a time he leaves the problem which has two sides or two statements and seeks a problem about which diversity is cut off.[#]

4. The fourth stipulation is that ordinarily he should only debate an actually occurring problem or one which is generally about to occur. For the Companions only conferred with one another about new events or those the occurrence of which was quite probable such as inheritance regulations. You do not see the debaters giving their minds to the criticism of problems about which fatwas have spread trouble, but they seek the notorious problems which have many differ-

SMZ gives mathbūt instead of mabtūt

ing tracks, whatever be the matter. Many a time they neglect what is happening more often, while they say, "This is an explicit declaration (based on tradition), or it is something which should be discussed in secret in a monastery and not one of the notorious matters."

Strangely enough what is sought (in the debates) is (to establish) the truth (of a matter), and then they leave the problem because it is an explicit declaration (based on tradition), although the way to attain truth about it is the traditions. (On the other hand they leave it) because it is not one of the notorious matters and what is said about it is not lengthy, although the purpose of (making) the truth (obvious) is to keep what is said brief and soon reach the aim, not to be verbose.

5. The fifth stipulation is that debate in retreat
¹⁷⁵
(khalwah) should be more loved by him and of more concern
than in auditoriums and in the presence of notables and sul-
tans. For a retreat is better for gaining understanding and more suitable for clarity of mind and thought and reaching the truth, whereas in the presence of a group there is something that stirs up the spirit of hypocrisy and obliges each one to crave victory whether he is right or wrong.

You know that their craving for assemblies and gatherings is not for (the glory of) Allah, and that one of them

will remain in solitude with his companion for a long time and not speak with him and many a time he will be importunately asked (about a problem) and he will not answer. But when one of the foremost people appears or when an assembly is organized, he will leave no arrow unused in his quiver of tricks so that he may be considered a specialist in theology.

6. The sixth stipulation is that in his search for the truth he should be like one who is seeking a lost animal and who makes no distinction whether the stray appears by means of him or by means of the one who aids him. He considers his comrade (in the debate) as a helper, not as an opponent; and he thanks him, when he causes him to know his mistake and makes the truth obvious to him; just as if, in his search for his stray animal, he had taken a certain road and his companion had notified him that it was on another road. Then he would thank him, and not blame him; and honor him, and be glad because of him. The Companions' conferences were like this to such a degree that a woman once refuted 'Umar and called his attention to the truth, while he was in the midst of his speech before many people. And he said, "A woman has hit the truth, while a man has erred."

Once a man questioned 'Ali, who gave him an answer. Then the man said, "It is not like that, O Leader of the Faithful; but it is such and such."

So 'Ali said, "You are right; I am wrong. Above every one who possesses knowledge there is some one very learned."

Ibn Mas'ūd corrected (something which) Abu Mūsa al-Ash-
¹⁷⁶
 'arī (said). Then Abū Mūsa said, "Do not ask me anything, while this learned man is in your midst." That was when Abū Mūsa was asked about a man who was killed while waging war in the cause of Allah, and he said, "He is in the Garden (al-jannah)."
 He (Abū Mūsa) was an Amīr of Kūfa.

Then Ibn Mas'ūd stood up and said (to the questioner), "Repeat (your question) to the Amīr, for perhaps he did not understand."

He did so (three times) and received the same answer. So Ibn Mas'ūd said, "I say that, if he were killed when he had the right desire, then he is in the Garden."
¹⁷⁷

Then Abū Mūsa said, "What he said is true."

Such is the impartiality of one who seeks the truth. If something like this were mentioned at the present time to the least canon lawyer, he would deny it and consider it far-fetched and say, "There is no need to say, 'had the right desire', for that is well known to everyone."

Then observe the present day debaters (and see) how the face of one of them becomes black, when the truth is made clear on the tongue of his opponent, and how he is put to shame by it, and how he strives to deny to the limit of his

power and how all life long he blames the one who silenced him in argument. Then he is not ashamed to liken himself to the Companions in their cooperative quest for truth!

7. The seventh stipulation is that he is not to prevent his assistant --(who takes the form of an opponent)-- in the quest (for truth) from changing from one proof to another, and from one difficulty to another, for such were the debates of the Fathers. And he excludes from his speech all the novel refinements of dialectics. Then what right does he have to say, "I do not need to mention this", and "This contradicts your former words. So they are not accepted from you", for to return to the truth (certainly) contradicts the untrue, and it is necessary to accept it. You see that all the assemblies pass their time in defending and arguing so that one who seeks some indication of a general principle judges by means of a cause which he considers preferable. Then someone says to him, "What is the proof that the rule in this general principle is effected by this cause?"

So he says, "This is the way it seems to me. If something clearer and more suitable appears to you, mention it so that I might reflect on it."

Then the opponent persists and says, "There are other ideas about it (in addition to) those which I mentioned and,

although I know them, I shall not mention them; for it is not incumbent on me to do so."

The one who is seeking a demonstration says, "It is for you to show what you pretend (to know) beyond this."

His opponent (however) persists that it is incumbent on him, and the assembly of debate expends [#] itself in this kind of problem and its like, while this poor fellow does not know that his saying, "I know it, but I shall not mention it, for it is not incumbent upon me", gives the lie to the divine law. In fact, if he does not know its meaning and he pretends (to know) it for the sake of weakening his opponent, he is a vicious liar who is disobedient to Allah and is exposed to His displeasure by his pretence of knowing something of which he knows nothing. If he were strong, he would return to him; if he were weak, he would show him his weakness and lead him out of the darkness of his ignorance to the light of knowledge. It is an incontrovertible fact that it is a necessary duty to clarify what one knows of the religious sciences after questions are asked about them.

Then the meaning of his saying, "It is not incumbent upon me", (may be true) according to the law of dialectics which we invented in accordance with strong craving and a desire to trick and wrestle with words such as "It is not

SMZ reads fatanagqada instead of yatawakhkha

incumbent upon me", (but) even if it is not (incumbent according to the law of dialectics), it is so according to divine law. For, in refusing to mention (it), he is either a liar (in his speech) or disobedient (in his action).

Then scrutinize the consultations of the Companions and the conferences of the Fathers. Did you ever hear anything about them that resembles this kind? Was anyone ever prohibited to change over from one proof to another and from analogy to a tradition (athar) (of the Companions) and from a tradition (of the Prophet) (khavar) to an evidential verse (of the Qur'ān)? Rather all their debates were of this kind: they used to mention everything that was wont to come to their minds just as it occurred, and they used to reflect on it.

8. The eighth stipulation is to debate with one who is engaged in knowledge from whom one expects some benefits, while they (the debaters of this time) usually avoid debates with the illustrious and the notables lest the truth should appear on their tongues, and they want (to debate with) those beneath them, desiring to put what is false into circulation.

Beyond these there are many detailed stipulations, but in these eight stipulations there is something which will guide you to (see the difference between) one who debates for Allah and one who debates for a (worldly) cause.

In short you should know that one who does not contend against the Shaiṭān---who is ruling over his heart and who is his chiefest enemy, who never stops urging him to his destruction---then occupies himself in debating someone else about problems which a learned doctor (al-mujtahid) is rightly solving or sharing in the reward of one who is right, he (such a one) is the laughing-stock of the devils and a byword to the saved. For that reason the Shaiṭān rejoices on account of some of the dark evils which he has immersed him in and which we shall enumerate and mention in detail. We ask Allah for help and success-bringing aid.

A. An Exposition of the Defects of Debating and
Some of the Things Growing out of It
Which Destroy Character

You should know for a certainty that a debate which is arranged for the purpose of overcoming and silencing (a rival) and showing excellence, honor, and fluency in speech before people and for the purpose of rivalry, stubborn opposition, and trying to gain the favour of people, such a debate is the source of all character which is blameworthy with Allah and praiseworthy with His enemy, namely Iblīs.

Its relationship to internal evils such as pride, vanity, envy, self-seeking, self-justification, love of fame, and

others is like the relationship of drinking wine to external evils such as adultery, abuse, murder, and theft. It is just as if someone, being asked to choose between drinking and the rest of the abominable sins, would consider it insignificant and would eagerly take it up which would motivate him to commit the rest of the abominable sins in his drunkenness. So is one who is ruled by a desire to silence and overcome (his opponent) in debate and who seeks reputation and competition. That motivates him to conceal all the infamous actions in himself and to stir up all kinds of blameworthy characteristics in him.

In the quarter on Things that Destroy there will come proofs of the blameworthiness of these characteristics taken from the traditions and evidential verses, but for the present we shall point out the sum total of that which debates stir up.

1. Among them is envy. Allah's prophet said, "Envy eats up good deeds just as a fire eats up wood."

A debater does not cease envying, for sometimes he overcomes (his rival) and sometimes he is overcome. Sometimes his words are praised, while again another's words are praised. As long as he remains in the present world, one is mentioned for the strength of his knowledge and speculation; or it is thought that (this one) is better than (that one)

in respect to theology and stronger in respect to speculation. Thus one will necessarily envy the other and desire that his blessings should cease and that affection and favour should be turned from his opponent to himself. (In reality) envy is a consuming fire; and one who is afflicted by it is in torment in the present world, while (you may be sure that) the punishment of the next abode is of much greater severity. Therefore Ibn 'Abbās said, "Take knowledge wherever you find it, and do not accept the words of certain jurisconsults about others, for they are as jealous of one another as goats in a fold."

2. Then there is pride and exalting one's self over people, for the Prophet has said, "Allah will humble one who magnifies himself and elevate one who humbles himself."

He quoted from Allah, "Majesty is my veil, and greatness is my cloak. Whoever deprives me of them, I will break in pieces."¹⁷⁸

The debater persists in magnifying himself over his contemporaries and equals and elevating himself above his ability until they (the debaters) fight for a certain seat in the assembly. Over this they vie with one another as to (who is to) go higher or lower, be near or far from the chief seat, and have precedence in entering (the assembly), when the roads are straitened. Many a time one of their

number who is stupid as well as one who is a wily trickster will make the excuse that he aims at guarding the prestige of knowledge and that a believer is prevented from abasing himself.

He terms "humility" (tawāḍu'), which Allah and all His prophets praised, "baseness" (dhull); and the pride (takabbur) which is hated by Allah, "the prestige ('izz) of religion" by means of garbling the name and leading people astray with it just as he did with the word "wisdom" (hikmah) and "knowledge" ('ilm) and others.

3. Among them (i.e. the evils of debate) there is spite of which a debater is hardly ever free, while Muḥammad said, "A believer is not spiteful."

Something that is obvious has been related about the blameworthiness of spite. You do not see a debater who is able to keep from concealing malice in his breast towards anyone who nods in favour of his opponent's speech. He hesitates in his speech. Then he does not give him full attention; but when he sees that, he is obliged to conceal his malice and establish it in his heart.

Without doubt the object of his restraint is to conceal his lie while, in most cases, it oozes out of him to the exterior. How can he keep away from that and not perceive that all the listeners (around him) agree in preferring

his speech and approving all his circumstances both when he starts and stops. But if, there emanates from his rival some slight disrespect for his speech some spite is planted in his breast which the hand of time cannot uproot.

4. Another (of the evils of debate) is backbiting, which Allah has likened to eating that which is dead. (cf. 49:12). A debater does not cease to continue to eat something dead, for he does not cease to quote the words of his opponent and blame him. The object of his consideration is to confirm his trustworthiness, and in reality he is not lying. [#] So, without doubt, he quotes from him that which proves the deficiency of his speech, his inadequacy, and his lack of excellence. That is backbiting.

As for lying, it is falsehood.. Likewise he (the debater) can not restrain his tongue from attacking the reputation of anyone who turns away from his words to listen to his opponent and to receive him kindly. So he ascribes ignorance, foolishness, paucity of understanding, and stupidity to him.

5. Another evil (of debate) is self-justification. Allah said, "Do not justify yourselves. He knows very well who is pious (god-fearing)" (53:33).

 # A variant is: The object of his consideration is to be true in what he quotes about him and not to lie concerning what he quotes from him.

Some one asked a philosopher, "What is ugly veracity?"

So he replied, "A man's praise of himself."

A debater is not void of praising himself for his power (in knowledge), victory (over his opponent), and his superior excellence over his contemporaries as long as during the debate he continues to say, "I am not one of those from whom things like these are hidden, for I am accomplished in the sciences and have independent authority in the fundamental principles and (I am unique in) memorizing the traditions (of the Prophet)", and other accomplishments in which one glories, sometimes in the way of a braggart and sometimes on account of a need to adorn his speech. And it is well known both self-praise and boasting are blameworthy in respect to the law and reason.

6. Another (evil of debate) is the investigation and thorough study of private affairs. And Allah has said, "Do not spy out or pry into things" (49:12).

The debater does not cease to look for his contemporaries' stumbles and to pry into the private matters of his opponents even to the point that, when he is told that a debater is coming to his city, he seeks for someone to tell about his secret circumstances and by means of questions he seeks to draw out his evil deeds in order to prepare them as a reserve for himself in disgracing and humiliating

him, when he is in great need. He even tries to discover the circumstances of his boyhood and his physical defects. Then perhaps he may stumble upon a rare fault or a defect in his body such as baldness or something else. Then, if he feels the least bit of superiority in relation to him, he hints at it; if he restrains himself, that is approved in him (by those present) and is counted one of the refined means for attaining an end. And he does not refrain from making it clear, if he rejoices in his insolence and derision, as it is related about a group of notable debaters who were considered as being among their eminent ones.

7. Among them(the evils of debate) is joy in what harms people and sorrow over their joy, whereas one who does not desire (the same good) for his brother Muslim which he wants for himself, is far from the character of the Believers. As for everyone who seeks to outshine by showing his superiority, certainly that pleases him which harms his contemporaries and their like who vie with him for superiority. The mutual hatred between them is like that (which exists) between the fellow wives of a man. For just as the muscles of one of them quiver and her color becomes yellow, when she sees her rival from a distance, so in like manner you see one debater's color change and his mind become agitated, when he sees another debater; and he is just like one who

has seen a wilful Shaitān or a ferocious lion.

(Then) where are the friendly relations and ease of mind which used to take place among the Muslim divines ('ulamā' al-dīn), when they used to meet? And (where) is that which was handed down about them: brotherhood, mutual assistance, and sharing in good and in evil so that al-Shāfi'i said, "Among the people of excellence and understanding, knowledge is a uniting bond."

I do not know how a group among whom knowledge has become a (source of) devisive enmity (can) pretend to follow his school. How does one imagine that among them friendli-
ness is strengthened in spite of the quest for victory and rivalry? That is far-fetched indeed. As an evil it is enough for you that ^{it} makes the character of hypocrites incumbent on you and it removes you far away from the character of Believers and the god-fearing.

8. Among (the evils of debate) is hypocrisy, and there is no need to mention illustrations of its blameworthiness while they (the debaters) are obliged to use it. They meet their adversaries and those who like them and their partisans, and they necessarily find no way but friendly speech for them and show ardent longing and esteem for their position and circumstances. However the person addressed as well as

reading SMZ yastatib instead of yansib

the speaker and all who hear them know that that is lying and falsehood and hypocrisy and ugliness. For (outwardly) they are mutually gentle in speech, while inwardly they are mutually hateful in heart. We seek refuge from it with Allah the Mighty.

Hasan al-Baṣrī related that Muḥammad said, "If a people learn knowledge and neglect to follow it, while they love one another in word and mutually hate one another in heart and sever the ties of relationship (that are due to knowledge), Allah will curse them at that time and make them deaf and blind (to the truth)", which has been verified by (our) seeing this condition.

9. Another (evil of debate) is to disdain and hate the truth and to covet opposing it so that the most hated thing to a debater is for the truth to be made obvious on the tongue of his rival; and, whenever (the truth) appears (on the tongue of his rival), he is ready to disown and deny it to the limit of his power. And he exerts his utmost power in deceit, stratagem, and trickery to refute it, so that opposition becomes a natural habit in him. He never hears a word (from his rival) without there springing up in his nature an impulse to object to him, until that overrules his heart concerning the proofs of the Qur'ān and the terms of divine law. And he mixes one part of it with another. To engage in a quarrel

to oppose the untrue is dangerous, for Allah's prophet urged (that people) forsake setting the truth over against the untrue. He said, "Allah will build a house in the courtyard of the Garden for one who leaves off quarreling, when he is in the wrong; and for one who forsakes quarreling, when he is in the right, Allah will build a house in the highest part of the Garden."

Allah has made the one who fabricates a lie against Him equal with the one who denies the truth (sent down from Allah). Allah said, "And who is more wrong than the one who fabricates a lie against Allah, or denies the truth, when it comes to him?" (29:68)

And "Who is more wrong than the one who lies against Allah and denies the truth, when it comes to him?" said Allah. (39:33).

10. Another of (the evils of debate) is to act the hypocrite and regard people and dilligently seek to incline their hearts and turn their faces towards them. To act the hypocrite is a serious disease which leads to the greatest of evils, as will be seen in the book on Acting the Hypocrite." A debater only wants to show off before people and set their tongues wagging in praise of him.

reading SMZ al-khalq instead of al-khang

These are the ten qualities of the sources of inner evils in addition to what happens to those of them who are not firmly grounded, such as quarreling which leads to striking, fisticuffs, slapping, tearing clothes, seizing beards, cursing parents, reviling professors, and open accusation. For these are not counted in the group of respectable people.

Surely those who are notables and intelligent among them are those who do not abandon these ten attributes. Yes, some of them are sometimes safe from part of them with one whose position is known to be lower or one whose position is known to be higher or who is far from his country and his means of livelihood. Not one of them, however, abandons it (i.e. quarreling) with people like himself who are his competitors in rank.

Then from every one of these ten attributes ten others of low quality branch off which we shall not mention at length and explain individually, such as scorn, anger, hatred, covetousness, love of seeking wealth and position (among the leaders), and ability to overcome (rivals), rivalry, ungratefulness, exultation, exalting the rich and the sultans, repeatedly going to them to accept (something) from their treasuries, adornment with horses, mounts, and expensive clothing, to deem people contemptible with pride and arrogance,

 # read wa 'l-tamakkun with SMZ instead of li'l-tamakkun
 ## SMZ reads khazā'inihim instead of harāmihim

to investigate deeply into that which is no concern of theirs, to multiply speech, to exclude humility, fear, and mercy from one's heart and to let indifference dominate it, so that in his worship one of them who is worshipping does not know what he is praying and what he is reading or the one with whom he is communing. In his heart he does not feel humility, although he has buried his life in the sciences of beautifying expressions which aid in debating, although they do not benefit in the next abode, and (also in the science of) rhyming his words, memorizing rare sayings, and innumerable other things. The debaters vary with one another in these things according to their ranks, which are many. Those who are greatest in respect to religion and those who are most intelligent do not cease to (bear) the sum and substance of these characteristics. Surely his aim ~~is~~ to conceal them and have his soul fight them.

You should know (O pilgrim), that these bad qualities also adhere to one who is engaged in admonition and sermonizing, if his aim is to seek approbation, establish prestige, and gain riches and respect. It also adheres to one who is occupied in the tenets of his school and giving legal opinions, if his purpose is to seek a judgeship, to administer endowments, and to get ahead of his contemporaries. In a word it adheres to all who use knowledge to seek anything else

but Allah's reward in the next abode.

Then knowledge not only deserts the learned man but it thoroughly destroys him forever (if he does not do as he knows), or it gives him life forever (if he acts according to his knowledge). For that reason Muḥammad said, "The person most severely punished on the day of resurrection is the learned man whom Allah did not cause to benefit by his knowledge."

It has certainly harmed him besides not benefitting him, and I wish he were saved from it with neither gain nor loss; but that is far from possible. For the danger of knowledge is great and its seeker is a seeker of eternal kingdom and perpetual bliss. There is no separation from either the kingdom or destruction. He is like a seeker of wealth in the present world. If he does not happen to obtain wealth, he does not hope to be safe from humiliation; but there is no escape: to make his circumstances clearly known (on the day of resurrection) is one of the necessary things.

If you should say, "In permitting debate there is benefit, which is to make people eager to seek knowledge; for had it not been for the love of leadership (riyāṣah), knowledge would have been exterminated", in a way you would be right about what you have mentioned; but it is not beneficial,

for were it not for (a parent's or a teacher's) promise of a bat and ball and playing with birds, boys would have no desire for school. That does not prove that the desire for it is praiseworthy. And (your saying), "Were it not for the love of leadership, knowledge would be exterminated", (is right) but that does not prove that one who seeks leadership is saved (from the punishment of Allah); but he is one of those about whom the Prophet said, "Verily Allah will strengthen this religion with people who have no share in it". He said, "Verily Allah will strengthen this religions with an immoral man."

One who seeks leadership is on the road to destruction himself, while by means of him others are sometimes reformed, if he is wont to invite (them) to forsake the present world. That is (true) about anyone whose outward state in an external affair is like the outward state of the learned Fathers, but who conceals his purpose (to get) reputation. He is like a candle which ^{consumes} burns itself while others are lighted by it, and other people's reformation is in his destruction. If he invites (people) to seek the present world, then he is like a consuming fire which devours itself and others (with it).

The learned are of three kinds: (a) those who are destroying themselves and others: they are those who very clearly seek the present world and rush after it; (b) those who help

(save) themselves and others: they are those who are urging mankind to (seek) Allah outwardly and inwardly; and (c) those who are destroying themselves (and) saving others: they are those who invite to the next abode and who have rejected the present world outwardly, while their inner purpose is to be acceptable to man and establish reputation.

Then you should notice in which division you are and who it is for whom you busy yourself in making ready. Do not think that Allah will accept anything but knowledge and action done purely to please Him. If Allah wills, there will come to you in the Book on Hypocrisy--rather in the whole quarter on the Things Which Destroy-- something which will remove from you any doubt about it.

71

PART FIVE

PART FIVE CONCERNS THE MANNERS OF THE PUPIL AND THE TEACHER

A. As for the Pupil, His Outward Manners
and Offices Are Many, But Their Different Aspects
May Be Arranged under Ten Headings

1. The first office is to give precedence to purifying
the soul from impure character and blameworthy qualities,
for knowledge is worship of the heart, secret prayer, and
a mystical oblation to Allah.

Just as any worship which is an office of the outer
members of the body is sound only by purification of the
outward (parts) from evils and wickedness, so in like man-
ner mystic worship and the cultivation of the heart with
knowledge is sound only after its purification from evil
character and unclean qualities. Muhammad said, "Religion
was built on cleanliness." And it is so outwardly and in-
wardly.

"The polytheists are unclean" (9:28), said Allah only

in order to draw the attention of the intelligent to the fact that purity and impurity are not confined to externals which are apprehended by the senses. For the polytheist may be clean in dress, bathed in body, but impure in his spirit; that is, his inner being is polluted with uncleanness.

Impurity is an expression (which stands) for that which one avoids and from which one desires to be removed. It is more important to avoid the uncleanness of the inner qualities; for they, along with their ugliness in the present, are the things which destroy in the future. For that reason Muhammad said, "Angels will not enter a house in which there is a dog."

(Now) the heart is a house. It is the dwelling place of the angels and the place where their influence descends, and their domicile. Evil qualities like anger, carnal appetite, malice, envy, pride, self-conceit, and their like are barking dogs. Then how will angels enter it (the heart) while it is full of dogs?

Allah only casts the light of knowledge into a heart by means of angels. And Allah is not in the habit of speaking to man except by inspiration or from behind a screen, or He sends a messenger who directly reveals what He wishes. Thus angels, appointed as overseers govern whatever blessings of

knowledge are sent to hearts. They are those who are holy, pure, and just: (made innocent) of the blameworthy qualities. They only notice a good person. With treasures of Allah's mercy they only build the good and the pure.

I do not say, "What is meant by the expression, the house is the heart; and by the dog, anger and the blameworthy qualities", but I do say, "It is a notification about it and a difference between changing the literal to the spiritual (al-bawāṭin) and between calling attention to the spiritual by means of a mention of the literal along with an affirmation of the literal."

And the Bāṭiniyah are differentiated[#] by these details which are a way of consideration (i'tibār) and which is the path of the learned and the righteous. For the meaning of i'tibār is to go beyond what is mentioned to something else and not to stop short at it. Just as an intelligent person considers another man's mischance and finds in it some significance for himself in the fact that he goes on to note that he also is subject to misfortunes and that the world is liable to overturn. So his passing from another to himself and from himself to the world principle is praiseworthy consideration.

Therefore pass over also from the house, which is a

 # Reading SMZ yufāraq instead of fafāraqa

human building, to the heart, which is one of Allah's buildings, and from the dog, which is blamed for its qualities, not for its shape, though it is something that has some rapacity and uncleanness in it, to the spirit of the dog, which is rapacity (al-sabb'Iyah).

Then you should know that the heart which is full of anger, inordinate desire, and thirst for the present world and craves to tear people's reputation apart is a dog in meaning and a heart in form. For the inner light of intelligence (i.e. the eyes of the mind) regards meanings, not forms. In this world forms predominate over meanings, while meanings are (dwelling) internal in them; whereas in the next abode, forms will follow meanings and meanings will dominate. For that reason every person is raised according to his spiritual form. One who tears people's reputation apart will be resurrected as a vicious dog; He who is inordinately greedy of their wealth, as a ravening wolf; he who magnifies himself above them, in the form of a tiger; and he who seeks leadership, in the form of a lion. The traditions (al-akhbār) have mentioned that, while the consideration (al-i'tibār) of those who have intelligence and vision testified to it.

Should you say, "Many a student (tālib) whose character is bad obtains knowledge", that would be very far-fetched

indeed. How far he is from the true knowledge which is useful in the next abode and which brings happiness! For to show him that sins (al-ma'āṣi) are deadly and destructive poisons is one of the very beginnings of that knowledge. Have you ever seen a person take poison in spite of the fact that he knows it is a deadly poison? Surely what you hear from those who carefully examine (the outer form of knowledge) is a tradition which they eagerly swallow one time and ponder in their hearts another time. And that is not part of knowledge at all.

Ibn Mas'ūd said, "Knowledge is not oft-repeated narrated things, but it is a light cast into the heart."

Some one else said, "Truly knowledge is reverence according to Allah's saying, 'Verily those of Allah's servants who really respect Him are the learned'" (35:25), just as if he had pointed out the most specialized fruits of knowledge. For that reason some of the orthodox Muslims (al-muḥaqqiqūn) said, "The meaning of their saying, 'We learned knowledge for other than Allah, but knowledge refused to be for other than Allah', is that knowledge scorned and was forbidden us, and its real nature was not revealed to us. What we have obtained is only its words. And its terminology."

Should you say, "Really I see many orthodox learned jurisconsults who excel in the subsidiary branches and

fundamental principles, and (because of that) they are considered among the powerful ones, while their character is blameworthy and not purified from them (the unclean qualities)", (in answer to that) it is said, "If you knew the stages (marātib) of knowledge, and if you ^{knew} the knowledge of the next abode, it would be clear to you that what they are engaged in is of little value from the point of view of its being knowledge."

And truly its value lies in doing it for the sake of Allah, if one means to draw nigh unto Allah by it. An indication of this has already preceded, while a lengthier and clearer exposition about it will be given to you, if Allah wills.

2. The second office is to diminish one's attachment to the (engrossing) occupations of the present world and draw away from one's people and native land, for one's attachments are time-consuming and distractive. "Allah has not made a man with two hearts in his breast" (33:4); and whenever the mind is divided, it fails to apprehend realities. Therefore someone said, "Knowledge will not give you a part of itself until you give it all of yourself". Then if you give it all of yourself, you run the risk of its giving you a part of itself. Thought, divided on scattered objects, is like a brook which distributes its

water (over diverse places). Then the earth absorbs some of it, the air snatches away part of it, and not enough of it remains to be gathered together to water the gardens.

3. The third office is that he should not boast and feign knowledge (which he does not have) nor become a ruler over his teacher, but he should throw him the reins of his affairs in their entirety, in every detail, and submit to his advice, as an ignorant invalid aids a compassionate and clever doctor. It is incumbent on him to be humble to his teacher and seek reward and honor by serving him.

Al-Sha'bī¹⁷⁹ said, "Zaid Bin Thābit was praying at a funeral, and his mule was brought for him to ride. Then along came Ibn 'Abbās who took hold of his stirrup, whereupon Zaid said, 'Let it alone, O cousin of Allah's Messenger.' But Ibn 'Abbās said, 'Thus were we commanded to do to the learned and venerable.' So Zaid Ibn Thābit kissed his (Ibn 'Abbās) hand and said, 'Thus were we ordered to do to the people of our prophet's household.'"¹⁸⁰

And Muḥammad said, "Adulation is part of the character of a believer only in his quest for knowledge."

One who seeks knowledge ought not to feign that he knows more than his teacher. He would magnify himself over his teacher if he should scorn information except from those who are regarded as famous. This is the essence of stupidity

for knowledge is a means of safety and happiness (now and hereafter). Anyone who desires to flee from a devouring lion which wants to capture and kill him, makes no distinction whether a famous or an obscure man guides him towards flight. And the violent craving of the lions of the Fire towards those who are ignorant of Allah is more severe than the savagery of all lions. Wisdom is the object of a believer's persevering quest and which he eagerly snatches wherever he may get possession of it. So he is grateful to anyone who leads him to it, whoever he might be.

For that reason someone said, "Knowledge is a war against proud young men, just as the current (of a stream) is a war against an elevated place; for knowledge is only obtained by humility and listening."

Allah said, "Verily in that there is a warning to one who has understanding (qalb) or listens while he is a witness (of what he hears)" (50:36).

The meaning of his being a possessor of understanding (dhū qalb) is that he is receptive to knowledge and an understanding person. Then his ability to understand is not enough, so that he pays attention while he is a witness with good listening and obedience, thanks and joy, and acceptance of grace and readiness of mind (hādir al-qalb) to receive everything which is cast to him.

Therefore let a pupil be to his teacher as soft, level earth which receives copious rain and all parts of which absorb it and are entirely obedient in accepting it. Whatever his teacher advises him in the way of learning, let him adopt and put aside his own opinion (even if it is right), for a mistake of his guide is certainly more beneficial to him than to be right by himself. For experience acquaints (a man with) details which one would be astonished to hear, although their benefit is great.

Many a time when a person is sick with fever, a doctor treats him with hot applications to increase his strength to a point where he can bear the shock of the treatment, while one who has no experience in this is astonished. Allah has warned (about craving to meet a learned person) in ¹⁸¹ the story about al-Khidr and Mûsa, where al-Khidr said, "Truly you will never be able to be patient with me, and how will you be patient about something in which you have no experience?" (18:66,67)

Then he laid down the condition of silence and submission and said, "If you follow me, do not ask me anything until I begin to mention it to you" (18:69).

Then he was not patient, and he continued to turn the question over in his mind until it was the cause for the separation between them both. In short, every pupil who

reserves for himself an opinion and a choice not the choice of his teacher, is condemned to miss his end and fail.

If you should say, "Allah has said, 'Ask the people of admonition (ahl al-dhikr), if you do not know'"(16:45; 21:7). So one is commanded to ask (about something which is not known)", you should know that it is so; but only concerning that about which the teacher allows questions. For verily, questions about something which your degree of understanding has not reached are blameworthy, and for that reason al-Khidr forbade Mūsa from asking. That is, leave off asking questions before their time; for a teacher has a better understanding of what is suitable for you as well as the time to disclose it. What has not reached the time of disclosure in every one of its steps has not reached the time for questions to be asked about it.

'Ali has said, "One of the rights of a learned person is that you do not question him too much nor insist on an answer; that you do not importune him when he is neglectful; that you do not take hold of his clothes, when he rises from his seat; and that you do not divulge a secret to him. Never slander anyone at his house, and never seek a lapse on his part. If he should fall, accept his excuse. You are responsible to pay him respect and venerate him for the sake of Allah, as long as he keeps His command. Do not

sit in front of him; and if he is in need, be first to serve him.

4. The fourth office is that in the beginning of the matter one who is going to plunge into knowledge should avoid listening to disagreement of people whether about those sciences of the present world into which he plunges, or the sciences of the next abode; for that bewilders his mind, perplexes his intellect, weakens his opinion, and causes him to despair of apprehending and knowing; but first of all it is necessary to be certain of the single praiseworthy way which is pleasing to his teacher. Then after that (he may) listen to the differences of the schools and items which are doubtful.

If his teacher is not free to choose one opinion but rather his habit is to transmit schools (al-madhāhib) and what is said about them; then let him avoid him, for he is more likely to lead astray than to guide aright. For a blind man is not suitable to lead and guide the blind. One in this condition is considered to be in bewildering blindness and perplexing ignorance.

Preventing the beginner (in knowledge) from doubts resembles preventing the novice in Islam from associating with unbelievers, while urging the strong (in knowledge) to look into disagreements resembles inciting the strong to

associate with infidels. On account of this a weakling[#]
 is prevented from blindly entering^{##} a class (ṣaff) of in-
 fidels (who are strong), while a brave man is urged to do
 it. Not heeding these details some of those who are poor-
 ly grounded think that it is permissible to imitate the com-
 plaisancies which are handed down about those who are well
 grounded. They do not know that the offices of those who
 are well-grounded differ from the functions of those who
 are poorly-grounded.

On account of that one (of the gnostics) said, "Who-
 ever sees me at the beginning (of the journey) will become
 a friend; and whoever sees me at the end will become an
 agnostic (zindīq)¹⁸². For the end causes acts to go back to
 the inner (i.e. contemplation on Allah and His attributes
 assumes more importance than the external acts of worship),
 while the limbs remain quiet except concerning the stages
 of the obligations.

To observers it appears that it is idleness, laziness,
 and neglect, but that is far from the true fact. For that
 is the heart's perseverance in real vision and the presence
 (ḥudūr) (of Allah) and continual remembrance which is always
 the most preferable of actions. For a poorly-grounded per-

 # reading al-'ājiz with SMZ instead of al-jabān

reading al-taqahhum with SMZ instead of al-tahajjum

son to imitate the outer deeds which he sees a well-grounded person perform is to commit a fault which resembles the pretext of one who casts a little uncleanness into a jug of water and offers the excuse that sometimes double (the amount of) this filth is thrown into the sea, while the sea is greater than the jug. Then whatever is permitted to the sea is more permissible to the jug. This poor fellow does not know that the sea, by its power, transforms the uncleanness to water and that very uncleanness takes on, by its (the sea's) rule, the quality of the sea (which quality is purity in itself and purification of others), while a little uncleanness overcomes the water which is in the jug and transforms it to its qualities (i.e. uncleanness).

In such a manner what was not permitted to others was permitted to the Prophet so that nine women were made lawful for him, because he had the ability to exceed the quality of justice towards his wives, even though they were many. As for another person, he is not able to be partly just and equitable, but the harm that is among them (the wives) reaches him so that his desire to please them leads him to disobey Allah. One who compares angels to jailors does not succeed.

5. The fifth office is that the seeker of knowledge

should not forsake any part of the praiseworthy sciences
nor any one of its various kinds without giving it careful
consideration by which he studies its purpose and aim. Then,
 if time is kind to him, he may seek to go deep into it.
 Otherwise, he may engage in and master the important part
 of it and touch the fringe of the rest. For the sciences
 are mutually helpful, and some of them are interrelated with
 others. To be severed from enmity to that knowledge, (which
 was) due to one's ignorance, is a benefit which one receives
 immediately; for "people are enemies of what they do not
 know"¹⁸³. Allah said, "If they are rightly guided by it, they
 will say, 'This is an old lying legend'" (46:10).

¹⁸⁴
 The poet said, "He whose mouth is sour from sickness
 Finds sweet water bitter in it."

In their various degrees the sciences are either lead-
 ing the worshipper to Allah or they are a kind of helper on
 the way. They have graded degrees of purposes concerning
 the near and the distant. Those who undertake them are
 guardians just as (much as) those who guard inns and fron-
 tiers. Everyone has a rank according to which he has a re-
 ward in the next abode, provided his aim is pure (i.e. pro-
 vided he is doing it for the sake of Allah).

6. The sixth office is that one should not plunge
deeply into any particular sort of knowledge in one swoop,

but he should observe the gradations and begin with what concerns him most. If there is not sufficient time to master all the sciences, it is prudent to take the best of everything and to be satisfied with a smell of it and to exert one's utmost strength in that part of his knowledge which is practicable for perfecting that knowledge which is the noblest of sciences: that is, knowledge of the next abode.

I mean the two parts: practical (al-mu'āmalah) and mystical (al-mukāshafah). The aim of (the practical is the mystical, and the aim of) [#] the mystical is experiential knowledge of Allah (ma'rifah allāh). By it (i.e. the mystical) I do not mean the belief which the common man hastily swallows ^{##} as an inheritance (from his shaikhs) or (receives) from lip to lip. Nor do I (mean) the way of verifying scholastic theology and dispute by fortifying that ^{###} (belief) from the opponents' ruses (murāwaghāt) which is the aim of the scholastic theologian.

* Rather (I mean) that is a kind of certain belief (yaqīn) which is the fruit of the light which Allah has cast

following SMZ; omitted in margin

following margin; SMZ gives variant readings

Following SMZ; margin reads al-kalām

* following margin; SMZ omits dhalik

into a worshipper's heart who, by discipline, has purified his inner life from impurities so that he reaches the rank of Abu Bakr's belief which, if it were weighed by the faith of the learned, would outweigh it just as the chief of mankind (Muhammad) testified about it. I do not think that what the common man believes and the scholastic theologian sets in order---a theologian who only surpasses the common man in the art of speech (kalām) for the sake of which his art is called theology (kalām)---I do not think that 'Umar, 'Uthmān, and 'Alī and the rest of the Companions were weaker in it; where he excelled them was in the inmost heart (al-sirr) which rested in his bosom.

I am astonished at anyone who hears such a saying from the law giver (Muhammad) and then despises what he hears, as he sees fit. Then he asserts that it is part of the Sūfī vain sayings and that it is not reasonable. It is necessary to proceed slowly in this; for in that, you lose your capital. So be frugal with your knowledge of that secret which is outside (the scope of) the jurisconsults' and theologians' wares. For only your craving to seek it leads you to it. In short, the most honorable of sciences and their utmost limit is to know Allah. (Knowledge of) Allah is a sea, the utmost depth of which is not known.

reading a variant hīna instead of hatta

Man's highest degree in it is the rank of the prophets, then the saints, those (of the learned) who follow them.

It is related that some one saw a picture of two ancient philosophers in a temple (masjid). One of them had in his hand a scrap of paper on which was (written), "I am well versed in everything. Do not think that you are well versed in anything until you know Allah and know that He is the Causer of Causes (the Prime Causer) and the Creator of things."

The other had in his hand(a paper on which was written), "Before I came to know Allah, I used to drink and (continue) to thirst; when I came to know Him, I quenched my thirst without drinking."

7. The seventh office is that one should not go deeply into an art until he completes the art which precedes it, For the sciences are very exactly arranged in a necessary order, and some of them are an introduction (tarīq) to others. Happy is he who observes this arrangement and gradation. Allah said, "Those to whom we gave the book read it rightly" (2:115).

That is, they do not go beyond an art until they do it well both in respect to knowledge and action or theory and practice. So in every science let his purpose be to study

SMZ omits the seventh function

how to get nearer to what is above it.

It is incumbent not to pronounce judgment against a science because there happens to be a disagreement about it among its people or because of one writing or many nor because of their differences according to their knowledge of acting. So you see a group which leaves off contemplating what pertains to the reason and to jurisprudence, under the pretext that had they had a fundamental principle, their exponents would have comprehended it. The disclosure of these uncertainties has preceded in the book Mi'yār al-¹⁸⁵
'Ilm (the Standard of Knowledge).

You (sometimes) see one group that believes the science of medicine is untrue because of a mistake which they witnessed on the part of one doctor, and another group which believes that astrology is true because of the successful prediction of one person, and another group which believes that it is untrue because another person's prediction went wrong.

All are at fault. Rather it is incumbent to know a thing in itself. Every person is not able to completely master every science and thus be competent to judge (for himself). For that reason 'Ali said, "Do not know the truth through men. Know the truth. Then you will know its people."

8. The eighth office is to know the means by which one

apprehends the noblest of sciences. By that two things are meant , one of which is the nobility of the fruit and the second is the reliability and strength of the proofs.

That is like the science of religion and the science of medicine. Truly the fruit of one of them is everlasting life, while the fruit of the other is evanescent life. So the science of religion is nobler. (And from the point of view of the second consideration) it is like the science of arithmetic and the science of astrology. For the science of arithmetic is nobler from the point of view of the reliability and strength of its proofs. If the science of arithmetic is compared with medicine, medicine would be nobler in regard to its fruit; and arithmetic, nobler in regard to its proofs. To pay attention to the fruit is a higher (consideration). Therefore medicine is nobler, even if most of it is by conjecture or diagnosis (takhmīn).

By this it is obvious that the noblest of sciences is knowledge of Allah, His angels, His books, and His messengers, as well as knowing how to reach these sciences. So take care to desire only it, and to be stingy only with it.

9. The ninth office is that the pupil's present purpose should be to adorn and beautify his inner life with virtue and in the time to come, to draw nigh to Allah and ascend to the proximity of the archangels and those who draw near

(al-mugarrabīn) which does not mean leadership, wealth, influence, base quarreling, and emulating competitors. If this (i.e. to adorn himself with virtue) is his aim, he will undoubtedly seek what (brings him) closest to his aim, and that is knowledge of the next abode.

In spite of this he should not despise the other sciences. I mean the science of giving legal opinions and the science of grammar ('ilm al-nahū) and lexicography ('ilm al-lughah), the two which are connected with the Book and usage, and other sciences which are a general obligation and which we mentioned among the preparatory and complementary (sciences).

From our extravagant praise of knowledge of the next abode do not think that we despise these (other) sciences. For those who assume the responsibility for religion are like those who are charged with the responsibility for fortified cities and those stationed in them and the warriors who wage war for Allah (fi sabīl illāh). Among them there are the fighter, the helper, those who pour out water for them, and those who protect and take care of their mounts. Not one of them fails to obtain his reward, if his aim is to elevate the word of Allah and not to obtain plunder; and the learned are like that.

Allah said, "Allah will raise (to higher) grades those

of you who believe and those to whom knowledge was given" (58:12). And again He said, "These are (varying) grades with Allah" (3:157)

Excellence is (only) relative. Our contempt for money-changers (when we) compare them with kings does not prove their contempt, when they are compared with sweepers. Do not at all think that whatever falls below the highest rank is an ignoble rank, (sāqit al-qadr), rather the highest rank(rutbah) is for the prophets, then the saints, then the learned who are firmly established in knowledge, then the virtuous according to their different degrees. In short, whoever does the slightest amount of good, ^{will} see it; and whoever does the slightest amount of harm will see it. Allah will assuredly benefit and elevate anyone who aims to please Him with no matter what science.

10. The tenth office is to know the relation of the sciences to what is purposed (al-maqṣad), in order to prefer (what is) high and near to what is distant, and what is of most concern rather than something else. The meaning of al-muhimm is that which concerns you, and only your business in the present world and the next abode concerns you. So it is impossible for you to unite the delights of the present world and the happiness of the next abode, as the Qur'ān mentioned and what the enlightened mind testifies to , just

as vision does. Then that which concerns you most is that which lasts forever. So the present world becomes a stopping place; the body, a vehicle; and our deeds, a way to what is purposed (al-maqṣad). The only (real) purpose is to meet Allah in whom all delight is found, even if only a few in the present world know its value.

In relation to the happiness of meeting Allah and contemplating his gracious face---I mean the contemplation which the prophets sought and understood, not what the masses and theologians quickly understand---the sciences are in three grades which you understand by comparison with an example which is that of a slave whose emancipation and whose being empowered to have authority depend on the pilgrimage. Some one says to him, "If you go on the pilgrimage and complete it, you will arrive at freedom and authority together; and if you begin to get ready and prepare for it and some unavoidable obstacle prevents you, then you have emancipation and salvation from the misery of slavery only, not the happiness of authority."

So he has three kinds of work: The first is to prepare the means(of living) by purchasing a she-camel, sewing up a water-bag, and preparations of provisions and a mount; the second is the journey and separation from one's native land by setting one's face toward the Ka'bah (and proceeding)

one station after another; and the third is to engage in the acts of the pilgrimage, one essential (rukṇ) after another.

Then, when he has finished and removed the form of the Ih-
¹⁸⁶rām and has made the farewell circumambulation, he deserves to or has the right to present himself (as ready for) dominion and authority.

In every station (maqām) there are stages (manāzil) from beginning to end of the means, from beginning to end of one's journey over the desert, and from beginning to end of the essentials of the pilgrimage. The proximity to happiness of one who begins the essentials of the pilgrimage is not like that of one who gets far along in his preparation of food and a mount, nor like that of one who begins the journey, but he is nearer to it.

The sciences also have three parts. There is a part which resembles getting food and a mount ready and the purchase of a camel: that is, the science of medicine and jurisprudence and what is connected with the cure of the body in the present world. Then there is a part which resembles the journey over the deserts and overcoming its obstacles: that is, to purify the inner life from unclean qualities and surmount those high obstacles which all ancients and moderns except those who were granted success-bringing aid failed to do. This is journeying on the way, and acquiring

its knowledge is like acquiring knowledge of the directions and stages of the way. Just as knowledge of the stages and the desert roads gives (one) no benefit unless he proceeds on them, in the same manner knowledge of character training gives him no benefit unless he begins the training; but it is impossible to begin it without knowledge.

Then there is a third part which resembles the pilgrimage itself and its essentials (arkān). It is knowledge of Allah, His attributes, His angels, His acts, and all that we have mentioned in the interpretations of mystical knowledge. Here is salvation and acquiring happiness. Salvation (al-najāh) is obtained by every traveler on the road if his purpose is the real objective (al-maqṣad al-ḥaqq) which is security (from eternal destruction). As for acquiring happiness, only those who know Allah obtain it.

187
They are the angels who are blessed in the proximity of Al-
188
lah with rest and sweet odor of fragrant plants and the blessed Garden. As for those who are prevented from reaching the apex of perfection, they have salvation and security, as Allah said, "As for one who enjoys near access to Allah, he has rest and fragrant plants and the blessed Garden. As for one who is of the people of the right hand, he has the greeting, 'Peace be to you' from the people of the right hand" (56:87-90)

Every one who does not face up to the objective and does not rise up to it enthusiastically or rises up to face it , not for the purpose of obedience and devotion, but for an immediate aim, (such a person) is one of the people of the left hand and one of the erring ones. "Then his lot shall be a scalding with water and a broiling in the Fire" (56:93).

You should know that this is unquestionable truth among the learned who are well-grounded. I mean that they have apprehended it by inner sight (^{ha}mushādah min al-bāṭin) which is stronger and clearer than physical sight (mushāhadah al-abṣār). They progressed in it from the bounds of imitation to bare hearing (mujarrad al-samā'). Their state (ḥāl) is that of one who is told and believes. Then he sees and is sure, while the state of others is that of one who accepts with good belief and faith and is not favoured with sight and vision.

Then happiness is beyond mystical knowledge ('ilm al-mukāshafah), and mystical knowledge is beyond practical knowledge ('ilm al-mu'āmalah) which is to journey on the way to the next abode and overcome the obstacles of (mean) characteristics. Journeying along the way of abolishing blameworthy characteristics is beyond knowledge of (these) characteristics. Knowledge of the way to treat illness

and how to proceed in that is beyond knowledge of bodily health and aiding the means of health. The well-being of the body is by collective activity (al-ijtimā'), mutual assistance, and cooperation by which clothing, food, and shelter are obtained. This is entrusted to the sultan. His law in controlling people according to a program of justice and political science is in the hands of the canon lawyer. As for the means of health, they are in the hands of the doctor. The one who said, "Knowledge is of two kinds: knowledge of bodies and knowledge of religions", and by it (i.e. the final phrase) indicated jurisprudence, meant by that the widespreading legal sciences, not rare mystical knowledge.

If you should say, "Why do you liken the knowledge of medicine and jurisprudence to getting provisions and a camel ready?" you should know that what is earnestly trying to draw near to Allah is the heart, not the body. By al-qalb I do not mean the flesh which can be felt, but it is one of Allah's secrets (sirr min asrār 'llāh) to which sensation does not attain, and (it is) one of His subtleties (latīfah min latā'ifihi) sometimes expressed by al-rūh (the spirit) and sometimes by al-nafs al-muṭma'innah (the tranquil soul or the soul at rest). The law expresses it by 'the heart' (al-qalb) because it is the first vehicle (maṭīyah) for that secret, and by means of it all the body becomes a vehicle and an in-

strument for that subtlety (latīfah). To remove the veil from that secret is part of mystical knowledge which is something about which one is niggardly; rather, there is no permission to mention it. The most one is permitted to say about it is, "It is a precious jewel and a rare pearl which is nobler than these visible bodies". And truly it is a transcendental affair (amr ilāhī) as Allah said, "And if they ask you about the spirit, say, 'The spirit is an affair pertaining to the Lord'" (17:87), (or as Wensinck translates it, 'Say, the spirit belongs to the amr of my Lord')¹⁹¹

All creatures are related to Allah, but His relation is nobler than the relation of the rest of the bodily members. Then both (the world of) created things and (the world of) the invisible realia (al-khalq wa 'l-amr) belong to Allah (cf. 7:52). And (the world of) invisible realia is higher than (the world of) created things. This precious substance is that which carries (one) to trust in Allah and , by means of this rank, has priority over the heavens, the earth, and the mountains.[#]

For they (the mountains, etc.) emphatically refused to bear it, and they feared it because of the realm of invisible realia ('ālam al-amr). One should not understand from

 # reading with SMZ al-ard instead of al-ardain

this that it is an allusion to its priority. For one who professes the ^{priority} priority of the spirits is sadly mistaken and ignorant and does not know what he says. So let us put a stop to the explanation of this art. For it is beyond our scope, and what is meant is that this subtlety is what strives to draw nigh to its Lord, because it is a (result) of the command of the Lord (amr al-rabb), from whom it (received) its origin and to whom it returns.

As for the body, it is its (the subtlety's) vehicle which it rides and by means of which it speeds on its way (to the King of Kings). And on the way of Allah the body acts for it (the spirit) as a camel does for the body on the way of pilgrimage and as the water-vessel which contains water that is needed for the body. So the objective of each science is the welfare [#] of the body. Then it is part of the group of things (that conduce to) the welfare of the vehicle.

It is not hidden that such is the case with medicine, for sometimes man needs it to preserve his bodily health; and, even if he were alone, he would need it. Jurisprudence differs from it in the fact that were man alone, he might be able to do without it; but he was created in such a way that he cannot live alone; for he is not independently able to obtain his food by carrying on alone ploughing, planting,

SMZ reads sihhah

baking, and cooking, and to obtain his clothing and a dwelling place, and to prepare tools for all this. Therefore he is obliged to associate (with others) and seek aid.

Whenever people mingle and their sensual desires are stirred up, they contend for the means (to obtain) their desires, and dispute and fight. As a result of their fighting they perish, because of of their outer contention, just as they perish because of the disagreement of the (four) internal bodily humours. By the art of medicine the balance of the contending internal bodily humours is preserved, while by political science and justice, balance is preserved in the external competition.

Knowledge of the way to balance the bodily humours is medicine, while knowledge of the way to balance people's circumstances in practical life and deeds is canon law. And all that is in order to preserve the body which is the vehicle. If one who devotes himself entirely to the knowledge of canon law or medicine does not discipline himself and does not correct his heart (by emptying it of all save Allah), he is like one who devotes himself to buying a camel and its fodder and buying a water-vessel and sewing it up, if he does not journey (across) the desert of the pilgrimage. And one who spends his life engrossed in the details of words which occur in arguments of canon law is like one

Whose life is engrossed in details of the means by which to strengthen the threads with which water-vessels for the pilgrimage are sewn.

And the relationship of these (who are engaged in canon law) to those who are traveling on the road of correct-
 in the heart which causes one to reach [#]mystical knowledge
 is like the relation of those (who are engaged in buying a camel) to the travelers on the way of pilgrimage or those having an intimate connection with its essentials. So think of this first and accept this advice freely from one who
 in general revolted against it, and ^{##}he ^{who} only reached it after
 great struggle ^{###} and perfect boldness in abandoning both the masses and the elite in deposing their (blind) acceptance of sensual desire. Then this amount suffices concerning the pupil's offices.

B. An Exposition of the Duties 192 of a Teacher Who Guides

You should know that in regard to man's knowledge he has four states as his state in acquiring wealth, when the possessor of wealth has the state of seeking benefit. Then

 # SMZ. reads al-wāṣil

reading SMZ who omits dhālik

reading SMZ shadīd instead of jahīd

he is profiting. The (second) state (is that) of hoarding up for the future what he has earned. Then by that he does not need to beg. The (third) state (is that) of spending for himself. Then he is getting benefit. The (fourth) state (is that) of disbursing for others. Then he is voluntarily generous which is the noblest of his states.

Knowledge is acquired in the same manner as wealth is. It has the state of seeking and acquiring; the state of obtaining, which does away with any need to ask others; the state of enlightenment, which is meditation about the object acquired as well as enjoying it; and the state of enlightening (others), which is the noblest of its states.

He who knows and does and teaches is called great in
¹⁹³
 the kingdom of heaven; for he is like the sun which gives light to others, while it is lighted itself; and like musk which gives fragrance to others, while it is sweet-smelling itself.

One who knows and does not act accordingly is like a copybook which benefits others, while it is empty of knowledge; and like a whetstone which sharpens other things, while it does not cut; and like a needle which clothes others, while it is naked; and like a lamp wick which gives light to others, while it is consumed. As somebody said, "What is he but a burning wick which gives light to people while it is

consumed (itself)."

Whoever engages in teaching has assumed a grave matter and an important responsibility. Then let him guard his manners and his offices.

1. The first office is (to have) compassion for his pupils and to treat them as sons. The Messenger of Allah said, "Verily, my relationship to you is that of a parent to his child", because he purposes to save them from the fire of the next abode, which is more important than the two parents' saving their child from the fire of the present world. Therefore the suitability or obligation (haqq) of a teacher became greater than that of parents. For his parent is the means of his present existence and his evanescent life, while his teacher is the means of his everlasting life. Were it not for his teacher, what he obtains from his father would be driven to everlasting destruction.

Truly, a teacher is one who helps (a person to reach) the everlasting life of the next abode; the teacher (who teaches) the sciences of the next abode or (one who teaches) the sciences of the present world on the ground that (their) objective is the next abode, not the present world.

As for teaching in order to obtain some worldly benefit, it is destruction (for one's self) and causing (others) to be destroyed, from which we take refuge with Allah.

Just as it is the duty (haqq) of the sons of one man to love one another and to cooperate for all purposes, so is the same manner it is the duty of the pupils of one man to love one another; and it will only be like that, if their objective is the next abode, while there will only be envy and hatred, if their objective is the present world.

For the learned and the sons of the next abode are journeying toward Allah and travelling to Him by way of the present world, the years and months of which are stations along the way. On the road companionship between the journeyers to (various) cities ^{is} the cause of mutual love. Then how (should one consider the state of) the journey to the highest Paradise (al-firdaus al-ā'la) and mutual companionship on the way! There is no stricture in the happiness of the next abode. For that reason there will be no contention among the sons of the next abode, nor any amplitude in the happiness of the present world. And there will continue to be a stricture on crowding and competition.

Those who incline to seek leadership by knowledge are departing from conformity with His saying: "Verily the believers are brothers", (49:10) and are entering into conformity with His saying, "On that day, excepting the god-fearing, friends shall become foes to one another" (43:67).

2. The second office is that he should emulate the

giver of the divine law (Muhammad) and not seek recompense for giving benefit of knowledge. Nor should he aim at reward or thanks, but teach for the sake of Allah and to seek to get closer to Him. He should not consider that he has any favor over them even if the favor were inseparably against them (and on his side) (because he led them to the Real), rather he should consider that the favor is on their side, for they have entrusted[#] their hearts to him in order that they may be drawn nigh^{to} Allah by knowledge being sown in them, just as one who lends you land in which to sow something for yourself. For your benefit in them (the hearts in which knowledge has been put) exceeds the benefit of the owner of the land. Then how do you consider it (your teaching him) a favor, while your reward with Allah is greater for teaching than the pupil's reward. And were it not for the pupil, you would not receive this reward. Then seek no recompense except from Allah, as He said, "O (my) people, I do not ask you any pay for it; verily my recompense is from Allah only" (11:31).

For wealth and what is in the present world is a servant of the body, and the body is a vessel and vehicle of the soul. The object served is knowledge, for by it is the nobility of the soul. So whoever seeks wealth by knowledge

[#] reading hadafū with SMZ instead of hadhdhabū

is like one who tries to clean the sole of his shoe by wiping it with his face. So he causes the object which is served to become a servant and the servant, something that is served, which is contrary to good sense (lit., a turning upside down against the mother of the head or brain). And he is like one who stands up on the great Judgment Day with the guilty who droop their heads before their Lord. (cf. 32:12).

(As for) those who assert that their aim is to draw nigh to Allah with what they are doing in the science of jurisprudence, scholastic theology, and teaching these and other subjects, notice to what a pass their affairs have come; for they spend their wealth and prestige and they suffer patiently various kinds of humiliation in the service of the sultans for their sustenance. Should they forsake that, they would be forsaken (i.e. people would forsake them) and would not continue to come to them.

Then the teacher expects the pupil to sustain him in every misfortune; to succour his master; to treat his enemy with enmity; in regard to his needs, to take the place of a donkey for him; in regard to his wishes, to be tractable in his hands; and, if he (the pupil) falls short in his obligation, he (the teacher) will revolt against him and become

reading alladhīn with SMZ instead of al-dīn

one of his greatest enemies. How contemptible is the learned person who is satisfied with this stage for himself. Then he finds joy in it. Then he is not ashamed to say, "My objective in teaching is to spread knowledge which draws (one) nigh to Allah and to aid His religion." Then observe the signs in order to see the (various) kinds of deceit.

3. The third office is that he should not reserve[#] anything from his advice to the pupil; and that is, that he should prevent him from exposing himself to a rank before he deserves it and from engaging in a hidden knowledge before finishing the clearly obvious.

Then he should call his attention to the fact that the objective of the quest of knowledge is to draw nigh to Allah; not leadership, rivalry, and contention. And to his utmost ability he should present the ugliness of that in himself (the pupil). What an ungodly teacher corrects is not greater than what he corrupts. If the teacher knows from the pupil's inner life that he seeks knowledge only for the present world, he will observe the knowledge which he seeks. If it is knowledge of the different schools of jurisprudence and disputation about theology and the science of giving legal opinions and judgments in law-suits, he should restrain

[#] reading la yubqī with SMZ instead la yada'

him from that. For these sciences are not knowledge of the next abode nor even the knowledge about which some one said, "We learned knowledge other than for the sake of Allah, and knowledge refused to be for any but Allah."

Verily that (knowledge which refused) is the science of explanation and the science of traditions and the science of the next abode and knowledge of the character of the soul and how to train it with which the early Fathers were wont to engage in.

If the pupil learns it, while his objective is the present world, then there is nothing to do but leave him; for he prepares for it out of an eager desire to be an exhorter and seek followers; but he may be warned (either) during or at the end of the matter. For in it there are (certain) sciences which cause pious fear of Allah and which minimize the present world and magnify the next abode.

That is about to lead to what is right in the next abode so that he himself is admonished by what he exhorts others, and his love of approbation and prestige acts in the same way as the grain which is scattered around a snare with which one catches a bird. And Allah has done that with his worshippers, for He made sensual desire to be something by which man might leave descendants, and He created the love of prestige also so that it might be a means to revive the

194
sciences.

This is expected of these sciences. As for the pure disagreements, theological disputes, and knowledge of unfamiliar subsidiary branches, specialization in them along with a turning away from others only increases the hardness of one's heart, his being heedless of Allah, persistence in his error, and his quest of prestige, except (in the case of) one whom Allah has visited with His favor or has blended some other religious science with it.

There is no proof for this (quite so good as) experience and testimony or seeing (mushāhadah). You should notice, consider, and understand in order to witness its verification in servants and countries. And may Allah aid us.

It was observed that Sufyān al-Thawrī was sad. So somebody asked him, "What's wrong with you?" and he replied, "We have become hirelings of the children of the present world. They importune us (in the quest of the science of tradition) so that, when they learn (it) they are made a judge, an official (tax-gatherer), or a major-domo." ¹⁹⁵

4. The fourth office, which is part of the minutiae of the art of teaching, is to forbid the pupil from bad character by way of implication as much as possible, and not to speak explicitly, and by way of compassion or sympathy, not by way of censure; for explicit speech tears away the veil of

respect and induces an audacity to rush into disagreement and stir up one's craving to persist. For Muhammad, who is every teacher's guide (or model), said, "If people were forbidden to scatter camels' dung (with their fingers), they would scatter it and retort, 'They would not prohibit us from (doing) it, unless there were something to it.'"

The story of Adam and Eve and what they were forbidden from warns you about this. And I did not remind you of the story so that it might be the topic of an evening's conversation (or parlor gossip) but for you to be warned by it in the way of an example, and because implication also inclines good souls and clever minds towards a discovery of its meaning. And the joy of understanding the meaning is useful as an urge to know it in order to know that it is one of those things from which one's understanding is not remote.

5. The fifth office is that anyone who is responsible for one of the sciences should not vilify the sciences which are beyond him in the presence (nafs) of the pupil, such as a language teacher who has the habit of vilifying the sciences of tradition and explanation (and saying), "That is pure handing down and hearing and something pertaining to women (an old wife's tale) in which there is no intellectual consideration." The teacher of scholastic theology shrinks from jurisprudence and says, "That is a subsidiary branch,

and it is speaking about women's menses. What is that in comparison to speaking about the attributes of al-Rahmān?"

These are blameworthy characteristics of teachers which should be avoided. Rather, one who is responsible for a single science should enlarge the way for the pupil to learn something else. If he is entrusted with knowledge, he should observe a gradual progress in promoting the pupil from stage to stage.

6. The sixth office is that he should limit the pupil to the measure of his understanding and not give him something which his mind has not reached. Then he would shrink (from it) or his mind would be confused. In that imitate the chief of mankind (Muhammad), where he said, "We, a company of prophets, were commanded to put people in their proper ranks and to speak to them according to the measure of their minds."

Then he should divulge the truth to him, if he (the teacher) knows that he is independent (enough) to understand it. The Prophet said, "No one ever relates a tradition to people whose minds are not ready for it without (causing) confusion among some of them."

'Ali said, while pointing to his breast, "Verily, right here is much knowledge. Oh that I could find carriers for it." And he was right, for the hearts of the virtuous are the graves of secrets. It is not desirable for a learned

person to divulge everything he knows to everybody. This is (so) when the pupil understands it and is not fitted to get any benefit from it. Then how much more so concerning what he does not understand!

'Īsa said, " Do not hang your jewels around the necks of swine."

196

Wisdom is certainly better than jewels. So whoever abhors it is worse than swine. Therefore somebody said, "Measure out to every worshipper according to the standard of his intelligence, and weigh out to him according to the scales of his understanding so that you will be free (of responsibility) for him and he will get benefit from you. Otherwise a disapproval takes place on account of the dissimilarity of the measure."

On being questioned about a certain matter one of the learned failed to reply. So the inquirer demanded, "Didn't you hear Allah's Messenger say, 'Whoever conceals some useful knowledge will come bridled with a bit (made) of fire on the Resurrection Day?'"

So he replied, "Forget about the bit and go. If some one should come who is suited (for it), and I conceal it, then let him bridle me."

Allah has said, "Do not give your wealth to the foolish" (4:4), as a notification that it is more suitable to keep

 # SMZ reads 'ilmihi instead of fahmihi

knowledge from anyone who spoils and harms it, and the wrong of giving (it) to one who does not deserve (it) is no less than the wrong of preventing one who deserves it (from having it).

Shall I scatter pearls among pasturing camels?

They will become stored with the sheperds of the sheep,
For they have become ignorant of their value.

So I do not take to hanging them around the necks of
beasts.

The benevolent Allah was gracious in His kindness,
And I encountered a people (suitable) for knowledge
and wise sayings.

I scattered benefits and I benefitted by friendship;
Otherwise it would be stored up and concealed.
Whoever bestows knowledge on ignorant people, loses it;
And whoever prevents those who deserve it (from having
it) has done wrong.

7. The seventh office is that one should give a weak pupil only the clear knowledge which is suitable for him, and not to mention the fact that beyond that there are fine points which he (the teacher) keeps from him, for that weakens his desire for the clear things and confuses his mind (galbahu) and makes him imagine that his teacher is miserly in giving

SMZ reads aula instead of aqall)

knowledge to him; for each person thinks that he is fitted for all difficult knowledge. And there is nobody who is not pleased with Allah for (having given him) perfect intelligence. He who is most stupid and weakest in mind is the one who is happiest in (the thought that) his intelligence is perfect.

By this he (the teacher) knows that (when) anyone of the masses is bound with the bonds of the divine law and has firmly grounded himself in the beliefs handed down on the authority of the Fathers (al-salaf) without anthropomorphism (tashbih)¹⁹⁷ and without allegorization (i.e. interpreting in a manner not according to the obvious meaning (ta'wil) and, along with that, has bettered his conduct; and when he sees that his mind does not bear more than that, then he ought not disturb his belief. Rather, he should be left with his work (as he is). For, verily, if the teacher mentions outer allegorizations to him, he is unloosed from the bonds of the masses; and it would not be easy to bind him with the bonds of the elite. Then the partition between him and disobedience would be lifted and he would be turned into a willful *Shaitān* which destroys himself and others.

It is not fitting to go deep into the truths of the minutiae of knowledge with the masses, but to be content to teach them worship and faithfulness in the work which they

are doing and to fill their hearts with zeal for the Garden and dread for the Fire, just as the Qur'ān speaks or mentions. Do not stir up doubts in them, for many a time doubt connects with one's heart and it becomes difficult for him to loosen it. Then he is thrown into misery and perishes. In short, one should not open the door of discussion to the masses, for it spoils them for their work by which mankind is sustained and (by which) the elite continue to live.

8. The eighth office is that the teacher should practice what he knows and his deeds should not belie his words, because knowledge is apprehended by the inner sight and work is known by physical sight, and those who have physical sight are more numerous.

If a deed contradicts knowledge, rectitude is prevented. Verily, people ridicule and suspect every one who accepts something and says to people, "Do not accept it. It is deadly poison." He increases their greed for what they are forbidden from, and they say, "Were it not that this is the best and most delicious of things, he would not prefer it."

The teacher who guides aright and the pupil who seeks guidance are like the tree trunk and its shadow and the mold and the clay; how can the clay be molded by something which has no shape, and when will a shadow be straight while the tree trunk is crooked?

Therefore some one said along the same line , "Do not prohibit people, while you do the same thing. If you do so, your shame will be great."

Allah said, "Do you enjoin what is right upon others and forget yourselves?" (2:41)

For that reason the crime of the learned person in his disobedience is greater than that of the ignorant; for as a result of his fall a great many people fall, when they imitate him. The crime of a bad custom, as well as that of anyone who practices it, rests on the one who starts it. On account of that 'Ali said, "Two kinds of men break my back; a learned person who is divisive and an ascetic person who is ignorant; for an ignorant person deceives people by his asceticism, while a learned person deceives them by his divisiveness."¹⁹⁸ And Allah knows best.

PART SIX

PART SIX CONCERNS THE PERILS OF KNOWLEDGE AND AN EXPOSITION OF THE SIGNS OF THE OTHER WORLDLY AND THE CORRUPT DIVINES

Concerning knowledge and the learned we have mentioned some of the excellent features (that have come to us through evidential verses and traditions). And concerning the corrupt divines there have come (to us from the same sources) great threats (and intimidations) which point to the fact that, of all creation, they will be most severely punished on the day of judgment. It is very important to know the signs that distinguish between the worldly and other-worldly divines. By the 'ulamā' al-dunya we mean the corrupt divines ('ulamā' al-sū'); those whose objective in the present world is soft living and gaining prestige and rank among its people.

Muhammad said, "The person to be most severely punished on the day of judgment is a learned man whom Allah did not cause to benefit by his knowledge."

It is also said that he said, "A man does not become learned until he becomes one who acts according to his

knowledge."

"Knowledge is of two kinds": said he, "(external) knowledge on the tongue, which is Allah's evidence against His people,¹⁹⁹ and knowledge in the heart, which is beneficial knowledge."

He said, "In the latter times there will be ignorant worshippers and impious learned people."

He said (again), "Do not learn knowledge as a means to vie with the learned and to dispute with the stupid or to attract people to you. For whoever does that is in danger of the Fire."

(At another time) he said, "If anyone conceals knowledge within himself, Allah will bridle him with a bit made of fire."

"Verily, we are more concerned about you from others", said he, "than we are from imposters."

Someone asked, "And what is that?"

"From leaders (imāms) who lead astray", he replied.

(On another occasion) he said, "One who has increased in knowledge and not in sound guidance has only increased his distance away from Allah."

'Isa said, "How long will you praise or describe the road for night travelers (i.e. ascetics who journey toward Allah), while you remain with the perplexed?"²⁰⁰

This and other examples from the traditions (akhbār) prove the great responsibility of knowledge. As for the learned person, he is either exposed to eternal destruction or to eternal happiness. Verily with deep investigation into knowledge, safety is denied, unless happiness is attained.

As for the traditions from the Companions (āthār), 'Umar has said, "What I dread most for these people is one who is both a liar and learned."

"How can he be both a liar and learned?" somebody asked.

He replied, "Learned of tongue and ignorant in heart and deeds."

Al-Ḥasan said, "Do not be one of those who gather the knowledge of the learned and the choice things of the philosophers (al-ḥukamā') and in deeds act as the stupid."

A man said to Abu Hurairah, "I should like to learn knowledge, but I am afraid I shall squander it."

"The abandonment of knowledge is a sufficient squandering of it", he replied.

Someone asked Ibrāhīm Ibn 'Atbah, ²⁰¹ "What person has most remorse?"

He answered, "In the course of the present world, it is one who does a favor to someone who does not thank him; at death, the learned man who has neglected (to do what he knows)."

202

Al-Khalīl Ibn Aḥmad said, "Men are four (kinds): a man who knows and knows that he knows. That person is a learned man. So follow him. Then there is the man who knows and does not know that he knows; that person is sleeping. So wake him up. Then there is the man who does not know and knows that he does not know; that person is seeking guidance. So guide him. Then there is the man who does not know and who does not know that he does not know; that person is ignorant. So reject him.

Sufyān al-Thawrī said, "Knowledge calls to actions; if they respond, it will remain; if not, it will depart."

Ibn al-Mubārak said, "A man continues to be learned as long as he seeks after knowledge; and when he thinks that he has become learned, then he has become ignorant."

203

Al-Fudā'il Ibn 'Aiyāḍ said, "I pity three kinds of people: a mighty man who has been brought low, a rich man who has become poor, and a learned man of whom the present world makes sport."

"The punishment for the learned is the death of their heart", said al-Ḥasan, "and the death of their heart is (for them) to seek the present world with the work (that belongs to) the next abode."

Concerning this somebody put into rhymed prose :

"I am astonished at one who buys error with guidance

More amazing is one who buys the present world with
his religion

And (even) more amazing than these two is the one
who sells his religion for the present world
of others.

For he is more amazing than these two."

Muhammad said, "Verily, a learned person will be severely punished; the people of the Fire will gather around him in great astonishment at the severity of his punishment." He meant a wicked learned person.

²⁰⁴
Asāmah Ibn Zaid said, "I heard the Messenger of Allah say, 'On the day of judgment a learned person will be brought and thrown into the Fire, and his intestines will gush out, and he will go around them just as a donkey goes around a millstone. Then the people of the Fire will gather around him and ask, 'What is the matter with you?' He will reply, 'I used to command (people) to do good, and I did not do it; and I used to forbid them from evil, and I used to do it.'"

Verily a learned person will receive double punishment for his disobedience, because he disobeyed in spite of the fact that he knew (better). On account of that Allah said, ²⁰⁵
"Verily, liars are in the lowest degree (darak) of the Fire" (4:144), because they disbelieved after knowledge.

He made the Jews worse than the Christians, although

they did not attribute a child to Allah, nor did they say that He is one of three; but they denied (the prophet) after knowledge; for Allah said, "They know him (the prophet) just as well as they know their own children" (2:141; 6:20).

Allah said, "Then, when that (i.e. the Book) came to them of which they had knowledge, they disbelieved it. May the curse of Allah rest upon the unbelievers" (2:83)

206

In the story of Baalam the son of Ba'urā', Allah said, "Relate to them (i.e. the Jews) the story of the one to whom we gave our signs and who departed from them, so that Shaitan followed him, and he became one of the seduced" (7:174), so that He said, "His likeness is that of a dog which lolls out his tongue, if you charge at him, or if you leave him" (7:175).

A wicked learned person is like that, for Balaam was given the revelation of Allah, and he inclined towards his appetites. So he was likened to a dog; that is, whether he were given wisdom or not, he would pant after his appetites.

'Isa said, "The corrupt divines are like a rock that has dropped on the source of a water-course. It neither drinks the water nor leaves it free for agriculture."

(And he said), "Corrupt divines are like the reeds of a privy, the exterior of which is whitened whereas its interior is ill-smelling, and like tombs whose exterior is well

constructed and whose interior (is full of) dead men's bones.²⁰⁷"

These two kinds of traditions (al-akhbār wa 'l-āthār) make it clear that the state of a learned man who is one of the sons of the Present World is worse and his punishment more severe than (that of) an ignorant person. For truly those who succeed in getting close to Allah are the other-worldly divines, and they have signs that distinguish them (from others).

1. One of them is the fact that they do not seek the present world by their knowledge. The least grade of a learned person is that he apprehends the contemptibleness and vileness of the present world with its vexations and its evanescence, and the greatness and continuity of the next abode, the purity of its bliss, and the majesty of its kingdom.

He knows that the two are contradictory and that they are like a man's two wives. Whenever you please one of them, you displease the other. They are like the two pans of a balance; whatever you do to make one heavy, you lighten the other. They are like the East and the West; as much as you approach one, you become distant from the other. They are like two cups one of which is full and the other empty; then in proportion as you pour from one in order to fill the other, the first one becomes empty.

For truly one who does not know the contemptibleness and vexations of the present world and the mixture of its pain and pleasure, then the cessation of that part of it which is clear (from admixture) ---such a one is feeble-minded. For sight and experience guide (one) to that. How can one who has no intelligence or one who does not know the greatness of the next abode and permanence be one of the learned? He is an unbeliever despoiled of faith. How can one who has no faith and one who does not recognize the contradiction between the present world and the next abode be counted among the learned? (One who does not know) that to join the two is to seek something that is out of place is(not only) ignorant of all the laws of the prophets, but he is a disbeliever in the Qur'ān in its entirety from beginning to end.

Then how is he considered among the group of the learned? One who knows all this and then does not prefer the next abode to the present world is a captive of the Shaitān and one whose appetites have destroyed him and whose misery has conquered him. Then how can one who holds such a rank be counted among the party of the learned?

208

In the traditions of Dā'ūd something is quoted that Allah (said to Dā'ūd): "The least that I shall do to a learned person who prefers his sensual desire to my love

is to prevent him from the pleasure or delights of my confidential conversation.. O Dā'ūd, do not inquire about me from a learned man whom the world has intoxicated, for he will prevent you from the way of my love. They are highway-men (who are) against my servants. O Dā'ūd, if you see anyone seeking me, serve him. O Dā'ūd, if anyone returns a fugitive to me, I shall inscribe his name as a sagacious person whom I shall never punish.²⁰⁹"

On account of that al-Ḥasan said, "The punishment of the learned is the death of one's heart, and the death of one's heart[#] is to seek the present world with deeds which belong to the next abode."²¹⁰

211

For that reason Yahya Bin Ma'ādh said, "Verily the glory of wisdom and knowledge depart, if one seeks the present world with them."

Sa'id Bin al-Musaiyab said, "If you see a learned person coming to princes, (you will know) he is a robber."^{##}

'Umar said, "If you see a learned person who is in love with the present world, (you should) suspect him about your religion; for every lover delves deeply into what he loves."²¹²

"I read in some books of the past", said Mālik Bin Dīnār, "that Allah says that the easiest thing to do to a learned

reading wa mawt al-qalb with SMZ though omitted in margin
This whole sentence is omitted by SMZ.

person, if he loves the present world, is to remove my sweet communion from his heart."

A man wrote to his brother, "Verily knowledge has been given to you (by Allah). Then do not extinguish the light of your learning with the darkness of sins; for you will remain in darkness in a time when the people of knowledge are advancing in the light of their knowledge."

Yahya Ibn Ma'adh al-Rāzi used to say to the worldly divines, "O possessors of knowledge, your castles are like (those of) Caesar; your houses, like those of the Persian kings; ²¹³ your clothes, like those of ²¹⁴ Ṭāhir; your sandals, like ²¹⁵ those of Goliath; your vehicles, like those of Qārūn; your receptacles, like those of Pharaoh; your places of mourning, like those of the days of ignorance; and your schools of thought, like those of the Shaiṭān. Then where is the Muḥammadan law? [#]

The poet said,

The shepherd of the sheep wards off the wolf from
them;

Then how would it be, if their shepherds were wolves?"

Another said, "O company of readers (devotees in reading the Qur'ān), O salt of the country,

What restores salt, if it has become spoiled?" ²¹⁶

SMZ omits al-sharī'ah

Somebody asked one of the gnostics (al-'ārifīn), "Do you think that one to whom disobedience is pleasing does not know Allah?"

He replied, "I do not doubt but that one who prefers the present world to the next abode does not know Allah, and the latter (i.e. the next abode) is of a higher quality than the former (i.e. the present world) by a great deal."

Do not think that it is sufficient to forsake wealth in following the other-worldly divines, for (the desire for) prestige is more harmful than wealth. Therefore Bishr said, "Relate to us one of the sections about the present world", (and he also said), "If you hear a man say, 'Relate to us', then verily he says, 'Make ample room for me.'" ²¹⁷
²¹⁸

Bishr Bin al-Ḥarith buried a quantity of about ten lots of books, the lots varying in size between a basket and a bookcase; and he used to say, "I have a great longing to relate. Even if my appetite for relating should depart from me, I should still relate."

He and others said, "If you have a great longing to relate, be silent; [#] then if you have no desire, (you may) relate."

This is because delight in the prestige of giving benefit and the function of guiding is the greatest enjoyment in ^{##}

SMZ gives la-tuhaddith

reading min kull na'im with SMZ; not lidhah min kull tana'im
'um

the present world. One who responds to his sensual desire regarding this is one of the sons of the present world. On account of that al-Thawrī said, "The allurements of relating is more intense than that of people, wealth, and children." Then how is it that you do not fear its captivation, while it was said (even) to the chief of apostles (Muhammad), "Had we not made you firm, you would have been about to incline a little towards them."

219

Sahl (Ibn 'Abdullah) said, "All knowledge is (for the) present world except that by which the next abode is desired, and all acts except sincerity go with the wind."

Sahl also said, "All people except the learned are dead; the learned are intoxicated (with the present world) except those who act (according to their knowledge); and all of those who act are deceived or deluded except the sincere; and the sincere person is in fear until he knows what the end has in store for him."

220

221

Abu Sulaimān al-Dārānī said, "If a man seeks a tradition or if he marries or travels in search of a living, he has leaned toward the present world." In reality, he meant by it (i.e. the quest of a tradition) the search for "complete chains of support characterized by having few inter-

222

margin reads wa 'l-ākhirah minhu al-'amalu bihi

mediaries (al-asānīd al-'āliyah)²²³ or the search for traditions which he does not need in his quest for the next abode.

'Isa said, "How shall that one whose journey is to the next abode be counted among the people of knowledge, while he is persevering on the way of his present world?"

He also said, "How is that one counted among the people of knowledge who seeks theology for information, not in order to act according to it?"

^{#224}
Ṣāliḥ Ibn Ḥasān al-Naḍarī said, "I saw the elders while they were seeking refuge with Allah from the wicked person who is learned in usage (al-sunnah)."

It is related that Abu Hurairah said, "The Messenger of Allah said, 'Whoever seeks knowledge of that with which one (usually) seeks to please Allah-- whoever seeks this kind of knowledge in order to attain compensation in the present world will not find the goodness of the Garden on the day of judgment.'"

Allah has described the corrupt divines as eating the present world by knowledge, and he describes other-worldly divines with "humility and asceticism". About the worldly divines He ²²⁵said, "When Allah entered into a covenant with those to whom the book was given, 'Ye shall surely make it

reading SMZ instead of Ṣāliḥ Bin Kisān al-Baḡrī

226

clear to man and not hide it', they cast it behind their backs and sold it for a cheap price" (3:184).

About the other-worldly divines He said, "Among the people of the book are those who believe in Allah and what He has sent down to you and what He has sent down to them, while they were humble to Allah. They do not sell the signs of Allah for something cheap. They have their reward with their Lord"(3:198-9).

One of the Fathers said, "The learned will be assembled in the company of the prophets, and the judges will be gathered in the company of the Sultans." By "judges" he meant every jurisconsult whose objective is the quest of the present world with his knowledge.

Abu al-Dardā' related that the Prophet said, "Allah commissioned some of the prophets (thus), 'Say to those who study jurisprudence for other than religion and learn for other than doing and seek the present world with the deeds of the next abode (that) among people they wear sheep skins while their hearts are like the hearts of wolves; their tongues are sweeter than honey, while their hearts are more bitter than aloe. O me! O my! they deceive and mock me. I will surely assign them a punishment which will leave the mild-mannered of them confused.'" ²²⁷

reading with SMZ utihanna

Al-Dahhāk, relating on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās, said, "The Messenger of Allah said, 'The learned of this people are two kinds of men: a). a man to whom Allah gave knowledge and who spent it for people. He took no reward for it, nor did he sell it for a price. For that one, the birds of the air, the fish of the sea, the beasts of the earth, and the noble-minded writers will pray. On the day of resurrection he will rise up before Allah as an honorable lord, even to being a companion of the messengers; and b). a man to whom Allah gave knowledge in the present world. He was niggardly with it towards Allah's servants, accepted pay for it, and sold it for a price. On the day of judgment, that one will come bridled with a bit (made) of fire (about whom) a crier will announce before the chiefs of mankind, 'This is So-and-so, the son of So-and-so, to whom Allah gave knowledge in the present world. He was niggardly with it towards His servants; He accepted pay for it; and sold it for a price'. Then he will be punished until he finishes paying back his account to people."²²⁸

Even more severe than this is that which someone related (about eating up the present world with one's knowledge). (He said), "A man used to serve Mūsa, and he began to say, 'Mūsa, Allah's Chosen, said to me', 'Mūsa, Allah's confidential friend, said to me', 'Musa, Allah's interlocutor,

related to me', until he became rich in property and increased in wealth (thereby). Then Mūsa, missing him, began to ask about him and did not find any news of him until one day a man came to him leading a pig with a black rope around its neck. So Mūsa said to him, "Do you know So-and-so?"

"He replied, 'Yes, he is this pig.'

"Then Mūsa said, 'O Lord, I beg you to return him to his proper state so that I might ask him why this happened to him.'

"Then Allah inspired him (Mūsa), 'Had you ~~invoked~~ me with what Adam invoked me or even less, I should not have answered you concerning it, but I shall tell you why I did this to him: he used to seek the present world with his religion.'"²²⁹

What Ma'ādh Ibn Jabal related in a tradition about the Prophet which is both exalted and restricted (marfū' wa mau-^{is even more severe (ashlāz)}
quf). He said, "It is an allure^{ment} for a learned man to like to like to speak more than to listen. In speech there is adornment and excess, and its possessor is not free of sin. In silence there is safety and knowledge."

There is the learned man who hoards his knowledge and who does not like it to be found with someone else. Such a one is on the first step (darak)²³⁰ of the Fire.

There is the learned man who, according to his knowledge,

is in the rank of the sultan. If anyone rejects any of his knowledge or if somebody scorns a little bit of his due, he becomes angry. Such a one is on the second step of the Fire.

Then there is the learned person who causes his knowledge and traditions about unusual cases to be for the nobility and the rich, and does not consider the needy suitable for it. That person is on the third step of the Fire.

Then there is the learned person who appoints himself to the giving of legal opinions and who gives them wrongly. Allah hates pretenders. So that person is on the fourth step of the Fire.

There is the learned man who speaks the speech of the Jews and the Christians so that his knowledge will be abundant with it. Such a one is on the fifth step of the Fire.

There is the learned man who takes his knowledge as a means of reputation and to be considered noble and as a memorial among people. That one is on the sixth step of the Fire.

Then there is the learned person whose pride and conceit disturb him. When he exhorts, he reproaches (others); when somebody exhorts him, he disdains (his advice). Such a one is on the seventh step of the Fire.

So, my brother, you ought to be quiet; for by it, you will conquer the Shaitān. And beware of laughing without

any (cause of) wonder or walking without any purpose.²³¹

In another tradition (we read): Verily for the worshipper there will be spread abroad an amount of praise (sufficient) to fill the space between the East and the West, while with Allah (it will only be) as much as the weight of a mosquito's wing.

It is related that after Ḥasan (al-Baṣrī) had come away from his session a certain man from Khurasan carried a sack to him in which there were five thousand dirhams and ten changes of clothes made of thin linen. O father of Sa'īd, this (pointing to the dirhams) is the means of sustenance, and these (pointing to the garments) are the clothes."

Al-Ḥasan said, "May Allah preserve you in health. Gather to yourself your means of sustenance and your garments, for we have no need of that. For truly, one who sits in such a session as mine and accepts such things from people will meet Allah on the judgment day and will have no good fortune."²³²

(It is related) on the authority of Jābir (Ibn 'Abd-²³³allah al-Anṣārī) with well-grounded evidence that he said, "The Messenger of Allah said, 'Do not sit with every learned person, but with that learned person who calls you from five (characteristics) to five (others): a) from doubt to certain belief (al-yaqīn); b) from hypocrisy to sincerity; c) from

desire (for the present world) to asceticism; d) from pride²³⁴ to humility; and e) from enmity to advice."

(In the story of Qārūn) Allah said, "In all his pomp he (Qārūn) went out to his people. Those who desired the life of the present world said, 'Oh that we had something similar to that which was bestowed on Qārūn. For verily he is the possessor of good fortune', while those to whom knowledge was given said, 'Woe to you. Allah's reward is better for one who believes (and does well)---'"(28:79-80)²³⁵.

Allah caused the people of knowledge to recognize the preference of the next abode over the present world.

2. Another sign (of the other-worldly divines) is that his deed does not contradict his speech, rather he does not enjoin anything which he is not the first to do.

Allah said, "Do you enjoin people to do good and forget yourselves?" (2:41).

He said, "To say something and then not to do it is to increase hatred with Allah" (61:3).

²³⁶
In the story of Shu'aib Allah said (or caused Shu'aib to say), "I do not wish to contradict you in that which I forbid you"(11:90).

Allah said, "Fear Allah and He will give you knowledge" (2:282). And He said, "Fear Allah and know" (2:190, 192, 199, 223, 231, 233), and "Fear Allah and hearken" (5:107).

Allah said to 'Īsa, "O Son of Miriam, preach to yourself. Then, when you have preached to yourself, preach to people. Otherwise, avoid me out of shame."²³⁷

The Messenger of Allah said, "The time when I made my night journey, I passed by some peoples whose lips had been cut with scissors of fire. I asked, 'Who are you?' and they replied, 'We used to enjoin (others) to do good and did not do it (ourselves), and we used to forbid evil and do it.'"

Muḥammad said, "The (cause) of my people's destruction is the learned person who is impious and the worshipper who is ignorant. The most wicked of all people is the learned person who is evil, and the most excellent of all people is the learned person who is good."

²³⁸
Al-Auzā'ī said, "The tombs complained about the ill-smelling corpses of unbelievers which they found, and Allah revealed (this) to them, 'The interiors of the corrupt divines are more ill-smelling than that which troubles you'". (Then they complained no more).

Al-Fuḍāil Ibn 'Ayyād said, "It has reached me that the judgment day will begin with the learned who are dissolute (even) before idol worshippers."

"Woe to the one who does not know", said Abu al-Dardā', "but a sevenfold woe to the one who knows and does not do."

Al-Sha'bī said, "On the day of judgment some of the

people of the Garden will look upon some of the people of the Fire, and they will say to them, 'What caused you to enter the Fire, while Allah caused us to enter the Garden by the favor of your training and teaching?' Then they will reply, 'Surely, we used to enjoin good and not do it; and forbid evil and do it.'

239

"On the day of judgment", said Ḥātim al-Aṣamm, "no one has more regret than the man who taught people knowledge according to which they acted, while he (himself) did not do so. By means of him they succeeded, while he perished."

240

Mālik Ibn Dīnār said, "Verily, if a learned person does not act according to his knowledge, his exhortation slips off (people's) hearts as rain off a smooth stone."

Then they composed a bit of rhymed prose:

O you who exhort people, you have become suspected;
For you stigmatize them with things which you do,
In advising them with exhortation you have become
zealous

For, by my life, you commit the things which destroy.
You find fault with the world and those who desire it,
While your desire for it is greater than theirs.

Somebody else said, "Do not forbid a habit while you do the same thing. Your disgrace will be great, if you do."

241

Ibrāhīm Ibn Adham said, "I passed by a stone in Mecca

on which was written: 'Overturn me and you will receive a lesson.' So I overturned it; and, behold, on it was written: 'You do not do what you know (you should do). Then how is it that you seek knowledge of that which you do not know?'"

242

Ibn al-Sammāk said, "Many a one who reminds others of Allah is (himself) forgetful of Him; many a one who causes others to fear Allah is bold towards Him; many a one who brings others close to Allah is far from Him; many a one who calls others to Allah is a fugitive from Him; and many a person who reads Allah's book is stripped bare of His signs or verses.

Ibrāhīm Ibn Adham said, "We used good Arabic style in our speech, and did not speak it incorrectly; and we made mistakes in our deeds, and did not express ourselves clearly."

"When grammatical inflection (al-i'rāb) comes, piety goes", said al-Uzā'ī.

243

(Abu 'Abdullah) Makhūl related on the authority of 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn Ghanam who said, "Ten Companions of the Apostle of Allah related (this) to me, 'We were studying knowledge in the Mosque of Qubā', when the Messenger of Allah came out (and, confronting) us, said, 'Learn what you want to know, but Allah will never reward you until you act.'"

244

'Īsa said, "Anyone who learns knowledge and who does not

act according to it, is like a woman who secretly commits adultery and becomes pregnant. Then her pregnancy appears. So she is disgraced openly. In like manner, by means of truthful witnesses, on the day of judgment Allah will shame anyone who does not act according to his knowledge."

Ma'ādh said, "Avoid the error of a learned person, because his influence among people is great. Then they follow him in his fall."

'Umar said, "When a learned person falls, a world of people fall with him." And he said, "There are three (characters) by which Islam is destroyed. One of them is the fall of a learned person."

Ibn Mas'ūd said, "There will come a time to people in which the sweetness of their hearts will become salty or bitter. In that day the learned and the pupil will not benefit by knowledge. The hearts of their learned will be like salty land on which the rain of the heavens will fall and not find any sweetness for itself. That will be when the hearts of the learned are inclined to love the present world and prefer it to the next abode. At that time Allah will deprive them of the springs of wisdom and extinguish the lamps of guidance from their hearts."

When you meet one of their learned, he will tell you

reading al-islām with SMZ instead of Al-zamān

with his tongue that he fears Allah, while his ungodliness is obvious in his action. How fertile are tongues in that time and how barren are hearts! By Allah! the one whom (we mean when we say) "There is no god but He", that is only because the teachers taught for some reason other than to please Allah and the pupils learned for some purpose other than Allah.

(Both) in the Taurāt and Injīl²⁴⁵ is written: "Do not seek knowledge of that which you do not know until you do what you (already) know."²⁴⁵

Ḥadhīfah said, "Verily you are (living) in an epoch in which anyone who neglects one tenth of what he knows will perish, and there will come a time in which anyone who does one tenth of what he knows will be saved."²⁴⁷ That is on account of the increase of slackers.²⁴⁸

You should know that a learned person is like a judge, and Muḥammad has said, "There are three kinds of judges: a) a judge who judges rightly and knows. Such a one is in the Garden; b) a judge who judges wrongly whether he knows or not. That kind of judge is in the Fire; and c) a judge who judges differently from what Allah commands him. That one is in the Fire."²⁴⁹

Ka'b (Ibn Māni' al-Ḥamīrī al-Akḥbār)²⁵⁰ said, "In the last days there will be the learned who will preach to people about asceticism in the present world but will not be ascetic

themselves; they will cause people to fear, while they themselves will not fear; they will forbid others from hobnobbing with governors, while they themselves will do it; and they will prefer the present world to the next abode (as they) devour it with their tongues and cause the rich rather than the poor to draw nigh. They will be mutually jealous about knowledge, just as women are mutually jealous about their men, while one of them (i.e. the learned) will hate his companion, if he sits with somebody else.²⁵¹ These are the insolent who are enemies of (Allah) the Merciful.

Muhammad said, "Many a time the Shaitan will outstrip[#] you with knowledge."

So they asked, "And how is that?"

Muhammad replied, "He will say, 'Seek knowledge but do not act until you know', and one will remain, as far as knowledge is concerned, only a speaker; and, as far as doing is concerned, a procrastinator until he dies without acting (upon his knowledge)."²⁵²

Sari al-Saqqi (Ibn al-Mufallas) said, "A man who had had a great hankering for exoteric knowledge ('ilm al-zāhir) drew apart in order to apply himself to acts of devotion. So I asked him(why he had forsaken his quest). "

reading yasbuqukum with SMZ instead of yusauwifukum

"'In a dream', he replied, 'I saw one speaking who was saying to me, 'For as long as you lose knowledgā, may Allah make you lost.' Then I said, 'Verily, I shall preserve it.' He replied, '(the way) to preserve knowledge is to act according to it.' So I left the quest and hastened to act."²⁵³

Ibn Mas'ūd said, "Knowledge is not a great amount of relating. Verily, knowledge is godly piety."²⁵⁴

Al-Ḥasan(al-Baṣrī) said, "Learn what you wish to know; and, by Allah, Allah will not reward you until you do (what you know)." For the stupid are concerned with relating,²⁵⁵ while the concern of the learned is shepherding.

Mālik(Ibn Anas) said, "The search for knowledge is good and its dissemination is good, if its aim is sound; but notice what you need from the time you arise till the time you retire, and do not prefer anything to it."²⁵⁶

Ibn Mas'ūd said, "The Qur'ān was sent down to be followed. You have taken its study as an occupation, but their will come a people who will turn it to whatever form they please (yuthaqqifūnahu). These are not your elite.²⁵⁷ A learned person (who knows and) fails to act is like an invalid who describes his medicine (and does not take it) and like a Hungry man who describes his delicious food and who does not find it."

Of a similar nature is Allah's saying, "Woe be to you

because of what you describe" (21:18).

(Then there is) the tradition, "Verily I fear for my people the fall of a learned man and a liar who disputes about the Qur'ān."

3. (A third sign of the other-worldly divines) is that his concern is to obtain knowledge which is useful for the next abode and which requires obedience, and he shuns the sciences the benefit of which decreases, and about which disputation and talk increase.

Anyone who avoids knowledge which is concerned with acts ('ilm al-i'māl) and engages in dialectics is like an invalid who has many ills and who has met or found a skillful doctor with only a short time which he is afraid will soon pass away. Then he busies himself in inquiring about the special properties of herbs, remedies, and the wonders of the art of medicine, while he neglects his own concern which is to take the medicine. That is pure stupidity.

It is related that a man came to the Messenger of Allah and said, "Teach me some of the wonders of knowledge."

He demanded, "What have you done about the beginning of knowledge (ra's al-'ilm) ?"

"What is the beginning of knowledge?" he inquired.

Muhammad countered, "Do you know the Lord, the Most High?"

"Yes", he said.

So Muḥammad asked, "Then what have you done about His truth?"

He answered, "Whatever Allah wished."

Then Muḥammad asked him, "Do you understand (the meaning of) death?"

"Yes", he replied.

Then Muḥammad said, "Then what have you prepared for it?"

He said, "Whatever Allah willed."

So Muḥammad commanded, "Go and do that well. Then come and we shall teach you some of the wonders of knowledge."

Rather the pupil should be of the sort (described) in that which was related on the authority of Ḥātim (Ibn 'Alwān) al-Aṣamm, a pupil of Shaqīq (Ibn Ibrāhīm) al-Balkhī.²⁵⁸ Shaqīq said to him, "For how long have you been my friend?"

"For thirty-three years", replied Ḥātim.

"Then what have you learned from me during this time?" he inquired.

Ḥātim replied, "Eight questions (subjects of discussion)."

So Shaqīq exclaimed, "Verily, we belong to Allah and to Him are we returning. My life has gone with you and you have learned only eight questions!"

He replied, "O teacher, I have not learned anything but them, and I do not like to lie."

So he said, "Let's have these eight questions so that I might hear them."

Ḥātim replied, "I considered this people and I saw that every one likes something dear to him and he is with his beloved object until the grave. Then, when he reaches the grave, he is separated from it. So I have made good deeds my beloved object. So when I enter the grave, my beloved object will enter with me."

So he said, "You have done well, O Ḥātim. What is the second?"

He replied, "I considered Allah's saying, 'As for the one who fears the rank of his Lord and restrains his soul from its passions, verily the Garden is his abode' (79:40-41), and I knew that His saying is right. So I caused my soul to ward off its lusts until I became firm in the obedience of Allah."

"The third is that I considered this people. Then I saw that everyone who has something of value elevates and guards it. Then I considered Allah's saying, 'What you have is temporary; what Allah has is eternal' (16:98). So Whatever I had of value I turned towards Allah so that it would remain preserved with Him."

"The fourth is that I considered this people and I saw that everyone of them has recourse to wealth, noble descent,

honor, and lineage. So I considered it and behold (I found that) it is nothing. Then I considered Allah's saying, "Verily those who are most worthy of honor among you are those who fear Allah most" (49:13). So I practiced piety in order to be honorable before Allah."

"The fifth is that I considered this people and they are defaming and cursing one another, the root of which is envy. Then I considered Allah's saying, 'We have divided their livelihood among them in the life of the present world' (43:31). Then I forsook envy and shunned people, and I knew that it is Allah's province to allot (our livelihood). So I forsook enmity against people."

"Then I observed that some of this people oppress and fight with one another. So I had recourse to Allah's saying, 'Verily the Shaitān is your enemy. So take him as an enemy' (35:6). So I treated him alone with enmity and was diligent in shunning him because Allah testified that he is my enemy. So I forsook enmity towards all creatures but him."

"The seventh is that I considered this people and I saw that each one of them seeks this crumb (of bread: i.e. the present world) and that he demeans himself to obtain it, and he enters into things which are not lawful for him. So I considered Allah's saying, 'There is no creeping thing on earth who does not receive his sustenance from Allah' (11:8). And

I came to know that I am one of those creatures whose sustenance comes from Allah. So I engaged in that for which I am responsible to Allah, and with Him I left what is mine."

"The eighth is that I considered this people, and I saw that they all put their trust on something which is created: this one on his village, that one on his business, this one on his trade, that one on his bodily health; and every created being puts his trust on a created being like himself. Then I had recourse to Allah's saying, 'If anyone puts his trust in Allah, He will be his sufficiency' (65:3). So I put my trust in Allah, and He is my sufficiency."

Shaqīq said, "O Ḥātim, may Allah cause you to succeed. For I have considered the knowledge (contained in) the Tawrah, the Injīl, the Zubūr, and the mighty Qur'ān; I found all kinds of good and religion; and they revolve about these eight questions. Anyone who has used them has used the four books."

None but the ~~other-worldly~~ divines concern themselves with knowing and understanding this branch of knowledge. As for the worldly divines, they engage in whatever makes it easier for them to gain wealth and prestige, while they neglect such as these sciences with which Allah sent all His prophets.

259

Al-Ḍahhāk Ibn Mazāḥam said, "I knew them (the Compan-

ions) and they only learned scrupulousness (al-war') from one another, whereas today they only learn theology."

4. (A fourth sign of the other-worldly divines) is that one is not inclined to lead an easy life (in respect to) luxury in food and drink, softness in clothing, and ornamented furnishings and dwellings; but he prefers moderation and imitates the Fathers in all that and inclines to be satisfied with a little bit of all that. As much as his inclination increases towards the side of paucity, his proximity to Allah increases, and his grade among the learned of the next abode rises.

What was narrated on the authority of Abī 'Abdullah al-Khawwāṣ, ²⁶⁰ one of Ḥātim al-Aṣamm's friends, testifies to that. He said, ²⁶¹ "I entered Rai with Ḥātim. With us were three hundred and twenty men, and we desired to make the pilgrimage. ²⁶² They were wearing woolen garments or hoods (al-zuranbāniqāt) and had neither wallet nor food. Then we entered the place of a merchant who led a mortified life (mutaqashshif) and loved the poor. So he put us up that night. When it was morning, he asked Ḥātim, "Do you need anything? For I should like to visit one of our jurisconsults who is sick."

Ḥātim replied, "There is excellence in visiting the sick,

reading darajah with SMZ instead of khurb

and listening to a jurisconsult is (like) a worship service. I, too, shall go with you."

263

The sick person happened to be Muhammad Ibn Muqātil, a judge of Rai. When we came to the door, behold, there was a well-lighted mansion. So Ḥātim remained puzzling and said, "(Can it be that) a door of this kind belongs to a learned person?"

Then, permission being granted, they entered; lo and behold! there was a wide, spacious, and healthy court; and lo! (beautiful) weapons and curtains. So Ḥātim continued to ponder. Then they entered the room where he was; and behold! there he was lying on a nice soft bed, while (standing) at his head was a youth with a fly-swatter in his hand. Then the visitor sat at the head of his bed and asked him about the state (of his health), while Ḥātim (remained) standing. So Ibn Muqātil beckoned him to sit down, but he (Ḥātim) said, "I do not (care to) sit."

So he said, "Perhaps you need something."

"Yes", replied Ḥātim.

"What is it?" he inquired.

Ḥātim stated, "There is something I should like to ask you about."

"Say on", he commanded.

Ḥātim said, "Arise and stand up straight so that I may

ask you."

So he stood up straight and Ḥātim inquired, "From where did you get such knowledge as this?"

"From trustworthy (people) who told it to me," he replied.

"From whom?" asked Ḥātim.

"From the companions of the Messenger of Allah", he answered.

So he asked, "And from whom did the companions of the Messenger of Allah (get it)?"

He replied, "From the Messenger of Allah."

"And from whom did the Messenger of Allah (obtain it)?" asked Ḥātim.

He replied, "From Jibrā'il (who got it) from Allah."

Ḥātim said, "In that which Jibrā'il transmitted from Allah to the Messenger of Allah and which the Messenger of Allah transmitted to his companions and the companions to the trustworthy and the trustworthy to you, did you hear (this): 'The one in whose abode there is a prince and which is greater in spaciousness has a greater dwelling with Allah?'"

"No", he replied.

So he asked, "Then what did you hear?"

He replied, "I heard that one who is ascetic in the

reading amīr with SMZ

present world and yearns after the next abode and loves the poor and draws nigh to his next abode has a (greater) rank with Allah."

Ḥātim said to him, "Then (as for) you, whom do you imitate, the Prophet and his companions and the virtuous or Pharaoh and Nimrūdh, the first one to build with mortar and baked brick? ²⁶⁴ O (you) corrupt divines, an ignorant person who contentiously rushes after and desires the present world sees your example and says, 'A learned person is in this condition. Am I any worse than he?'" and left the house; and Ibn Muqātil's illness increased.

What happened between him and Ibn Muqātil reached the people of Rai who said to him, "Al-Ṭanāfisi ²⁶⁵ in Qazwin ²⁶⁶ is in greater comfort than he (Ibn Muqātil)."

So Ḥātim went to him on purpose, entered his house, and said, "May the mercy of Allah be upon you. I am a foreigner who would like you to teach me the rudiments of my religion and the key to worship: how I should perform ablutions for the worship."

He responded, "With pleasure, at your service, O youth. Hand me a vessel of water."

So he brought it, and al-Ṭanāfisi sat down and performed a triple ablution. Then he said, "This is the way to perform the ablution."

So Ḥātim said, "May I have your place so that I might perform the ablution before you and be more sure of what I want?"

So al-Ṭanāfisi arose, and Ḥātim sat down and performed the ablution. He washed his forearms four times, whereupon al-Ṭanāfisi said, "O So-and-so, you have exceeded the limit."

"In what?" Ḥātim inquired.

"You have washed your forearms four times", he replied.

"Oh praise be to Allah, the Mighty!" exclaimed Ḥātim.

"In this little handful of water have I exceeded the limit, while in all this have you not done so?"

Then al-Ṭanāfisi knew that his purpose (was to reprimand), not to learn (something). So he entered his dwelling, and did not go out among people for forty days.

When Ḥātim entered Baghdad, the people of Baghdad gathered around him and said, "O Father of 'Abd al-Raḥmān, you are a foreigner who speaks Arabic barbarously, while (on the other hand) nobody speaks to you but what you silence him (with your learning)."

He said, "I have three characteristics by which I overcome my opponent: a) I rejoice when my opponent succeeds; b) I feel sorry when he fails; and c) I restrain myself in order not to attribute ignorance to him."

This got to the Imām Aḥmad Bin Ḥanbal who said, "May

Allah be praised! How intelligent he is! Let us arise and go to him."

When they went in to see him, Ahmad inquired, "O Father of 'Abd al-Rahmān, what is safety from the present world?"

He replied, "O Father of 'Abdullah (i.e. Ibn Ḥanbal), you are not safe from the present world until you have four qualities: a) to forgive people's ignorance, b) to prevent your ignorance from (reaching or harming) them, c) to spend whatever you have for them, and d) not to expect anything of theirs. Then, if you are like that, you will be safe."

Then he went to al-Madīnah, and the people of al-Madīnah received him. Then he said, "O citizens, which Madīnah is this?"

They replied, "The city of the Prophet."

So he commanded, "Then (show me) where the Prophet's palace is so that I may worship in it."

"He had no palace", they replied. "Verily he had a very modest house."

"Then where are the palaces of the Companions", he asked.

They replied, "They had no castles; verily, they too had very modest houses."

Ḥātim said to them, "O friends, this then is the city of Pharaoh."

So they went and took him to the sultan and said, "This

foreigner says that this is the city of Pharaoh."

"Why is that?" inquired the governor.

He answered, "Do not be hasty with me. I am a foreigner, a stranger who entered the city, and I asked, 'Whose city is this?' They replied, 'The city of the Messenger of Allah'. Then I asked, 'Where is his castle?' And he related his story. Then he (Ḥātim) said, 'And Allah has said, 'In the Messenger of Allah you have had a good example' (33:21). So whom have you imitated: the Messenger of Allah or Pharaoh, the first one to build with mortar and baked brick?"

So they let him alone and left him, and this is the story of Ḥātim al-Aṣamm.

In its (proper) place something of the conduct of the Fathers (who lived) in threadbare clothes and forsook adornment will come which will testify to that (which we have mentioned). The truth of it is that adornment is permitted, not forbidden. But to go deeply into it establishes an inclination toward it so that it is difficult to leave it, and usually it is only possible to continue adornment by practicing the means. It is necessary for those who care for it to commit such sins as dissimulation, hypocrisy, and others which are forbidden. It is prudent to avoid that, because anyone who goes deeply into (the affairs of) the present world

reading al-hazm with SMZ instead of al-hirm

is not safe from it at all; and were safety obtained along with going deeply into it, Muḥammad would not have gone to the extreme of forsaking the present world even to the point of removing his shirt embroidered with a sign, and to removing his gold ring during an oration, and other actions the explanation of which will follow (in this book).

267

It is said that Yaḥya Bin Yazīd al-Nawfalī wrote to Mālīk Bin Anas, "In the name of Allah the Compassionate, the Merciful, and may Allah bless His Messenger, Muḥammad, and give him peace in the former and the latter (worlds); from Yaḥya Bin Yazīd Bin 'Abd al-Malak to Mālīk Bin Anas, and to come to the point: It has come to my attention that you wear fine clothes, eat thin bread, and sit on a soft seat. You have put a doorkeeper at your door and you have sat in the seat of learning. You have drawn mounted (visitors) to you; people have come to you from (various places) and have taken you for a leader (imām) and were pleased with your speech. Then fear Allah, O Mālīk, and be humble. I have written you this letter of advice which no one except Allah has read. Now may peace be with you."

(In reply) Mālīk wrote to him, "In the name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful. May Allah bless Muḥammad

 # reading with SMZ al-muṭarrar bi 'l-'alam instead of
 ## al-muṭarrar yī'l-'alam

his family, and his companions, and give them peace; from Mālik Bin Anās to Yahya Bin Yazīd. May the peace of Allah be upon you. And now to continue, your letter has reached me; and I am in accord with your advice, sympathy, and manners. May Allah grant you the enjoyment of piety and reward you with good for your advice, and I ask success-bringing aid from Allah. There is no strength and no power except with Allah, He who is exalted and mighty."

"As for what you mentioned to me (in your letter), I do eat thin bread and wear fine clothes and seclude myself (from people) and sit on a soft chair. We do that and seek Allah's forgiveness. Allah has said, 'Say, who hath prohibited Allah's goodly raiment, and the healthful viands which He has provided for His servants' (7:30)?²⁶⁸ Really I know that it is better to leave that than to enter into it. And do not cut us off from your correspondence, and we shall not leave you out of ours. (Now may the) peace (of Allah be upon you)."

Then notice the impartiality of Mālik, for he avowed that it is better to forsake that than to enter into it, though he gave a legal opinion that it is permissible. Concerning both of them he spoke the truth. Then one like Mālik whose soul permits (him) to be fair and avow such advice is strong (enough) to stop at the borders of what is permissible so that (it) does not carry him to hypocrisy and dissimulation

and trespass to what is disliked. As for another person, he would not be able to do so. It is a grave danger to incline towards delight in what is permissible, and it is remote from fear and reverence. Now a peculiarity of the godly divines ('ulamā' allāh) is reverence, while a peculiarity of reverence is to be well away from places that are suspected of danger.

5. (A fifth sign of the other-worldly divines) is to seek to be remote from the Sultans and not to visit them at all as long as there is a way of escape from them, rather it is expedient for one to avoid mingling with them, even though they should come to (visit) him.

For in reality the present world is sweet and verdant the reins of which are in the hands of the sultans. One who associates with them is not free from undertaking to seek their pleasure and to incline their hearts towards him, although they are unjust. Every religious person ought to disapprove of them and straiten their bosoms by making their injustice obvious and by showing the foulness of their deeds. One who visits them either shows regard for their luxury and despises the grace of Allah or he refrains from disapproving them. Then he becomes a dissimulator to them, or in his speech he pretends to please them and approve their condition. That is clear calumny. Or he longs to obtain some of their

worldly goods (dunyāhim), which is unlawful.

In the book on what is lawful and what is unlawful there will follow something about what wealth one may accept from sultans and such positions, rewards, and other things which he may not accept. On the whole, mingling with them is the key to evils, while the way of the other-worldly divines is circumspection.

Muḥammad said, "Anyone who lives a nomadic life is coarse: that is, anyone who lives in the desert is coarse, and anyone who follows hunting is neglectful, and anyone who comes to the sultan is seduced."

Muḥammad said, "There will be princes over you some of whom you will know and disavow. One who disapproves (of such a prince) will be righteous; one who hates (him) will be saved; but may Allah curse one who is pleased (with) and follows (him)."

Somebody asked, "Shall we not fight them?"

"No, not as long as they (continue to) pray", he replied.

Sufyān said, "In Jahannam there is a valley in which only the Qur'ānic readers who often visit kings reside."

"Beware of the places of seduction", said Ḥadhīfah.²⁶⁹

Somebody asked, "What are they?"

"The doors of the princes", he answered. "One of you goes in to visit a Prince. Then he believes in his lying,

and he says something about him which is not so."

The Messenger of Allah said, "The learned are trustees of the messengers for the people, as long as they do not mingle with sultans. When they do that, they are unfaithful to the messengers. So avoid them and draw apart from them." Anas related this (about Muḥammad).

Someone told al-A'mash, "You have revived knowledge by the great number of those who have taken it from you."

He responded, "Do not be in a hurry (to form your opinion). One third die before apprehending; another third cleave to the doors of sultans, and they (who do this) are the worst (kind) of people; and the remaining third, only a few succeed."

On account of that Sa'id Bin Musaiyab said, "When you see a learned person visiting a prince, avoid him; for he is a thief."

('Abd al-Raḥmān Bin 'Umrū) al-Auzā'ī said, "There is nothing more detestable to Allah than a learned person who visits an official (of the king)."

"The worst learned persons are those who come to Princes", said the Messenger of Allah; "and the best princes are those who come to the learned."

Makhūl the Damascene said, "Whoever learns the Qur'ān and becomes skilled in religion and then becomes friendly to

the sultan in order to flatter him and for the sake of greed for what he has, descends to a depth in the sea of fire of Jahannam equal to the number of his steps."

270

And Samnūn said, "What is more hideous than a learned person to whose session one comes and, not finding him, asks for him; and someone says, 'He is at the prince's (house).'"

He said, "I used to hear it said, 'If you see a learned person who likes the present world, consider him to be against your religion', until I tried that. For I never went to visit the sultan but what I examined myself after coming out. And I see some result in it. You see how roughly and uncivilly I treated him and how strongly I opposed his passions. All I desired was to be saved from going to visit him with neither loss nor gain, although I neither accept anything nor do I drink water (at his house)."

Then he said, "The learned of our time who inform the sultan of indulgences and whatever suits his passion (when he comes to them about some matter) are worse than those of the Children of Israel. Had they informed him about his responsibility and in what his salvation lay, he would have belittled them and disliked having them visit him. That would have been their salvation with their Lord."

Al-Hasan said, "Among those who preceded you there was a man who had high standing in Islām and the companionship

of the Messenger of Allah"----'Abdullah Bin Mubāarak (the narrator of this tradition) said al-Ḥasan meant, Sa'd Bin Abī Waqqās----. Al-Ḥasan said, "It was not his custom to visit the sultans, and he kept away from them. So his sons said to him, 'Someone who is not your equal in friendship (to the Prophet) and precedence in al-Islām comes to these kings. How would it be for you to go to them?'

"He answered, 'O my sons, shall I go to a corpse which people have surrounded? By Allah, (even) if I were able, I would not share it with them (i.e. visiting princes in order to obtain the present world)'. "

"They said, 'O father, then we shall perish from emaciation.'

"He said, 'My sons, as for myself, truly to die as a poor believer is more loved than to die as a fat hypocrite.'"

Al-Ḥasan (who was relating this) said, "He got the best of them, and by Allah! he knew that the ground devours flesh and fat, but not faith."

In this there is a proof that one who visits sultans is not at all safe from hypocrisy which is the contrary of faith.

Abu Dharr said to Salamah,²⁷¹ "O, Salamah, do not go to the doors of sultans; for you do not obtain anything from their present world but what they get something more valuable from your religion."

This (associating with kings) is a great temptation to the learned and difficult means of access for the Shaiṭāns against them, especially for one who has an acceptable delivery and pleasant speech, for the Shaiṭān will not cease to cast up to him, "In exhorting and visiting them you may be able to lead them out of wrongdoing and establish perceptions of the divine law", until he will imagine that to visit them is a part of religion. Then, if he does go in to visit, he will not remain long before he modifies his speech and dissimulates and plunges deeply into praise and adulation. This (which we have mentioned) is the destruction of religion.

It was said, "When the learned knew, they acted; when they acted, they worked (with Allah); when they worked, they lost (human characteristics and gained heavenly ones); when they lost, they sought; and when they sought, they fled (from people)."

'Umar Bin 'Abd al-'Azīz wrote to Ḥasan (al-Baṣrī), "To begin: point me out some people from whom I can get help about matter pertaining to Allah."

So he wrote him, "As for the people of religion, they do not want you; as for the people of the present world, you do not want them; but you must depend on the honorable; for they guard their honor so that they do not soil it with a breach of trust."²⁷²

This is about 'Umar Bin 'Abd al-'Azīz who was the most ascetic of the people of his time. If it was a stipulation for the people connected with religion to flee from him, how is the quest for and association with others judged fit?

The learned of the olden times such as al-Ḥasan, al-Thawrī, Ibn al-Mubārak, al-Fuḍail, Ibrāhīm Bin Adham, and Yusuf Bin Asbāṭ²⁷³ continually debated with the worldly divines of Mecca, Damascus, and other places either about their inclination towards the present world or about their association with the sultans.²⁷⁴

6. (A sixth sign of the other-worldly divines) is that they are not precipitate in giving legal opinions, but are hesitant and wary as long as a way of escape (from it) exists.

If one is asked about something which he knows for a certainty through a clear text (nass) of the book of Allah or a clear tradition (bi nass hadīth) or agreement (ijmā') or clear analogy (qiyās jalī), he gives a legal opinion. If he is asked about something of which he is doubtful he says, "I do not know", and if he is asked about something which he suspects belongs to logical deduction (ijtihād) and conjecture (takhmīn), he cautiously defends himself and refers to someone else, if somebody else is independently capable. This is prudence (on his part), because it is a

grave (matter) to adopt the risk of independent decision (ijtihād).

In a tradition (it is said that) knowledge is three things: a) a book gifted with speech (kitāb nātiq), b) established usage (sunnah qā'mah), and c) (the expression) "I do not know"²⁷⁵.

Al-Sha'bī said, "'I do not know' is half of knowledge; and one who keeps silent for the sake of Allah, when he does not know, has no less a reward than the one who speaks; because it is more difficult for people to confess ignorance."²⁷⁶

Such was the custom of the companions and Fathers. When Ibn 'Umar was asked about the giving of a legal opinion, he used to say, "Go to this prince who assumes responsibility for human affairs and let him take it on his shoulders."²⁷⁷

Ibn Mas'ūd said, "Surely one who gives legal opinions to everyone who seeks one from him is possessed with the Jinn."²⁷⁸

He (also) said, "A learned person's shield is 'I do not know'. If he falls short in saying it, his vulnerable spots are hit."

"Nothing is more stringent on the Shaiṭān", said Ibrāhīm Bin Adham, "than a learned person who speaks with knowledge and who keeps silent with knowledge. He (the Shaiṭān) says, 'Notice this one. His silence is more severe on me than his speech'."

Somebody described the Substitutes (al-abdāl)²⁷⁹ and said, "They eat only when necessary; they sleep only when overcome (by fatigue); they speak only when obliged---that is they do not speak until they are quizzed. When they are questioned and they find somebody who will take their place, they remain quiet. When compelled, they reply; and they are wont to consider that to begin (to speak) before the question (is put) is a hidden appetite for speaking."

'Alī and 'Abdullah (Bin 'Abbās) passed by a man who was speaking to people, and they both said, "This fellow is saying, 'Know me'."

Somebody said, "Truly when a learned person is asked about a problem, he feels just as if his molar is being extracted."

Ibn 'Umar was wont to say, "Out of us you would like to make a bridge on which to cross over to Jahannam."

²⁸⁰
Abu Ḥafṣ al-Nisābūrī said, "A learned person is one who, at the time of being questioned, fears that somebody will ask him on the day of judgment, 'From where did you answer?'"

²⁸¹
When Ibrāhīm al-Taimī was consulted about some question, he used to weep and ask, "Did you not find another (person) so that you needed me?"

²⁸²
Abū al-'Āliyah al-Riyāhī, Ibrāhīm Bin Adham, and al-Thawrī were wont to speak to two or three or (even) a small

number (of people) up to ten; and if they were more, they departed.

Muḥammad said, "I do not know if A'zair is a prophet or not; and I do not know if Tubba'²⁸³ is cursed or not; and I do not know if dhū al-qurnain²⁸⁴ is a prophet or not."

When the Messenger of Allah was asked about the best and the worst spots on the earth, he said, "I do not know", until Jibrā'il came down to him and he asked him. He said, "I do not know", until Allah taught him that its best spots are the places of worship, and its worst spots are the market places.

When Ibn 'Umar was wont to be asked about ten problems, he would answer one and remain silent about nine. (In contrast to him) Ibn 'Abbās used to answer nine and be silent about one.

Among the jurisconsults those who said, "I do not know", were more numerous than those who said, "I know". Among them were Sufyān al-Thawrī, Mālik Bin Anas, Aḥmad Bin Ḥanbal, al-Fuḍail Bin 'Aiyād, and Bishr Bin al-Harith.

²⁸⁵
'Abd al-Raḥmān Bin Abī Laila said, "In this place of worship (i.e. in Madīnah) I came upon one hundred and twenty companions of the Messenger of Allah. There was not one of them who, on being asked about a tradition or giving a legal opinion, did not wish his brother to take his place in that."

And in another phrasing (one reads), "Were a problem submitted to one of them, he would refer it to another who (in turn) would refer it to another who (also) would refer it to another until it returned to the first one."²⁸⁶

It is related that a broiled head was given to one of the homeless people who were guests of al-Islām (ashāb al-suffah)²⁸⁷ while he was extremely needy. He gave it to another; and he, to another. Thus it passed among them until it returned to the first.

Now notice how the affairs of the learned are (quite) the opposite in the present time, and the object which one flees has become that which is sought; while that which is (supposed to be) sought has become that from which one flees.

What somebody related on good support testifies that it is good to avoid taking on the responsibility of giving legal opinions. He said, "Only three (kinds of) people give legal opinions to people: a) a ruler or prince, b) appointees of princes, and c) story-tellers (i.e. hypocrites)."²⁸⁸

Someone said, "The companions used to protect themselves from four things: a) leading (the congregation), b) guardianship, c) trusteeship, and d) giving legal opinions."

Someone (else) said, "Those who hastened to give legal opinions were the least capable in respect to knowledge, while those who were strict in respect to protecting themselves

from it were their most pious ones."²⁸⁹

The companions and followers used to engage in five things: a) reading the Qur'ān, b) building places of worship, c) remembering Allah, d) enjoining good, and e) forbidding evil.²⁹⁰ That was on account of what they heard of Muḥammad's words, "All but three (kinds) of speech of the son of Adam (mankind) is against him, not for him: a) enjoining to do good,²⁹¹ b) forbidding evil, or c) remembering Allah."

Allah said, "In much of their communion the only good is that of one who enjoins almsgiving or the right or correcting troubles among people"²⁹² (4:114).

One of the learned saw one of the speculative philosophers (ashāb al-rā')²⁹³ of the people of Kūfa in a dream. He asked, "What is your opinion regarding what used to be your position concerning the giving of legal opinions and speculation?"

Averting his face and shunning him he said, "We did not find it (to be) anything, nor did we find its consequence to be praiseworthy."²⁹⁴

Abū Ḥuṣain said, "Verily one of them gives a legal opinion about a problem which, had it come to 'Umar Bin al-Khaṭṭāb,²⁹⁵ he would have gathered the people of Badr (to consult)."²⁹⁶

So silence continued to be a habit of the people of knowledge except when (they were) obliged (to speak).

I In a tradition (we read), "If you see a man who has been given silence and asceticism, draw near to him; for he understands wisdom."²⁹⁷

It is said, "The learned are either ordinary learned people such as jurisconsults who are the people of the portico (aṣḥāb al-asātīn), or a special type of learned person who are learned in the doctrine of Allah's unity ('ālim bi l-tawḥīd) and the deeds of the heart; and they are the monastic people (aṣḥāb al-zawāyā) who are separated from mankind.

It used to be said, "Aḥmad Bin Ḥanbal is like the Tigris from which everybody dips up (water) by handfuls, and Bishr Bin al-Ḥarith is like a covered well of sweet water to which people come one at a time."

They used to say, "So-and-so is a learned person; so-and-so is a scholastic theologian; so-and-so is greater in respect to theology; and so-and-so is greater in respect to knowledge."

Abū Sulaimān (al-Dārānī) said, "Knowledge is closer to silence than it is to speech."²⁹⁸

Someone said, "When knowledge increases, speech decreases; and when speech increases, knowledge decreases."²⁹⁹

³⁰⁰ Salmān wrote to Abū al-Dardā' whom the Messenger of Allah had made like brothers, "O brother, I have heard that

you have set yourself up as a physician who prescribes for the sick. Then notice, if you are a physician, speak. Then your speech will be a cure. If you are a physician who is not skilled in his art--O Allah, deliver us--do not kill any Muslim." When Abū al-Dardā' was consulted after that, he used to hesitate (to give an opinion).³⁰¹

When Anas was consulted, he used to say, "Ask my master, al-Ḥasan." And when Ibn 'Abbās was questioned, he used to say, "Ask Ḥārathah Bin Zaid", while Ibn 'Umar used to say, "Ask Sa'id Bin al-Musayyab."³⁰²

It is quoted that one of the companions related twenty traditions in the presence of al-Ḥasan. Then he was asked to explain them, whereupon he said, "I have nothing (to add to) that which I have related."

Then al-Ḥasan began to explain them, one tradition after another. Then they were astonished at the appropriateness of his explanation and his memory. So the companion took a handful of pebbles which he cast at them and said, "You ask me about knowledge, while this learned person is among you!"³⁰³

7. (A seventh sign of the other-worldly divines) is that most of his concern should be about mystic knowledge ('ilm al-bāṭin) and watchfulness of the heart (murāqibah al-qalb) and knowledge of the way and his journey to the next abode. A true hope that it will be revealed is from spiritual

struggle and watchfulness. The spiritual struggle results in vision (mushāhadah) and the minutiae of the sciences of the heart by which fountains of wisdom spring up from the heart.

As for books and teaching, they do not fulfil one's expectation, but the wisdom which is beyond restriction and computation is truly opened up by (spiritual) struggle and watchfulness and practicing both physical and spiritual acts and sitting alone with Allah with a receptive heart and pure thought and cutting one's self off from everything which is other than Allah. That is the key to divine inspiration (al-ilhām) and the fountain of revelation (al-kashf). How many a learned person there is whose learning has taken a long time, though he is not able to advance by so much as a single word beyond the things he hears! And to how many of those who limit themselves to the important things in learning and turn their resolution toward doing and watchfulness of the heart, Allah opens up those things of the subtleties of wisdom (laṭā'if al-hikmah) which astound the minds of those who are possessed with intelligence!

For that reason Muḥammad said, "Allah will cause one who lives up to his knowledge to inherit knowledge of something which he did not know."

In one of the ancient books (we read), "O Children of

Israel, do not say, 'Knowledge is in the heavens. Who will bring it down to the earth?' And do not say, ("It is) in the confines of the earth. Who will bring it up?" nor, "(It is) across the sea. Who will cross over and bring it?" Knowledge is put in your hearts. Be trained in my presence with spiritual manners and take on the character of the believers. I will cause knowledge to appear in your hearts to the point that it will cover and drown you.

³⁰⁴
³⁰⁵
 Sahl Bin 'Abdullah al-Tustarī said, "The learned, the worshippers, and the ascetics went out of the present world, while their hearts were locked; only the hearts of the believers and martyrs were opened." Then he recited Allah's saying, "He has the keys of the secret (things). No one but Allah knows them" (6:59).

Were it not that the way the heart of one who has a heart receives the mystic light depends on external knowledge, he (Muhammad) would not have said, "Seek an opinion (fatwa) from your heart, and even if they give you an opinion, if they give you an opinion, and if they give you an opinion."

In that which he relates on the authority of his Lord he says, "The worshipper continues to approach me by supererogatory acts until I love him. When I love him, I become his hearing and seeing."
 #

 # following SMZ sim'ān wa baṣrān

Then how many minute ideas of the Qur'ānic secrets occur to the hearts of the devotees of remembering and reflection (al-dhikr wa 'l-fikr) which are not contained in commentaries and which the most excellent commentators do not know. If that is disclosed to the vigilant novice and exhibited to the commentators, they will approve it and know that it is a notification of pure hearts and Allah's favors by means of high aspirations which are directed towards Him.

And it is like that concerning the mystical sciences ('ulum al-mukāshafah), the secrets of the social sciences ('ulum al-mu'āmalah), and the minutiae of the heart's promptings (khawāṭir al-qulūb). Truly each one of these sciences is a sea the bottom of which is not reached or fathomed. Each pupil is able to delve into it according to the amount of knowledge which has been granted him and according to the good deeds which he has obtained.

In a description of these learned ones, 'Alī said in a long tradition, "Hearts are utensils, the best of which being those which hold the most good. And man is (divided into) three kinds: a) a man learned in things pertaining to Allah ('alim rabbani), b) a student who is on the way to salvation, and c) uncultivated common people who follow every croaker and incline with every breeze, who are not enlightened with the light of knowledge and do not take refuge in a reliable

foundation.

"Knowledge is more excellent than wealth. Knowledge guards you, while you guard wealth. Knowledge increases with spending, while spending decreases wealth. Knowledge is a religion which is followed, by which obedience is gained in one's life and a good reputation after one's death. Knowledge is a ruler, while wealth ^{is} the object ruled. The benefit of wealth vanishes, when wealth departs. Those who store up wealth die while living, while the learned live and endure as long as the ages remain."

Then he breathed a deep sigh and said, "Ah, here is plenty of knowledge. If only I could find depositories for it, but I find an unfaithful seeker who uses the tools of religion in his search for the present world and by means of the grace of Allah overcomes His saints and gains mastery over His people with His arguments or proofs. Or one obeys the people of the Real (ahl al-haqq), but some doubt is planted in his heart on his first encounter with uncertainty. He has no intelligence, neither this one nor that; or he is infatuated with delights and easily led to seek his sensual desires; or he is incited to accumulate wealth and render (knowledge) despicable, as he obeys his lust (hawāhu)."

"That which most closely resembles them are grazing animals. O Allah, thus knowledge dies, when its depositories

die. Then the world is not empty of one who undertakes a proof for Allah either openly and disclosed or fearful and overcome, in order not to nullify Allah's proofs and clear evidence. How many and where are those who are few in number and great in rank? They themselves are lost, while those resembling them in heart are found."

"By them Allah preserves His proofs until He deposits them in those who come after them and He plants them in the hearts of those who resemble them, through whom knowledge pounces upon the reality of a matter. They practiced the spirit of certain belief (al-yaqīn); and what the effeminate found difficult, they found easy; and that in which the heedless felt loneliness, they found sociability. They were friends with the present world in body, while their souls were caught up in the highest places. Of Allah's people, these are His saints, His faithful, His workers on His earth, and those who call (others) to His religion." Then he wept and said, "Oh, how I long to see them!"³⁰⁶

This which he mentioned finally is a description of the other-worldly divines, and it is the knowledge which derives most of its benefit from doing and continuing to struggle.

8. (Another sign of the other-worldly divines) is that one should have a strong concern to strengthen certain belief (al-yaqīn), for it is the invested wealth (ra's māl) of reli-

gion. The Messenger of Allah said, "Certain belief (al-yaqīn) is faith (al-īmān) in its entirety."

There is no escape from learning the knowledge of certain belief ('ilm al-yaqīn); I mean its first principles. Then its way is opened to the heart. For that reason he (Muhammad) said, "Learn certain belief."

He meant "to sit with those who have certain belief and hear the knowledge of certain belief from them. Persevere in imitating them so that your certain belief may be fortified, just as their certain belief was fortified. A little certain belief is better than many deeds."

When someone said to the Prophet, "(There was) a man who had good certain belief and many sins and (another) man zealous in worship, but who had little certain belief. (Which of the two is preferable?) he said, "There is not a man but what he has sins; but the sins of one who is by nature intelligent and who has the innate quality of certain belief do not harm him; because every time he sins, he repents and seeks forgiveness and regrets; and his sins are expiated; and he continues to have some excellence by which he enters the Garden."

Therefore he said, "Truly the least of what you were given is certain belief and resolute patience. One who has the fortune to receive these two pays no heed to the amount

of time he spends in night vigil and daily fasting."

In Luqmān's advice to his son (we read), "O my son, work is only possible with certain belief, and man works only to the extent of his certain belief, and a worker does not fail until his certain belief diminishes."

Yahya Bin Ma'ādh said, "Verily for the doctrine of Allah's unity there is light, while for the doctrine of polytheism there is fire. The light of asserting Allah's unity is certainly more consuming for the evils of those who assert His unity than the fire of polytheism is for the good deeds of those who attribute partners to Allah."³⁰⁷ By (nūr al-tawhīd Yahya) meant al-yaqīn.

In various places in the Qur'ān Allah has indicated the mention of those who have certain belief by which He pointed to the fact that certain belief is the connecting link for good deeds and happiness. (2:112; 45:3; 51:20)

If you should say, "What does al-yaqīn mean, and what is the meaning of its strength and its weakness?" there is no escape from understanding it first, then engaging in seeking and learning it; for it is not possible to seek something of which the form is not understood. Then you should know that al-yaqīn is an expression with several meanings which two (different) groups use in a particular sense for different ideas. They are the speculative and the scholastic theologians (al-

nuzzār wa 'l-mutakallimūn).

By it they express the absence of doubt. Now there are four degrees in the soul's inclination to believe anything:

a) The first is when belief and disbelief are evenly balanced. They express this by al-shakk (uncertainty or doubt), just as when you are asked whether ^{Allah} will punish a certain person or not, while you are ignorant of his circumstances. Then your soul does not incline to judge him positively or negatively, but you feel that the two possibilities are equal. This is called shakk (doubt or uncertainty).

b) The second is that your soul inclines toward one of two matters in spite of a perception that its contradiction is possible; but it is a possibility which does not prohibit the first from outweighing it, just as if, concerning a man whom you know to be good and pious, you were asked, "Were he himself to die in this state, would he be punished?" your soul would incline more to the fact that he would not be punished than towards punishment. That is on account of the manifest signs of virtue, and in spite of this you admit that some matter which compells punishment may be hidden in his inner and secret parts. This admission balances that inclination, but it does not prohibit outweighing it. This state is called al-zann (supposition or a preponderant belief, with the admission that the contrary may be the case.)³⁰⁸

c) The third is that the soul inclines to believe something, because it overcomes (the soul) and no (other possibility) occurs to the mind. Even if something else should occur to the mind, the soul would refuse to accept it. But that is not true knowledge; for if the holder of this position should become better versed in reflecting on and paying attention to what causes doubt and makes (something else) probable, he would have a new outlook toward what makes it probable. This is called i'tiqād (belief) which approaches al-yaqīn (certain belief), and it is the common people's belief concerning all their religious ordinances. For it is firmly implanted in their souls by hearing alone so that each group is confident of its school of thought and the sagacity of its leader and what it (the group) follows. Should anyone mention to one of them that it is possible for his leader to err, he would refrain from accepting it.

d) The fourth is true knowledge obtained by way of demonstration which one neither doubts nor imagines there to be any doubt connected with it. So when the presence of doubt and its possibility are excluded, it is called al-yaqīn (certain belief) among these (speculative philosophers).

An example of it is when someone asks an intelligent person, "Is there anything eternal (qadīm) in existence." It is not possible to believe it intuitively (bi 'l-badīhah);

for the eternal is not something perceived by the senses (maḥsūs). It is not like the sun and the moon. For one believes in the existence of both of them by the senses. Knowledge of the existence of something eternal is not axiomatic (auwalīyan) and necessary (darūrīyan) like the knowledge that two is greater than one, but like the knowledge that it is impossible for creation to happen without a cause. That also is necessary. So it is right for the innate quality of the mind to hesitate to believe in the existence of the eternal by way of intuition and without thought.

Then there are some people who hear that and absolutely and decidedly believe it on authority and continue to believe it. That is the belief (al-i'tiqād) which is the state of all the masses.

There are some people who believe it on demonstration. It is as though someone said to them, "There is nothing eternal in existence, for all existing things are created. So, if all of it is created, it is created without a cause or in them there is a creation without a cause", which is absurd. And what leads to the absurd is absurd. It is necessary for the mind to believe in the existence of something which is eternal, because there are three divisions. They are: a) that all existing things are eternal, b) all of them are created, or c) some of them are eternal and some of them

are created.

If all of them are eternal, then that which is sought is obtained, for the eternal is established as a whole. If all is created, that is absurd, for it leads to a creation without a cause. Then the third or the first division is confirmed. And all knowledge which is obtained in this way is called certain knowledge (al-yaqīn) among these people whether it is obtained by speculation like that which we mentioned, or obtained by the sense, or by the natural quality of the mind like the knowledge that it is absurd for something to be a creation without a cause, or (obtained) by unexceptionable evidence of truthful men (bi tawātur) like the knowledge of the existence of Mecca, or (obtained) by experience like the knowledge that cooked scammony is a purgative, or (obtained) by proof, as we mentioned. Among them the condition for the use of this term is the absence of doubt. With them, all knowledge in which there is no doubt is called "certainty" (al-yaqīn). And according to this (condition) certainty is not qualified with weakness, for there is no differentiation in the denial of doubt.

The second technical usage for al-yaqīn is the special usage of the jurists and Sūfīs and most of the learned. It is that it pays no regard to the consideration of probability and uncertainty, but rather to ruling and dominating the

mind so that one says, "So-and-so is weak in his certain belief about death", in spite of the fact that there is no doubt about it; and one says, "So-and-so is strong in his certain belief of getting his providential supply", in spite of the fact that it is possible that he may not get it. Whenever the self inclines to believe a thing and that (thing) overpowers and dominates the heart so that it becomes the ruler and governor over the self through permitting and prohibiting, that is called certain belief (al-yaqīn). There is no doubt that people share in the certainty of death and being set free from doubt about it, but there are some people who pay no regard to it nor to preparation for it, and act just as if they are not certain of it.

Then there are others over whose hearts that (idea) rules to such a degree that all their concern is obsessed with preparation for it and they leave no room in it for anything else. (To describe) this kind of condition they use the expression "strong certainty" (quwwah al-yaqīn). For that reason one of them (gnostic philosophers) said, "I have assuredly not seen any certainty, in which there is no doubt, more comparable to doubt in which there is no certainty, than death." According to this technical usage certain belief may be qualified by weakness and strength.

For our part, we meant by our words only that it is the

business of the other-worldly divines to direct their attention to the strengthening of certainty which is to exclude doubt, then to set up certainty as sultan over the soul so that it(certainty) is the victor ruling over and governing the soul. If you understand this you have learned the meaning of our saying that certainty (al-yaqīn) is divided into three parts: a) strength and weakness, b) paucity and abundance, and c) obscure and clear.

As for strength and weakness, it is according to the second meaning (istīlāh) which is about dominating and ruling over the heart. In regard to strength and weakness, the degrees of meaning (ma'ānī) about certainty have no end. People differ about preparation for death according as their certainty differs about these meanings.

As for the difference in obscurity and clarity in regard to the first conventional term (istīlāh), that is not denied also. As for what probability leads to, it is not denied; I mean the second conventional term. Concerning that from which doubt is excluded also, there is no way to deny it. For you know the variation between your belief in the existence of Mecca and the existence of Fadak, for example, and the variation between your belief in the existence of Moses and Yūsha', although you have no doubt about either of them; for the source of authority for both of them is unex-

ceptionable evidence of truthful men (al-tawātur); but you see one of them clearer and more distinct in your heart than the second because the cause of one of them, which is an abundance of informants, is stronger.

In like manner the speculative philosopher (al-nāẓir) attains to this in regard to the speculations which are known by proofs. The clarity of something which appears to him by one proof is not like the clarity of that which appears to him by many proofs in spite of their equality in excluding doubt. Sometimes this is denied by a theologian who gets his knowledge from books and his auditory sense and who does not consult his soul concerning what he knows of the disagreement of circumstances.

As for paucity and abundance (neither is that denied, for) that is connected with abundance of the connections of certainty, just as one says, "So-and-so is greater in respect to knowledge than so-and-so." That is, the things which he knows are greater in number. For that reason, a learned person is sometimes strong in his certainty concerning everything he got from the divine law, and sometimes he is strong in (only) part of it.

If you should say, "I have understood certainty, its strength and weakness, its paucity and abundance, its clarity and obscurity according to the meaning of excluding doubt

or according to the meaning of ruling over the heart, but what is the meaning of the things connected with certainty and its by-products (muta'llagāt al-yaqīn wa majārīhi), and what does certainty demand? For when I do not understand what is demanded by it, I cannot succeed in finding it", you should know that everything that the prophets brought from first to last is part of the by-product of certainty. For verily certainty is an expression ('ibārah) for a special knowledge (ma'rifah), and its connections are the information by which the divine laws were brought. It is not desirable to count them, but I will point out some of them which are their sources (ummahātiha)

One of them is the doctrine of Allah's unity (tawhīd) which is to consider that everything (comes) from the Cause of Causes and to pay no attention to the intermediaries but to consider them as something constrained to work (muskharah) which has no authority; and the believer in this is one who is certain of anything. For, if, along with his faith, the possibility of doubt is excluded from his heart, he is certain in one of the two meanings. If that, along with his faith, thoroughly dominates his heart, anger against, pleasure with, and thanks for the intermediaries is removed from it. And in his heart the intermediaries descend to the rank of a pen and a hand in the right of a benefactor to sign a decree. For one does not thank a pen or a hand.

Neither does one get angry against them; rather he considers them as two instruments which are obliged to work and as two intermediaries. Then he has become certain according to the second meaning which is the most honorable and which is the fruit, the spirit, and the benefit of the first certainty. As long as makes sure that the sun, the moon, the stars, the solid earth, the plants, the animals, and every created thing are compelled to work by His order, just as a pen in the hand of a writer and that the eternal power is the source of all, the domination of trust, satisfaction, and surrender will reign over his heart. And he becomes one who is certain and free from anger, malice, envy, and evil character. This is one of the parts (abwāb) of certainty.

From that comes confidence (thiqah) that Allah will guarantee providential sustenance according to His saying, "There is no living thing on earth whose providential sustenance does not depend on Allah" (11:8), and (there also comes the) certainty that it will come to him, and that what is decreed for him will be sent to him. Insofar as that dominates his heart, he would be behaving decently in his request; and his cupidity, his greed, and his sorrow about what he failed to obtain will not be intense.

This certainty also engenders a cluster of obedient acts and praiseworthy character. From that (fruit) the dominating idea that whoever does the least bit of good will see it,

and whoever does the tiniest bit of evil will see it. This is certainty about reward and punishment so that he sees the relationship of obedience to reward as the relationship of bread to satisfying (hunger) and the relationship of disobedience to punishment as the relationship of poisons and vipers to destruction.

Just as he desires to obtain bread in order to satisfy his hunger, so he guards (both) small and large quantities of it. So in like manner he covets all obedient acts, the few and the many. And just as he avoids (both) small and large doses of poison, so he avoids small and large amounts of disobedience (both) minor and major.

Certainty in its first meaning is sometimes found with the masses of the believers, but as for the second meaning, it is the particular quality of those who are close to Allah. The fruit of this certainty is true watchfulness in motion and repose and promptings and going to the extreme to (obtain) piety and avoid every evil. To the degree that certainty (in that) is more dominating, (one's) avoidance will be more intense and his exertion more far reaching.

From that comes the certainty that Allah is watching over you in every circumstance and sees the stirrings of your conscience and your hidden promptings and thoughts. This is something that is certain with every believer according

to the first meaning which is absence of doubt.

As for the second meaning, which is what is aimed at, it is something rare which is the true believers' particular quality. Its fruit is that even in his isolated life man should be well-mannered in all his circumstances, just as one who sits in the presence of a great king who observes him, and he (who sits there) continues to glance down at the ground and be polite in all his actions carefully avoiding every movement contrary to the appearance of politeness. In his inner thoughts he should ^{be} as he is in his outer actions, for he is certain that Allah is looking down on his heart just as mankind sees his outer acts. His utmost care to build up his inner (life) and to cleanse and adorn it for the sake of Allah the Guarder should be stronger than his utmost care to adorn his outer (life) for other people.

This stage of conviction brings on modesty, fear, contrition, humility, abjection, submission, and a (whole) group of praiseworthy characteristics. These characteristics give rise to (various) kinds of fine acts of obedience. In every one of these parts certainty is like a tree, while these characteristics in the heart are like limbs branching off from it, and these deeds and acts of obedience originating from the characteristics are like the fruit and flowers branching off from the limbs.

Certainty is the origin and foundation, and it has more courses and parts than we have enumerated. Mention will be made of them in the quarter on The Things Which Save, while this amount about the meaning of the conventional term (lafz) will suffice for the present.

9. (A ninth sign of an other-worldly divine) is that he should be sad, contrite, downcast, silent, and give the appearance of piety on his countenance, his clothing, his conduct, his motion and his quiescence, and his speech and silence.

An observer would only see that his appearance is a reminder of Allah and his form is an indication of his action. For you can tell a good horse by its appearance.³¹⁰ The other-worldly divines are known by their sign of tranquility, submissiveness, and humility. Somebody has said, "Allah has not clothed a worshipper in better clothing than tranquil submissiveness." It is the clothing of the prophets and the sign of the righteous, the believers, and the learned.³¹¹

As for continually speaking and using eloquence and drowning one's self in laughter and speed of movement and speech (before another has a chance), all these are signs of insolence and self-confidence and being heedless of the magnitude of Allah's chastisement and the intensity of His anger. This is the habit of the sons of the present world,

those who are neglectful of Allah, not those who know Him.

That is because there are three kinds of learned, just as Sahl al-Tustarī said: a) one who knows Allah's commands, not the times of Allah; and they are those who give legal opinions (al-muftūn) concerning the lawful and the unlawful. This knowledge does not beget reverence. b) one who knows Allah, not the command or the times of Allah. They are the mass of believers. And c) one who knows Allah and Allah's command and the days or times of Allah. They are the firm believers whom true reverence and humility dominate. ³¹²

By the times of Allah (ayyām allah), he meant His diverse hidden punishments and inner graces which He poured out on the early years (of Islām) and those which immediately followed them. If anyone's knowledge encompasses that his fear becomes great and his humility obvious.

'Umar (Bin al-Khaṭṭāb) said, "Learn knowledge and for knowledge learn tranquility, respect, and clemency. Be humble toward the one from whom you learn, and let the one who learns from you be humble toward you and do not be one of the learned who are proud and haughty. Your knowledge does not subsist by your ignorance."

Someone said, "Allah did not give a worshipper knowledge without giving clemency, humility, good character, and com-

reading bi 'līlāh with SMZ instead of li 'llāh

passion with it."

That is beneficial knowledge. And in a tradition of the companions (we read), "One to whom Allah has given knowledge, asceticism, humility, and good character is the leader (imām) of the god-fearing."³¹³

In a tradition from the prophet (khabar) (we read), "A people who openly laugh because of the wideness of the mercy of Allah and who secretly weep from fear of His punishment are the elite of my nation. Their bodies are on the earth, and their hearts in the heavens; their spirits are in the present world, and their minds in the next abode. They walk in tranquility and draw near by entreating Allah (with some good deed)."

Al-Ḥasan said, "Clemency is the vizier of knowledge, compassion is its father, and humility is its coat of mail."³¹⁴

Bishr Bin al Ḥarith said, "The one who seeks leadership by knowledge approaches Allah with his hatred, and he is detested in heaven and on earth."³¹⁵

Concerning the Israelites, it was related that a philosopher composed three hundred and sixty books about wisdom so that he was described as a philosopher. So Allah inspired their prophet to say, "Say to so-and-so, 'You have filled the earth with nonsense, none of which you did out of a desire to seek me. Verily, I will not accept any of your nonsense.'"

Then the man repented, forsook that, and mixed with the masses, walked in the market places, relied in the Children of Israel, and became humble himself. Then Allah inspired their prophet to say to him, "Now you have succeeded in (finding) my pleasure."³¹⁶

Al-Auzā'I quoted that Balāl Bin Sa'³¹⁷ used to say, "One of you observes a policeman and seeks refuge from him with Allah, and (also) looks at the learned of the present world who pretend to do good to the people, and who look to leadership; and he does not detest them, although they are more deserving of abhorrence than that policeman."³¹⁸

It is related that someone inquired, "O Messenger of Allah, what deeds are most excellent?"

He answered, "To avoid the things that are forbidden, and you should continually mention Allah."

"Which of the companions are the most excellent?" inquired someone.

He replied, "The companion who helps you, when you mention or remember Allah; and who reminds you, when you forget Him."

Somebody inquired, "Which of the companions are the worst?"

"That companion who does not remind you, when you forget Allah; and who does not aid you, when you remember Him."

He was asked, "Which people are the most learned?"

"Those who are most serious in their submission to Allah," he replied.

(So) they said, "Then inform us of our elite (so that) we may sit with them."

He said, "(They are) those who, when seen, are mentioning Allah."

"And which people are the worst?" they inquired.

He replied, "O Allah, I ask you to pardon me." (that is, "I beg to be excused from answering that.")

They entreated, "Tell us, O Messenger of Allah."

"The learned, when they are corrupt", he responded. ³¹⁹

He said, "The people who will be safest on the day of judgment are those who are most thoughtful in the present world. Those who will laugh most in the next abode are those who weep most in the present world. And the people whose joy will be most intense in the next abode are those who sorrow most in the present world." ³²⁰

In one of the speeches attributed to 'Ali he said, "My responsibility is pledged for (the truth of) what I say, and I am answerable for it: a people's sowing does not wither, if ³²¹ they are pious nor does the source of the root thirst after guidance. The most ignorant of people is one who does not know his value and the most detested of mankind in the sight of Allah is the man who picks up knowledge from here and

there by which he makes an attack in the distressful darkness (i.e. he uses it to cause trouble).

Those people who resemble him and their wicked ones are called learned. He did not live a day safe in his knowledge; he went forth early in the morning to increase it. A small amount of it which is sufficient is better than much of it which distracts so that when his thirst is quenched with foul water and he has gathered much (material) which has no benefit, he sets himself up as a teacher of people to clear up what was obscure to others. Then, when one of these important (problems) comes to him, he prepares redundant words for it from his opinion.

In clearing up doubts he is like a spider weaving a web and not knowing if he is right or wrong. One whose mount is ignorance frequently goes astray.³²⁷ He offers no excuses for what he does not know and (thus) save himself, nor does he obtain a good hold on knowledge with sharp-cutting molars and obtain spoil. The blood (of what is sacrificed) weeps on account of him (i.e. his unlawful, unjust fatwas) and by his judgments the unlawful secret parts are made lawful (on account of his ignorance of the matters which pertain to marriage). By Allah! he is not content to issue that which comes to him (i.e. he puts things in the wrong place), and he is not fit to assume the responsibility for that which was given

to him.

They are the ones on whom exemplary punishment falls and on whom lamenting and weeping are encumbent all the days of life of the present world. ³²² And 'Ali said, "If you hear knowledge, stop speaking; and do not mix it up with sport, for then minds reject it."

One of the Fathers said, "If a learned person laughs vociferously, he is absolutely rejected from knowledge."

Someone said, "When a teacher has three qualities, a pupil's life is most blessed. They are: patience, humility, and good character. When a pupil has three qualities, his teacher's life is made perfectly blessed by them. (They are) intelligence, good manners, and good understanding."

In short, the other-worldly divines continue to have the traits of character which the Qur'ān brought because they learned the Qur'ān for the sake of acting, not for the sake of leadership.

Ibn 'Umar said, "We have lived a portion of the age and one of us is given faith before the Qur'ān and the Surah comes down and he learns its permitted and its forbidden (things) and its commands and its interdictions and that at which it is expedient to stop. I have seen men to one of whom the Qur'ān was given before faith. He reads the whole book from beginning to end, but he does not know what it com-

mands him or what it forbids or at what point it is expedient to stop. He casts it away as though he were casting away bad dates."

Then in another tradition (from the Prophet) of similar meaning (we read), "We were companions of the Messenger of Allah, and faith was given to us before the Qur'ān. After you there will come a people to whom the Qur'ān will be given before faith. They will follow the letter of the law but not the spirit. They will say, 'We read; who is better read than we? We have learned; who is more learned than we?' And that is their fortune," while in a variant reading (this appears), "Those (people) are the evil ones of this nation."³²³

Somebody said, "Five traits of character which are part of the signs of the other-worldly divines are understood from five verses of the book of Allah: fear, submission, humility, good character, and to prefer the next abode to the present world, which is asceticism."

As for fear, it is from His saying, "Verily, of His servants, the learned fear Allah" (35:25).

As for submission, it is from His saying, "Those who submit to Allah do not sell His signs at a cheap price" (3:198).

As for the humble, it is from His saying, "Lower thy wing to the faithful" (15:89).³²⁴

As for good character, it is from His saying, "Because

of the mercy of Allah you were gentle with them"(3:153)

As for asceticism, it is from His saying, "They who received knowledge said, 'Woe to you. The reward of Allah is better for one who believes and does good" (28:80).

When the Messenger of Allah recited Allah's saying, "The bosom of one whom Allah shall please to guide will be dilated for the favorable acceptance of Islam" (6:125), somebody asked him, "What is this 'dilating of the bosom?'"

So he explained, "When the light is thrown into the heart, the bosom becomes dilated to receive it and filled with joy."

"Is there any sign for that?" somebody asked.

"Yes", he replied, "leaving this deceitful world and turning in penitence toward the eternal world and preparing for death before it happens."

10.(A tenth sign of an other-worldly divine) is that most of his discussion should be about practical knowledge and about what corrupts it and confounds hearts and incites satanic thoughts and stirs up evil; for surely the root of religion is to guard against evil. For that reason somebody said, "I knew evil not

For the sake of evil, but to guard (myself) against it;

And the man who does not know evil

Will fall into it."

The practical actions (al-a'māl al-fa'liyah) are avail-

able and the extreme limit, rather the highest of them is to continue to mention Allah with heart and tongue. Truly (the root of) the matter is to know what corrupts and confounds it. It is comprised of that, the ways of which increase and the derivatives expand. All that is part of that which pressing need predominates and by which distress is made a common (experience) in traveling the way to the next abode.

As for the worldly divines, they follow the unusual (cases of) the subsidiary branches in giving decisions and judgments, and they exhaust themselves in setting forth forms which never occur, though ages pass. If they do happen, they happen to others, not to them. And if they should occur, there would be an abundance (of people) to undertake them, while they forsake what is inseparable from them. In their promptings and satanic suggestions and deeds it is repeated night and day. How far (removed) from happiness is one who trades what is most important for himself for something that is rarely important for another, preferring to draw nigh to reception by people rather than to draw nigh to Allah!

The worst of it is that the worthless sons of the present world call him "excellent verifier, learned in the minutiae (of knowledge)", while his reward from Allah is that he

will not be benefitted by the way people accept (him). His pleasure fades away because of the misfortunes of the times. Then he returns to the day of judgment bankrupt (of good works) and remorseful, as he sees the gain of those who act and the victory of those who draw nigh (to Allah). And that is a manifest loss.

Of all men al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī was most like the prophets in respect to speech, and he was nearest the prophets in respect to guidance. There is common agreement as to his right to that. Most of his speech was about the promptings of hearts and corruption of deeds and satanic suggestions to the souls and secret hidden characteristics of the soul's appetites.

Somebody said to him, "O father of Sa'īd, truly you speak words which one hears from no others. From where did you get this (speech)?"

"From Ḥadhīfah Bin al-Yaman", he replied.

Somebody said to Ḥadhīfah, "We notice that you speak words which are not heard from others of the companions. From where did you get them?"

He replied, "The Messenger of Allah specially endowed me with them. People were asking him about the good, while I was asking him about evil from fear of falling into it, and I knew that the knowledge of good does not outstrip me."

Good does not outstrip me in respect to knowledge.

Once he said, "I knew that one who does not know evil does not know good", while in another version (we read), "They were saying, 'O Messenger of Allah, what about one who does this and that?' They were asking him about virtuous deeds, while I was wont to say, 'O Messenger of Allah, what corrupts this and that?' And when he saw me asking him about the defects of actions, he endowed me with this knowledge."

Hadhīfah was also particularly endowed with the knowledge about hypocrites and was set apart in respect to his recognition of the knowledge of hypocrisy and its causes and the minutiae of allurements.

'Umar and 'Uthmān and some of the famous companions used to ask about allurements both in general and in particular.

He used to be questioned about hypocrites. So he was wont to tell the number of those who remained, while he was not wont to tell their names. 'Umar used to inquire about himself and ask whether he knew of any hypocrisy in him, but he declared him innocent of that. When 'Umar was called to pray at a funeral he used to notice; and, if Hadhīfah were present, he would pray; if not, he would leave. So he (Hadhīfah) was called "the Possessor of the Conscience" (sāhib al-sirr).³²⁵

So concern about the stations (maqāmāt) of the heart and its states (ahwāl) was a custom of the other-worldly divines, because the heart is a messenger hastening on its journey to proximity to Allah. (Then) this art became rare and effaced. If a learned person came within reach of any of it, he was considered strange and far from understanding. Someone would say, "This is the embellishment of the exhorters. Where is the verification?" for they consider verification lies in the minutiae of disputations.

He who said these words was right:

"The ways are diverse, and the ways of truth are one;
And the travelers on the way of truth are few.
They are not recognized and their aims are not known;
And they have aims and are walking at their ease.
People are negligent about what is meant by them,
And most of them are asleep in regard to the way of
truth."

In short, most of mankind inclines only to the things which are most convenient and easiest for their natures. Verily truth is bitter, sticking to it is difficult, and (it takes) strenuous (work) to understand it. Its way, especially knowing the qualities of the heart and purifying it from blameworthy characteristics, is arduous; for that always abases the spirit. Its possessor descends to the

rank of one who drinks (bitter) medicine. In the hope of a cure he is patient about its bitterness. He resembles one who fasts all his life. He endures severities (now) so that he might feast at the time of his death (i.e. in the next abode). When will desire for this way abound? For that reason somebody said, "In Baḡrah there were one hundred and twenty theologians (concerned) in exhortation and reminding."

Of those who speak about the knowledge of certainty, the states (ahwāl) of the heart, and inner qualities, there were only three. They were Sahl al-Tustarī, al-Ṣubḥī, and 'Abd al-Raḥmān (bin Yahya al-Aswad). To the others there were wont to come and sit a countless number of people; whereas to these (three), only a small number, rarely more than ten; because whatever is very precious and expensive is for special people only. What is bestowed on the masses, that matter is easily obtainable.

11. (An eleventh sign of an other-worldly divine) is that in regard to his knowledge his dependence should be on his intelligence (baṣīratihi) and on his understanding with

purity of heart, not on pamphlets and books and not on imi-
tation of what he hears from others. For really he (who should be) imitated is the Bringer of the Divine Law (Muḥammad) in that which he commanded and said. One should certainly imi-

 # SMZ gives diyā' qalbihi

tate the companions wherever their action proves that they heard from the Messenger of Allah.

Then, if one follows the Bringer of the Divine Law by giving his sayings and his deeds good acceptance, he should be eager to understand his secrets (also). Verily, the imitator performs the deed because the Bringer of the Divine Law did so, and there is no escape from the ^{that} fact [#] whatever the Messenger of Allah performed had a secret to it. So it is expedient to make a serious investigation for the secret (behind) his deeds and sayings. If it were sufficient to memorize what is said, one would only be a vessel for knowledge and not a learned person. On that score, they used to say, "So-and-so is one of the vessels of knowledge"; and he was not called a learned person, if his custom was only to memorize, not to understand ^{the word} authority and secrets.

One from whose heart the veil is lifted and ^{which} ~~it~~ is lighted with the light of guidance becomes followed and imitated (himself), and does not need to imitate others. Therefore, Ibn 'Abbās said, "Except the Messenger of Allah, there is no individual but from whom some of his knowledge is taken and some is left"; and he learned jurisprudence from Zaid Ibn Thābit and studied the Qur'ān under Abu Bin Ka'b. Then he

reading with SMZ who adds wa kullamma kāna 'l-rasūl

disagreed with both in jurisprudence and reading.

One of the Fathers said, "What came to us from the Messenger of Allah we received most willingly, what came to us from the companions we partly accept and partly reject, and what came to us from the followers: well, they were men, just as we are."

For the superiority of the companions is (in the fact) that they saw the significance of the Prophet's circumstances and (also in) the relationship of their minds to matters apprehended by association (with him), That led them directly to the right in a manner which relating (a tradition) and explanation of meanings could not do, for heshed on them the light of prophecy which guards them in large measure from error. If to depend on what one heard from others was a disliked imitation, then to depend on books and writings is (even) more (disliked). Rather, books and writings are new, of which there were none in the time of the companions and the first followers. They began to appear about the year one hundred and twenty, hijrah, and after the death of all the companions and most of the followers and after the death of Sa'id Bin al-Musaiyab, al-Hasan, and the elite of the followers. Rather the first ones used to despise books of happenings and the writing of books lest men might occupy themselves in them instead of in memorizing and instead of the

Qur'an and instead of reflection and remembering. They said, "Memorize, just as we used to memorize."

Therefore Abu Bakr and most of the companions disliked to jot the Qur'ān down in book form, and they said, "How shall we do something which the Prophet of Allah did not do?" And they feared that people would depend on a written Qur'ān (rather than memorize it).

They said, "Let us leave the Qur'ān; one will obtain it from another by means of dictation and reciting. Let this be their work and their concern", until 'Umar and the rest of the companions advised that the Qur'ān be written for fear that people would refrain from helping; and (they feared) their slothfulness and that, should a dispute arise about a doubtful word or reading, no source would be found to which to refer. Abū Bakr's heart was gladdened by that. So he gathered the Qur'ān into one book.

Aḥmad Bin Ḥanbal used to disapprove of Mālik for composing al-Muwattā' and say, "He innovated something which the companions did not do."

It is said, "The first book composed in al-Islām was the book of Ibn Juraij about Traditions and Letters of Exposition about Mujāhid and 'Atā' and the companions of Ibn 'Abbās in Mecca. Then (came) the book of Ma'mar Ibn Rāshid al-

SMZ gives shakl al-qur'ān fi 'l-mushaf

Saghānī in Yaman in which was compiled traditional usage of the Prophet. Then there was al-Muwattā' of Mālik Bin Anas in al-Madīnah; then the Jāmi' of Sufyān al-Thawrī. Then in the fourth (Muslim) century there appeared writings on theology; and the plunging into disputation and annulling sayings became greatly increased.

Then people inclined to it and to narrations and exhortation. So the knowledge of certainty ^{stories} began to be effaced from that time. After that the knowledge of hearts and the search after the attributes of the soul and the tricks of the Shaitān began to be considered strange. All but a few turned aside from that, and the disputative scholastic theologian began to be called "learned" ('ālim), and the storyteller who adorned his speech with rhymed expressions was called "learned". This was because those who listened to them were the masses who did not know how to distinguish true knowledge from something false and their information about the lives and knowledge of the companions was not sufficient to permit them to make a distinction between these others and them. So the name "learned" (al-'ulamā') stuck to them; and the children inherited the nickname from their fathers, while knowledge of the next abode became concealed, and except for their specialists the difference between knowl-

reading SMZ; margin gives al-Sanānī

edge ('ilm) and scholastic theology (kalām) disappeared from among them. If somebody asked them, "Is this man or that man more learned?" they were accustomed to say, "This man is greater in respect to knowledge, and that man is greater in respect to theology."

The specialists used to understand the distinction between knowledge and ability in theology. And thus was religion weakened in the former centuries, but what is your opinion about this time of yours? The matter has resulted in an appearance of disavowal which becomes a butt (and casts) itself [#]toward madness (i.e. being possessed by the jinn). The best thing for man is to engage (in directing himself towards Allah) and to be silent.

12. (A twelfth sign of an other-worldly divine) is that he should be strictly on his guard against new things, even if a great many should agree on them; and (not to let) people's agreement on what has happened after the companions deceive him.

Let him be eager to examine the circumstances, conduct, and deeds of the companions as well as that in which their greatest concern lay. ~~Wasit~~ in teaching, writing (books), discussion, giving judgments, ruling over and supervising endowments and wills, devouring orphans' wealth, mixing with

 # reading binafsihi with SMZ instead of linisbatih

sultans and treating them affably in companionship, or was it in fear, sorrow, reflection (on the grace of Allah), wrestling (with the soul), guarding the outer and the inner life, shunning both the minute and the great sin, craving to understand the hidden lust of the soul and the tricks or wiles of the Shaiṭān, and other parts of the mystic sciences?

You should know for a certainty that the most learned people of the time and those who are nearest to the real are those who most nearly resemble the companions and who are the best informed about the way of the Fathers. From them religion was taken. On account of that, when somebody asserted that 'Ali had disagreed with so-and-so, he said, "The best ones among us are those (of us) who follow this religion most."

It is not necessary to mind the disagreement of the people of this age concerning what was suitable for the people of the Prophet's age, for people are apt to consider their present way of living as suitable, because their natures tend towards it. Their souls do not permit them to admit that that is the reason why they are denied the Garden, while they pretend that it is the only way to the Garden.

Therefore al-Ḥasan said, "Two new types have occurred in Islām: a) an evil-minded man who asserts that the Garden is for one who thinks as he does, and b) an effeminate man

who worships and seeks the present world and who becomes angry and also pleased on account of it. Cast them both away to the Fire. In this present world man has become (placed) between one who is softened by affluence and ease who urges him (to seek) his world and (on the other hand) a possessor of passionate desire who invites him (to follow) his passion-desire. From both of them Allah will certainly defend that one who longs for (the way of) the virtuous Father (al-salaf al-sālih) and who inquires about their deeds and follows in their train. (Such a one) is in line for a great reward. Therefore, be like that kind of person."

In a well-substantiated tradition this is related on the authority of Ibn Mas'ūd, "They are, in fact, two: speech and guidance. The best speech is the word of Allah, and the best guidance is the guidance of the Messenger of Allah. Beware of newly happened events, for the worst part of anything is its newness. Every newly-happened thing is an innovation, and every innovation is error. Is it not (true) that you will not have much time and your hearts will be hardened? Is it not (true) that everything that is coming is near? Is it not (true) that the remote is that which is not coming?"

In an oration of the Messenger of Allah (he said), "Blessed is he whose (own) defect occupies him rather than

other people's defects, who spends from wealth which he has gained without disobedience, who associates with the people of jurisprudence and wisdom, and who shuns the people of sin and disobedience. Blessed is he who humbles himself, whose character is good, whose secret life is righteous, and whose evil is removed from people. Blessed is he who acts according to his knowledge, who spends his surplus wealth and restrains his surplus speech, and he whom usage holds and who does not trespass into innovation."

"Ibn Mas'ūd used to say, "Good guidance in the last days is better than many works", and he also said, "You are living in a time in which your elite are quick in things, while after you there will come a time in which their elite will be firm and hesitant or cautious on account of the abundance of doubts."³²⁸

He was right, for he who is not cautious in this time and agrees with people in general in what they are (engaged) in, and delves deeply into what they delve deeply into will perish just as they perish.

Hadhīfah said, "Stranger than this is the fact that the things which you acknowledged today are the things which were disacknowledged in the time which has past, while what you disacknowledge today are the things which will be acknowledged in a time which might come. You will continue in good

 # reading qad ya'tī with SMZ and al-qūt

as long as you know the real and as long as a learned person among you is not held in contempt.³²⁹" And he was right.

Most of what is acknowledged in these ages was disavowed in the age of the companions. One of the perils in what is acknowledged in our time is the decorating and beautifying of mosques, spending great wealth in the details of their construction, and furnishing them with fine carpets; while (even) to spread reed mats in the mosques used to be considered an innovation. They say that this was something newly-introduced by al-Ḥajjāj (Ibn Yusuf).³³⁰ The first ones were scarcely accustomed to put any hindrance between them and the ground.

Similar to that is the being engaged in the minutiae of dialectics and debate for the sake of the knowledge of the people of the time; and they assert that it is one of the greatest means of approach (to Allah), while it was something that was disapproved among the first ones. Modulating the voice in chanting the Qur'ān and the call to worship is in the same category as are also going to the extreme in (regard to) cleanliness, raising scruples about purification, appraising the remote causes about soiling clothes along with laxity in making food lawful and unlawful, and what is similar to that.

Ibn Mas'ūd was right, when he said, "Today you are in

a time in which desire is a follower of knowledge, and a time will come upon you in which knowledge will be a follower of desire (al-hawa)."³³¹

Aḥmad Bin Ḥanbal used to say, "They forsook knowledge and rushed after strange things. How small is the amount of their knowledge! Allah is the one from whom we seek help."

Malik Bin Anas said, "In past times people were not in the habit of asking about these matters, as people ask to-day. Nor were the learned wont to say, 'Unlawful' and 'lawful', but I have understood that they used to say, 'the liked' and the 'disliked'".³³²

What he meant is that they used to observe the minutiae of what was disliked and what was liked. As for the unlawful, it was what was obviously abominable.

Hishām Bin 'Urwah used to say, "Do not ask them today about what they themselves have done newly, for they have prepared an answer about it; but ask them about the Sunnah, for they do not know it."³³³

And Abu Sulaimān al-Dārānī used to say, "It is not necessary for one to whom something good has been revealed to do it until he hears of it in the traditions of the companions. Then he praises Allah, for it agrees with what he is (already) doing."³³⁴

He said this because the opinions which had been newly

introduced had knocked at (the door) of the hearing and stuck to the hearts or minds. And many a time it confuses the clarity of one's mind. So because of it one imagines that the vain is true. Then he takes precautions concerning it by having recourse to the testimony of the traditions (āthār).

For that reason, when Marwān³³⁵ introduced a platform in the place of worship during the feast time worship, Abū Sa'id al-Khadrī³³⁶ stood up to oppose him and said, "O Marwān, what is this innovation?"

He replied, "This is no innovation; it is better than you know (how to do); for people have become numerous, and I want my voice to reach them."

Abū Sa'id said, "By Allah! you absolutely do not bring something better than I know; and, by Allah! I will not worship behind you today."³³⁷

He disapproved of that in him, because the Messenger of Allah used to lean on a bow or a cane during the discourse at the time of the feast and the worship for rain--not on a platform.³³⁸

In a well known tradition (this appears), "That man is rejected who introduces into our religion what is not a part of it", while (we read) in another tradition, "May the combined curse of Allah, the angels, and man be on anyone who deceives my people."

Somebody inquired, "O Messenger of Allah, what is (the meaning of) 'deceive your people'?"

"For one to introduce an innovation which he instigates people to do", he replied;³³⁹ and he said, "Verily Allah has an angel who announces every day, "Anyone who transgresses the usage of the Messenger of Allah will not receive his intercession."

The relation of one who commits a crime against religion by innovating something which transgresses usage to one who actually commits a sin is the same as that of one who disobeys the king by overturning his kingdom to one who transgresses his command about a definite service. Sometimes that is forgiven him; but as for overturning the kingdom, that is not (forgiven).

One of the learned said, "To be silent about that which the Fathers discussed is rudeness, while to discuss that on which the Fathers were silent is assumption."

Another person said, "Truth is heavy. One who goes beyond it is wrong, while one who falls short in it is weak, and one who stands with it is satisfied."

The Apostle of Allah said, "Your responsibility is to take the middle road to which one who is high returns and to which one who is following along is lifted up."³⁴⁰

Ibn 'Abbās said, "Error has some sweetness in the hearts

of its people."

Allah said, "Leave those who made a sport and a pastime of their religion" (6:69); and "One whose deeds are so adorned to him that he sees them good---"³⁴¹(35:9) All that has originated since the time of the companions which goes beyond the bounds of necessity is sport and pastime.

It is quoted that Iblīs (may Allah curse him) sent out his soldiers in the time of the companions, and they returned to him tired out. So he demanded, "What's wrong?"

"We have never seen anybody like these (people)", they replied. "We have had no success from them, while they have worn us out."

He said, "You cannot prevail against them. They have made their prophet their master and seen the revelation of their Lord, but after them there will come a people from whom you will receive your dues."

So when the followers came, he (again) sent his army abroad, and they returned to him disheartened and said, "We have never seen anyone stranger than these (people). We succeed in finding sins in them. Then at the end of the day, they begin to seek forgiveness; and Allah exchanges their evil (deeds) for good."

And he said, "You will never receive anything from these (people) because of the soundness of their belief in Allah's

unity and because they follow their prophet's usage, but after them there will come a people with whom your eyes will be refreshed. You will disport with them and lead them as you wish with the reins of their passions. If they seek forgiveness, they will not be forgiven. They will not repent, and Allah will exchange their good for evil.[#]"

He said, "After the first(Muslim) century there came a people among whom he sent lusts and to whom he made innovation attractive. They found it sweet and they took it as a religion and did not seek forgiveness from Allah for it nor repent about it. So the enemies had authority over them and led them where they wished."³⁴²

If you should ask, "From where did the person who told this know what Iblīs said, when he neither saw Iblīs nor spoke to him about that?" you should know that the lords of the hearts reveal heavenly secrets (asrār al-malakūt) sometimes by way of inspiration (al-ilhām) by what is suggested to them in the manner of something coming to them from a place which they know not, and sometimes on the way of true revelation (al-ru'yā al-ṣādiqah), and sometimes in the state of wakefulness on the way of revealing ideas by seeing the likenesses just as in sleep. This is the highest stage, and

reading al-Qūt fa tubdal hasanātuhum saya'āt

it is one of the high prophetic stages, just as revelation is one of the forty-six parts of prophecy.

Then beware that your portion of this knowledge be to disapprove what exceeds your limit, for in it is the destruction of the learned who pretend to thoroughly understand and who assert that they have mastered the intellectual sciences. For ignorance is better than intelligence which leads to a denial of such matters of the saints of Allah. He who denies that to the saints is required to deny the prophets, and he is entirely outside (the bounds) of religion.

One of the gnostics (al-'ārifīn) said, "Verily the Substitutes have withdrawn to the ends of the earth and become concealed from the eyes of the public, because they are unable to look at the learned of the time, for they consider (the learned) as being ignorant of Allah, while among themselves and among the ignorant they are (considered) learned."

Sahal al-Tustarī said, "Truly the greatest disobedience is to be ignorant of one's ignorance", and to consider the masses and listen to the words of the heedless (is easier on the Abdāl). It is not necessary to listen to the speech of every learned person who delves deeply into the present world, rather it is necessary to suspect everything he says, for every man delves deeply into what he likes and rejects what

is not agreeable to the object of his love."

On account of that Allah said, "Do not obey him whose heart we have made heedless about mentioning us and who follows his own inclinations and whose affair is unbridled" (18:27)..

The disobedient masses are more fortunate in respect to their condition than those who are ignorant of the way of religion and who believe that they are learned; because a disobedient common person confesses his shortcomings and seeks forgiveness and repents, while this ignorant person who thinks that he is learned, though what he is engaged in are the sciences which are his means of access to the present world instead of traveling the way of religion, does not repent nor seek forgiveness; but he continues on (his way) to death.

Except for those whom Allah fortifies, this dominates the greater part of people, and hope of correcting them is cut off. The safest (course) for the possessor of religion is the precaution of withdrawal and separation from them, just as you will see in the book of "Withdrawal", if Allah wills.

For that reason Yusuf Bin Asbāt wrote to Ḥadhīfah al-Mar'ashi, "What is your opinion of one who remains (and) finds no one to remember Allah with him but a sinner or one

whose participation in remembering (Allah) would be a disobedience? That is, that he does not its (that is, dhikr) people." ³⁴⁴

And he was right. For really, association with people does not isolate one from calumny or hearing calumny, nor does it silence what is forbidden. The best of his circumstances is to make his knowledge useful or to gain benefit.

If this poor fellow should stop to think, he would know that his benefit is not free from the blemishes of hypocrisy and the quest of accumulating (wealth) and of leadership. [#] He would know that the beneficiary really wants to make that an instrument for the quest of the present world and a means to reach evil. And he would be helping him to do that and be a support and a helper and one who facilitates his means as he who sells a sword to a highwayman.

Knowledge is like a sword, and its suitability for good resembles a sword's suitability for a raid. For that reason one is not permitted to sell to anyone who he knows, by the nature of his circumstances, wants to use it in highway robbery.

These are twelve signs of the other-worldly divines, each one of which comprises a group of character traits of the learned Fathers. Then be one of two (kinds of) men:

SMZ omits, "that his benefit----and leadership"

either one to whom these qualities are ascribed or one who confesses and acknowledges his shortcomings. Beware of being the third (i.e. one who disavows), for you confuse or confound yourself in that you exchange your religion for the instrument of the present world and cause the conduct of the frivolous^{to} to resemble that of the learned who are firmly-grounded; and by your ignorance and denial you will be affiliated with the group who are hopelessly perishing.

We seek refuge with Allah from the deceit of the Shaiṭān wherein lies the destruction of the public, and we ask Allah to include us in those whom the life of the present world does not delude and whom delusion does not cheat of Allah.

PART SEVEN

PART SEVEN CONCERNS INTELLIGENCE, ITS NOBILITY, ITS VERACITY, AND ITS DIVISIONS

A. An Exposition of the Nobility of Intelligence

You should know that this is something which does not need painstaking endeavor to make it obvious, especially since the nobility of knowledge has been shown beforehand, and intelligence is the source, the place of rising, and the foundation of knowledge; and knowledge has the same relation to it as fruit to a tree, light to the sun, and sight to the eye.

How does one not honor what is a means of access to happiness in the present world and the next abode, or how does he doubt it, while in spite of his incomplete discrimination even the greatest beast in respect to body, the fiercest in respect to savagery, and the strongest in respect to attack stands in awe of intelligence. When he sees the form of a man, he stands in awe of him and fears him on account of his perception of (man's) mastery over him on account of his specialization in mastering tricks.

For that reason the Prophet said, "Among his people an elder is like the Prophet among his nation."

That is not on account of the abundance of his wealth nor the size of his body nor any excess in strength, but on account of his excess experience which is the fruit of his mind. Therefore you see the Turks, the Kurds, the uncultured Arabs, and the rest of mankind, in spite of their close relationship to the rank of beasts, respect the elder (shaikh) by nature.

For that reason, (at the time) when many of the rebels planned to kill the Messenger of Allah and when their eyes fell on him and they were appointed with his splendid whiteness, they feared him; and the light of prophecy which was wont to sparkle on his countenance appeared to them, even though it were an inner something in himself as the intellect is.

The nobility of intelligence is understood by necessity, and our object is to bring (to your attention) some mention of its nobility which ^{is} are found in the traditions and evidential verses.

Allah has named it "light" in His saying, "Allah is the light of the heavens and the earth. His light is like a wall niche for a lamp" (24:35)

He named the knowledge from which benefit is received

"spirit" and "inspiration", and "life", and He said, "Thus by our command have we sent a spirit to you with a revelation" (42:52)

Allah said, "Or one who was dead and whom we have made alive, and for whom we have made a light with which he walks among men---" (6:122). Where He mentions "light" and "darkness" He means "knowledge" and "ignorance", as in His saying, He brings them out of darkness into light" (2:258).

Muhammad said, "O people, understand your Lord and enjoin one another with intelligence, and you will know what you were ordered to do and what you were forbidden from. You should know that it (intelligence) assists you with your Lord. You should know that the intelligent person, though he be ugly in looks, contemptible in rank, low in degree, and ragged in appearance is he who obeys Allah; and that the ignorant person, though he be good looking, great in rank, honorable in degree, beautiful in appearance, and an eloquent speaker is he who disobeys Allah. Monkeys and pigs are more intelligent in Allah's sight than one who disobeys Him. Do not be deluded by the people of the present world magnifying you, for they are those who are misled."

The Messenger of Allah said, "The first thing that Allah created was intelligence. He said to it, "Approach", and it approached. Then he said to it, "Retreat" and it retired.

Then Allah said, 'By my honor and my majesty, I have not created any creature more honorable to me than you. By you I take; by you I give; by you I reward; and by you I punish.'

If you should ask, "If this intelligence is an accident ('ard), how was it created before bodies; and if it is substance (jawhar)³⁴⁵, how can it be a substance existing by itself and not retire (to a distance)?" you should know that this is mystic knowledge, and it is not suitable to mention it with practical knowledge, while our present purpose is the mention of practical knowledge.

On the authority of Anas (Dā'ūd Bin al- Muḥabbar said), "In the presence of the Prophet some people praised a man to such an extent that they exaggerated. So he asked, 'How is the man's intelligence?'

"They replied, 'We are telling you about his zeal in worship and different kinds of good, and you ask us about his mind!'

"He said, 'Truly the most foolish person who ^{is right} succeeds in spite of his ignorance is greater than an ungodly person. In the future worshippers will be raised to stages near their Lord according to the amount of their intelligence.'"

(Then there is this) on the authority of 'Umar who said, "The Messenger of Allah said, 'A man gains nothing like the excellence of intelligence which directs its possessor to the

way of salvation and averts him from death, and a worshipper's faith is not perfected nor does his religion become upright until his intelligence is made perfect."

"Verily by his good character man attains to the rank of one who fasts and spends the night in worship"; said the Prophet, "and good character is not perfected in a man until his mind is made perfect. Then his faith is perfected, and he obeys his Master and disobeys his enemy, Iblīs."

(There is also this) on the authority of Abū Sa'īd al-Khādra who said, "The Messenger of Allah said, "Everything has a support (da'āmah). A believer's support is his intelligence, and his worship will be in proportion to the amount of his intelligence. Have you not heard the saying of the transgressor (al-fājir) in the Fire: 'Had we listened or acted intelligently, we should not have been among the people whose portion is the Fire (ashāb al-nār)?'"

(The following comes) on the authority of 'Umar who said, ³⁴⁷ to Tamīm al-Dārī, "What is nobility in you?"

"Intelligence", he replied.

'Umar said, "You are right. I asked the Messenger of Allah, and he said what you did. Then he added, 'I asked Jibrā'il what nobility is and he said, 'Intelligence'."

³⁴⁶
On the authority of al-Barā' Bin 'Āzab (this is related, "He said, "Problems increased one day on the Messenger of

Allah, and he said, 'O people, everything has a vehicle (matiyah); and man's vehicle is his intelligence. The best one among you in respect to demonstrative proof and knowledge of proof (ma'rifatan bi 'l-hujjah) is that one who is most excellent in respect to intelligence."

On the authority of Abū Hurairah (we have the following tradition). He said, "When the Messenger of Allah returned from the Battle of Uhud he heard people saying, 'So-and-so is braver than so-and-so' and 'So-and-so (was tested in that which so-and-so was not tested in)' and the like. So the Messenger of Allah stated, 'As for this, you have no knowledge about it.' They said, 'And how is that, O Messenger of Allah?' and he replied, 'Verily they waged war according to the measure of intelligence which Allah meted out to them, and their victory and their intention were according to the measure of their intelligence. Those of their number who attained success had varying degrees of attainment. So on the day of judgment, their rank will be apportioned according to the measure of their intention and their intelligence.'"

(Another tradition comes) on the authority of al-Barā' Ibn 'Āzab who said, "The angels very dilligently obeyed Allah with intelligence, while the believers of the sons of Adam were dilligent according to the measure of their intelligence. Those who were most industrious in respect to obedience were

were their greatest ones in respect to intelligence."

And on the authority of 'Āishah³⁴⁸ (comes this tradition). She said, "I asked the Messenger of Allah in what people differ in superiority in the present world."

"He replied, 'In intelligence.'

I inquired, "Are they not rewarded according to their deeds?"

"He answered, 'O 'Ā'ishah, do they do anything except according to the amount of intelligence which He gave them? Their deeds are according to the amount of intelligence which He gave them, and they are rewarded according to the amount which they do.'"

(This is related) on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās who said, "The Messenger of Allah said, 'Everything has an instrument and a tool, and the believer's instrument is his intelligence. Everything has a vehicle, and man's vehicle is his intelligence. Everything has a support, and the support of religion is intelligence. Every people has an objective, and the worshippers' objective is intelligence. Every people has a motive, and the worshipper's motive is intelligence. Every merchant has merchandise, and the merchandise of the dilligent is intelligence. Every household has a manager, and the manager of the veracious' household is intelligence. Every ruin has an edifice, and the edifice of

the next abode is intelligence. Every man has posterity by which he is related and remembered, and the posterity of the veracious by which they are related and remembered is intelligence. Every journey has a camp, and the camp of the believers is intelligence."

The Prophet said, "The believer most loved by Allah is one who labors at obedience of Allah and advises His worshippers. His mind is made perfect and he advises himself. He sees clearly and acts according to it all the days of his life. He is successful and he causes others to succeed."

"That one of you who is most perfect in respect to his intellect", said Muhammad, "is that one of you whose fear of Allah is strongest and who is the very best one of you in respect to observing what He commanded you to do and forbade you from, even if he is the least of you in respect to obeying willingly."

B. An Exposition of the Veracity and Divisions of Intelligence

You should know that people disagree concerning the definition of al-'aql and its veracity. Most of them neglect the fact that this name is ascribed to various ideas. So this became a cause of their disagreement, while the veil-lifting truth about it is that al-'aql is a name which is as-

cribed jointly to four (different) ideas, just as the word al-'ain, for example, is ascribed to numerous ideas, and other words which follow this course. So it is not necessary for one to seek one definition for all its divisions, but to single out each division in explaining it.

1. The first is that quality by which man is differentiated from the rest of the animals and by which he is prepared to receive the speculative sciences and to manage the hidden reflective arts.

It is what al-Ḥarīth Bin 'Asad al-Muḥāsibī meant concerning the description of intelligence, when he said that it is an instinct (gharīzah) by which (one) is prepared to understand the speculative sciences, just as if it were a light cast into the heart by which one is prepared to understand things. One who denies this is not impartial, and he rejects intelligence to plain axiomatic knowledge (al-'ulūm al-darūriyah). Both one who is heedless of knowledge and one who is asleep are called "intelligent beings" in regard to the existence of this instinct in both of them, in spite of the absence of knowledge.

Just as life is an instinct by which the body is prepared to make voluntary movements and arrive at sensual perceptions, so in like manner intelligence is an instinct by which some of the animals are prepared for speculative knowledge. If

it is permissible to make a comparison between man and a donkey concerning instinct and sensual perception, then someone says, "There is no difference between the two except that Allah, by authority to introduce a custom, creates knowledge in man, and does not create it in the donkey and beasts (in general)", then it would be permissible to make a comparison between the donkey and the mineral kingdom (i.e. inanimate substances) concerning life.

Somebody would say, "The only difference is that Allah creates specialized movements in the donkey by authority to introduce a custom; and, if the donkey is decreed to be an inanimate dead substance, then it is necessary to say that Allah is capable of creating every movement that is seen in it according to the arrangement which is seen."

Just as it is necessary for one to say, "His differentiation from the mineral kingdom in respect to movement is only by an instinct peculiar to him which is expressed by the word 'life' (al-haiyah), so the difference between man and beast concerning understanding speculative knowledge is by an innate disposition which is expressed by the word 'intelligence' (al-'aql); and it is like a mirror which is differentiated from other bodies in respect to reflecting pictures and colors by a quality peculiar to itself which is lustre or polish.

In like manner the eye is different from the forehead in qualities and form by which it is prepared for vision. The relation of this innate disposition (gharīzah) to knowledge is like the relation of the eye to vision (al-ru'yah). The relation of the Qur'ān and the divine law to this innate disposition in respect to its leading to the disclosure of their knowledge is like the relation of sunlight to sight (al-baṣr). So it is necessary for you to understand the innate disposition in this manner.

2. The second (meaning of al-'aql) is the knowledge which comes into existence in the essence of a child (dhāt al-tifl) which distinguishes between the possibility of the possible and the impossibility of the absurd, such as the knowledge that two is greater than one and that one person cannot be in two places at one time.

This is what one of the scholastic theologians meant concerning the description of intelligence, when he said that it is axiomatic knowledge like the knowledge of the possibility of what is possible and the impossibility of what is absurd. This also is true in itself, because this knowledge exists, and it is obvious that it is called intelligence. The fallacy is that this innate disposition is denied and someone says, "Only this knowledge exists."

3. The third (meaning of al-'aql) is knowledge acquired

from the experience of passing circumstances, for one whom experience has instructed and the modes of acting have trained is said to be intelligent ('āqil) in general; while one who is not described by this quality is said to be simple, inexperienced, and ignorant. So this is another kind of knowledge which is called "intelligence".

4. The fourth (meaning of al-'aql) is that the power of this natural disposition leads one to know the issue of affairs and to tame and conquer his appetite which tempts him to (follow after) fleeting delight. When this power is obtained, the possessor of it is called intelligent in respect to his advancing and refraining according to what is demanded by consideration for the ends, not according to the authority of his fleeting desire. This also is one of man's peculiarities by which he is distinguished from the rest of the animals.

The first division is the foundation, the root, and the source, while the second is the branch which is closest to it. The third is a branch of the first and the second, for by the power of the instinct and axiomatic knowledge, experiential knowledge is benefitted. The fourth is the final fruit and the ultimate aim. The first pair come by nature, while the latter pair come by acquisition.

For that reason 'Alī said,

"I saw intelligence as two intelligences,

One was granted by nature, the other was the product
of hearing.

That which is the product of hearing is of no use,

If you do not have what is endowed by nature,

Just as the sun gives no benefit,

While the light of the eye is extinguished."

The first is what Muḥammad meant in his saying, "Allah created no creature more respected by Him than intelligence", while the last is what he meant in his saying, "If people draw near by the doors of righteousness and righteous deeds, then you should draw near by your intelligence."

It is what the Messenger of Allah meant in his saying to Abī al-Dardā', "Let your intelligence be increased and you will be increased in respect to nearness to your Lord."

He said, "You are father and mother to me, but how can you be intelligence for me?"

"Shun what is forbidden by Allah", said the Prophet, "and love His obligations (farā'id) and you will be intelligent. Do righteous deeds and, in the present fleeting world, you will be increased in respect to loftiness (of rank) and honor; and, in the future, you will receive from your Lord nearness and majesty as requital for it."

On the authority of Sa'id Ibn al-Musaiyab (it is re-

lated that 'Umar, Abū Bin Ka'b, and Abū Hurairah went in (to see) the Messenger of Allah. They inquired, "O Messenger of Allah, who is the most learned of people?"

"He replied, 'The intelligent person.'

"Then who is the most devout person?' they asked.

"He replied, 'The intelligent person.'

"Then who is the most excellent of people?' they asked.

"(Again) he replied, 'The intelligent person'.

"So they asked, 'Is not an intelligent person one whose manhood is perfected, whose eloquence is obvious, whose palm is liberal, and whose rank is great?'

"So he said, 'All that belongs to the earthly life, while with your Lord the next abode is for the god-fearing. For an intelligent person is he who is pious, even if he is contemptible and humble in the present world.'"

In another tradition the Prophet said, "Verily an intelligent person is one who has faith in Allah, believes His messengers, and acts in submission to Him."

It seems as if the root of the word al-'aql originally denoted that innate quality (al-gharīzah), and in like manner its use. And it was ascribed to knowledge from the point of view that it is its fruit, just as something is known by its fruit. It is (also) said that knowledge is reverence (al-khashyah) and a learned person is he who reveres Allah.

Reverence is the fruit of knowledge, and is like a figure of speech for something other than that innate disposition, but our purpose is not to discuss language. What is sought is (to assert) that these four divisions exist and that the name 'agl' is ascribed to all of them.

The only disagreement about the existence of all of them concerns the first division. The truth is that they do exist, rather they are the source and these sciences are just as if they were included in that innate disposition by nature, but they appear in existence when some cause happens which brings them out into existence so that this knowledge is not something which has come to it from outside, but it is just as if it were hidden in it and becomes obvious.

It is like the water (which is hidden in) the earth, for it appears by the digging of a well, where it collects and it is distinguished by the senses, not by something new being poured into it. Of a similar nature is the fragrance of the almond and rose water. For that reason Allah said, "When the Lord brought forth their descendants from the backs of the sons of Adam and made them testify against themselves, 'Am I not your Lord?' they said, 'Certainly'" (7:171).

What is meant by it is an avowal of their souls, not an avowal of their tongues; for, on the question of the avowal of tongues (people) are divided into those who confess and

those who disavow wherever tongues and people are found.

Therefore Allah said, "If you ask them who hath created them, they will be sure to say, 'Allah'" (43:87), the meaning of which is that, if you take their circumstances into consideration, you will see by that that their souls and inner lives are a creation (fitrah) of Allah according to which He created people. That is, every man was created with faith in Allah, rather in accordance with knowledge of things as they are. I mean they are just as if they were inclosed in them on account of the nearness of their preparation to understand.

Then, when faith was produced in their souls by creation, people were divided in two parts: a) those who opposed. So they forgot. They are the unbelievers; and b) those who centered their thought on it. So they remembered (what was forgotten). They are like those who carry a testimony and forget it through heedlessness. Then they remember it. Allah said, "Perhaps they may be made to remember" (8:59), and "that those endued with understanding may remember" (38:28), and "Remember Allah's favor upon you and the covenant which He has covenanted with you" (5:10), and "We have made the Qur'ān easy for admonition, but is there any who is admonished?" (54:17 etc.--22,32,40)

To call this kind a remembering is not far (from the

meaning of the word in respect to language). So it is just as if the remembering is of two kinds, one of which is that one remembers a form, the existence of which was present in his heart but which disappeared after having been present; while the second is that he remembers a form which was inclosed in him by natural disposition. These are realities which are obvious to one who observes with the light of intelligence; difficult (to understand) for one who puts the veil of audition and imitation above revelation and vision. Therefore you see him stumble in verses like these and use discommendable license in allegorically interpreting remembering (al-tadhakkur) and causing souls to be at rest (iq-rār al-nufūs), and he imagines various kinds of contradictions concerning traditions and verses. Many a time he considers them contemptuously and believes that they will collapse, because that dominates him.

He is like a blind man who enters a house in which he stumbles over the utensils which are orderly arranged in the house, and he asks, "What are these utensils? Why are they not taken out of the way and put in their places?"

(The people of the house) reply, "In fact, they are in their places; the real defect is in your sight."

The defect of mental perception (al-baṣīrah) acts in the same manner, though it is more overwhelmingly momentous;

for the soul is like a horseman and the body, the horse. And for a comparison between the mystic and the physical sight Allah said, "His heart did not falsify what it saw" (53:11), and "Thus do we show Ibrāhīm the kingdoms of the heavens and the earth" (6:75).

Its opposite is called "blindness". And Allah said, "Verily it is not the eyes that are blind, but the hearts in their breasts are blind" (22:45), and He said, "One who has been blind in this (world) will be blind in the next abode and most erring in respect to the way" (17:74)..

These are matters which were revealed to the prophets. Some of them were through the physical eye; and some, through the inner eye; while all of them were called revelation (al-ru'yah). In short, the only part of religion which will stick to one whose inner eye is not piercing is its skins and its forms, not the kernel and its truths.. And these are the divisions to which the name 'aql was ascribed.

C. An Exposition of People's Disparity in Intelligence

People have disagreed about the disparity of intelligence, and there is no sense in engaging in transmitting the words of one whose attainment is little, but first and foremost (we should) hasten to make the truth clear.

The clear truth about it is that disparity applies to the four divisions except for the second division which is axiomatic knowledge of the possibility of what is possible and the absurdity of what is impossible; for anyone who knows that two is greater than one, also knows the absurdity of a body being in two places (at one time) and of something being both eternal (qadīm) and created (hādīth). The same is true for the rest of similar things and everything that he has thoroughly and really understood without any doubt. As for the three divisions, disparity applies to them.

As for the fourth division, it is the domination of a strong (will) in taming fleshly inclinations; and people's disparity in this is not concealed, rather the disparity in one individual's circumstances concerning this is not concealed.

Sometimes this disparity is because of the disparity of fleshly inclination, for sometimes an intelligent person may be able to forsake some of his fleshly inclinations and not others; but this is not restricted to him. For a young man may be unable to forsake adultery; but when he grows up, and his mind is perfect, he is able to control it; while his inclination to hypocrisy and leadership increases in respect to strength by growing up, not in respect to weakness.

Sometimes its cause is the disparity in knowledge which

is know by the harm of that appetite. Because of this a physician is able to abstain from some harmful foods, while he who is his equal in intelligence may not be able to do that, if he is not a physicaⁱⁿ, even if he is wont to believe that on the whole there is harm in it. Rather when the physician's knowledge is more complete, his fear is more intense. So his fear becomes a soldier for intelligence and a tool in taming and breaking the fleshly inclinations. For that reason a learned person is better able to forsake his disobedient acts than an ignorant person, on account of the strength of his knowledge of the harm of his disobedient acts.

I mean by this the truly learned person, not the lords of the ³⁴⁹Ṭailasāh and the possessors of senseless talk (ashāb al-hadhayāt)³⁵⁰. Even if there is a disparity from the point of view of fleshly inclination, it has no reference to a disparity of intelligence. If it is from the point of view of knowledge, we have also named this kind of knowledge intelligence. Then it strengthens the innate disposition of intelligence. So the disparity is in that to which the naming refers, and it may be pure disparity in the innate disposition of intelligence. If it is strengthened, its taming of the fleshly inclinations is inescapably more severe.

As for the third division which is experiential knowledge, people's disparity in that is not denied. For they differ

in the amount of (being) right and speed of understanding.

The cause is either in the disparity of their innate quality or in the disparity of practice. As for the first, it is the the fundamental principle; I mean the innate disposition (al-gharīzah). There is disparity in it; there is no way to deny the fact.

It is like a light which illuminates the soul. Its morning and the beginning of its ascension appear at the age of discretion. Then it continues to develop and increase by a hidden gradual progress until it is perfected around the age of forty. It is like the dawn, for its beginning is so concealed that it is difficult to perceive it. Then it gradually continues to increase until it is completed by the rising disc of the sun.

The disparity of the light of intelligence is like the disparity of the light of the eye, and the difference between one who is blear-eyed and one who is sound in sight is perceptible, but Allah's ^{creation} usage in all His creation is to use a gradual process in causing (anything) to exist so that the innate disposition of the fleshly appetite does not appear in a boy in one sudden stroke, when he reaches puberty; rather it appears little by little in successive degrees. The process is similar for all powers and qualities. One who denies people's differences or disparity in this innate

disposition is like one who is out of his mind. One who supposes that the Prophet's intelligence is like that of one of the Suwādiyah³⁵¹ and the coarse Bedouins is viler himself than one of the Suwādiyah. How can one deny the disparity in innate disposition, when were it not for this, people would not have differed in understanding knowledge and they would not be divided into the stupid who only understand after long effort on the part of the teacher, and into sagacious individuals who understand with the merest sign and hint, and into the perfect from whose soul there spring up the reality of matters without teaching, just as Allah said, "Its oil would almost shine out even though fire did not touch it, light on light" (24:35).

That is like the example of the prophets, for in their inner life many obscure things were obvious to them without learning and audition, and that is expressed by "illumination" (ilhām). (It is also) something like that which the Prophet expressed, when he said, "The Holy Spirit breathed into my heart (rū')(and inspired me), 'Love whomever you like, for you will be separated from him; and live as you wish, for you are dead; and do as you wish, for you will be rewarded according to it.'"

This kind of (act on the part of) the angels in causing the prophets to know differs from clear revelation (al-wahy

al-sarīh) which is hearing a voice with the auditory sense and seeing an angel by vision. Therefore this was mentioned as "breathing into the heart" (bi 'l-nafṭh fi 'l-rū').

The degrees of revelation (wahy) are numerous, and to delve deeply into them is not suitable for the practical sciences; rather it belongs to mystic science. Do not suppose that a recognition of the degrees of revelation evokes the function of revelation, not infrequently a sick doctor knows the stages of health and a wicked learned person knows the degrees of justice, even though he has none of it in himself. Knowledge is one thing, while the existence of that which is known is another. Not everyone who knows prophecy and sainthood is a prophet or a saint, and not everyone who knows piety and godliness and their minutiae is pious.

People are divided into (the kind of person) who is warned by himself and understands, and one who only understands by warning and teaching, and also one whom teaching and warning do not benefit, just as the earth is divided into (a place) in which water is gathered and it accumulates and springs flow freely in it, and that which requires digging to lead (the water) out into channels, and that which is not benefitted by digging. It is dry land. That is on account of the diverse qualities of the earth's substance.

Similar to that is the difference in people's innate

disposition of intelligence, and what was related about 'Abdullah Bin Salām indicates their contrast in intelligence from the point of view of transmitting (tradition). He questioned the Prophet about a long tradition at the end of which was a description of the greatness of the throne. The angels asked, "O Master, hast Thou created anything greater than the throne?"

"He replied, 'Yes, the intelligence.'

"'What equals it in value?' they demanded.

"He answered, 'What a difference there is! It is not encompassed by knowledge. Do you know the number of the (grains of) sand?'

"'No', they replied.

"Allah said, 'Verily, I have created as many diverse kinds of intellect as the number of the grains of sand. There are people who have received one grain, some who have received two, some who have received three and four, some who have received a portion (³⁵²farg), some who have received a camel's load, and some who have received more than that.'"

If you should ask, "What is the matter with certain people of the Sufis who blame intelligence ('aql) and the power of understanding (ma'qūl)?" you should know that it is because people have transferred the name "intelligence" and "power of understanding" to "dialectics" (mujādah) and

debate (munāzarah) with saying that which is contradictory in meaning (al-munāqadāt) and constraint (on one's) opponent, which is the work of scholastic theology. And they were not able to decide among themselves that you erred in the terminology, for that was not (so soon) erased from their hearts after their tongues had pronounced it so often and it had been firmly grounded in their hearts. They blame intelligence and the power of understanding which is what it is called among them.

As for the mystic light of intelligence by which Allah and the veracity of His prophets are known, how can one imagine blaming it, while Allah (Himself) has praised it (cf. 29:42)? If it is blamed, then what (about that which is beyond it? Is it) praised? If what is praised is the divine law, then with what is the reality of the law known? If it is known with the blameworthy intelligence in which there is no confidence, the law also is blameworthy. One will pay no heed to anyone who says that it (i.e. the divine law) is understood by the eye of certainty and the light of faith, not by intelligence. For we mean by intelligence (al-'aql) what he means by the eye of certainty ('ain al-yaqīn) and the light of faith (nūr al-īmān), and it is the mystic quality by which the human being is differentiated from animals so that by it he understands the real state of affairs.

Most of this confusion has sprung up from the ignorance of people who sought (inner) realities from (outer) terms (alfāz), and they were confused about them on account of people's confusion in the use of conventional terms.

This is a sufficient amount on the exposition of intelligence. Allah is most knowing. The Book of Knowledge is completed with praise of Allah and His bounty. May Allah bless our lord, Muhammad, and every chosen servant of the people of earth and heaven.

If Allah wills, the Book of the Rules of Beliefs will follow.

And praise (Allah) alone, first and last.

Inadvertently the notes are numbered to
166 and then continue with # 147 thus
leaving two sets of notes numbered
from #147-166

Notes to the Kitāb al-'Ilm

1. The Basmala, al-Hamdala, and Salāt are treated in the Encyclopedia of Islam in the following order: i, p. 672; ii, p.245; and iv, p. 96.

SMZ states that three things are obligatory on everyone who writes a book: the basmalah, the hamdalah and the salāt, while four others are permissible: praise of his craft or art, mention of the motive for writing, naming the book, and an explanation of the arrangement of its chapters and divisions, thus making seven things. (i,p.53)

SMZ here referred to stands for the Sayyid Murtadā al-Zabīdī's commentary on the Ihyā', known as the Ithāf al-Sāda al-Muttaqīn (Brockelmann, i., page 422; ii, 287 f.) See also, Calverley, Worship in Islam, page 37, note 2. The commentary will be referred to hereafter as SMZ.

2. istidrāj see: Wensinck: the Muslim Creed, p. 226.

Discussing the theory of miracles and the objection that they are also ascribed to Pharaoh, Satan, and Anti-Christ---, he says, "Nevertheless, an explanation is found by connecting them with the deluding activity (istidrāj, makr) of Allah towards His enemies, which is familiar to Muslims from the Qur'ān (vii, 181; x,22; xiii,42; lxviii,44)."

3. al-akhbār wa 'l-āthār, The SMZ's distinction between khabar and athar is given in his Introduction to the Ithāf, v. 1, p.48, as pointed out by Calverley in his note on page 61 of Worship in Islam.

4. 'ilm al-mu'āmalah This is exceedingly difficult to express in a phrase. The Encyclopedia of Islam, ii, p.101, under the article, fiqh, terms it "social life", but it would have to be understood to comprise the civic, economic, social, and moral life.

SMZ,i, p. 135, describes it thus: "--that is, knowledge of spiritual activities and external acts. And you should know that beyond the tawhīd the obligation is of two kinds, one of which is what is an obligation for a man according to the law of Islam. That is knowledge of spiritual activities ('ilm al-mu'āmalah al-qalbiyah) and correcting the inner life in order to augment the soul's illumination and causing bad character to cease and firmly establishing pleasing character.

The second of them is what is an obligation for a man, when new obligations come around, such as entering upon the time of worship, the fast, the pilgrimage, the religious tax, and others. As for the worshipper, if he becomes a Muslim in a time in which these things are not incumbent on him, it is not an obligation on him to know them; because the

time when they are obligatory for him has not come. So what is an obligation on him then is knowledge of spiritual activities. Then if, after he becomes a Muslim, opportunity and leisure permit and he does not engage in obtaining practical knowledge or rather knowledge of spiritual activities, he is neglecting an obligation for which he is responsible on the day of resurrection although none of those external obligations such as worship and its like came around (in point of time). This just summarizes what the author will later treat in detail."

Again, page 167, he states that 'ilm al-mu'āmalah is an expression for knowledge of souls (nufūs) and their rank, their perfections and imperfections and their good and bad qualities", which is really ethics.

Also see Hughes: Dictionary of Islam, pp.285-286

5. SMZ says this is a tradition of Abū al-Dardā'
6. 'ālam al-malakūt This is treated in Wensinck's On the Relation between Ghazālī's Cosmology and His Mysticism.
7. 'Abdallah Ibn 'Abbās, cousin of the Prophet, (d.68, 69, or 70). Ency.of Islam, i, p.19
8. darajah (degree) is like a manzilah (stage), but one says that a manzilah has a darajah, if it has regard to ascent rather than to extent over the earth, like the step of a roof and a stairway. By this an elevated degree is under-

stood. It is related that the prophets have a degree (darajah) of excellence over the learned, while the learned have two degrees of excellence over the martyrs", comments SMZ.

9. SMZ comments, "He was the prime minister of our master, Sulaymān, Āṣif bin Barkhiyā bin Ishmū'il, who said that he would fetch the Queen of Sheba's throne."

10. See Qūt al-Qulūb ii, p.5:25-26. This is one of the references to one of al-Ghazzālī's sources and will be mentioned as Q.Q. hereafter. I shall simply note the end of the quotation which may then be located on the table in the introduction.

11. See Q.Q. ii; p.13:1

12. " " ii, p.12:23

13. 'Alī, Abū 'l-Ḥasan Amīr al-Mu'minīn 'Alī bin Abī Talib, fourth caliph, murdered 17th Ramadan, 40/661. Called Haidarat (the Lion) by his mother, Fatimah. Used name as a rallying cry. Ibn Khallikan, v.ii, p.220; Ency.of Islam, i, pp.283 ff.

14. I cannot locate Kumail. SMZ says he is Kumail Bin Ziyād al-Nakh'i, one of 'Alī's well-known disciples. Margaret Smith mentions him on p.217 of An Early Mystic of Baghdad.

15. See Q.Q., i, p. 198:24-26.

16. See Q.Q., ii, p. 12:24-25.
17. Abū al-Aswad Zālim Bin 'Umru or 'Umru Bin Zālim al-Duwalī, d. 69/688-9 There is diversity of opinion about his name. One of most eminent of Tābi's. Invented Grammar on principles laid down by 'Alī: the parts of speech are three: noun, verb, and participle. A partisan of 'Alī under whom he fought at Siffin. Ibn Khal., i, 662 and 666
18. Solomon of the Old Testament
19. Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān 'Abdallah Ibn al-Mubārak Ibn Wadīh al-Marwazī, a mawla to the tribe of Hanzala. Possessed profound learning combined with great self-mortification. He learned the Muwatta by heart from Sufyān al-Thawrī and Mālik Ibn Anas. b. 118/736; d. 181/797 Ibn Khal., ii, p.12
20. Abū Muḥammad Faṭḥ Bin Sa'īd al-Mawṣilī, d.220/835, an associate of Bishr al-Hāfī and Sarī Saqaṭī, conspicuous for his abstinence and spiritual intercourse. p.77, An Early Mystic of Baghdad. SMZ puts his death at 130 which is obviously wrong.
21. Abū Sa'īd al-Ḥasan Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥasan Yasār al-Baṣrī, born two years previous to death of Caliph 'Umar Ibn al Khaṭṭāb. He was one of most eminent Tābi's. d. 11/728. Brockelmann, i, p.66; Ibn Khal., i, p.370; Ency. of Islam, ii, p.273.
22. 'Abdallah bin Mas'ūd bin Ghāfil bin Ḥabīb, on^v of the

first converts and a Companion of the Prophet. Best known as a traditionist. d. 62 or 63 A. H. Ency. of Islam, ii, p.403.

23. Abu Hurairah, a companion and the most prolific traditionist. Goldsack, Traditions in Islam, pp. 39-43, considers him one of the greatest forgers of traditions in Islam. See also Ency. of Islam, i, pp.93 f.

24. Ahmad bin Muhammad bin Hanbal, b.164/780; d. 241/855, Baghdad. Celebrated Islamic theologian and founder of one of the four well known schools of law. Ency. of Islam, i, p. 188

25. al-Imām Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfi'ī, the founder of the Shāfi'ī school of law. B. 150/767; d. last day of Radjab, 204/820. Ency. of Islam, iv, p.252

26. 'Umar bin al-Khaṭṭāb, 2nd Caliph, d.23 A. H. Ency. of Islam, iii, pp.982 ff. Muir, The Life of Muhammad, by index.

27. Abū Bahr or Abū Bakr al-Aḥnaf Sakhr bin Qais, "the Clubfoot". Some say his name is Sakhr and that Aḥnaf is his sobriquet and others say that it is al-Ḍaḥḥāk. One of the followers. He was most ugly by nature and lost an eye at Samarkand, 54 A. H. Noted for his wisdom. Barbier de Meynard, Surnoms et Sobriquets dans la Litterature Arabe, p.31.

28. Sālim bin Abī 'l-Ja'd, d. 100 or 101 A.H., Ibn Coteiba, Handbuch der Geschichte, Wüstenfeld, p.230.
 29. Abū 'Abdallah al-Zubair bin Abī Bakr or Bikār or al-Zubairi, b. 172; d. 256. I could not locate him.
 30. Luqmān, legendary figure of the period of Arab paganism: The Aesop of the Arabs. Mentioned in the Qur'ān, xxxi. Ency. Islam, iii, pp.35 ff.
- SMZ comments that he is one whom Allah praised in His book, and that opinion is divided about his prophetship. Some felt that he was a philosopher; some, a righteous man; some, a tailor, a carpenter, or shepherd; some, and Abyssinian; some, a Nubian.
31. Abū Bakr Muḥammad bin Muslim bin 'Ubaid Allāh bin 'Abdallah bin Shahāb al-Zuhri, d. 124 A. H., Ibn Coteiba, Handbuch der Geschichte, p.239.
 32. See Q.Q., i, p.198:10
 33. Abu Dharr Jundab bin Janādah al-Ghifārī, d. 32 A.H. Companion, Ibn Coteiba, op.cit., p.130
 34. He is 'Abdallah bin 'Ubaidallah bin 'Abdallah bin Abī Mulaikah bin 'Abdallah bin Jud'ān al-Taimi of Quraish, d.117 or 118 A. H. Ibn Coteiba, op.cit., p.240.
 35. Abū al-Dardā' al-Khazrajī al-Anṣārī, d.31 A. H. Ency. of Islam, i, p.82.
 36. 'Atā' bin Abī Rabāh, d.114 or 115/733 or 734. Mulatto,

born at al-Janad, and a mawla of the Fihri family of Mecca.

High rank as jurisconsult, a tābi' and devout ascetic.

Ibn Khallikan, ii, p.203.

37. The faqīh, Abu Muḥammad 'Abdallāh Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam bin A'yan al-Laith, one of Mālik's disciples of lower rank, whom I could not locate.

38. See Muir and Weir the Life of Moḥammad, pp.463-5

39. formerly a province, now an imāmate in the southwest of the Arabian peninsular. Ency. of Islam, iv, pp.1155-58.

40. Jesus. See Ency. of Islam, ii, pp.524 ff.

41. See Q.Q., ii, p.24:8-12

42. Abu 'Abdallāh bin Sa'id Sufyān al-Thawrī, b. 95, 96, or 97/713; d. 161/777-778, Basra. Master of highest authority in tradition and other sciences. Noted for piety, devotion, veracity, and contempt for worldly goods. As an imām, he was counted as one of the Mujtahids. Ibn Khal., i, 576-8

43. 'Asqalān, (the Hebrew 'Ashqelōn), a former coast town of South Palestine, one of the five Philistine towns known to us from the Old Testament. Ency. of Islam, i, pp.487-8

44. Abū Muḥammad Sa'id Ibn al-Musaiyab Ibn Hazn Ibn Abī Wahb Ibn Amr Ibn Ā'iz Ibn Imrān Ibn Makhzūm, a member of the tribe of Qōraish and a native of Medina. Was one of the seven great jurisconsults of that city. b. 15 or 16/636 or 7 d. 91/709-10 or 95 or in intervening years. Ibn Khal. i, 568

45. Abu 'Abdallah 'Ikrimah Ibn 'Abdallah, a mawla of 'Abdallah Ibn 'Abbās, of Berber origin, one of chief jurisconsults of Mecca. d. 107/725-6 at about eighty. Some say over one hundred. Ibn Khal., ii, p.207
46. Yahyā bin Mu'ādh al-Rāzī, d. 258, Ibn Khal., iv, pp 51ff
47. See Q.Q., i, p.199:12-21 This quotation begins at the name Mu'ādh bin Jabal on page 39.
48. Zaid and 'Umr are two popular names which would correspond to our Jack and George or the Irish Pat and Mike.
49. This refers to Qur'ān, 11:110
50. al-malā'u 'l-a'la (the most exalted princes, i.e.) the angels that are admitted near (to the presence of God); or the archangels. Lane: An Arabic-English Lexicon, p. 2729
51. For examples of amānah see Lane, op.cit., p. 102, a.
52. mutakallimūn, see Macdonald, Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory by index and especially pp.186 ff. and 193.
53. See Ency.of Islam, ii, 670; Macdonald, op.cit., index
54. fiqh, Ency. of Islam, ii, pp.101-5
55. SMZ comments that these are two sayings.
56. The Muslim mystics. See p.74, note 2, of Macdonald's The Life of al-Ghazzālī in the Journal of the American Oriental Society, v. xx, 1899
57. State (hāl and hāla, ahwāl) is a term which will occur

very frequently in the translation from al-Ghazzālī, sometimes in its ordinary meaning and sometimes in the technical meaning here intended. Al-Qushayrī in the Risāla (pp. 40 ff) explains it, and carefully distinguishes it from maqām, (station). It is a condition of joy or sorrow, of elation or depression, of longing, of reverence, and so on which descends upon the heart without intention or assertion or seeking on its part. States are pure gifts, but stations are sought-for gains. States come without effort, but stations are gained by the utmost application. He who is in a station remains there, but he who is in a state is always mounting higher from that state. Further details follow in the Risāla as to the possibilities of the continuance of states. See Imla SM i, p. 52. (Unfortunately I cannot locate my source for this.)

58. Skellie in an unpublished thesis on al-Ghazzālī's the Wonders of the Heart mentions that SMZ comments that the novice must put away all suggestions except that of the Absolute Reality, and that al-Ghazzālī makes the suggestion of the angel equivalent to ilhām and that of the demon to wiswās, that is, to general inspiration and to evil prompting. Sometimes it as though he considers that there were but these two and calls them the "two visitations" (lammatān). Skellie's thesis on the Wonders of the Heart, ppxli. ff.

59. Abū Tālib Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Atiya al-Hārithi al-Makkī, author of Qūt al-Qulūb. Persian Irak (al-Jabal) was his country. He resided at Mecca. d. Baghdad, 386/996 His tomb attracts pious visitors. Ibn Khal. iii, p.20
60. This refers to the five pillars of Islam: the testimony, worship, the fast, the religious tax, and the pilgrimage.
61. Compare Q.Q., i, p. 193:13 ff.
62. The month of fast. See Muir and Weir, the Life of Moḥammad, 187, 192 f; also Lane, The Modern Egyptians, p. 93 f. and 478 ff.
63. The tenth month in the Muslim year. Lane, op.cit., 224
64. Literally "agreeing upon"; one of the four usūl from which Muslim faith is derived and it is defined as the agreement of the mujtahids of the people (i.e. those who have a right, by virtue of knowledge, to form a judgment of their own) after the death of Muḥammad, in any age on any matter of faith. It is not fixed by council or synod, but is reached instinctively and automatically. Its existence on any point is only perceived on looking back. Sometimes it changes sunnah and makes bid' become sunnah. So in it lie great possibility for progressive change in Islam. Ency. of Islam, ii, 448
65. That is, sitting on something taken by forcible unjust confiscation or looking at someone who is not a blood relation.

66. khātir, sing. (also Khatrah pl. khatarāt) (a). opinion, idea, or object of thought bestirring itself in the mind. (Lane 765) (b). the allocution or suggestion which comes to the heart of man, with whose coming man himself has nothing to do (¹⁴Jirjānī, kitāb al-ta'rifāt, p.101) This term is used largely in Sūfī writings and especially by al-Ghazzālī.

The most common division is the four-fold one:

1) al-khātir al-rabbānī; al-haqqānī, which is cast directly into the hearts of mystics who dwell in His presence. It cannot be opposed and is always good.

2) al-khātir al-malakī which exhorts to obedience and good acts and warns against acts of disobedience and things which are disapproved. It blames man for acts contrary to divine law and being slow to do what is in agreement with it.

3) al-khātir al-nafsī which demands pleasant favors of this passing world and sets forth its invitation to vanity. It is not cut off by the light of devotional practice of dhikr unless it comes to enjoy divinely given success (tawfiq) in which case its demands are uprooted.

4) al-khātir al-shaitānī This summons to disobedience and to things forbidden and disapproved.

Only when the mirror of the heart is carefully cleared of all fleshly and natural desires by means of asceticism and piety and remembrance can the correct differentiation of

their sources be made. One who succeeds in differentiation enters into the way of the abundant life and mystic vision, where the suggestions which seek for fortune's favor pass away and trouble him no more.

This is a summary of Skellie's excellent treatment of the khawātir as found in his unpublished thesis already mentioned, pages xli ff.

67. for wahy and ilhām see Macdonald's the Religious Attitude and Life in Islam, pp. 252-254.

68. Grammar: Arabic philologists divide it into accidence ('ilm al-sarf or tasrīf) and syntax ('ilm al-nahu in the narrower sense). There are many stories as to how it began, but most agree that Abū 'l-Aswad al-Du'alī was the founder and that probably got its name from unhūhu "follow this". It became necessary, when foreigners came into Islam and did not know Arabic. Ency. of Islam, iii, 836-7

69. nāsikh and mansūkh these terms are mentioned in the article on the Qur'ān, Ency. of Islam, ii, p.1065

70. nass, see Ency. of Islam, iii, p.881; also (b) from Hughes, "a word commonly used for a text of the Qur'ān, but in its technical meaning here expressing what is meant by a sentence, the meaning of which is made clear by some word which occurs in it. The following sentence illustrates both zāhir and nass: 'Take in marriage such other women as please

you, two, three, or four.' This sentence is Zāhir, because marriage is here declared lawful; it is nass, because the words 'one,---four' which occur in the sentence show the unlawfulness of having more than four wives." Hughes, Dictionary of Islam, p. 518.

71. This has to do with the manner in which the tradition has been narrated, and transmitted down from the first: Hughes says it is literally 'a tradition let loose', one which any collector of traditions records with the assertion, "qāl al-rusūl allāh". Hughes, Dictionary of Islam, article on Tradition, 639 ff.

72. musnad a tradition whose isnād goes back to the Prophet. Guillaume, the Traditions of Islam, p.182.

73. Compare Q.Q., i, p.198:7-10

74. al-salāt This is fully treated in Calverley's Worship in Islam

75. takbīr "The takbīr consists of the words: 'Allah is greater!' (than any other' is understood)", Calverley, op. cit., p. 8.

76. See Q.Q., ii, p. 9:8-10

77. Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb bin Ibrāhīm bin Ḥabīb bin Sa'd bin Ḥabtah, b. 114; d. 182, Baghdad. Ibn Coteiba, 251

78. al-war' "The lowest degree of fear (i.e. godly-fear) is that which brings a man to abstain from forbidden things.

This degree is called temperance (war'). A little stronger fear causes a man to abstain also from that which might lead him to those forbidden things; this is piety (tagwa). A man is then brought to abandon or forsake even that in which there is no wrong for fear of that in which there is harm; and this is generosity in his piety (sidq)."
 Carra de Vaux, Gazali, p.216.

79. zihār, inf. n., signifies, "He said to his wife, 'Thou art to me like the back of my mother'-----the phrase being a form of divorce used by the Arabs in the Time of Ignorance", Lane: Lexicon, p.1927, (a) and (b).

80. li'ān "mutual cursing" A form of divorce which takes place under the following circumstances."If a man accuses his wife of adultery and does not prove it by four witnesses, he must swear before God that he is the teller of a truth four times, and then add: 'If I am a liar, may God curse me.'" The wife then says four times, 'I swear before God that my husband lies'; and then adds: 'May God's anger be upon me, if this man be a teller of truth.' After this a divorce takes place ipso facto. (See Sūratu 'n-Nūr, xxiv.6; Mishkāṭ, book xiii, ch.xv.)". Hughes, Dict. of Islam, pp.293-4.

This is developed in v.ii of Hāshīyat al-Bājūrī 'ala Abī Shujā', foot of p. 167 ff. In the same book are developed salam, i, ; ijārah, ii, p.27; zihār, ii, 162; ilā', ii, 159.

81. salam See Lane: Lexicon, p.1414 b.; "payment in advance", Macdonald, Development, p.353
82. ijārah Macdonald, op.cit., p.354
83. It depends on the Qur'ān, usage, traditions of the Companions, and agreement of the Muslims comments SMZ.
84. The four humors of man: the black and the yellow bile, phlegm, and blood. Lane, Lexicon, 788.b
85. Compare al-a'māl bi khawātīmiha, Wensinck, Muslim Creeds, pp.55 f.
86. Compare 1 Corinthians 2:9
87. makr Allah "One must not believe that Muhammad imagined Allah as really plotting intrigues. The threats contained in these words (i.e. makr and kaid, previously mentioned) might be understood in this sense: that Allah treats everybody in a manner appropriate to his conduct, that no intrigue can avail against Allah, who brings to naught all unfaithful and disloyal actions, and who, anticipating the perverse aims of his adversaries, turns treason and ambuscade aside from the faithful", I. Goldziher, Le Dogme et La Loi de l'Islam, translated by Felix Arin, p.23:3-10

"Then if makr and kaid, attributed to Allah, mean nothing more than that he frustrates the stratagems or wiles of his adversaries, the expression makr Allah has none the less passed over from the Qur'ān into the customary language of

Islam in such a way as to associate itself quite naturally with expressions which can not be included under this interpretation. Quite a favorite Muslim invocation says, 'We seek refuge with Allah from the makr Allāh, na'udhu bi 'llāhi min makr 'llāhi: Shaikh Huraifish, Kitāb al-raud al-fā'iq fi 'l-mawā'iz wa 'l-raqā'iq, Cairo, 1310, 10,16;13,26)

which belongs to those forms of prayer where one asks help from God against God (a'udhu bika minka, cf. 'Aṭṭār, Tadhkirat al-awliyā, II,80,11; minka ilaika, ZDMG, xlviii,98).

Among the Prophet's prayers, the substance of which believers are recommended to use, there is mentioned the following supplication: 'Lend me help, and do not lend help against me; use makr in my favor, but do not use it against me (wamkur li wa la tamkur 'alāyi). Nawawī, Adhkār (Cairo, 1312), 175, 6, according to Tirmidhī's translation, II,272. This expression appears even more marked in the Shī'ite collection of prayers Ṣaḥifa kāmila (see Melanges Nöldeke, 314 inf.), 33,6: wa-kid lanā wa lā takid 'alainā wamkur lanā wa lā tamkur binā

Also compare the following: Even if one of my feet were inside paradise and the other were still outside, I should certainly not feel safe from the makr of Allah (Subkī, Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iya, III,56,7 lower third). Cf. 'Aṭṭār, loc. cit., II,178, 21. Muslims themselves understand nothing else from these expressions than the inescapably severe punishment of God.

Goldziher, op. cit., part of note 26, page 254, beginning at line 6.

See also Jurjānī: Kitāb al-Ta'rīfāt, 245 and 292.

88. ahl al-dhimmah "The people with whom a compact, or covenant, etc., has been made; those, of the believers in a plurality of gods (by which here are meant the Christians, Jews, and Sabians, but no others,) who pay the tax called jizyah; (i.e. the free non-Muslim subjects of a Muslim government, who pay a poll-tax for which the Muslims are responsible for their security and freedom and toleration)". Lane: Lexicon, p. 976 (c)

89. SMZ comments, "One of the gnostic saints well known for righteousness and piety." I could not locate him.

90. Abu Zakariya Yahya Ibn Ma'in Ibn 'Aun Ibn Ziad Ibn Bestam Ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Musri, celebrated ḥāfiz. Both Muslim and al-Bukhari learned from him. Ibn Khal., iv, p. 24

91. Ibn Maḥfūz Ma'rūf Ibn Fairūz al-Karkhī, born a Christian. Celebrated saint, had reputation of fulfilment of his prayers. His tomb is an approved remedy for everything. He was al-Sarī's (al-Saqatī) master in Sufism. The latter said, "I owe my present state (of quietude) to the blessed merits of Ma'rūf", Ibn Khal., iii, p. 384.

92. Abū 'l-Qāsim bin Muḥammad bin al-Junaid al-Khazzāz al-Kawāriri, a celebrated Baghdad mystic, a pupil of al-Shāfi'i,

Ency. of Islam, i, p. 1063; d. 297-8/910-11, said to have made the pilgrimage to Mecca thirty times alone and on foot, Ibn Khal, i, p. 338.

93. Abū 'l-Ḥasan Sarī Ibn al-Mughallīs al-Saqatī (the seller of cast off clothes), d. 251, 253, or 257 at Baghdad, Ibn Khal., i, p. 555; Junaid was his pupil and had himself buried in his tomb, Ency. of Islam, iv, p. 171

94. Abū 'Abdallāh Ḥarith bin Asad al-'Anazī, called Muḥāsibī, i.e. he who examines his conscience. b. Basra, legist of Shāfi'i school; advocated use of reason. d. 243/857, Baghdad, Ency of Islam, iii, p. 699. See Margaret Smith: An Early Mystic of Baghdad for fuller treatment of his life.

95. The Secession party which reacted from the traditional teachings at the beginning of the second century after the Hijra. See Macdonald: Development, pp. 129-30 and by index.

96. Abu Bakr al-Ṣiddīq (Abū 'Abdallāh bin 'Uthmān), the first Caliph, d. 13 A.H., Ency. of Islam, i, pp. 80 ff.; see Muir: the Caliphate, pp. 1-86 (1891 ed.)

97. Sabīgh bin 'Isl, who asked about the dubious things in the Qur'ān, Ad-Dhahabī, al-Moshtabih, ed. de Jong, p. 319

98. sirr "A subtlety (latīfah) which is placed in the heart as the spirit (is put) in the body, and it is the place of vision, just as the spirit is the place of love and the heart

is the place of experiential knowledge (ma'rifah)", Jurjānī Kitāb al-Ta'rīfāt, p. 123

"sirr (conscience) which was the inmost part, that which later mystics called the 'ground' or 'spark' of the soul. Of this latter, al-Sarrāj says that it is that part in which evil suggestions of the self are not felt, it is the secret shrine of God Himself, wherein He knows a man and man can know Him", Mar. Smith, op.cit., p.201, referring to Kitāb al-Luma', p. 231.

99. The Imām Anas bin Mālīk, Abū Hamzah, d. 179/795, Ibn Khal., ii, 545

100. Abū Ḥanīfah, "the first student and teacher to leave behind him a systematic body of teaching and a missionary school of pupils (in Islam)", (d. 150 A. H.) Macdonald, Development, pp. 94-102.

101. Abū Muḥammad al-Rabī' Ibn Sulaimān al-Murādī, of Baṣ-
ra. Special traditionist of works and words of al-Shāfi'ī
and the last to hand them down in Egypt. Ibn Khal., i, 519
(b. 174; d.220, SMZ, but 270/884, Ibn Khal.)

102. Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf Ibn Yahya al-Buwaitī al-Miṣrī, most
eminent and most distinguished disciple of al-Shāfi'ī for
talent. Filled ^{his} place as professor, d. in prison 231/846 or
232, Ibn Khal., iv, p.394

103. Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusain Ibn 'Alī Ibn Yazīd al-Karābīsī,

of Baghdad, one of al-Shāfi'i's distinguished disciples,
d. 245 (SMZ) or 248/862-3, Ibn Khal., i, p.416

104. Abū 'Abdallah Ahmad bin Sibṭ Yahya bin al-Wazīr bin Sulaimān bin al-Muhājir al-Sijīnī al-Maṣrī, b.171; d. in prison, 251 A. H. I could not locate him.

105. Abū Bakr 'Abdallah bin al-Zubair Ibn 'Isā al-Qarshī al-Asda al-Ḥamīdī al-Makkī, d. Mecca, 219 A. H. (went to Egypt with al-Shāfi'i,) Ibn Coteiba, p.262

106. dirham A certain silver coin the weight of which varied in the Time of Ignorance, but which weighed sixteen carats when known as 'dirham islāmī', see, Lane, Lexicon, 876

107. dīnār "A certain gold coin; its weight is seventy-one barley-corns and a half---", Lane, Lexicon, p. 919 (a).

108. Sufyān bin 'Uyainah bin Abī 'Umrān , d. 198 A. H. , Ibn Coteiba, p.254; al-Nawawī, p.289

109. I could not locate him.

110. 'Umar Ibn Nabātāt, SMZ comments, "I do not know anything of his circumstances nor did I find any mention of him in ṭabaqah aṣḥāb al-Shāfi'i."

111. al-Ḥarith bin Labīd, SMZ says he is al-Ḥarith bin Asad who is Abū 'Abdallah al-Muhāsibī, previously mentioned.

112. Al-Ṣafā, hill in the sacred territory of Mecca, Rodwell, The Koran, p. 354, note 3 (Everyman edition); Muir and Weil, The Life of Mohammad, by index.

113. Ṣāliḥ bin Bashīr bin Wādī' Ibn Abī al-Aq'as Abū Bishr al-Qāḍī, known as al-Murri, This is from SMZ. See Ad-Dhahabi, op. cit., 477; al-Samānī, fol. 525 (a).

114. SMZ comments, "I know nothing of his circumstances".

115. tamkīn "The Ṣūfī 'Way': the process of purification and elimination of evil from the soul finally leads to re-union of the soul with God". There are three stages, the third one being achievement (tamkīn) which is the end of the Path, the Goal of the Quest, attainment of the Unitive Life. The mystic now dwells in an abode of perfection and has found rest within the very shrine of Deity. In the light of Love and Union he sees the glory of God and while still in this world penetrates into the mysteries of the world to come." Mar. Smith, Early Mysticism in the Near and Middle East, 203.

See. Jurjānī, op.cit., p.80,292; Traité sur le Soufisme el-Kochairi, translated by Mme. Olga de Lébedew, pp.50 ff.

116. Galen, the Greek Physician, 130-about 200 A. D.

117. Ibrāhīm bin Khalīd bin Abī 'l-Yamān al-Kalbī, a juris-consult. Originally belonged to Irakian school, but later joined al-Shāfi'i, whose older writings he transmitted to posterity. d240/854 or 246/860, Ency. of Islam, i, p.111 Ibn Khal., i, 6

118. Abū Sa'id Yahya Ibn Sa'id al-Kaṭṭān, imām and hāfiz of great reputation for veracity and piety. During twenty

years he read the Qur'ān through once every night and for forty years he never missed the evening worship at the mosque.

d. 198/813; b.158, Ibn Khal., ii, 679, note 4.

119. Shaikh Naṣr Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Naṣr al-Maqdasī, an imām of great authority and a pillar of Islamism, equally learned and pious. Composed: Fahdhik, the Maqsūd, the Kāfī, and a commentary on the Ishārah, d. 490/1097, buried at Damascus where his tomb continues to be highly venerated, Ibn Khal., i, p.42, note 2.

120. Al-Manṣūr, Abū Ja'far 'Abdallah bin Muḥammad, the second 'Abbāsīd Caliph, d. 158/775, Ency. of Islam, iii, p.248

SMZ comments that it was not the Caliph Manṣūr, but Ja'far bin Sulaimān al-Hāshamī.

121. al-mustakrah, the subject is discussed in books of fiqh; others are youths, insane, men asleep, drunk, or in a swoon. See. Hāshiyat al-Bājūrī 'ala Abī-Shujā', Cairo, 1303, ii, p.181, also p.143 near middle of commentary, and p. 153, foot of margin.

122. Mahdī: SMZ comments, "He is Abū 'Abdallah Muḥammad bin 'Abdallah bin 'Alī bin 'Abdallah bin 'Abbās, the third 'Abbāsīd Caliph." See: Muir, the Caliphate, pp.464-469

123. Rabia al-Rāi Abū Othmān Rabīa Ibn Abī 'Abd al-Rahmān Farrūkh, a mawla of the Munkadir family--great jurisconsult of Medina (2nd c. of Islam) generally known by surname of

Rabīa al-Rāi because he drew many of his legal decisions from the fourth source of Muḥammadan law, which is entitled rāi (view, private judgment) or qiās (analogy); d. 136/753-4 Ibn Khal., 1, 517-18

124. Harūn al-Rashīd, fifth 'Abbāsīd Caliph, d. 193/809, see, Muir, The Caliphate, pp. 470-483; also Lane-Poole, the Mohammadan Dynasties, p.12

125. Ḥijāz, section of the western side of the Arabian peninsula in which Mecca and Medina lie. Muir and Weir, the Life of Mohammad, p. lxxxviii

126. Among "the most eminent writers and most celebrated works of this epoch---. The place of honour belongs to the Imām Mālīk b. Anas of Medina, whose Muwatta' is the first great corpus of Muḥammadan law. He was a partisan of the 'Alids--", R. A. Nicholson, A Literary History of the Arabs, p.337. See also, Ency. of Islam, iii, p. 206, LLL, 1; and iv, p.1193 B.

127. Abū Isma'īl Ḥammād bin Sulaimān (SMZ says his name is Muslim al-Ash'arī al-Kūfī, a mawla of Abū Mūsa al-Ash'arī), d. 120 A. H., Ibn Coteiba, p.240

128. al-marā'ah is discussed in Muhādarāt al-Uḍabā' of al-Rāghib al-Iṣbahānī, vol. 1, p.189, middle of page.

129. I could not locate him.

130. ditto.

131. I could not locate him.
132. ditto.
133. Abū 'l-Ḥusain al-Ḥasan Ibn Qaḥṭabah Ibn Ayād bin Khalid, etc., one of the men of the 'Abbāsīd government, Ibn Coteiba, p.188
134. Abū Khālīd 'Abd al-Mālīk, surnamed also Abū 'l-Walīd, the son of 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn Juraij, was a native of Mecca and a member (by adoption) of the tribe of Kōraish; one of most celebrated men (of that age) for his learning; said to be the first (after promulgation of Islam) to compose books, d. 149/766 some say 150 or 151, Ibn Khal., ii, p.116
135. I could not locate him.
136. Abū 'Abdallah Sharīk Ibn 'Abdallah bin Abī Sharīk. (SMZ says he is al-Ḥarīth bin Ausī bin al-Ḥarīth bin al-Adhhal bin Wahbīl bin Sa'd bin Mālīk bin al-Nakh'), d. 177, Ibn Coteiba, p.254 (foot).
137. ilā' "It is an oath to cease marital relationship for a specified period of time, as 'By Allah, I will not have commerce with you for four months'", Jurjānī, Kitāb al-Ta'rīfāt, p. 42.

"A form of divorce in which a man makes a vow that he will not have connection with his wife for not less than four months and observes it inviolate. The divorce is thereby effected ipso facto, without a decree of separation from the

judge. See Qur'ān, ii, 226", Hughes, Dict. of Islam, p.200
See also Macdonald, Development, p.355; also my notes, 79,
80, 81, and 82.

138. Gabriel, Lane, Lexicon, p.374 (b)

139. see Qur'ān 2:96; 20:72.

140. biḥusbān, see Lane, Lexicon, p.564 (c)

141. al-ahkām or ahkām al-nujūm, technical name of astrology; Ency.of Islam, i, pp.494 ff.

142. qadar, "(according to general usage, it differs from qadā'; this latter signifying a general decree of God, as that every living being shall die; whereas qadar signifies a particular decree of God, as that a certain man shall die at a particular time and place etc.; or particular predestination: thus al-qadā' wa 'l-qadar may be rendered 'the general and particular decrees of God'; or 'general and particular predestination' or 'fate and destiny'", Lane, Lexicon, p. 2495 (c)

143. See Q.Q., i, p. 194:14-16

144. Muhkamāt, see Ency.of Islam, ii, p.1065; Muhkam, see Hughes, Dict. of Islam, p.518 (b) Hughes, p.200, refers to Mishkāt, ii, chap.1, Ar. ed.

145. 'ayal or 'ayy SMZ comments, "Al-'Irāqī said, 'Abū Dāwūd quoted this from Barīdah's tradition, and concerning its chain (asnād) ---there are some who are not known---

I said, 'He quoted it about adāb from a tradition of Abī Ja'far 'Abdallah bin Thābit on the authority of Ḍahr bin 'Abdallah ibn Barīdah from his father from his grandfather, Barīdah bin al-Ḥuṣaib. 'Abdallah said, 'While he--that is, Barīdah--was sitting in a session in Kufah with his companions, he said, 'I heard the Messenger of Allah say, 'In eloquence there is magic and in knowledge there is ignorance; in poetry there is compelling power, and in speech is the propounding of one's narration', and in al-Qūt we are told about the tradition: 'In knowledge there is ignorance, and in speech there is weakness'", p.229. (The reference to al-Qūt is vol.i, p.194:16.)

Another version of the origin of this tradition is given on page 1 of the preface to Freytag's edition of al-Ḥamāsah, beginning at line 12.

See also, Lane: Lexicon, foot of p. 2212 (c) and top of 2213 (a).

sihr See, Lane, Lexicon, foot of p.1316 (c) and top of 1317 (a); also, JRAS, Pictorial Aspects of Ancient Arabian Poetry, J. C. Lyall, pp. 151-152

146. See Q.Q., i, p. 194:17

147. This might mean, "the most learned".

148. SMZ comments, "These words are supposed to have been said when some people came to converse with him about re-

ligious matters; and when they had answered well, he said, 'They are almost able to be 'Ulamā', Hukamā', and Fuḡahā'.' Other versions give, 'Uḡabā', Ḥalamā', 'Uḡalā', and Fukahā'." SMZ p. 232

149. Abū Ishaq or Abū Ibrāhīm Sa'd bin Ibrāhīm Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin 'Auf al-Zuhrī, Qāḍī of Medina whose mother was Umm Kalthūm, daughter of Sa'd. d. 127 A.H. See Ibn Coteiba, p. 122, under Walad 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin 'Auf

150. Yazīd Ibn Abān (Ayān) al-Raḡāshī, a qāḍī. I could not locate him.

151. Ziyād al-Numairī, see Kitāb al-Ansāb, al-Sam'ānī, 569 b.

152. Farqad Ibn Ya'qūb al-Sabakhī, d. 131, Baṣra; see Yāqūt, Geog. Dict., (ed.1324) vol. v., p.27

153. thakalatka ummuka "May thy mother be bereft of thee", is an imprecation against him to whom it is addressed, not said with the desire of its having effect, but on an occasion of vehement love--", Lane, Lexicon, p.345 (b).

154. ahl al-'adl wa 'l-tawḥīd SMZ says, "the Mu'tazilah", p. 236; also see Macdonald, Development, p. 136

155. hanīf, see The Development of the Meaning of Koranic Hanīf, N. A. Faris and Harold W. Glidden, in a Reprint from the Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society, v. xix, 1939, Syrian Orphanage Press, Jerusalem.

156. Ka'bah (also qiblah), see Muir and Weir, the Life of

Mohammad, pp.189 ff. and by index.

157. shath, "This is a technical term in mysticism, signifying an 'ecstatic phrase' or more exactly a 'divinely inspired utterance.'"

"----adopted in the tenth century A. D. by the Ṣūfīs, it is applied to the perturbation of the consciousness, into which divine grace suddenly penetrates, then to 'the divinely inspired utterance' which this supernatural commotion extracts from the subject."

"----The first 'ecstatic sayings' were incorporated by tradition in the classical collections of Ḥadīth, not as utterances of the mystics, but as 'words of God' (ḥadīth qudsī)". Ency. of Islam, iv, pp.355-356; also Lammens, Islam Beliefs and Institutions, p.134; also Dozy, Supplément, i, p.757 (b); also Massignon, Essai, pp. 99-100.

158. tāmmāt "expressions of which the Ṣūfīs make use in their extasy, and which are very shocking to the true believers", there is reference to Ghazzālī's Aiyuha 'l-Walad, 14,4 a f., ed. Hammer; then to Vullers' Dictionary--, where one reads also that the Persians use tāmmāt, which they write without the doubling of the mīm, in the sense of 'vain words' or 'futile words'. Dozy, op.cit., ii, p. 59 (a)

159. Civil War, See Wellhausen, The Arab Kingdom and Its Fall, by index.

160. See Q.Q., ii, p.21:13-14
161. Damrah Ibn Rabī'ah al-Ramla Abū 'Abdallah, a muftī for the people of Syria. I could not locate him.
162. Muḥammad Ibn 'Aūn al-Khurasānī, not located.
163. Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Sīrīn, not located.
164. Abū Muḥammad Sulaimān Ibn Mihrān al-A'mash, (the blear-eyed) of Kufa, b. 60 or 61/680; d. 148/765, Ibn Khal, i, 587ff; also Ibn Coteiba, p. 246.
165. See Q.Q., ii, p.21:14-15
166. See Q.Q., ii, p. 22:4-7
147. Abū Ishāq Sa'd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ Mālīk Ibn Wahīb, a descendant of 'Abd Manāt, was by his own account, the third person whom Muhammad converted to Islam. d. between 50-58 A. H.; Ibn Khal., i, p. 570, note 1
148. 'Abdallah Ibn Rawāḥah al-Anṣārī, celebrated poet who devoted his talents to service of Muḥammad. He was of the Banū 'l Hārith clan; d. 629 A. D., Ency. of Islam, i, p.29; see Muir and Weil, the Life of Mohammad, by index.
149. See Q.Q., ii, p.49:14-19 (variations)
150. Abū 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad Ibn Sālīm al-Baṣrī, one of Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī's friends, mentioned in article on Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, Ibn Khal, iii, p.20.
151. Ḥusain bin Mansūr al-Ḥallāj, pupil of Junaid, d. 309/932, Mar. Smith, An Early Mystic of Baghdad, p. 262;

also Massignon, Essai.

152. kitāb al-samā', This is translated by Dr. Macdonald in JRAS, 1901, Articles viii and xxvi.

153. Abū Yazīd Ṭaifūr al-Bisṭāmī, famous ascetic, d.261/874-5; Ibn Khal., i, p. 662; Ency. of Islam, i, p. 686; and Massignon, Essai, pp. 243-256 and by index.

154. Haka and hikāya, Dr. Macdonald has a long article on hikāya in the Ency. of Islam, ii, pp. 302-305, where he shows that the word Haka originally meant to mimic, and has come around to mean to tell a story for entertainment. See also: Wright: Grammar, ii, pp.313, 314; Wright, ed. of al-Kāmil of Mubarrad, p.602, line 8.

155. See Moslem Schisms and Sects, part ii, translated by Abraham S. Halkin, by index.

156. al-Mustazhiri, see Brockelmann, GAL, supplement i, p. 747 and refs.; also, Zwemer, A Moslem Seeker after God, p. 302, # 71.

157. Abū Jahal 'Umru bin Hishām, Ibn Coteiba, pp.34 and 174

158. He is 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. 'Abd al-Muttalib, d. 80/699-700 Ency. of Islam, i, p.98

159. tawātur "This is informantion which is well established bythe word of people whose mutual agreement to prevaricate is not to be imagined", Jurjānī, Kitāb al-Ta'rīfāt, p.74

160. ta'wīl "The root meaning is 'to cause to return', while

in divine law it is 'to change the obvious meaning of a verse to one which it can support, provided that the thing supported is in agreement with the Qur'ān and Usage'. For example, in the Qur'ānic verse, 'He causes the living to come forth from the dead' (6:95), if it is said to mean, 'He causes the bird to come forth from the egg', this is explanation (tafsīr); but if it is said to mean, 'He produces a believer from an unbeliever (kāfir)', then it is called allegorical interpretation (ta'wīl). Jurjānī, op.cit., p.52

161. See Q.Q., ii, p.13:20-24.

162. ditto ii, p.13:25-26

163. nāsikh and mansūkh, see Calverley, Worship in Islam, p. 129, note 3; also Ency. of Islam, ii, p.1065 under Koran.

164. mafsūl and mawsūl, al-Suyūṭī, al-Itqān, part one, the 29th kind (naw') concerns and explanation of al-mawsūl lafzan al-mafsūl ma'nān (what is connected verbally but separated in meaning), an example of which is Qur'ān 7:189-90. p. 92 ad. loc.

165. muhkam see Hughes, Dict. of Islam, p. 518 (b)

166. Mutashābih, intricate sentences, or expressions, the exact meaning of which it is impossible for man to ascertain until the Day of Resurrection, but which was known to the Prophet--" Hughes, op.cit., p.519 (a) (4).

167. The shaikh al-Imām Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Aḥmad bin Mu-

ḥammad bin 'Alī al-Wāḥidī al-Naysabūrī, the commentator,
d. in Naysabur, 468; Nicholson, A Literary History of the
Arabs, pp. 305 and 307

168. The two Saḥīḥs of Muslim and Bukharī, the Traditions
in Islam, Goldsack, p. 59

169. It follows the Kitāb al-'Ilm.

170. 'ala 'l-khabīr saqatta "On the possessor of knowledge
thou hast lighted", a proverb current among the Arabs; Lane,
Lexicon, p. 1380 (a) foot of page; see Anthāl al-Maidānī,
(Cairo, 1310), i, p. 317.

171. See Q. Q., i, p. 196:12-14 (variations)

172. istidrāj Discussing the theory of miracles and the
objection that they are also ascribed to Pharaoh, Satan, and
Anti-Christ, Wensinck says, "Nevertheless, an explanation
is found by connecting them with the deluding activity (istidrāj,
makr) of Allah towards His enemies, which is familiar
to Muslims from the Kuran (vii, 181; x, 22; xiii, 42; lxviii,
44)", Wensinck, The Muslim Creed, p. 226.

173. mujtahid, one who by his own exertions forms his own
opinion, see Ency. of Islam, ii, p. 448, article ijtihād

174. Al-Shaibānī, Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad bin al-Ḥasan bin
Farqad, mawla of the Banī Shaibān, a Ḥanifī jurist, b. 132/
749/750; d. 189/805; Ency. of Islam, iv, p. 271

175. khalwah a retreat reserved for initiates alone",

- Lammens, Islam Beliefs and Institutions, p. 169; "solitude",
 Mar. Smith, An Early Mystic of Baghdad, p.147.
176. Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī, see Ibn Coteiba, 135.
177. See Q.Q., ii, pp. 20:21-21:1
178. See Aḥādīth Qudsiyah, Muḥammad Madanī, p. 32, # 177.
179. Abū Amr Aāmīr al-Sha'bī was the son of Sharāhil Ibn
 'Abd Ibn Kibār, distinguished for profound learning; b.30/
 650-1; d. 104/722-3; Ibn Khal. ii, p. 4
180. Zaid bin Thābit Ibn al-Daḥḥāk bin al-Anṣār; he was
 Muḥammad's secretary; d. 45 or 48 A.H.; Ibn Coteiba, p. 133;
 also see Muir and Weil, the Life of Mohammad, p. 285 and by
 index.
181. al-Khiḍr, see Ency. of Islam, ii, p.861; also Macdon-
 ald, Aspects of Islam, 206 f.; and Rodwell, The Koran (Every-
 man) p. 186, note 2.
182. zindīq "One who is one of the thunawīyyah, (or assert-
 ers of the doctrine of Dualism): or one who asserts his be-
 lief in (the two principles of) Light and Darkness: or one
 who does not believe in the world to come, nor in the unity
 of the Creator: or one who causes unbelief and makes an out-
 ward show of belief. An Arabicized word, originally Persian,
 so they say", Lane, Lexicon, page 1258; see also Hughes,
Dict. of Islam, p. 713 (b).
183. SMZ, p. 321, attributes this to 'Alī.

184. SMZ, ad. loc., attributes the verse to Abū 'l-Ṭayyib Ahmad b. Ḥusayn al-Mutanabbī (see Nicholson, A Literary History of the Arabs, pp. 304-13 and by index.
185. This is mentioned in Zwemer, A Moslem Seeker after God, p. 302, # 67.
186. ihrām "is the prescribed dress worn by a pilgrim and also his state while wearing it. It is put on at the last stage before reaching Mecca, and laid aside after the tenth day, the day of sacrifice", Macdonald, in JRAS, 1901, p.248 (note 3), article al-Ghazzali on Music and Ecstasy.
187. Cf. Qur'ān, 56:10-12
188. SMZ, (p.329), comments, "al-istārāḥah (i.e. to find rest or finding rest), and that it is read with ~~a~~ ^a damm and explained as rahmah, (mercy), because it resembles a means of life for the deceased; and it is also explained as al-haiyah al-dā'imah (everlasting life) and as al-faraj min al-ghamm wa 'l-ta'b (relief from grief and fatigue)."
189. SMZ (p.331) comments that al-Shāfi'ī said this.
190. Latifah "In the words of a Muslim commentator, it is a 'transcendental (or theologic) subtlety'; that is, a fine, non-material thing connected with the unseen world", Macdonald, Attitudes, p. 221; see also Hughes, Dict. of Islam, 285; and Jurjānī, Kitāb al-Ta'rīfāt, pp. 202 and 289.
191. amr, see Wensinck, On the Relation between Ghazali's

Cosmology and his Mysticism, pp. 14-19.

192. SMZ comments that sometimes "teacher" is used for al-tarīq al-zāhir, and "guide" for al-tarīq al-bāṭin, while to unite them is to consolidate both kinds of teaching; p.334.

193. Cf. Q.Q., ii, p.12:15; also Matthew 5:19

Wensinck, op.cit., (p.3, note 1) remarks, "'Who shall have combined knowledge, work and teaching, shall be called great in the Kingdom of Heaven' is a well known tradition", and cites Tirmidhī, 'Ilm, bāb 19; cf. Asin Palacios, Logia et agapha Domini nostri Jesu Christi, No. 1.

194. cf. Q.Q., i, p.198:1-2

195. ditto i, p. 197:25-198:1

196. Cf. Matthew 7:6; also Zwemer, op.cit., p. 273

197. tashbīh, see Jurjānī, op. cit., p. 60.

198. Cf. Q.Q., ii, p. 9:21-23

199. ditto ii, p. 16:15

200. Cf. Matthew 15:14.

201. Ibrahim bin 'Atabah or 'Utbah, one of the ascetics.

202. Al-Khalīl bin Aḥmad bin 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Farāhidī al-Baṣrī, founder of the study of Arabic meter; b. 100; d. 170, 160, 175 (So in Tarīkh al-Dhahabī); lived in Basra, Ibn Khal. i, 493 ff.; Brockelmann, i, 100

203. Al-Imām, Abu 'Alī al-Fuḍail bin 'Ayād bin Maṣṣūr bin Bishr al-Tamīmī al-Marwazī al-Makkī, d. 187 A. H.; Ibn Cotei-

ba, p.256; Macdonald, Development, pp. 174-5, states that he was a robber who was converted by a heavenly voice.

204. Usāmah Ibn Zaid bin Ḥārithah bin Sharāḥīl al-Kalbī, d. 54 A.H., also called Zaid bin Ḥārithah; Ibn Coteiba, pp. 70 and 71.

205. darak, SMZ (p.354) comments that this is a step or stage downward; while daraḥ is used to designate a step upward.

206. Balaam the son of Beor, Deuteronomy 23:4.

207. See Q.Q., ii, p. 10:21-24

208. David of the Old Testament

209. See Q.Q., ii, p. 10:17-21 (dislocation of text)

210. SMZ (p.357) comments that it is most likely that these are the words of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī.

211. Yahya bin Mu'adh bin Ja'far Abū Zaharīyā al-Rāzī, d. in Naysābūr 258 A. H.; Massignon, Essai, pp.238 ff.

212. Mālik bin Dinār al-Baṣrī, one of the well known ascetics, d. 127, Massignon, Essai, by index; Ibn Coteiba, p.238, says he died a little before the plague which was in 130 A.H.

213. Chosroes, Title given to the Persian kings of the Sassanian dynasty, Wortabet and Porter, Arabic-English Dictionary (1893), Beyrout, p. 594; see Lane, Lexicon, p.2612 (a,b)

214. 'Abdallah Bin Ṭāhir Bin al-Ḥuasin, a rich vizier who possessed many fine clothes", SMZ p.358

215. Richly decorated with gold, silver, and silk--; he is mentioned in the Qur'ān, 28:76-79; 29:38; 40:25.
216. Cf. Matthew 5:13; Luke 14:34.
217. See, Q.Q., 1, p. 200:3-4
218. Abū Naṣr Bishr bin al-Harith bin 'Abdal-Rahmān bin 'Aṭā' bin Hilāl al-Marwazī, d. 226-7 A. H.; Ency. of Islam, i, p.732.
219. Al-Imām Abū Muḥammad Sahl bin 'Abdallah Yūnis al-Tustarī, lived in Basra, d. 183 A.H.; Ency. of Islam, iv, p. 63; Ibn Khal., i, p.602
220. See al-Qūt (Q.Q.), ii, p.9:5-6;

Cf. last phrase with the following: concerning the question, "Do man's works have any relation to his eternal fate?" Wensinck says, "The last question is answered in the affirmative though not plainly. Muslim attached it to the tradition on the guardian angel of the embryo,-- . This tradition goes on: 'It may be that one of you performs the works of the people of Paradise, so that between him and Paradise there is only the distance of an arm's length. But then his book (i.e. what has been decreed concerning his fate) overtakes him and he begins to perform the works of the people of Hell, the which he will enter. Likewise one of you may perform the works of the people of Hell, so that between him and Hell there is only the distance of an arm's length. Then

his book will overtake him and he will begin to perform the works of the people of Paradise, the which he will enter", (Muslim, Kadar, trad. 1)

"This tradition implies that the final works serve as the criterion----. In other collections this doctrine is summarized in the sentence: 'Works must be judged from the concluding acts (al-khawātīm) only', (innama 'l-a'māl bi 'l-khawātīm, Bukhārī, Kadar, b.5; Rikāk, b.33; Tirmidhī, Kadar, b.4." Wensinck, the Muslim Creed, pp.55-56.

221. Abū Sulaimān 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn Ahmad Ibn 'Atiyah al-Ansī al-Dārānī, one of those most successful in their efforts to attain communion with the divinity, d. 205/820 Ibn Khal. ii, p.88.

222. See Q.Q., i, p. 200:7-8

223. "If the isnād, although complete, is comparatively very short because the last authority only received the statement from the original authority through the intermediary of few persons, the tradition is called 'ālī'. This is considered a great advantage, because the possibility that errors have crept into the tradition is very small in this case", Ency. of Islam, ii, p. 192, article Hadīth

224. Ṣāliḥ bin Ḥasān(or Kīsān) Abū 'l-Ḥarith al-Baṣrī, and says SMZ the right name is al-Nadārī, related to Naby al-Nadair. Two of these are in Ibn Coteiba, p.245.

225. See Q.Q., ii, p.14:1-2
226. ditto i, p. 195:23-24
227. A variation of a Hadīth Qudsī; see, Muḥammad Maidānī, p.11, # 56.
228. See Q.Q., ii, p. 14:3-10
229. ditto ii, p. 14:11-16
230. SMZ (p.366) comments that the darakāt are like the darajāt except that the darajāt are used in connection with Paradise (the Garden), while the darakāt are use in connection with the Fire.
231. See Q.Q., ii, p. 15:1-11
232. ditto ii, p. 14: 16-20 (variations)
233. Jābir bin 'Abdallah bin 'Amr al-Anṣārī, d. 74 or 78; Ibn Coteiba, p. 156.
234. See Q.Q., ii, p.15:13-15
235. ditto ii, p. 15: 23-24
236. Mentioned in the Qur'ān, 7:83; 11:85; 26:179; 29:35; Ency. of Islam, iv, p.388.
237. See Zwemer, A Moslem Seeker after God, p.274; also Maidanī, Aḥādīth al-Qudsiyah, p. 129, #534.
238. Abū 'Umar 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn 'Umar Ibn Yuhmid al-Auzā'i, famous doctor of law of Syria; born at Baalbek, 88/707 or 93; d. at Beirut, 157/774; Ibn Khal., ii, p. 84.
239. Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ḥātim bin 'Alwān al-Aṣamm,

Qusheiri in his Risalah calls him one of the most famous shaikhs of Kurasān comments SMZ (p.371), d. 237; Mar. Smith, An Early Mystic of Baghdad, p. 257.

240. Abū Yahya Mālik Ibn Dinār, native of Baṣra and a mawla to the family of the tribe of Koraish, called the Banī Sāma, d. Baṣra, 131/748-9; Ibn Khal., ii, p. 549

241. Ibrāhīm bin Adham bin Maṣṣūr bin Yazīd bin Jābir al-Tamīmī al-'Ijlī, a famous ascetic of Balkh, d. 160 -168; Ency. of Islam, ii, pp. 432 ff.

242. Ibn al-Sammāk Abū 'l-'Abbās Muḥammad Ibn Ṣabīh, mawla of the tribe of 'Ijl and a professional narrator of anecdotes, d. Kufa, 183/799-80; Ibn Khal. iii, p. 18.

243. Abū 'Abdallāh Maḥḥūl Ibn 'Abdallāh al-Shāmi, d. 118/736; Ibn Khal., iii, p. 437

244. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Ghanam bin Kuraib bin Hāni bin Bī-'ah al-Ash'arī: Ibn Sa'd mentions him in al-Ṭabaqat; he was an adherent of Mu'ādh bin Jabal, died 78 A. H. (SMZ)

245. Taurāt and Injīl, see Muir and Weir, The Life of Moḥammad, p.150, notes 1 and 2. The former is the Pentateuch or the entire Scriptures of the Old Testament, whereas the latter is the New Testament.

246. See Q.Q., ii, p. 5:13-14

247. Hudhaifah bin al-Yamān, d. 36, Ibn Coteiba, p. 134

248. See Q.Q., ii, p. 5:15-16

249. See. Q.Q., ii, p. 5:22-23
250. Ka'b Ibn Māni' al-Humairi al-Aḥbār (Abu Ishāq), d. under 'Uthmān, 32/652 or 34/654 at Homs, Syria; Ency. of Islam, ii, p.582.
251. See. Q.Q., ii, p. 9:16-20
252. Ditto i, p. 194:19-21
253. " i, p.197:3-6
254. " i, p. 197:6-7
255. " i, p. 197:8-9
256. " i, p. 200:5-7
257. " ii, p. 16:1-2
258. Abū 'Alī Shaqīq Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Balkhī (principal disciple of Ibn Adham) killed in jihād, 194 A. H.; the first to form the concept of tawakkul as a mystic state; Essai, Massignon, p. 228; see also Scherer, O Youth, p. 63, xviii, 2.
259. Al-Daḥḥāk b. Muzāḥim al-Hilālī Abū 'l-Qāsim, d.102; Ibn Coteiba, p.232.
260. I could not locate him.
261. Raiy, the ancient Rāgha, a town of Media five miles S.S.E. of Teheran, Ency. of Islam, iii, pp. 1105-1108.
262. SMZ comments that they are long woolen coats (p.381)
263. Muḥammad Ibn Muqātil al-Rāzī, judge of Raiy, not located.
264. Cf. Q.Q., ii, p. 185:9-10

265. I did not locate him
266. SMZ (foot of 382) comments that there are twenty-seven parasangs between Raiy and Qazwīn.
267. Yahya bin Yazīd Ibn 'Abd al-Malak bin Naufalī bin al-Harith bin 'Abd al-Talab bin Hāsīm al-Nawfalī al-Madanī, d. 165
268. This is Rodwell's translation, ad.loc.
269. Ḥadhīfah bin Ḥisl b. Jābir al-Yamān, Ibn Coteiba, p. 134
270. Abū 'l-Qāsim Samnūn Ibn Ḥamzah, the ascetic, a contemporary of al-Junaid, Ibn Khal., 1, p. 423 and 426 note 2.
271. Salamah bin 'Umrū bin al-Akwa' al-Aslamī Abī Muslim and he is called Abu Ayyās and also Abū 'Āmir, d. 94. I did not locate him.
272. See Q.Q., 1, p. 199:23-25
273. Yusuf bin Asbāṭ, d. 196/811; Mar. Smith, An Early Mystic of Baghdad, p. 75.
274. See Q.Q., 1, p. 199:25-200:3
275. ditto 11, p. 3:1
276. " 11, p. 3:9-10
277. " 1, p. 195:3-4 (variations)
278. " 1, p. 195:4-5
279. plural of badal (substitute), "According to the most generally accepted opinion, they are the fifth degree in the Sūfī hierarchy. They are forty in number (?) and by their powerful influence participate in preserving the arrangement

of the universe, and are unknown to the masses--", Ency. of Islam, i, p. 67 (a); Hughes, Dict. of Islam, pp. 1 and 2; also SMZ, p. 395.

280. Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umr bin Sālim al-Ḥaddād al-Naysaburī of Kuz-dābā, d. about 160; so in Qushairī's Risālat says SMZ p.395.

281. Ibrāhīm Ibn Yazīd bin Sharīk al-Taymī, d. 192 (SMZ, p. 396); Essai, Massignon, p.148; Mar. Smith, op. cit., p.65, puts his death at 92/710.

282. Abū al-'Alayah al-Riyāhī, d. 90 A.H., Ibn Coteiba, 231

283. tubba' see Ency. of Islam, ii, p. 311 (a and b) under article Himyar.

284. See Qur'ān, xviii:82 ff.

285. 'Abd al-Rahmān bin Abī Laila, follower, d. 81 or 83; Ibn Khal., ii, p.84

286. See Q.Q., i, p. 195:5-8; 10-12

287. ahl al-suffa or more rarely ashāb al-suffa, see Lane, Lexicon, p. 1694 (a) upper third; Ency. of Islam, i, p. 185

288. See Q.Q., i, p. 195:13-14 (variations)

289. ditto i, p. 196:2-4

290. " i, p. 196:4-5 (variations)

291. " i, p. 196:6

292. " i, p. 196:7

293. al-Kūfah, a once celebrated city south of the ruins of Babylon, on the western arm of the Euphrates, Ency. of

Islam, i, pp. 477 f.

294. See Q.Q., p. 196:8-10

295. Badr, a small town southwest of al-Madinah, scene of the battle between Muḥammad's followers and the people of Mecca, A. H. 2., Ency. of Islam, i. p.559.

296. See Q.Q., i, p. 197:10-11

297. ditto i, p. 197:24-25

298. " ii, p. 11:9-15

299. " ii, p. 11:18

300. Abū 'Abdallah Salmān al-Farīsī called al-Khair whose origin was from Iṣbahān, was at the Khandaq; d. 34 A.H. (SMZ)

301. See Q.Q., ii, p. 19:16-19

302. SMZ says this is Jābir bin Zaid al-Azdī, d. 93 A.H.; Ibn Coteiba, p. 231, puts his death at 103 A.H.

303. See Q.Q., ii, p. 19:23-20:7

304. ditto ii, p. 5:10-13

305. Abū Muḥammad Sahl bin 'Abdallah bin Yūnis a Sunni theologian and mystic, born at Tustar, 203/818; d. 283/896; Ency. of Islam, iv, p.63; Ibn Khal. i, p.602; Massignon, Ēssai, p.264. and following pages.

306. See Q.Q., i, p. 198:21-199:10

307. ditto i, p. 201:13-16

308. This is from Lane, Lexicon, p. 1925 (a).

309. A town in Arabia not far from Khaibar and like the

latter inhabited by Jews. Ency. of Islam, ii, p.35

310. inna 'l-jawād 'ainuhu furāruhu a proverb applied to him whose external state indicates his internal qualities, meaning that one knows his excellence from his 'ain (i.e. aspect) like as one knows the age of a beast by examining his teeth", Lane, Lexicon, p. 2355 (b).

311. See Q.Q., ii, p. 8:20 and following.

312. ditto ii, foot of p.8 and upper third of p.9.

313. " ii, p.10:15-17

314. " ii, p. 10:17

315. " ii, p. 10:24-25

316. " ii, p. 11:4-8

317. Bilāl Bin Sa'd bin Tamīm (Tumain) al Ash'arī or al-Kindī Abū 'Umr or Abū Zir'ab al-Damashqī, died in Hishām's Caliphate (105-125 A. H.) (SMZ); see Calverley, Worship in Islam, p. 184, note .

318. See, Q.Q., ii, p. 10:25-p. 11:2

319. ditto ii, p. 11:22-26

320. " ii, p. 25:26-26:2

321. Dhimmatī (bima aqūl) rahīnah wa anā bihi za'īm, see Lane, Lexicon, p. 976 (c) middle of page.

322. See Q.Q., ii, p. 12:2-11 (variations)

323. ditto ii, p. 16:3-9

324. This is Rodwell's translation, op.cit.

325. See, Q.Q., ii, p. 23:6-18 (variations and omissions)
326. Ibn Jabr al-Makkī Abū 'l-Hajjaj mawla Banī Makhzūm, d. 102, Mecca; mentioned in Ency. of Islam, ii, p. 101 (a) under article fiqh (middle of page).
327. Khabbāt 'ashawāt, see Lane, Lexicon, p. 699 (a)
328. See Q.Q., ii, p. 40:1-3
329. ditto ii, p. 40:3-5
330. Al-Hajjāj bin Yūsuf al-Thaqafī, (the well known) as it is related that Qatadah knelt to worship and a piece of the matting got in his eye. So he cursed al-Hajjāj(SMZ)
331. See Q.Q., ii, p. 48:1-2
332. ditto ii, p. 48:9-12
333. " ii, p. 48:16-17
334. " ii, p. 49:5-7
335. Marwān bin al-Hakm bin Abī 'l-'Āṣ, d. 65 A.H.; Ibn Coteiba, p. 179
336. Abū Sa'id Mālīk bin Sanān al-Khudrī, d. 74 A.H.; Ibn Coteiba, p. 136; Ency. of Islam, i, p. 185 (Ahl al-suffa)
337. See Q. Q., ii, p. 49:20-22
338. ditto ii, p. 49:23-24
339. " ii, p. 58:5-7
340. " ii, p. 59:21-23
341. " ii, p. 60:10-11
342. " ii, p. 60:1-10

343. See Q.Q., ii, p. 60:26-61:4
344. ditto ii, p. 60:24f-25
345. jawhar, See Ency. of Islam, i, p. 1027
346. Ibn Omara al-Barā' Ibn 'Āzab, one of the Anṣars, d. 71/690-1 (Nujūm); Ibn Khal, iv, p. 286, note 27
347. Abū Rukaiya Tamīm Ibn Ans al-Dārī was originally a Christian, but embraced Islamism in the 9th year of the Hijra and became one of Muḥammad's companions (d. 40 A.H.); Ibn Khal, ii, p. 21, note 3
348. Ā'isha bint Abī Bakr, favorite wife of Muḥammad, d. 58; Ency. of Islam, i, p. 216
349. taylasān, see JRAS, 1935, pp. 334-5, in article on Notes on Costume from Arabic Sources by Reuben Levy.
350. see Dozy, Supplément, p.752, discours dénué de sens.
351. SMZ says "the people of the Rif", (p. 467)
352. farg, a measure well known in al-Medīna: 16 pints: Lane, Lexicon, p. 2385 (a)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. Encyclopedias

1. Leyden: The Encyclopedia of Islam, A Dictionary of the Geography, Ethnography, and Biography of the Muhammad Peoples, prepared by a Number of Leading Orientalists, Leyden, 1913
2. Hughes: Dictionary of Islam, being a Cyclopedia of the Doctrines, Rites, Ceremonies, and Customs, together with the Technical Terms and Theological Terms of the Muhammadan Religion, by Thomas Patrick Hughes, London, 1885
3. Brockelmann: Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur, von Karl Brockelmann, Zwei Bande, Weimar, 1898, 1902.
4. Nicholson: A Literary History of the Arabs, by Reynold A. Nicholson, London, 1907

II. Lexicons

5. Lane: An Arabic-English Lexicon, by Edward William Lane, 1863
6. Dictionary of the Technical Terms, used in the Sciences of the Musalmans, edited under superintendence of A. Sprenger and W. Nassau Lees, Calcutta, 1862

7. Jurjānī: (Kitāb al-Ta'rīfāt) Definitiones viri meritissimi Sejjid Scherif Ali ben Mohammed Dschordschani, edidit Gustavus Flugel, Lipsiae, 1845
8. Dozy: Supplement aux Dictionnaires Arabes, par R. Dozy, Leyde, 1881
9. Hava: An Arabic-English Dictionary, J. G. Hava, Beyrouth, 1899
10. Wortabet: Arabic-English Dictionary, W. T. Wortabet, Beyrout, 1893

III. Grammar

11. Wright: A Grammar of the Arabic Language, by W. Wright, third edition, revised by Smith and de Goeje, 2 vols., 1933, Cambridge

IV. Theology, Philosophy, and Mysticism

12. Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence, and Constitutional Theory, by Duncan B. Macdonald, New York, 1903
13. The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam, D. B. Macdonald, Chicago, 1909
14. Aspects of Islam, D. B. Macdonald, New York, 1911
15. de Boer: The History of Philosophy in Islam, by T. J. de Boer, translated by E. R. Jones, London, 1903

16. Goldziher: Le Dogme et la Loi de l'Islam, translated by Felix Arin, Paris, 1920
17. Halkin: Moslem Schisms and Sects, (al-Fark Bain al-Firak) of Abu Mansūr 'Abd al-Kāhir Ibn Ṭāhir al-Baghdādī (d. 1037), part II., translated by A. S. Halkin, Tel-Aviv, 1935
18. Lammens: Islam Beliefs and Institutions by H. Lammens, translated by Sir E. Denison Ross, London, 1929
19. Makki: Qūt al-Qulūb, by Abu Ṭālib al-Makki, 2 vols., Cairo, 1351/1932
20. Massignon: Essai Sur les Origines du Lexique Technique de la Mystique Musalmane, par Louis Massignon, Paris, 1922
21. Nicholson: Studies in Islamic Mysticism, R. A. Nicholson, Cambridge, 1921
22. Nicholson: The Mystics of Islam, R. A. Nicholson, London, 1914
23. Schmolders: Essai sur les Ecoles Philosophiques chez les Arabes par Auguste Schmolders, Paris, 1842.
24. Sell: Sufiism, Canon Sell, in the Islam Series, London, Madras and Comombo, 1910
25. Smith: An Early Mystic of Baghdad, Margaret Smith,

London, 1935

26. Smith: Studies in Early Mysticism in the Near and Middle East, Margaret Smith, London, 1931
27. Al-Suyūṭī: Kitāb al-Atqān fī 'ulūm al-Qur'ān, al-Imām Jalāl ad-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, Cairo, 1318 A.H.
28. Wensinck: On the Relation Between Ghazali's Cosmology and His Mysticism, A. J. Wensinck, Amsterdam, 1933

V. Muḥammad, the Qur'ān and Traditions

29. Fluegel, Gustavus: Corani Textus Arabicus, Leipsig, 1858
30. Fluegel, Gustavus: Concordantiae Corani Arabicae, Leipsig, 1898
31. Muir: The Life of Mohammad, William Muir, revised by T.H. Weir, Edinburgh, 1912
32. Rodwell: The Koran, J. M. Rodwell, London, 1929
33. Goldsack, The Traditions in Islam, W. Goldsack, Madras, 1919

VI. History and Biographies

34. Hell: The Arab Civilization, J. Hell, Cambridge, 1926
35. Lane-Poole: The Mohammedan Dynasties, Stanley Lane-Poole, 1894
36. Muir: The Caliphate, Its Rise, Decline, and Fall,

Sir William Muir, 1891, London

37. Ibn Coteiba's Handbuch der Geschichte, Gottingen, 1850
38. Ibn Khallikan's Biographical Dictionary, translated from the Arabic by Baron Mac Guckin De Slane, 4 vols., Paris, 1842, 1871
39. Barbier de Meynard: Surnoms et Sobriquets dans la Litterature Arabe par A.-C. Barbier de Meynard, Paris, 1907

VII. Al-Ghazzālī

40. Carra de Vaux: Gazali, par le Baron Carra de Vaux, Paris, 1902
41. Gardner: al-Ghazali, W.R.W. Gardner, Madras, 1919
42. Field: The Confessions of al-Ghazzali, Claud Field,
43. Calverley: Worship in Islam, E.E. Calverley, Madras, 1925
44. Macdonald: al-Ghazzālī, in Ency. of Islam, i, pp. 146 ff
45. Macdonald: The Life of al-Ghazzālī, in JAOS, 1899, pp. 71-132
46. Scherer: O Youth, G.H. Scherer, Beirut, 1933
47. Zwemer: A Moslem Seeker after God, S.M. Zwemer, New York, 1920