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THE RELIGIOUS PSYCHOLOGY OF AL-GHAZZĀLĪ:
A TRANSLATION OF HIS BOOK OF THE IHYĀ' ON
THE EXPLANATION OF THE WONDERS OF THE HEART
WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES.

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THE RELIGIOUS PSYCHOLOGY OF AL-GHAZZĀLĪ
A Translation of His Book of the IHYĀ' on
THE EXPLANATION OF THE WONDERS OF THE HEART
with Introduction and Notes

A THESIS
Submitted to the Faculty
of the
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for the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Walter James Skellie

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VITA.

Walter James Skellie was born in Argyle, New York, on Dec. 20, 1899, the son of Archibald Gow and Elizabeth Farsha Skellie. He attended country school, and graduated from Argyle High School in 1916. His college was Westminster College, New Wilmington, Pa., where he graduated with honor in 1921. He entered Pittsburgh Theological Seminary that fall and received the degree of Th. B. with honor in 1924 and was awarded the Jamieson Scholarship for that year.

In the Church in which he had been reared he was ordained to the ministry of the Gospel for Foreign Missionary service by the Argyle Presbytery of the United Presbyterian Church in May 1924. He has served the Egyptian Mission under the Board of Foreign Missions of that Church from October 1924 until the present time. From 1924 until 1926 he was located in Cairo for language study, and then he was sent to Alexandria to assist in the work of that city and district.

His first furlough in America was spent at the Kennedy School of Missions in Hartford, where he received the M.A. degree in Islamics in 1930.

Returning to Egypt in September 1930 he was located in Luxor for evangelistic work in that district, with supervision of some schools in the district. This service has been rendered in close cooperation with the Egyptian Evangelical Church.

In 1931 he registered with the Kennedy School of Missions for advanced study, and has been working on this book of al-Ghazzâlî's and related subjects since that time. He spent the school year 1937 - 38 in residence in Hartford for the completion of this work.

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INTRODUCTION.

A. A Biographical Sketch of Al-Ghazzâlî.

Abû Hâmid Muḥammad bin Muḥammad bin Muḥammad bin Ahmad al-Ghazzâlî al-Ṭûsî was born in Ṭûs, Persia in the year 450 A.H. (1058-9 A.D.) and died in 505/1111. His biography has been thoroughly studied and sympathetically written by competent authorities, and an understanding of his life is indispensable

a) These biographical sources are: D. B. Macdonald, The Life of Al-Ghazzâlî, Journal of the American Oriental Society, xx, 1899, pp. 71-132, and his article in the Encyclopaedia of Islam, ii, pp. 146 ff; S. M. Zwemer, A Moslem Seeker after God, Revell, New York, 1920; W. R. W. Gardner, Al-Ghazâlî, in The Islam Series, of the Christian Literature Society for India, Madras, 1919. To these should be added two articles by Macdonald in Isis, May 1926, pp. 9-15, and May 1937, pp. 9-10, which make another needed clarification of the misapprehension of some Western medieval scholars regarding al-Ghazzâlî's purpose in his maqâsid al-falâsifah; also a modern Muslim appreciation by S. M. Rahman, Al-Ghazzâlî, in Islamic Culture, July 1927, pp. 406 ff. For readers of Arabic mention should be made of the following recent works: Abû Hâmid al-Ghazzâlî by Muḥammad Ridâ, Cairo 1343/1924; al-akhlâq 'ind ?

for any adequate understanding of his principles of religious psychology as found in this book from his great work, ihyâ' 'ulûm al-dîn. Only a brief summary of the principal events of his life can be given here.

Al-Ghazzâlî's father died when his son who was to achieve such fame was but a small boy. Before his death the father gave his two sons into the charge of a Şûfî friend who faithfully cared for them and began their training. Al-Ghazzâlî studied in a madrasah in Tûs, and later in Jurjân and Nishapur. In this last place his teacher was a famous and devout Şûfî, Abû l-Ma'âlî 'Abd al-Malik al-Juwainî, better known as Imâm al-Haramain. Al-Ghazzâlî remained with him as his pupil and probably also his assistant until the death of the Imâm. He was a faithful student and acquired a broad knowledge of many branches of learning. By

al-Ghazzâlî, by Zakî Mubârak, Cairo 1343/1924; safwat ihyâ' al-Ghazzâlî, by Mahmûd 'Alî Qirâ'ah, Cairo 1353/1935. For a list of the writings of al-Ghazzâlî see Ency. of Islam, op.cit.; Brockle-
mann, i. pp. 421 ff. & Supp./ⁱpp. 744 ff.; also the books mentioned above by Zwemer and Muhammad Ridâ. A list of thirty-eight of his best known and most easily obtainable writings is given in the appendix of Gardner's Al-Ghazzâlî, pp. 105 ff.

his diligent application and constant study he probably did a lasting injury to his health at this period of his life.

After the death of the Imâm al-Ḥaramain, al-Ghazzâlî went to the court of the great vizier, Niẓâm al-Mulk, where he won fame and praise for his learning. He was later appointed to teach in the great school at Baghdâd, and there he lectured to some three hundred students, and gave legal opinions of great importance. He preached to large and appreciative crowds in the mosque, and he prospered in material things.

But although he was outwardly successful, he had no peace of heart. He was experiencing a deep and lasting change in his life. In all his study and learning he had not found reality, and he was now plunged into the depths of skepticism. He sought the answer to the doubts of his soul in scholastic theology, in the teaching of the Ta'limites who said that one must follow an infallible living teacher, and in the study of philosophy, but the result was not satisfying. He turned to the study of Şûfism, and then realized that what he needed was not so much religious instruction as religious experience. He saw that his own life was so full of sham and covetousness that if he continued thus he could not possibly find rest or reality. His mortal state so affected his physical condition that it was impossible for him to continue teaching.

So in the year 488 he suddenly forsook position, wealth,

and fame and withdrew from the world. The brilliant teacher who had gloried in worldly success and royal favor now turned his back upon it all and became a wandering dervish ascetic. He had been given divine grace to renounce all for an experiential knowledge of Allah. He lived in retirement in Damascus, visited Jerusalem and Hebron, made the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina. Finally, drawn by the ties of family affection and recognizing the propriety of such relationships, he returned to Baghdâd. This period of retirement and wandering was filled with the practice of devotional exercises, and the study and writing of books. Early in this period he wrote his masterpiece, ihyâ' 'ulûm al-dîn, and he taught it in Damascus and Baghdâd. It is quite possible that he revised this work at a later period in his life.

Al-Ghazzâlî's return to public life came in 499 when he was appointed to teach in the school at Nishapur; but only for a short time did he remain there. He desired the life of retirement and meditation on spiritual things, and so removed to his native city of Tûs where he established a Şûfî school and khanqâh. There he spent his time in study and meditation until his end came quietly in the year 505/1111.

From his own day up to the present time al-Ghazzâlî has held a secure position of leadership in Islam. With him the religious philosophy and experience of Islam reached its zenith,

and the system of ethics which he produced has become the final authority for orthodox Islam. His was a warming and revitalising influence upon Islam in his own day, and it has continued to be such in a potent way for eight and a quarter centuries. The vitality of his experience, the breadth of his learning, the high plane on which he lived his own transformed life, and the depth of his desire to serve Allah and his fellowmen in complete and self-denying devotion made him the man whose influence is considered by many to have been second to none among the leaders of Islam, save that of Muhammad himself.

Al-Sayyid al-Murtadâ al-Zabidî, in his commentary on the Ihyâ' called ithâf al-sâdah al-muttaqîn, has a lengthy treatise on the life and influence of al-Ghazzâlî. In it he shows how many Muslim writers have used al-Ghazzâlî's books and ideas as a basis for their own thinking and writing. The fact that new books on al-Ghazzâlî are still being written by modern Muslim writers and by Western orientalists is conclusive evidence of his high place in the world of Muslim thought. Jabrân Khalîl Jabrân, well-known as a writer both in English and Arabic, wrote of al-Ghazzâlî in his book al-badâ'î' wa l-ṭarâ'if, Cairo 1923, pp. 116-118, as follows:

"Al-Ghazzâlî holds a very high place in the minds of Western orientalists and scholars. They place him along with

Ibn Sina and Ibn Rushd in the first rank of oriental philosophers. The spiritually minded among them consider him to represent the noblest and highest thought which has appeared in Islam. Strange to say, I saw on the walls of a church in Florence, Italy, built in the fifteenth century, a picture of al-Ghazzâlî among the pictures of other philosophers, saints, and theologians whom the leaders of the Church in the middle ages considered as the pillars and columns in the temple of Absolute Spirit.

"But stranger than this is the fact that the people of the West know more about al-Ghazzâlî than do the people of the East. They translate his works and investigate his teachings and search out carefully his philosophic contentions and mystic aims. But we, who still speak and write Arabic, seldom mention al-Ghazzâlî or discuss him. We are still busied with the shells, as though shells were all that come out from the sea of life to the shores of days and nights."

Another quotation will be given from a book used in Egyptian secondary and teacher training schools in the study of the history of Arabic literature. It is al-wasîf fî l 'âdâb al-'arabî wa târikhihi, by Shaikh Ahmad al-Iskandarî and Shaikh Muşţafâ 'Annânî, Cairo 1925, as follows:

"There is a real soul bond between al-Ghazzâlî and St.

Augustine. They are two similar appearances of one principle, in spite of the sectarian and social differences existing between their times and environments. This principle is an instinctive inclination within the soul which leads its possessor on step by step from things seen and their external appearances to the things of reason, philosophy, and divinity.

"Al-Ghazzâlî separated himself from the world and from the luxury and high position which he had in it, and lived the lonely solitary life of a mystic, penetrating deeply into the search for those fine threads which join the utmost limits of science to the beginnings of religion; and searching diligently for that hidden vessel in which men's perceptions and experiences are mingled with their feelings and dreams.

"Augustine had done this five centuries before him. Whoever reads his book 'Confessions' will find that he took the earth and everything derived therefrom as a ladder on which to mount up to the secret thought of the Supreme Being.

"However I have found al-Ghazzâlî to be nearer to the real essence of things and their secrets than St. Augustine was. Perhaps the reason for this lies in the difference between the Arab and Greek scientific theories which preceded his time to which the former fell heir, and the theology which occupied the fathers of the Church in the second and

third centuries A.D., which the latter inherited. By inheritance I mean the thing which is passed on with the age from one mind to another, just as certain physical attainments are constant in the external appearance of peoples from age to age.

"I found in al-Ghazzâlî that which makes him a golden link joining the mystics of India who had preceded him with the seekers for the divine who followed him. For in the attainments of Buddhist thought there is something akin to al-Ghazzâlî; and likewise in what Spinoza and William Blake have written in modern times there is something of his feelings.

"Al-Ghazzâlî is considered as a supporter of the Ash'arî sect called the people of the Sunnah, and as one of the greatest of Shâfi'î Imams. He is reckoned as the best of those who spoke on asceticism, being unlike to the Şûfî sects which went beyond the ordinary experience of the human reason. His book, ihyâ' 'ulûm al-dîn, is one of the finest books on asceticism, ethics, and exposition of the wisdom of the Qur'ân and the Sharf'ah. His writings on these subjects are most eloquent, and his style of writing is aimed at by scholars in this field and by other reformers even up to the present time."

As a writer al-Ghazzâlî was not original in the use of

the material which he incorporated in his many books. This was only natural in the light of his experience of study and search for truth from so many different sources. 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." He took much from his study of the philosophy of al-Fârâbî and Ibn Sîna, especially the latter. He constantly quotes from the qût al-qulûb of Abû Tâlib al-Makkî and al-riisâlah al-gushairiyyah; and he shows the influence of al-Fârith al-Muhâsibî, Abû Yazîd al-Bisfâmî, al-Shiblî, and others whose works he studied.

In summing up an article on al-Ghazzâlî's debt to al-Muhâsibî, Dr. Margaret Smith writes, "These examples . . . show clearly al-Ghazzâlî's indebtedness to his great predecessor, both for the main trend of his ascetical, devotional, and mystical teaching and for many of the ideas and illustrations of which he makes use in his rule for the religious life." . . . "The foundations of that great system of orthodox Islamic mysticism which al-Ghazzâlî made it his business to bring to completion, had already been well and truly laid."

a) The Confessions of al-Ghazzâlî, Field, London 1909, p. 41.

b) The Forerunner of al-Ghazzâlî, JRAS, 1936, pp. 65-78.

But al-Ghazzâlî did more than merely cite quotations from these sources; he wove them into a harmonious system based upon his own experience of gaining and realizing reality. His whole moral philosophy was a synthesis, and a practical expression of the golden mean. He took the rigid framework of the scholastic theologian and clothed it with the warm personal faith of the mystic. To the knowledge of the philosopher which is gained through the processes of study, reasoning, and deduction he added the inner knowledge of the şûfi who sees with the light of certainty, and experiences direct revelations and unveilings of the Divine Reality. He was careful, however, to avoid the extreme vagaries of şûfism and especially its tendencies to antinomianism and pantheism. He united the best results of philosophic speculation with orthodox Islam, and, while denying the materialism of the philosophers, he nevertheless used their methods to develop his own thought, and to refute them where they differed with the teachings of orthodox Islam.

Al-Ghazzâlî was well acquainted with the technical language of all of these different groups and used it to express his own ideas, but he often quoted it quite loosely. Similar to this was his inaccurate use of tradition for which he has been criticized by both his friends and his foes. He quoted traditions carelessly and often inexactly. But even more serious was his

uncritical selection of traditions, many of which were very poorly attested or even quite unfounded, according to the best authorities. Perhaps the explanation of this strange inexactness in such a learned man lies in the fact that al-Ghazzâlî, with all his learning, was less a theologian, a philosopher, a traditionist, or even a Şûfî mystic, than he was a preacher and teacher whose great end and aim was to move men's lives and to turn their hearts to seek Allah. In his spiritual enthusiasm to gain this end he was often careless in the formulation of the statements and quotations which he used as a means of attaining it.

Al-Ghazzâlî put great emphasis upon man's need for spiritual leaders, and his Thyâ' gives the ethical teachings of a kindly pastor who cares for his flock. He was considerate and humane in his dealings with men in general, and, although reviled by others, he was slow to condemn those who disagreed with him. Even when he did condemn the philosophers his chief concern was to point out the errors of their system of thought and teaching, rather than to denounce them personally.

B. A Sketch of Al-Ghazzâlî's Psychology.

Introduction.

In taking up a somewhat systematic study of the psychology of al-Ghazzâlî it will be observed that many of his ideas follow closely those of the philosophers whose heretical doctrines he opposed so strongly. But, no matter how much may be said about his borrowings from the Greeks and their successors, we must take care not to consider him as a mere eclectic philosopher who took what he chose from his predecessors, for he was first of all a Muslim teacher and preacher. He weighed all of the teachings of the philosophers in the balance of the Islamic faith, and incorporated into his system only those principles which measured up to that standard. In so far as he did follow the philosophers he adapted and modified their teachings so as to make them conform to the orthodox Muslim religion.

The psychology of al-Ghazzâlî was Platonic in many of its ideas, but it included much of the Aristotelian development in its analysis. Neoplatonic thought which had so strongly influenced al-Fârâbî and Ibn Sîna was inevitably present in the thinking of al-Ghazzâlî also, and it colored many of his philosophical and psychological concepts.

The fact that al-Ghazzâlî uses the term 'heart' in the

instead of soul in the title of this book is an indication of the primal position this word had in the vocabulary of Muslim religious teachers, and also in that of the philosophers. The term was used in Islam for the seat of intellectual and emotional life even as it had already been used by Judaism and Christianity. Among the Greeks and Romans the heart took the place of the liver as the seat of life, soul, intellect, and emotion.^{a)} Aristotle gave the heart the place of honor as the seat of the noblest emotions.^{b)}

Although al-Ghazzâlî uses the term 'secrets' of the heart as a synonym for its 'wonders', it apparently does not connote any special mystical signification, although it has such a meaning in Şûfî usage.^{c)} The heart is the seat of secrets.

Al-Ghazzâlî limits the discussion of the subject largely to the field of practical religious philosophy (ilm al-mu'âmalah). His aim is ethical, and, although he does at times inevitably deal with questions of metaphysics, it is nevertheless with ethics that he is primarily concerned. He would not go as far as Zeno and reduce all virtues to practical wisdom (φρόνησις),^{d)} yet that was

a) Hastings, Ency. of Religion and Ethics, vi. p. 557.

b) Brett, A History of Psychology, i. p. 106; Ross, Aristotle, p. 143, n. 1.

c) Dict. of Tech. Terms, p. 653.

d) Ueberweg, A History of Philosophy, i. p. 200.

for him the important way of achieving his desired end, - the good ^{a)} life. He agreed with Aristotle that understanding included both wisdom ($\sigma\phi\acute{\alpha}$) and practical sense ($\phi\rho\acute{o}\nu\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$)^{b)}; but what he stressed was the latter, which they both held to be "practical ability, under rational direction, in the choice of things good and avoidance of things which are evil for man."^{c)} This practical end was kept ever in view by al-Ghazzâlî as the logical outcome of man's knowledge and experience.

1. The Nature of the Soul.

In order to understand clearly al-Ghazzâlî's concept of the nature of the heart, or soul, it is necessary to discuss four terms which are applied to it. They are: 'heart' (qalb), 'spirit' (rûh); 'soul' (nafs); and 'intelligence' ('aql). Each of these terms has two meanings, but the second meaning of each term is the same as the second meaning of each of the other three terms.

The term 'heart' means the heart of flesh in the body of a man or animal, whether living or dead; but it also means that subtile temuous substance, spiritual in nature, which is the knowing

a) Mure, Aristotle, p. 129.

b) Brett, op. cit. i. p. 144.

c) Ueberweg, op. cit. i. p. 176.

and perceiving essence of man. There is some connection between the physical heart and this spiritual 'heart', but practical wisdom and prophetic precedent do not demand nor warrant the explanation of this relationship.

'Spirit' means that refined material substance which is produced by the blood in the left cavity of the heart and which rises up to the brain and passes to all parts of the body through the blood vessels carrying the animal powers of life and sense perception.^{a)} This resembles Aristotle's theory of the πνεύμα as a "sentient organism of a subtle nature spread through the body and acting as the universal medium of sensation."^{b)} 'Spirit' also means the above mentioned subtile spiritual substance which is the second meaning of 'heart'.

The third term is 'soul' (nafs). This may mean the life-giving soul whose seat is in the heart.^{c)} Jurjâni defines nafs as "that refined vaporous substance (jawhar) which bears the powers of life, sense perception, and voluntary motion", and says that al-Ḥakīm (Ibn Sīna) called it the animal spirit (al-rûh al-kaywâniyyah). Al-Ghassâlî and other Ṣūfî writers commonly

a) Ithâf, vii. p. 203; note 20, p. 192.

b) Brett, i. p. 119.

c) Ency. of Religion and Ethics, i. p. 679 b.

bring the word nafs, which is the ordinary Arabic equivalent for the $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ of Greek philosophy, down to the appetitive soul ($\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\theta\upsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha$) in which are united man's blameworthy qualities. This is the $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ of Pauline theology and the nephesh of Hebrew. It is not clear from this book of the Ihyâ', nor from his ma'âriḥ al-quḍs fī ma'âriḥ ma'rifat al-nafs, or al-risâlah al-ladunniyyah, or kimiyâ' al-sa'âdah, whether or not al-Ghazzâlî held that the 'soul' in this sense was material or immaterial in its nature. Some hints of a material soul are found, for example in kimiyâ' al-sa'âdah^{a)} where he speaks of the nafs as the vehicle (markab) of the heart, a term usually applied to the body; and again in al-risâlah al-ladunniyyah^{b)} where he says that Ṣūfīs call the animal spirit (al-rūh al-hayawânî) a nafs. The clearest hint is perhaps that in mizân al-'amal^{c)} where he speaks of the two meanings of the soul as the animal soul (al-nafs al-hayawâniyyah) and the human soul (al-nafs al-insâniyyah). It is clear that there was in Islam the concept of a material nafs.^{d)} But al-Ghazzâlî does not stress the nature of this appetitive soul as regards its

a) Cairo 1343, pp. 8, 10.

b) Cairo 1343, p. 27.

c) Cairo 1342, pp. 18, 20.

d) Macdonald, The Development of the Idea of Spirit in Islam; Jurjânî; Dict. of Tech. Terms, pp. 1396 ff.

materiality or immateriality, but rather as regards its characteristic of uniting the blameworthy qualities of man. These blameworthy qualities are the animal powers in man which are opposed to his rational powers.^{a)} It is thus, like Plato's irrational soul, made up of anger (ghadab, θυμῶς) and appetite (shahwah, ἐπιθυμία).

The second meaning of nafs is that subtile spiritual substance which is the real essence of man.

The fourth term is 'intelligence' or 'reason' ('aql). This word is commonly used to translate the Greek νοῦς. 'Aql is applied to man's knowledge of the true nature of things, and also to his power to perceive and know. This latter meaning is that same subtile spiritual substance of which Aristotle said,^{b)} "Reason, more than anything else, is man."

It is this second meaning, common to all four terms, of which al-Ghazzâlî writes in the volume before us. Thus his concept of 'heart', or 'soul', may be defined as that subtile tenuous substance, spiritual in nature, which is the perceiving and knowing essence of man, and in reality is man. Its seat is the physical heart. It is immaterial and immortal. It is created directly by

a) ma'ârij al quds, Cairo 1346/1927, p. 11.

b) Nicomachean Ethics, 1177 b 26-78 a 7, in Mure, Aristotle, p.165.

Allah, capable of knowing Him, and is morally responsible to Him.

Al-Ghazzâlî, following Ibn Sîna and other Arab philosophers, conceived of the human soul as being between the lower realm of the animal and the higher realm of the divine, and as partaking of the characteristics of each of these realms. ^{a)} In the elaboration of their doctrine of the soul they combined the ideas of Plato and Aristotle, and joined to them additional ideas from Neoplatonic sources. Perhaps the most systematic statement of the resulting doctrine of the soul is that given by Ibn Sîna which may be summarized in the following scheme which is adapted from Hastings, Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, ii. pp.274 f. ^{b)}

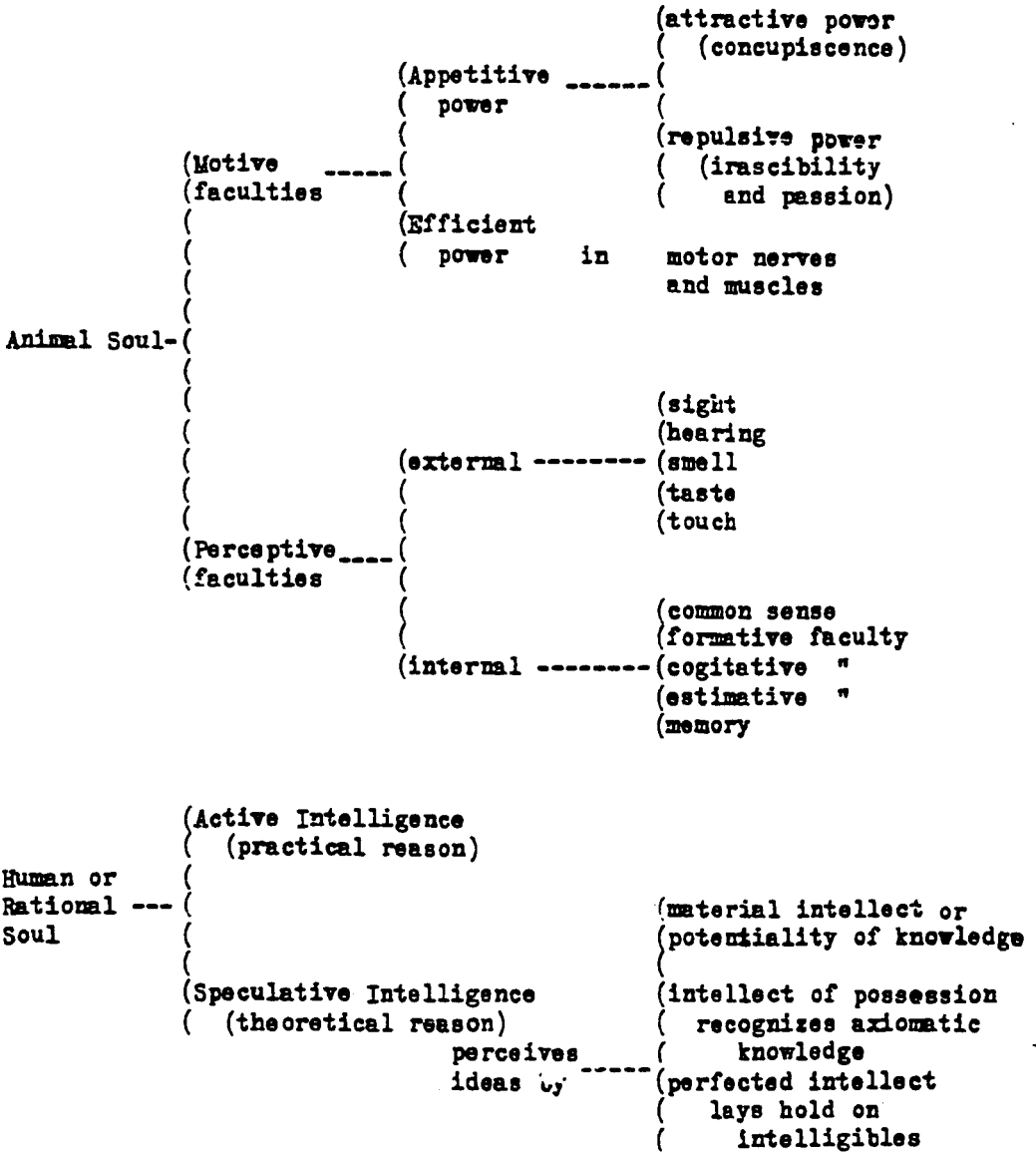
	(Vegetative Soul
	{
Soul -----	(Animal Soul
	{
	(Human (Rational) Soul

Each one of these divisions is further subdivided as follows:

	(Powers of nutrition
	{
Vegetative Soul ----	{ " " growth
	{
	{ " " reproduction

a) Brett, ii. p. 48; Plotinus, Enneads, III, ii, 8.

b) Cf. Brett, ii. pp. 54 ff.; Islamic Culture, April 1935, pp. 341 ff.



This system was adopted in large part by al-Ghazzâlî, and it formed the framework of his intellectual philosophy.

In analyzing the above scheme as developed by al-Ghazzâlî

in this book we find ideas corresponding closely to the Platonic thought of the rational and irrational souls. ^{a)} The rational soul, according to Plato was created by God and placed in the head, but the irrational part was the creation of the demiourgoi. Its nobler part is anger, or the spirited, irascible nature (*θυμός*), and has its seat in the heart or thorax; while the base part which is appetite, or the concupiscible nature (*ἐπιθυμία*), has its seat in the abdominal cavity.

For al-Ghazzālī, of course, Allah is the Creator of all that man is and does, and he follows Aristotle in holding that the heart is the seat of the rational soul. But, in spite of these differences, the Platonic division is an important part of the thinking of al-Ghazzālī. ^{b)} Plato's 'rational soul' is al-Ghazzālī's 'soul' or 'heart' or 'intellect', depending on the illustrations he uses. The irrational soul of Plato includes the powers of appetite and anger which, for him and for al-Ghazzālī too, must be held in check by the rational soul or intellect. When the intellect dominates these lower powers justice is established for both soul and body, but when the lower powers dominate the intellect it becomes their slave. The excellence or virtue of the rational

a) Brett, i. p. 68; Timaeus 44 E, 69 E, 70 B D E. Cf. Aristotle, De Anima, I,i; III,ix; Plotinus, Enneads, IV, viii, 5-8.

b) Cf. note 23, p.193.

soul is wisdom, that of anger is courage, and that of appetence
 a)
 is temperance.

Even more clearly do we see the Aristotelian analysis
 in al-Ghazzâlî's psychology with its vegetative, animal, and human
 b)
 'souls'. Aristotle tried to explain accurately the phenomena of
 c)
 psychic life, approaching it from the side of metaphysics. All
 known things are included in an ascending scale from pure matter
 to pure form. The body alone is matter, and the soul alone is
 form. The sphere of psychology is the relationship of the two
 (Τὸ ἐμψυχόν). Soul and body must be defined in relation to
 each other. The soul is the true essence of that which we call
 body, and is man in reality. It is the first actualization
 (entelechy) of the body, and represents a possibility of psychic
 activity. The second entelechy is the actual realization of this
 possibility. This is illustrated in the eye which has the power
 to see even when that power is inactive, as in sleep; and the eye
 which is actually seeing. Al-Ghazzâlî holds quite a similar
 position, and gives the same illustration of powers potential and

a) Brett, i. p. 97.

b) De Anima, II, i; III, ix; Mure, Aristotle, pp. 95 ff.
 Cf. Plotinus, Enneads, III, iv, 2. Note 56, p. 197.

c) Brett, i. pp. 100 ff.

actual.

Man's power of reaction is three-fold: He absorbs nourishment and reproduces, as does the plant. He has sense perceptions, powers of discrimination, and voluntary movement like the animal. He differs from them both in possessing rational power, and is capable of that higher knowledge which includes the knowledge of Allah. By virtue of this quality of experiential knowledge man occupies a place between the animals and the angels. "There are in him the desires of the beast united with a reason ^{a)} that is godlike." By neglecting the rational soul he can sink toward the level of the animal, and by cultivating it he can strive toward the level of the angels.

2. The Soul's Knowledge and the Means by which it is acquired.

According to the Neoplatonic idea of man, "Knowledge is ^{b)} always an activity of the soul." Through this activity man gains a firm and lasting grasp of reality. Al-Ghazzâlî held that man's peculiar glory is the aptitude which he has for that highest of all kinds of knowledge, the knowledge of Allah. In this knowledge is man's joy and happiness. The seat of this knowledge is the

a) Brett, i. p. 137.

b) Brett, i. p. 305.

heart, which was created to know Him just as the eye was created to see objective forms. The physical members are used by the heart to attain the end of knowledge even as the craftsman uses his tool to accomplish his purposes. Man's potential capacity for knowledge is practically unlimited, that is, save by infinity itself.

Although knowledge may to a certain degree be the result of man's activity, yet it requires a cause outside of man himself to bestow true wisdom. Plato found this outside cause in the world of Ideas. Aristotle said that intelligence ($\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$) comes into man "from without as something divine and immortal".^{a)} Intelligence is not a mere function of the natural body. "Knowledge seemed to the Arab to be an eternal and abiding reality, . . . which for a time reproduced itself in the individual."^{b)}

Man is potentially capable of knowledge because of the principle that like can know like.^{c)} The old Greek idea of man as a microcosm^{d)} is accepted by al-Ghazzâli, who said, (p. 81), ".... were it not that He has placed an image of the whole world within

a) Ueberweg, i. p. 168. Cf. Brett, i. pp. 153 f.

b) Brett, ii. p. 51.

c) Plato, Timaeus, 37 B C; Introd. p. 10 (Loeb Classical Library).

d) See note 127, p. 207.

your very being you would have no knowledge of that which is apart from yourself." He further develops this idea in kimiya'^{a)} al-sa'adah. "Know that man is an epitomy (mukhtasarah) of the world in which there is a trace of every form in the world. For these bones are like the mountains, his flesh as the dust, his hair as the plants, his head as heaven, his senses as the planets,The power in the 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." In man there are many worlds represented, all of which serve him tirelessly although he does not know of them nor give thanks to Him who bestowed them upon him.

Al-Ghazzālī also uses the Platonic idea of man being the copy of the archetype.^{b)} He connects this with the Muslim doctrine of the Preserved Tablet (al-lawh al-mahfûz).^{c)} The Archetype of the world was written on the Tablet. The real nature of things is made known to man by disclosure to him of what is there written through the reflection of these truths in the mirror of the heart.

a) Cairo 1343, p. 19.

b) Timaeus, 37 D E; translation, p. 79. Cf. Plotinus, Enneads, III, viii, 10; V, i, 4; VI, vii, 15.

c) See note lll, p. 205.

a)

This introduces us to the example of the mirror which is a favorite of al-Ghazzâlî's. Man's heart, as a mirror, is potentially capable of having reflected in it the real essence of all things, and thus of coming to know them. In this knowledge there are three factors: (1) The intellect, or heart, in which exists the image of the specific natures of things, is like the mirror. (2) The intelligible, or specific nature of the known thing, is like the object reflected in the mirror. (3) The intelligence, or the representation of the known thing in the heart, is like the representation of the image in the mirror.

The reflection of knowledge in the heart may be prevented by one or more of five causes: (1) The heart of a youth is in a crude unformed condition and is incapable of knowledge, just as a crude unpolished piece of metal is incapable of reflecting objects. (2) Disobedient acts tarnish and corrode the mirror of the heart so that the reflection of reality therein is dimmed or destroyed. (3) Man may not know Allah because his heart is not turned towards Him; even as the mirror does not reflect the desired object unless it is turned towards it. (4) The heart may be veiled to true knowledge by blindly accepting dogmatic teaching without understanding or thought. (5) The heart may not even know in which direction to

a) Cf. Plotinus, Enneads, I, i. 8.

turn in order to have reality reflected in it.

Man can polish and burnish the mirror of his heart by means of acts of obedience so that it will reflect the image of true reality. He thus gains knowledge by making it possible for the image of the archetype to be reflected in his heart.

The sum-total of man's knowledge is thus rooted in his knowledge of himself. He knows only himself in the proper sense, and knows other things only through himself. This is true also of man's highest attainment of knowledge, the knowledge of Allah; for the quality of the Divine Being is reflected in the human soul. "He who knows himself knows his Lord" is the true statement of tradition. Every heart is thus a microcosm and a mirror, and being thus constituted is capable of knowing self and the divine. a)

The heart of man has two kinds of knowledge: intellectual and religious. b) Intellectual knowledge may be the intuitive knowledge of axioms, or acquired knowledge which is the result of study. Acquired knowledge may deal with the things of this world, such as medicine, geometry, astronomy, and the various professions and trades; or it may be concerned with the things of the world to come, such as the doctrines of religion. Speculative theologians stress

a) Cf. development of microcosm and macrocosm in Windelband, A History of Philosophy, trans. by Tufts, New York, 1907, pp. 366 ff.

b) Cf. tables on p. lxi.

this sort of acquired knowledge as being most important.

Religious knowledge is the knowledge of Allah, His attributes, and His acts. It is accepted on authority by the common people as dogma in a blind and unreasoning fashion which has in it nothing of direct inspiration. To people of deep religious experience, however, this knowledge is given directly. Saints and mystics receive it through general inspiration (ilhâm), while it is received by prophets directly from the angel through prophetic inspiration (wahy).

Both intellectual and religious knowledge are needed and neither one is sufficient without the other. This is true in spite of the fact that each tends to exclude the other except in the case of unusual men who are both learned and saintly. Intellectual knowledge may be compared to food, and religious knowledge to medicine. Both are needed for the preservation of health.

Even as there are two kinds of knowledge which enter the heart, so also the heart has two doors by which this knowledge comes into it. There is an outer door to the knowledge of material things which is sense perception. The inner door is that of divine inspiration and mystical revelation. Here again the principle obtains that like knows like, for the senses belong to this present

a) Dict. of Tech. Terms, p. 371; Asín, Algazel, pp. 79 f.

b) Cf. Plotinus, Enneads, V, 1, 12; III, viii, 9.

world for which they were created, while the heart belongs also to the invisible world of the spirit (al-malakût).

The external senses of sight, hearing, smell, taste, and touch act through the bodily members: the eye, ear, nose, tongue, and fingers. Sense perceptions reach the individual by means of these external senses, but they are perceived and understood only by means of the five inner senses which are (1) common sense or sensus communis (hiss mushtarak), (2) retentive imagination, (khayâl, takhayyul), (3) reflection (tafakkur), (4) recollection (tadhakkur), and (5) memory (hifz). These are internal powers and their seats are internal.

Here al-Ghazzâlî follows loosely Ibn Sîna's development
 a)
 of Aristotle's views on these inner senses. The common sense is that power which receives the impressions which come through the different external senses and unites them into a harmonious and unified whole. Retentive imagination is that power which takes from the common sense the physical sensation and transforms it into a psychic possession. This power is located in the front part of the brain. Reflection is the pondering, cogitative faculty of the heart. Recollection is the power to recall the mental images of

 a) Cf. Avicenna's Offering to the Prince, Van Dyck, Verona 1906, pp. 65 ff. and other references in notes 37 & 38, p. 195.

past sensations which have been forgotten for a time. Memory is the storehouse for the meanings of sensible objects formerly perceived. Its seat is in the back part of the brain.

This list of the internal senses differs from some other classifications of them by al-Ghazzâlî. Five other lists will be presented in tabular form. In this book al-Ghazzâlî deals with practical and ethical ends, and perhaps did not feel that it was necessary to be scientifically accurate in his statement. It will be noted that the classifications given in the first four of the books as tabulated below are definite attempts to present the subject systematically. It would be of added interest if we could know for certain the chronological order of these books. It appears to be quite safe to put the maqâsid and tahâfut first. Mizân al-'amal is placed third because it seems logically nearer to the first two than does ma'ârij al-quds fi madârij ma'rifat al-nafs, (also known as ma'ârij al-sâlikîn)^{a)}. The analyses given in the mizân and ma'ârij are particularly worthy of note as being systematic and detailed in form, and as coming from the later period of al-Ghazzâlî's life. The list from kimiya' al-sa'âdah is given as an interesting parallel to that in this book of the Thyâ'.

a) Brockelmann, Supplement, i, p. 751.

<u>maqâsid</u>	<u>tahâfut</u>	<u>mizân</u>
1. Common sense	common sense; imagination	common sense; imagination
<u>hiss mushtarak</u>	<u>hiss mushtarak;</u> <u>khayâliyvah</u>	<u>hiss mushtarak;</u> <u>khayâliyyah</u>
		anterior ventricle of brain
2. Retentive imagination; Conservation	retentive imagination	retentive imagination
<u>mutasawwirah;</u> <u>hâfizah</u>	<u>hâfizah</u>	<u>hâfizah</u>
anterior ventricle		anterior ventricle
3. Estimation	Estimation	Estimation
<u>wahmiyyah</u>	<u>wahmiyyah</u>	<u>wahmiyyah</u>
posterior ventricle	posterior ventricle	end of middle ventricle
4. Compositive animal & human imagination	compositive animal & human imagination	compositive animal & human imagination
<u>mutakhsyyilah</u> <u>mufakkirah</u>	<u>mutakhayyilah</u> <u>mufakkirah</u>	<u>mutakhayyilah</u> <u>mufakkirah</u>
middle ventricle	middle ventricle	middle ventricle
5. Memory	memory	memory
<u>dhâkirah</u>	<u>dhâkirah</u>	<u>dhâkirah</u>
posterior ventricle	posterior ventricle	posterior ventricle

<u>ma'ârij</u>	<u>kîmiyâ'</u>	<u>ihyâ'</u> , iii. 1.
1. Common sense; phantasia; tablet	imagination	common sense
<u>hiss mushtarak</u> ; <u>bintâsyâ</u> ; <u>lawh</u>	<u>khayâl</u>	<u>hiss mushtarak</u>
front of anterior ventricle		
2. Retentive imagination estimation	retentive imagination	retentive imagination
<u>khayâl</u> ; <u>khayâliyyah</u> <u>musawwirah</u>	<u>wahm</u>	<u>khayâl</u> ; <u>takhayyul</u>
back of anterior ventricle		anterior ventricle
3. Estimation	reflection	reflection
<u>wahmiyyah</u>	<u>tafakkur</u>	<u>tafakkur</u>
whole of brain, but especially back of middle ventricle		
4. Compositive imagination, animal & human	recollection	recollection
<u>takhayyul</u> ; <u>mutakhayyilah</u> ; <u>mufakkirah</u>	<u>tadhakkur</u>	<u>tadhakkur</u>
front of middle ventricle		
5. Memory	memory	memory
<u>hâfizah</u> ; <u>dhâkirah</u>	<u>hifz</u>	<u>hifz</u>
posterior ventricle		posterior ventricle

Another interesting parallel is found in al-risâlah
 a)
al-ladunniyyah where al-Ghazzâlî speaks of the soul's activities
 as recollection (tadhakkur), memorizing (tahaffuz), reflection
 (tafakkur), discrimination (tamyîz), and deliberation (rawiyyah).
 But it is evident that this also is not an attempt at a systematic
 analysis.

b)
 Al-Ghazzâlî in his ma'ârij gives a suggestion regarding
 the inner senses which enables us to understand more clearly their
 varying names and functions. He says that they include: (1) that
 which perceives but does not conserve; (2) that which conserves
 but does not reason; and (3) that which perceives (understands)
 and deals with perceptions. These three powers in their relation
 to the forms of sense impressions and to their ideal meanings
 place before us the entire range of the internal senses. These
 relationships are shown in the following tables.

	(the form received		
	(through sense	is	common sense
	(impression		<u>hiss mushtarak</u>
	(<u>lil-şûrah</u>		
That which	(
perceives ---	(
<u>al-mudrik</u>	(
	(the ideal meaning	is	the estimative faculty
	(<u>lil-ma'nâ</u>		<u>wahm; wahmiyyah</u>

a) Cairo 1343, p. 27.

b) Cairo 1346/1927, p. 46.

	(the form received		
	(through sense	is	retentive imagination
	(impression		<u>al-khayâl</u> ; <u>al-hâfizah</u>
	<u>(lil-sûrah</u>		
That which	{		
conserves ----	{		
<u>al-hâfiz</u>	{		
	(the ideal meaning	is	memory; recollection
	<u>(lil-ma'nâ</u>		<u>al-hâfizah</u> ; <u>al-dhâkirah</u>

	(the form received)		
	(through sense)		(of human
	(impression)		(intellect
	<u>(al-sûrah</u>		<u>(mufakkirah</u>
That which	{		{
deals with ----	{	is--	(compositive
<u>al-mutesarrif</u>	{		(imagination
<u>fî</u>	(the ideal meaning)		(
	<u>(al-ma'nâ</u>		(of animal
)		(powers
			<u>(mutakhayyilah</u>

From this arrangement it is also easy to see how these functions are sometimes combined and at other times separated in the different classifications, and also how the terms may easily vary in their meanings in the different books.

From the foregoing discussion we see that al-Chazzâlî followed the lead of Aristotle, Galen, and the later philosophers of the Aristotelian school in his ideas of the body and sense perceptions both outer and inner. We shall now see that in the realm of intuition, mystic revelation, and ecstasy there is a more pronounced Neoplatonic trend in his thought which involves also elements from Eastern sources.

Turning then to the inner door of the heart we find al-Ghazzâlî's second source of knowledge in divine inspiration and mystical revelation. The experience of this sort of knowledge is given to only a few people, but all men are obligated to believe in its reality. It is attested by the Qur'ân, by tradition, and by many experiences and stories of the saints. Revelation does not differ from acquisition as regards the knowledge itself, its seat, and its cause, but only in the removal of the veil which does not come about by man's volition. Mystical revelation comes to him whose heart is prepared to receive it, either through the medium of dream-vision during sleep, or, more rarely, in a vision seen during waking hours.^{a)}

In the case of the prophets inspiration (wahy) is accompanied by a vision of the angel who imparts the knowledge. The inspiration (ilhâm) of saints differs from it in that there is no such vision of the angel which brings the knowledge. Al-Ghazzâlî is not quite consistent in his statements of the part which the angel plays in imparting the knowledge given through revelation. His position seems to be that general inspiration (ilhâm) is always the result of angelic activity, even though the angel does not appear to the recipient of the revelation. He

a) Cf. The Hebrew Tradition, Brett, I. pp. 233 f.

goes so far as to say that "our hearts attain knowledge only by means of the angels." ^{a)} But in another place he speaks of directly given divine knowledge ('ilm ladunnî) apart from the usual means from without. ^{a)} In al-risâlah al-ladunniyyah ^{b)} he says that 'ilm ladunnî is from the Creator directly with no mediating agent. This inconsistency is probably explained by his ideas about involuntary suggestions (khawâtir) which will be dealt with later. The mediated knowledge corresponds to the suggestion of the angel (al-khâtir al-malakî), while the immediate and direct knowledge corresponds to the suggestion of the Lord (al-khâtir al-rabbânî).

Through divine inspiration the true nature of reality is revealed to the heart of man. The veils of sense are drawn aside by divine power, and man's heart can perceive, even if it is but for a moment, the truth of the Eternal reflected from the Preserved Tablet which is in the world of the unseen. At death the veils of sense are removed entirely and reality is clearly seen by the heart.

Man must prepare his heart to receive this gift of divine revelation. He can do this by cutting off all earthly ties and making the thought of Allah not only supreme in every part of

a) Translation, p. 72 & p. 94.

b) p. 42.

his being, but the sole idea which occupies his heart and mind. This is done by withdrawing from the world and engaging in the devotional exercise of the dhikr in addition to the prescribed worship. He keeps on repeating the name of Allah, with his mind fixed on Him, until the motion of the tongue ceases and the word seems to be flowing over it. He continues until every trace of the word and of its form and letters and appearance is effaced from his heart and nothing remains save its ideal meaning. All dualism is removed. The heart loses all consciousness of anything other than Allah, and in its contemplation of Him reaches the highest possible state.^{a)} Man is then prepared to receive the gift of divine revelation. He has done all that he can do for he has reached the state of ecstasy. Allah then bestows such gifts as He pleases.

Such are the two ways that man receives knowledge and the two types of knowledge that he may have. Both intellectual and religious knowledge were important to al-Ghazzâlî. Both acquired and revealed knowledge played a large part in his scheme of life. He himself was a learned man, and he could never cease to give learning a place of honor and to account it a factor of great importance in human life and experience. But learning had failed

a) Cf. Brett, i. p. 310; ii, p. 43; Plotinus, Enneads, VI, vii, 34.

him and had led him into skepticism at the important crisis of his life, while in the experience of mystical revelation he had found certainty and peace. The two factors are strangely intermingled in his writings. At one moment he seems almost to despise the common man because he does not have the intellectual power to comprehend knowledge; and at another time we find him bestowing high praise upon an almost illiterate saint because of the miraculous gifts (karamât) and divinely revealed knowledge which have been bestowed upon him. Intellectual knowledge is great, but even it must bow before that which is manifestly a divine bestowment. This al-Ghazzâlî knew from experience.

3. The Relation of Soul to Body and of Thought to Act.

The relation of the soul to the body has already been touched upon in the discussion of the nature of the soul. Plato said that the soul was imprisoned in the body, while Aristotle made it an entelechy or actualization. Both of these ideas find a place in al-Ghazzâlî's thought. But the metaphor which al-Ghazzâlî^{a)} chooses to express this relationship comes from Plato's Timaeus, where the body is spoken of as the vehicle of the soul. Plato's word is ὄχημα ; al-Ghazzâlî's is merkab.

a) 44 E; 69 C.

For al-Ghazzâlî, as for Ibn Sîna, the soul is " a separate independent reality, which is only united to the body accidentally, that is to say, without any relation which affects its essence." ^{a)} Both the vegetable and animal powers "are made possible by the union of the soul with the body: but if we go beyond these we come to other activities which belong to the soul itself." ^{a)} Such soul activity is first of all potential, then nascent, then developed. This is illustrated by a youth who is at first potentially capable of learning to write. Then he comes to know inkstand, pen, and the letters in their separate forms. And finally he becomes skilled in writing and composition.

The heart is the center for both the psychic and physical actions of man and thus in it are to be found the threads ^{b)} which bind thought to act. The question of moral qualities and responsibilities as related to the soul's activity and the resultant physical action will be dealt with in the following section of this sketch. The first link in the chain connecting the psychic and the physical is the involuntary suggestion (khâtîr) which comes to the heart. This is of such importance in al-Ghazzâlî's scheme that it must be examined in some detail.

a) Brett, ii, p. 57.

b) Brett, i, pp. 141 f.

The khâtir (plu. khawâtir), (also khatrah, plu. khatarât), is an opinion, idea, or object of thought bestirring itself in the mind. It is the allocution or suggestion which comes to the heart of man, with whose coming man himself has nothing to do. This term is used largely in Şüfi writings, and especially by al-Ghazzâli.

There are various divisions of the khawâtir, the most common being a four-fold one: (1). The suggestion of the Lord, (of the Absolute Reality), (al-khâtir al-rabbânî; al-ḥaqqânî). It is that which is cast directly into the hearts of mystics who dwell, as it were, in His Presence. Nothing can oppose it, but the other sorts of khawâtir fade away and disappear before it. To deny it vexes the soul. It is a warning and a sign for guidance. (2) The suggestion of the angel (al-khâtir al-malakî) exhorts to obedience and good acts, and warns against acts of disobedience and things which are disapproved. It blames man for committing acts contrary to divine law and for being slow in doing that which is in agreement therewith. (3) The suggestion of the self (al-khâtir al-nâfsî) demands the pleasant favors of this swiftly passing world, and sets forth its invitations to vanity. It is not cut off by the light of the devotional practice of the

a) Lane, Lexicon, p. 765.

b) Cf. Jurjânî, kitâb al-ta'rifât, p. 101.

remembrance of Allah but continues to demand its desire, unless it comes to enjoy divinely given success (tawfiq) in which case its demands are uprooted. (4) The suggestion of the demon (al-khâtir al-shaitânî). This is the suggestion of the enemy who summons to acts of disobedience and to things which are forbidden and disapproved.

Some say that all khawâtir are from the angel, and may be approved or disapproved by the individual. An exception to this is the suggestion of Absolute Reality with which man never disagrees. By the light of the Divine Unity (al-tawhîd) man receives the suggestion of Allah, and by the light of experiential knowledge the suggestion of the angel. By the light of faith an end is put to the suggestion of the self, and by the light of Islam it is restored to obedience.

All types of suggestions come ultimately from Allah, but some come directly, and others indirectly. Those which come from Him directly, and those which come through the angel, are good. The commentator on al-risâlah al-qushairiyyah says that the suggestion of the Lord is equivalent to true insight (firâsah) and is a miraculous gift (karâmah). The suggestions which come from the self may be either good or evil, although the latter is to be expected. The suggestion which comes from the demon is always evil. Some have added to the foregoing division the following: the suggestion of the spirit (khâtir al-rûh); the suggestion of

the shaikh (khâtir al-shaikh); the suggestion of the intellect (khâtir al-'aql); and the suggestion of certainty (khâtir al-yaqîn). But all of these can be properly placed under the four-fold division already given.

The correct differentiation of these suggestions and their sources can be made only when the mirror of the heart is carefully cleared of all the fleshly and natural desires by means of asceticism, piety, and remembrance; and then the true nature of the suggestions will be manifest. He who has not reached this stage in the ascetic life should weigh the suggestion in the balances of the divine law to determine its nature. If it is an obligation or a virtue he should do it; but if it is a thing forbidden or disapproved he should put it away from himself. If it is something permitted and rather inclines toward disagreeing with the self, then he should do it; for most of the suggestions of the self are base. Some of the demands of the self are its just rights to things which are necessary, and these must be satisfied. Other demands of the self are for fortune's favors, and these should be denied. He who succeeds in properly recognizing and dealing with these suggestions enters into the way of abundant life and mystic vision, where the suggestions which seek for fortune's favors pass away and trouble man no more.

Sayyid Murtadâ al-Zabîdî, the commentator on the Ihyâ'^{a)}, says that the novice must put away the suggestions of herself, the angel, and the demon, and give the primary place to the suggestion of the Absolute Reality. Al-Ghazzâlî makes the suggestion of the angel equivalent to general inspiration (ilhâm), and that of the demon the same as evil prompting (wiswâs). Sometimes he speaks as though there were but this two-fold division, and he refers to these two as 'visitations' (lammatân).

The sorts of khawâtir found in qût al-culûb by Abû Tâlib al-Makkî which was one of al-Ghazzâlî's principal source-books, are found in a list given by Z. They are: (1) General inspiration (ilhâm). (2) Evil-prompting (wiswâs). (3) Dread ('ijâs). (4) Intention (niyyah). (5) Hope and desire ('amal; 'umniyah). (6) Recollection and reflection (tadhakkur; tafakkur). (7) Mystic vision (mushâhadân). (8) Anxious desire (hamm). (9) Seizure of madness (lamam).

Z. mentions the six-fold division, adding intellect ('aql) and certainty (yaqîn) to the usual four, but denies that the intellect has a khâtir.^{c)}

a) Hereafter Z. b) Ithâf, vii, p. 266; qût, i. pp. 187 f.

c) Sources of above are: Dict. of Tech. Terms, pp. 415-417; Ithâf, vii. pp. 199, 249, 266, 301 f.; sharh al-risâlah al-qushairiyyah, Cairo, 1290, ii. p. 96; jâmi' al-usûl, Cairo 1328, p. 100. Nicholson, Studies in Islamic Mysticism, p. 212.

The other states of the heart which lead up to physical action are dealt with quite summarily by al-Ghazzâlî. For when a man once gives heed to the suggestion in his heart the other stages follow almost automatically. Thus the suggestion stirs up the inherent inclination of the nature (mayl al-tab') to do the thing suggested. Inclination of the nature leads to a conviction (istiqâd), or a reasoned judgment that the thing must be done. This conviction leads to a definite decision (hamm) to do it. Thereupon the physical members act in obedience to the decision and command of the heart, and the act is done.

Al-Ghazzâlî illustrates the various kinds of suggestions (khawâtir) by many traditions and stories. All of the different stages between suggestion and action are made clear by an illustration of which a brief summary is here given. The suggestion comes into the mind of a man that there is a woman behind him in the way, and that, if he were to turn around, he would see her. The inclination of his nature is then to turn and see her. But his inhibitions of modesty and fear must first be removed before he reaches the stage of conviction that he must turn and look. Next he determines and decides finally to look and see her. This state of the heart is followed by the act of turning and looking unless some new influence is brought to bear upon the man to prevent the act.

4. The Soul's Experience of Good and Evil.

It has already been stated that al-Ghazzâlî's purpose in the Ihyâ' is primarily ethical. His aim is the enlightenment of the soul in order that it may attain its perfection in the full and immediate knowledge of Allah. There are potent forces which help man toward that end. But there are also evil tendencies which appeal to his lower nature and constantly drag him down and prevent him from reaching the desired goal. The soul is constantly swaying backwards and forwards between these forces for good and evil. Sometimes the good prevails, and again the evil influence predominates.

If we ask about the source of these good and evil influences which act upon the soul we find that Allah is the First Cause of all. Here al-Ghazzâlî is the orthodox theologian. "There is no doer (fâ'il) save Allah. Every existing thing, whether creature or provision, gift or prohibition, life or death, wealth or poverty, or whatever is called by a name, has been created by Allah alone.^{a)} He creates men and what they do.

But although Allah is the ultimate cause of all suggestions and acts, both good and evil, there are also secondary causes. These are angels and demons. Here again we see the

a) Ithâf, ix. p. 400.

Neoplatonic influence at work providing a parallel in the realm of morals to what the Neoplatonic chain does in metaphysics in putting the Absolute Cause far away from the individual. There are a great many angels and a corresponding host of demons. Each type of good or evil act is the result of the soul's acceptance of the suggestion of a particular angel or demon. A number of demons are mentioned by name and their specific fields of activity mentioned. Thabr is the demon who stirs up strife and affliction. Al-'A'war incites to adultery, and Miswat to lying. Dâsim stirs up troubles between a man and his family. Zalanbûr leads to dishonesty in the marketplace. Khinzib interrupts a man during the ritual prayer, and al-Walhân interferes with ceremonial purification.

In this development we find suggestions of Eastern influences, especially Persian and Hebrew, in the angelology and demonology, as well as in the apparent dualism. In certain passages al-Ghazzâlî seems to say that each individual has a demon and an angel which accompany him in life. This suggests the 'daemon' of Socrates and Plutarch.

The heart has many doors through which the demons enter

a) Cf. the further development in Ihyâ', iv. pp. 104 f.

b) Cf. Brett, i. p. 221.

c) Cf. Brett, i. pp. 62, 258.

in order to lead it astray. All of these are connected with the qualities of the irrational soul. Man must know these doors which are: anger and appetite; envy and greed; overeating; love of adornment; striving to gain the favor of men; haste; love of money; stinginess; sectarianism; the study of theology by the common people; thinking evil of Muslims.

There is but one door, however, by which the angels may gain access to the heart. Al-Ghazzâlî does not explicitly define this door, but it is clear that he is speaking of the rational soul as illuminated by inner piety and outer conformity to the teachings of the Qur'ân and the Sunnah.

Al-Ghazzâlî is careful also to show that, although good and evil are both inevitably present in man's experience, yet every individual is responsible for the development of his character. Man must discipline his soul. The book of the ihwâ' which immediately follows this one deals with the subject of this discipline. But in this book we find the subject constantly stressed. The rational soul must be made and kept the master, while anger and appetite must be kept in the position of servants. The demands of the appetent and spirited natures must be balanced over against each other so that desire and will may all be harmoniously developed into a complete character. But when man habitually

a) Cf. Brett's discussion of Aristotle, i. pp. 142 f.

yields to the demands of his lower nature his intellect becomes the slave of his passions, and is entirely occupied with schemes to attain the ends of his lower desires. The master has become enslaved, and the soul is overcome by confusion, immorality and sin.

The discipline of the soul is accomplished through ascetic and devotional practices. This present world and the desire for the things of the world must be denied, and the entrances of Satan may thus be stopped up. There must be complete dependence upon Allah and submission to Him. As long as man desires any of the things of this world, be it but a stone to use for a pillow, just so long will Satan find in his desire a way to approach his heart and lead it astray.

Al-Ghazzâlî uses another figure to express the same idea. Satan's food is man's appetite or desire. It therefore becomes man's duty to empty his heart of all desire for worldly things, and thus remove that upon which Satan feeds.

The dhikr, or the devotional practice of the remembrance of Allah and the repeated mention of His name, is the best way to fix the heart's desire upon Him, and so to ward off the attacks of Satan. Tradition says that the dhikr causes Satan to slink away and hide himself. It is therefore the best means of defense against the evil promptings which Satan suggests to the human

heart. It is conceivable that some of Satan's evil promptings may thus be cut off entirely, but for the most part there is no complete victory over Satan in this life. Man may triumph over him for a moment or for an hour by means of pious practices, but he returns to man again and again. Only the prophets, who are preserved from sin (ma'sûmîn), are able to baffle Satan indefinitely. It is therefore essential that man shall maintain a constant life-long struggle against Satan, for only thus can he develop his character as he ought to do.

In dealing with man's moral responsibility for his own good and evil acts, al-Ghazzâlî lays down one clear rule. Man is held accountable for his own voluntary choices. He will be judged in accordance with the purpose (qasd) on which he has fixed his heart, his determination ('asm), his intention (niyyah), and his decision (hamm). When two men engage in a sword fight both slayer and slain will be condemned to the fire, because each one intended to kill the other.

On the other hand man is not held accountable for the involuntary suggestion (khâtir) which occurs to his mind, nor for the inclination of his nature (mayl-al-tab'), since there is no element of volition on his part in either of them. In regard to man's conviction (i'tiqâd) that he must do a certain thing, al-Ghazzâlî says that this may have been reached involuntarily

through circumstances beyond his control, and in such a case the man is not accountable. But when the conviction has been reached as the result of voluntary deliberation, then he is held morally responsible for it.

Al-Ghazzâlî deals with the subject of the soul's destiny in a rather disappointing way. Because of the fact that he was able to accept so many of the positions of the Aristotelian philosophers and to find a harmony between their teachings and those of orthodox Islam, we naturally expect him to say, with Ibn Sîna, that the rational soul, prepared by the practice of the virtues, attains perfection after death. ^{a)} In fact al-Ghazzâlî does make almost that same statement. But he does it quite incidentally when he says that at death the veils of sense are removed, and the soul sees clearly and knows fully the true nature of reality.

But in the closing portion of this book al-Ghazzâlî does not stress the philosophical position. Indeed he seems almost to lose sight of it altogether as he turns to the inflexible fatalism of Islam. The general and particular decrees (qadâ' wa qadr) of Allah determine inevitably and inexorably the fate of the soul. Some hearts are built up by means of piety and purified through discipline. Others are burdened by passion and utterly corrupted by foul actions so that they have no place for good. The hearts

a) Hastings, Ency. of Religion and Ethics, ii. p. 276 a.

of most men are swaying between the good and the evil, the angel and the demon, until the dominant factor obtains the victory. But this factor has been caused to predominate by the predestination of Allah. Because of the divine decree obedience has been made easy for some, and disobedience for others. Allah guides aright and leads astray. Some are destined for the Garden, and others for the fire, but He does not care.

Why did al-Ghazzâlî close his book in this stern fashion? He was a Şûfî saint who had experienced the joys of spiritual ecstasy and had seen the wonders of divine revelation. He found his own spiritual needs satisfied only in the immediate experience of reality. But he was also an orthodox Muslim, and the Ash'arite dogmatic theology of Islam was unyielding. It may be that he felt it necessary to close on a strictly orthodox note in order to maintain his position in Islam and thus accomplish his purpose in harmonizing Şûfism and orthodoxy. It may be that he did not fully realize the paradox of his own life as a mystic and as an orthodox theologian.

Succeeding generations did see this paradox. Some have been logical in their orthodoxy and have scorned his mysticism. Others have been logical in their mysticism, and have gone all the way into pantheism. But all, whether friends or foes, have united in paying their respects to al-Ghazzâlî's sincere efforts to guide the heart of man into larger and fuller life.

C. Texts Used in Translation.

The translation is made from the text in Ithâf al-Sâdah al-Muttaqîn, which is the commentary on the Ihyâ' by Sayyid Murtadâ al-Zabîdî.^{a)} This commentator is hereafter referred to as Z.

References are also made to other texts, as follows:

(1) Ihyâ' 'Ulûm al-Dîn, published by al-Ḥalabî, Cairo, 1346, which is hereafter referred to as Cairo text.

(2) The text in the margin of the Ithâf.

(3) A Manuscript in the Princeton University Library, probably from the fifteenth century. It is no. 1481, and is described in A Descriptive Catalog of the Garrett Manuscripts Deposited in the Princeton University Library, Princeton University Press, 1938, p. 448. It is referred to as MS or Princeton MS.

(4) A recently acquired manuscript called mahaġġat al-baidâ' fî ihyâ' al-ihyâ', which is a text with occasional comment. It is referred to as Cairo MS. Where both manuscripts agree they are indicated by MSS. Cairo MS is dated 1047 A.H.

 a) Brockelmann, i. p.422; ii. pp. 287 f. See also biographical note in Calverley, Worship in Islam, Madras, 1925, pp.38 f. note.

D. A SUMMARY OF THE TRANSLATION.

Introduction.

Man has been given an aptitude for knowing Allah. It is this characteristic which gives him his position of honor, and distinguishes him from all other creatures. This capacity has its seat in the heart which alone can know Allah. The heart is morally responsible to Allah, joyfully drawing near to Him if obedient, but being punished when neglected or corrupted. He who knows his heart knows his Lord. Such knowledge is thus the root of religion, and the basis of the mystic way to Allah.

The secret wonders of the heart will now be explained and illustrated so that the dull minds of men may see something of them.

Chapter One.

Very few men have an accurate understanding of the terms 'heart', 'spirit', 'soul', and 'intelligence', so we shall make a partial explanation of them.

The term 'heart' may mean the organ of flesh which is in the chest of man and animal both when living and when dead. It is the heart which physicians study and treat. Another meaning,

which is the one intended in this book, is that subtile tenuous substance, spiritual in nature, which is the knowing and perceiving essence of man, and in reality is man. There is a connection between the physical and spiritual 'hearts', the explanation of which is not demanded by practical religion nor warranted by prophetic precedent.

'Spirit' may mean that refined material substance which carries life and sense perception from the heart throughout the physical body. With this 'spirit' doctors deal. The other meaning of 'spirit' is the subtile tenuous substance mentioned above.

'Soul' is applied, especially by Sūfis, to the powers of anger and appetite in man. A second meaning is that subtile tenuous substance which is man in reality. This soul is referred to in the Qur'ân as 'at rest', 'upbraiding', and 'commanding to evil', depending upon its state in relation to Allah.

'Intelligence' may be used to mean knowledge; or it may be applied to that subtile tenuous substance which perceives and knows.

These four terms then, in addition to denoting the corporeal heart, the corporeal spirit, the appetent soul, and intelligences, share in a common meaning which is this subtile tenuous substance.

Chapter Two.

The heart has two armies. The one is external, being made up of the bodily members which perform their functions at the heart's behest. The other is internal, being made up of ideas and perceptions. For example, the appetite which is internal needs the hand which is external to supply it with food.

Of these armies there are three classes: The will points out the desired ends. Power moves the members to attain those ends. Knowledge and perception furnish information gathered through the five external senses of hearing, sight, smell, taste, and touch; and the five internal senses which are common sense, imagination, reflection, recollection, and memory.

The next chapter will cite examples to make clear the meaning of these armies.

Chapter Three.

The armies of appetite and anger are sometimes obedient to the heart and sometimes rebellious against it. The aid of the army of knowledge which is from Allah should be gained in order to direct those of appetite and anger which might otherwise join the party of Satan.

The body is the kingdom of the soul. The intellect is the king's wise minister whose advice should be followed rather

than that of the slave which is appetite. Anger, as chief of police, is directed by the minister to discipline this slave.

The body is like a city whose king is the mind. The enemy is anger and appetite, and the defending army of reason must strive to protect the city.

The intellect is like a horseman who has gone hunting. His horse is appetite and his dog anger. As long as he is the skillful master and they are well trained, he succeeds, but otherwise he fails.

Chapter Four.

Animals have appetite, anger, and sense perception, but man has the special gift of reason by which he can draw near to Allah. Knowledge and the will to act upon it are properties peculiar to man.

Reason is potential in youth. Later it is made actual as man gains for himself, first, the knowledge of axioms and first principles, and afterward, experiential knowledge. This knowledge is gained by some through learning and instruction, and by others through direct revelation and mystical unveiling. Advancement in knowledge is almost unlimited; and in it man draws near to Allah. The prophet has the highest rank through immediately revealed knowledge. Man can prepare his heart for divine inspiration by

purifying it from evil, and in such inspiration is his perfection.

The human soul includes the faculties of the vegetative and animal souls, but experiential knowledge gives man a place between the animals and the angels. He may sink to the level of the one, or strive toward the other.

Each one of the bodily members and sense perceptions may be used by the heart as a help toward Allah. Thus man can successfully complete his journey through this present world to the eternal abode. But if the heart is negligent man will fail to reach Him.

Chapter Five.

Within man's heart there is a mixture of four qualities: lordly, demonic, beastly, and brutish. The brutish quality of appetite may be likened to a pig, the beastly quality of anger to a dog, and the lordly quality of the intellect to a sage. The demon urges on both pig and dog to their natural evil desires.

If the intellect as master sets anger and appetite over against each other, justice is established, and lordly and noble qualities appear in the heart. But if the intellect fails in this it is enslaved to their service. Such servitude causes a destructive stain and corrosion to be heaped up upon the heart through the many evil qualities which are produced by their domination.

The heart is a mirror which is polished by praiseworthy action, especially the devotional practice of remembrance, so that the divine will is clearly reflected therein; but it is tarnished and rusted by blameworthy action so that good is not perceived.

Chapter Six.

The heart, or intellect, as the seat of knowledge, is like a mirror which reflects the specific natures of things. The form which is reflected corresponds to the intelligible, or the thing known, while its actual reflection in the mirror is like intelligence.

Man's heart is of a lordly nature, and it alone of Allah's creatures is potentially capable of knowing all realities through their reflection in it. Such complete knowledge is prevented by one or more of the following causes: (1) The heart of a youth, for instance, is imperfect like an unfinished metal mirror, and so incapable of reflecting reality. (2) Acts of disobedience so tarnish the heart that the reflection of reality is dimmed or destroyed. Acts of obedience correspondingly cleanse and polish it. (3) The heart may not be turned toward Allah, the Absolute Reality, but toward some detail of daily living which alone is reflected in it. (4) The blind acceptance of dogma acts as a veil between the heart and reality. (5) Ignorance of the

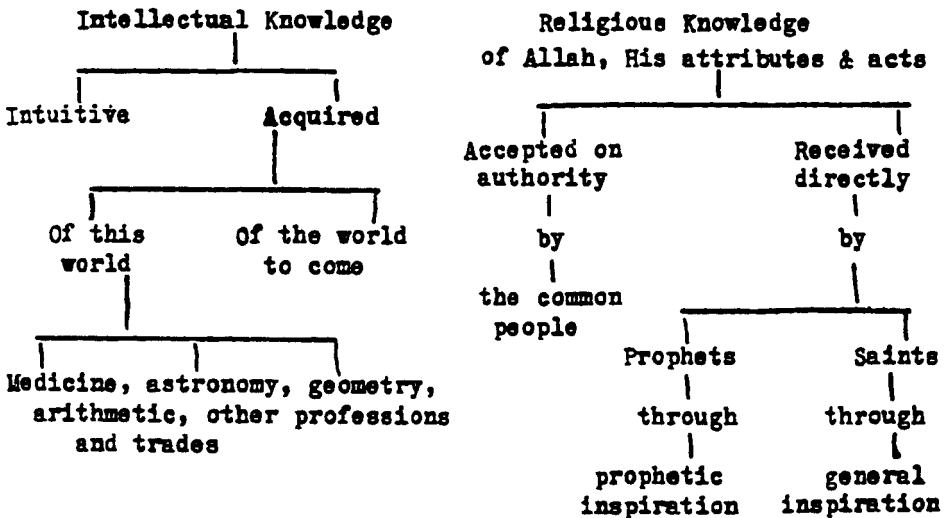
direction of reality and of the sources of knowledge prevents intelligent perception.

A man's eye can see the back of his neck by the use of two mirrors. Similarly the heart can perceive the truth by the proper correlation of two items of knowledge from which a third is derived as in the syllogism.

The purpose of obedience is the purification of the heart so that it may receive divine illumination. This illumination and the corresponding knowledge in the heart has three degrees: (1) The faith of those who accept dogma on authority is like believing that Zaid is in the house because a trustworthy person said so. (2) The faith of the theologians has an element of proof, like hearing Zaid's voice from within the house, and so believing that he is there. (3) The faith of prophets and saints is like the knowledge of one who enters the house and sees Zaid face to face.

Chapter Seven.

The knowledge of the heart is of two sorts; intellectual, and religious. These are subdivided according to the following table:



It is evident that in the field of intellectual knowledge it is necessary for man to have the acquired knowledge which is gained through insight in order to supplement his natural endowment of intuitive knowledge.

Intellectual sciences are like foods. But food alone will not give health to the soul, and so religious sciences, which are like medicines, are also needed. Some people have thought that the two types of knowledge are incompatible and so have forsaken religion. There is, however, an inner harmony between them.

It is very seldom that one individual can combine a thorough understanding of intellectual and religious knowledge in his own experience, for the emphasis of the one usually obscures the other. So it is not valid for a man whose knowledge is predominantly of the one sort to deny the soundness of another man's

knowledge which differs in kind. For he who walks the Eastern path cannot know what is in the West. The prophets, aided by the Holy Spirit have both types of knowledge in abundant measure.

Chapter Eight.

There are two different ways by which the heart may receive such knowledge as lies beyond the realm of the intuitive. The learned gain knowledge through mental activity; saints and prophets gain it through inspiration. The inspiration of saints is of a general sort, while that of the prophets is specific prophetic inspiration given through an angel.

The heart as a mirror is capable of having true reality revealed in it by means of reflection from the Preserved Tablet. The five aforementioned hindrances are as a veil between the heart and the Tablet. The veil may be drawn aside by man's volition, or by direct divine unveiling. The latter may come in sleep or during waking hours. The resulting revelation of knowledge comes as a dazzling flash, or, in rare instances, it may be continuous up to a certain point.

Şūfis seek knowledge through inspiration. They say that to attain it one must cut off all earthly ties, purify his heart of all evil traits, and set his whole heart upon seeking the vision of Allah alone. While in a solitary place of devotion the

ṣūfī must concentrate on repeating the name of Allah until only the ideal meaning of that name occupies his whole being. It is within his power to progress thus far by his own volition, but he must then wait for the gift of Allah who reveals what He wills.

Speculative theologians admit that such revelation is possible and that it has been the experience of prophets and saints, but they think that it is extremely unlikely for the ordinary seeker to enjoy it. They say that for a man to give up his study in the hope of experiencing such a divine revelation is like a farmer who gives up tilling the soil to hunt for hidden treasure. Such an effort might be successful, but is rarely experienced.

Chapter Nine.

Two tangible examples are given to illustrate these two ways of gaining knowledge.

1. The heart can gather knowledge through the outer door of the senses even as a pond may be filled with water from streams whose channels are turned into it. It may also gain knowledge from within through the inner door which opens upon the unseen world, even as the water supply of the pond may be secured by digging down to the subterranean springs.

There are four degrees of existence in the world:

(1) archetypal existence in the Preserved Tablet; (2) real existence; (3) the existence of the form within the imagination; (4) the existence of the form within the heart.

Man is a microcosm and is capable therefore of understanding the macrocosm. There is a difference between the knowledge of the philosophers and the learned and that of saints and prophets, for the former gain it through the outer door, but the latter through the inner door.

2. One side of a portico was once decorated by Byzantine workmen, and the other side, which was concealed by a veil, was decorated by Chinese. The Byzantines used all sorts of paints and colors in their artistry, while the Chinese merely polished their side until it was a perfect mirror in which the handiwork of the Byzantines was reflected with added brilliance. The learned, with their use of external means, are like the Byzantines, while the mystics are like the Chinese.

The heart and its mystical knowledge are both immortal. This knowledge aids it in its journey toward Allah. He who has a large endowment of it is rich in this world and in the next, even though he may be ignorant of philosophical speculations and theories.

Chapter Ten.

The experiential knowledge of the mystics is given only

to a few, but the fact of such knowledge must be believed by all. It is directly given divine knowledge, and it is made known through inspiration to those who by doctrinal and ascetic practices have prepared their hearts to receive it.

Witness to such knowledge is borne by: (1) The Qur'ân; for example, "But those who strive for us we will surely guide into our way " (29:69). (2) Tradition; for example, "Beware of the natural insight (physiognomy) of the believer, for he sees with the light of Allah." (3) The experience of Companions, Followers, and those who succeeded them, as shown in many tales of miraculous gifts, mental telepathy, seeing al-Khidr, hearing the voice of an unseen bodiless speaker, etc.

The experience of true dream-vision, in sleep or while awake, is indubitable. So also is the fact that Muhammad was able to predict future events unknown to others. Such knowledge is possible for other prophets and saints.

Chapter Eleven.

The heart is constantly influenced by the senses, both external and internal, and tempted through them. Thus its state is always changing from one moment to another. Involuntary suggestions are the most important of these influences. They stir up desire which leads first to resolution, then to intention, and then to the overt act.

There are two classes of involuntary suggestions: (1) inspiration from the angel which leads to good; (2) evil prompting from the demon which leads to evil. The heart is prepared by divine succor to receive the former, and by desertion to accept the latter.

The heart is between the angel and the demon, and Allah causes both of them to influence it. To follow desire is to give the demon his opportunity; but to strive against it is to strengthen the angel's influence. The heart is thus the scene of attack and counter-attack on the part of the two powers.

Evil prompting is removed by the remembrance of Allah. Man should not speculate about Satan's nature, but rather strive to ward off his attacks. Especially is this true when Satan portrays evil in the form of good, as when he exhorts a person to preach for men's guidance, only that he may thereby stir up pride in the heart of the preacher.

It is obligatory, for every person, to learn the ways by which Satan deceives. The pious can find the safe path by a life of self-control, careful self-denial, and the study of the Qur'ân and the Sunnah.

Chapter Twelve.

It is man's duty to keep the fortress of his heart secure, and so he must know the ways by which Satan would enter

it. The most important of these ways are the following: (1) Anger and appetite; for when these dominate man, his intellect cannot cope with Satan's attacks. (2) Envy and greed which make the heart blind and deaf to the truth. (3) Satiation of food which makes prayer a burden. (4) Love of adornment in apparel, furnishings, and house; this alone is sufficient to preoccupy a man throughout his whole life. (5) Covetous desire towards men and striving to gain their favors. (6) Haste, which is from Satan; and forsaking Allah's gift of leisurely action. (7) Dirhems and dinars which only call for more constantly and lead away from Allah. (8) Stinginess and the fear of poverty which prevent almsgiving. (9) Sectarian and partisan prejudices which lead to strife and division, and make men blind to the moral life and the religious practice of those leaders whom they profess to follow. (10) Inciting the common people to the study of theology which is beyond their intelligence, and which leads them to innovation or unbelief. (11) Thinking evil of Muslims, which leads to false accusations against which all should be on guard.

Satan's attacks can be warded off if these entrances are blocked up by purifying the heart. When this is done he still passes through the heart, but does not find opportunity to share in its life. The remembrance of Allah is like medicine for the sick heart; and a life of piety is like abstinence which gives the

medicine effective opportunity to do its work.

The ritual prayer is the highest point of worship, and Satan's evil promptings are strongest at the time of prayer. When one gives heed to demonic suggestions prayer is of no avail.

There are great numbers of demons, and each one of them summons to a specific type of evil. Similarly there are hosts of angels, and each one has his own specific good work to do.

For the most part the spirit-being, whether angel or demon, appears to mystics by unveiling to them an image of his being, rather than his true form. The demon thus appears as a dog, a frog, a pig, etc.. The angel appears as a beautiful form, even as Jibril used to appear to Muhammad in the likeness of the well-favored Dihyah. On rare occasions, however, the mystic does see these beings in their true forms.

Chapter Thirteen.

It is not easy to know to what extent man is held accountable for the heart's experiences of evil suggestions, decisions, thoughts, and purposes. There are Qur'anic texts and also traditions which appear to affirm accountability, and others which seem to deny it. Here the matter of intention plays an important part.

The stages between thought and act are four; (1) the

involuntary suggestion; (2) the inclination of the nature; (3) a reasoned judgment, or conviction; (4) determination.

Man is held accountable only for voluntary thoughts, intentions and acts. Thus the first two of the above-named classes involve no moral responsibility. Tradition says, "My people are pardoned the suggestions of the self." If conviction is brought about by compulsion, man is not accountable; but if voluntary, he is accountable. Man is always held accountable for his decision to evil, unless, after making it, he, through fear of Allah, gives it up again. Such change of decision would be accounted to him as a good deed. "People will be judged according to their intentions alone", as tradition asserts. If two Muslims fight, both slayer and slain will be in the fire, because each one desired and intended to kill the other.

Allah could hold man responsible for involuntary thoughts, but has given the assurance that He "will not require of the soul save its capacity" (2:286).

Chapter Fourteen.

Can the evil promptings of Satan be cut off entirely by devotional exercises? The reply depends upon the nature of the evil suggestion. The sort which is clothed with a degree of truth, such as the suggestion of pride in man's service of Allah, can be

cut off by the mystic when he remembers that his bodily members and their acts are Allah's creation, and therefore no reason for pride.

The suggestion that stirs up appetite does not entirely cease, but it is effectively warded off by remembrance when the latter is the heart's chief concern.

Another type is an involuntary thought or recollection, such as thinking of some other subject during the time of prayer. This may be warded off momentarily, but it returns at once. It is conceivable that it might be kept off for some little time, as is suggested in the tradition, "Whoever prays a two-cycle prayer, without experiencing any suggestions of the self about this present world during the prayer, will have all his former sins forgiven."

Salvation from Satan for a moment or for an hour is possible, but not for a lifetime. Even Muhammad did not escape Satan's evil suggestions, but was distracted during prayer by his gold ring and embroidered garment which reminded him of the attractive things of this present world.

Chapter Fifteen.

The heart of man is quick to change, being susceptible to the different influences which are constantly brought to bear upon it. These entice it to all sorts of good and evil. It is

always turning about like a sparrow; boiling up like the contents of a cooking-pot; and being blown about like a feather in the desert.

One type of heart is built up by piety, purified by discipline, and thus cleared of all evil characteristics and fixed on good. It is constantly aided by angels, and Satan tries in vain to deceive it. It is filled with saving qualities and has found rest.

Another sort of heart is that which is burdened by passion, corrupted by foul actions, and stained by evil characteristics. Demons work their evil will therein, but angels are barred from it. Some hearts are in this state, being fixed on evil in all their desires; others in specific desires only, as for instance, love of money, or uncontrollable anger.

The third sort of heart, which is that of most men, is constantly swaying between the suggestion of the angel and that of the demon, between intellect and passion. Such hearts join, now to the one party, and again to the other, until finally their state is determined by the characteristics, which, in accord with Allah's predetermined decree, are predominant in them. Allah guides aright and leads astray. He has destined some for the Garden, and others for the Fire. He is King of all, and none may question Him about what He does.

INTRODUCTION.

In the name of Allah the Merciful, the Compassionate¹
 Praise belongs to Allah whose majesty doth perplex the hearts²
 and thoughts of those who seek in vain to comprehend it; whose³
 shining light at its beginning is such as to bewilder eye and
 sight; who is acquainted with all hidden secrets; who knoweth
 all that conscience doth conceal; who hath no need of counselor
 or helper in ruling of His kingdom; the Overturmer of hearts
 and the Forgiver of offenses; the Concealer of faults; the
 Deliverer from anxieties. And may blessing and peace rest
 in abundance upon the chief of the messengers, the uniter of
 religion, the exterminator of heretics, and upon his descend-
 ants, good and pure.

The honor and excellence of man in which he surpas-
 ses all other sorts of creatures is his aptitude for knowing
 Allah, whose is the praise. This knowledge is man's beauty
 and perfection and glory in the present world, and his provi-
 sion and store for the world to come. He is prepared for this
 knowledge only through his heart, and not by means of any of
 his members. For it is the heart which knows Allah, and works
 for Allah, and strives toward Allah, and draws near to Him,
 and reveals that which is in the presence of Allah. The mem-

bers of the body, on the other hand, are merely followers, slaves, and instruments which the heart uses and employs as the king uses his slave, as the shepherd makes use of his flock, or as the craftsman uses his tool.

For it is the heart which is accepted with Allah when it is free from all save Him, but veiled from Allah when it becomes wholly occupied with anything other than Him. It is the heart upon which claims are made, with which conversations are carried on, and with which remonstrance is made, and which is punished. It rejoices in nearness to Allah and prospers if kept true, and is undone and miserable if debased and corrupted. [#] It is that which in reality is obedient to Allah, and the acts of devotion which are manifest in the members of the body are but its light. ^{##} It is that also which is disobedient and rebellious against Allah, and the acts of turpitude which course through the members are but its effects. By its darkening and its enlightening there appear the good and evil qualities of its external appearance, since "every vessel drips that which it contains."⁴ The heart is that which, if a man knows it, he knows himself, and if he knows himself he

[#] Cf. Qur'ân, 91:9-10.

^{##} Following Cairo and MS texts.

knows his Lord.⁵ It is that which, if a man knows it not, he
 knows not himself, and if he knows not himself he knows not his
 Lord. He who knows not his own heart is still more ignorant of
 everything else, since the majority of mankind know not their
 own hearts and their own selves, for intervention has been made
 between them and their own selves. For "Allah interveneth be-
 tween a man and his own heart" (8:24). His intervention con-
 sists in preventing man from observing it (i.e. his heart),
 and watching over it, and becoming acquainted with its quali-
 ties, and perceiving how it is turned between two of the fing-
 ers of the Merciful,⁶ and how at one time it lusts for the low-
 est of the low and is brought down to the plane of the demons;
 and at another time, it mounts up to the highest of the high,
 and advances to the world of the angels who are drawn near to
 Allah (al-malâ'ikah al-muqarrabûn).⁷ He who knows not his
 heart to watch over it and be mindful of it, and to observe
 what shines on it and in it of the treasures of the unseen
 world of spirits (al-malakût),⁸ he is one of those of whom Allah
 has said, "they forget Allah, so He hath therefore caused them
 to forget themselves. "They are the evil doers" (59:19). Thus
 the knowledge of the heart and of the real nature of its qual-

Following Cairo and MS texts.

ities is the root of religion and the foundation of the mystic traveler's way.

9

Since we have completed the first part of this book which deals with those acts of worship and customs which are carried on by the external bodily members, which is external knowledge, and since we have promised ⁱⁱ to explain in the second part those destroying and saving qualities which come upon the heart, which is inner knowledge, we must preface this part with two books. One book will deal with the explanation of the heart's qualities and characteristics, and the second with the manner of disciplining the heart and improving its characteristics. ¹⁰ After that we will launch forth into a detailed discussion of the things which destroy and save. So we shall now mention that which can be most readily understood of the exposition of the wonders of the heart by means of examples. Most intelligences are too dull to comprehend a plain statement of its wonders, and of its secrets which pertain to the realm of the unseen world of spirits.

ⁱⁱ See Iḥyā' text in Ithāf al-Sādah, vol.i, p. 63.

CHAPTER ONE.

An Exposition of the Meaning of 'Soul', 'Spirit', 'Heart', and 'Intelligence', and of the Purport of these Names.

Know that these are four names which are used in these chapters. But few of the leading savants have a comprehensive knowledge of these names and their different meanings, and of the definitions of the things named. Most of the mistakes regarding them originate in ignorance of the meaning of these names, and of the way in which they are applied to different objects. We will explain as much of the meaning of these names as pertains to our purpose.

One of these is the term 'heart' (qalb), and it is used with two meanings. One of them is the cone-shaped organ of flesh which is located at the left side of the chest. It is flesh of a particular sort within which there is a cavity, and in this cavity there is black blood which is the source (manba') and seat (ma'dan) of the spirit (rûh).¹¹ We do not now propose to explain its shape nor its mode of operation since religious ends have no connection therewith, but only the aim¹² of physicians. Animals and even the dead have this heart of flesh. Whenever we use the term 'heart' in this book, we do not mean this sort of heart, for it is but an impotent bit of

flesh, belonging to the visible material world ('âlam al-mulk wal-shahâdah), and is perceived by the sense of sight, by animals as well as by mankind.

The second meaning of the 'heart' is a subtile ten-
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 uous substance of an ethereal spiritual sort (laṭifah rabbâniyah rūḥâniyah), which is connected with the physical heart. This subtile tenuous substance is the real essence of man. The heart is the part of man which perceives and knows and experiences; it is addressed and held responsible and rebuked, and it has some connection with the physical heart. The majority of men have been mentally bewildered when they tried to perceive the nature of this connection. Its connection there- with resembles the connection of accidents with substances, of qualities with the things they qualify, of the user of a tool with the tool, or of that which occupies a place with the place. We will guard against trying to explain this for two reasons: firstly, because it deals with mystical sciences ('ulûm al-mu-
 14
 kâshafah), and our aim in this book includes only the science of practical religion ('ilm al mu'âmalah); and secondly, be- cause to ascertain it calls for a disclosing of the secret of
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 the spirit (rûḥ), concerning which the Apostle of Allah, on
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 whom be the blessings and peace of Allah, did not speak, and
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 therefore no one else should speak. Our aim then is this;

whenever we use the term 'heart' (qalb) in this book we mean by it this subtile tenuous substance. And what we propose is to mention its characteristics (awṣâf) and states (ahwâl),¹⁸ not its real nature (ḥaqīqah)¹⁹ in itself, for the science of practical religion does not require the mention of its real nature.

The second term is the 'spirit' (rûḥ), and it is also used with two meanings relevant to our purpose. One of these is a subtile body whose source is the cavity of the physical heart, and which spreads by means of the pulsative arteries to all the other parts of the body.²⁰ Its circulation in the body and the overflowing from it of the light of life, sense perception, sight, hearing, and smelling to the members of the body resemble the flood of light from a lamp which is moved about throughout a house. Whenever the lamp is brought to any part of the house it is lighted by it. Life is like the light which falls upon the walls; the spirit is like the lamp; the circulation of the spirit and its movement within correspond to the movement of the lamp throughout the house by the moving of him who moves it. Whenever physicians use the term 'spirit' they have in mind this meaning, which is a subtile vapour produced by the heat of the heart. It is not our purpose to explain this usage of the term since its connections are within the scope of physicians who treat the body. The purpose of physi-

cians of religion who treat the heart that it may be led near to the Lord of the worlds, has no connection at all with the explanation of this 'spirit'.

The second meaning is that subtile tenuous substance in man which knows and perceives, which we have already explained in one of the meanings of the 'heart'. It is the meaning intended by Allah in His statement, "They will ask thee of the spirit. Say: 'the spirit is my Lord's affair'", (17:87). It is a strange and lordly affair, the real and ultimate nature of which most intelligences ('uqûl) and understandings (afhâm) are unable to grasp.

The third term -- 'soul' (nafs) ²² partakes of many meanings, two of which pertain to our purpose. By one is denoted that meaning which includes both the faculty of anger (ghaḍab) and of appetite (shahwah) ²³ in man, which we will explain later. This meaning predominates among Sûfis, for they mean by the 'soul' that principle in man which includes his blameworthy qualities (ṣifât madhmûmah). So they say, "The soul must be striven against and broken." This is alluded to by the Prophet in his statement, "Thy soul which is between thy two sides is thy worst enemy." ²⁴

The second meaning is that subtile tenuous substance which we have mentioned, which is man in reality. It is the

soul of man and his essence. But it is described by different descriptives according as its states differ. When it is at rest under His command, and agitation has left it on account of its opposition to the fleshly appetites, it is called 'the soul at rest' (al-nafs al-muṭma'innah). Of such a soul did Allah say, "Oh, thou soul which art at rest, return to thy Lord, pleased, and pleasing Him" (89:27-28). The soul according to the first definition, cannot be conceived of as returning to Allah for it is far removed from Allah and belongs to the party of Satan. But when the soul is not completely at rest, but is striving to drive off and oppose the appetent soul, it is called 'the upbraiding soul' (al-nafs al-lawwāmah); for it upbraids its possessor whenever he falls short in the worship of his Master. Allah said, "I swear by the upbraiding soul" (75:2). But if the soul leaves off its opposition and becomes submissive and obedient to the demands of the fleshly appetites and the invitations of Satan, it is called 'the soul that commands to evil' (al-nafs al-amwārah bil-sū'). Allah said, "And I do not acquit myself, for verily the soul commands to evil" (12:53). Yet it may sometimes be said, "By the 'soul

^H Cairo text inserts, "relating the words of Joseph or the wife of the prince, . . ."

that commands to evil', is meant the soul according to the first definition," for that 'soul' is most blameworthy. But the soul according to the second definition is praiseworthy, for it is man's very self, or his essence and real nature, which knows Allah and all other knowable things.²⁵

The fourth term, which is intelligence ('aql),²⁶ also partakes of various meanings which we have mentioned in the Book of Knowledge.²⁷ Of these two pertain to our purpose. 'Intelligence' may be used with the force of knowledge ('ilm) of the real nature of things, and is thus an expression for the quality of knowledge whose seat is the heart. Secondly, 'intelligence' may be used to denote that which perceives knowledge, or the heart in the sense of the subtile tenuous substance. And we know that every knower has within himself an entity (wujūd) which is a self-existing principle (aṣl qā'im bi-nafsihi), and knowledge is a quality (ṣifah) residing in it, and the quality is other than the thing qualified. So 'intelligence' may be used as meaning the quality of the knower, and it may be used to mean the seat of perception, the mind which perceives. The latter meaning is that referred to in the Prophet's saying, "The first thing Allah created was intelligence."²⁸ For knowledge is an accident which cannot be conceived as the first created thing; indeed its seat must needs have

been created before it or along with it, and because one cannot converse with it (i.e. knowledge 'ilm). Tradition also relates that He said to intelligence, "Draw near", and it drew near. Then He said, "Retreat", and it retreated.

So it is now made clear to you that there exist the following meanings of these names: the corporeal heart, the corporeal spirit, the appetent soul, and intelligences. These are four meanings which are denoted by four terms. [#] There is also a fifth meaning which is that subtle tenuous substance in man which knows and perceives, and all four of these names are successively applied to it. There are then five meanings and four terms, and each term is used with two meanings.

Most of the learned ('ulamâ') are confused in distinguishing between these terms, and in regard to their successive use. So you find them talking about involuntary suggestions (khawâfir), and saying, "This is the suggestion of ²⁹ the intelligence, this is the suggestion of the spirit, this is the suggestion of the heart, and this is the suggestion of the soul", and the observer does not understand the distinction in the meanings of these names. So for the sake of uncovering this matter we have put here at the beginning an ex-

[#] Following Cairo & MS texts.

planation of these names. Wherever the expression 'heart' occurs in the Qur'ân and in the Sunnah its intended meaning is that in man which discerns and comes to know the real nature of things. This may be alluded to by metonymy as the heart which is in the breast, because between that subtle tenuous substance and the physical heart there is a special connection.³⁰ For although this subtle tenuous substance is connected with and used by the rest of the body as well, yet this connection is by means of the heart, so therefore its primary connection is with the heart. It is as though the heart were its seat, its kingdom, its world, and its mount. Therefore Sahl al-Tustari³¹ has likened the heart to the throne and the breast to the seat. He said, "The heart is the throne ('arsh) and the breast is the seat (kursi)." But it must not be supposed that he meant that it is the throne of Allah and His seat, for that is impossible. But he meant that the heart is its (i.e. the subtle tenuous substance's) kingdom and the primary channel for its planning and activity. These then (i.e. the physical heart and the breast) stand in the same relationship to the heart (the subtle tenuous substance) as do the throne and seat to Allah.³² This metaphor is appropriate only in certain respects. The explanation of this is not vital to our purpose and so let us pass it by.

CHAPTER TWO

An Exposition of the Armies of the Heart.

Allah has said, "And none knoweth the armies of thy Lord save Himself" (74:34). For in hearts and spirits and in other worlds Allah has "armies levied", whose nature and the details of whose number none knows save He. We will now refer to some of the armies of the heart such as pertain to our purpose.

The heart has two armies: an army seen with the eyes, and an army seen only by insight. The heart is as king, and the armies are as servants and helpers, and this is the meaning of 'army' (jund). Now its army which is visible to the eye includes the hand, the foot, the eye, the ear, the tongue, and the rest of the members both outer and inner. These all serve the heart and are in subjection thereto, and it has the disposition of them, and repels for them. They were created with an inherent disposition to obey it, and cannot disobey it nor rebel against it. For if it orders the eye to be opened, it is opened; if it orders the foot to move, it moves; if it orders the tongue to speak and is fully determined in the matter, it speaks; and so also for the rest of the members. The

subjection of the members and the senses to the heart resembles, from one point of view, the subjection of the angels to Allah; for they were created with an inherent disposition to obedience, and they cannot disobey Him. "They disobey not Allah in what He bids them, but they do what they are bidden" (66:6). There is however this one difference that the angels know their own obedience and conformity, whereas the eyelids obey the heart in opening and closing because they are in subjection to it, and they have no knowledge of themselves nor of their obedience to the heart.

The heart needs these armies because of its need for a vehicle, and for provision for that journey for which it was created, the journey to Allah, and for passing through its stages (manâzil) until He is met face to face. For this cause were hearts created as Allah has said, "I have not created the jinn and mankind save that they may worship me" (51:56). The vehicle of the heart is the body alone; its provision is knowledge alone; and the means of attaining the provision for the journey and supplying one's self therewith lie only in righteous acts.

It is impossible for the creature to reach Allah except by dwelling in the body and passing through this present world (al-dunyâ), for the nearest stage must be passed

through in order that the most distant stage may be attained. This present world is the seed-bed (mazra'ah) of the world to come (al-'âkhirah),³⁵ and it is one of the stages of right guidance (hudâ). It is called 'nearer' (dunyâ) only because it is the nearer of the two abodes. The heart must therefore get its supply of provision from this world. The body is its vehicle by which it comes into contact with this world. Thus the body needs to be cared for and preserved, and it is preserved only by procuring for it such food and other things as are suitable for it, and by warding off from it the causes of destruction which are repugnant to it and destroy it.

The heart thus needs two armies in order to procure food: an internal army which is the appetite, and an external which is the hand and the members which procure food. So the needed appetites are created in the heart, and the members of the body are created which are the instruments of the appetites.

Likewise the heart needs two armies to drive off the things which destroy: an internal army of anger (ghaḍab) by which it drives off things which destroy and takes revenge upon its enemies, and an external which is the hand and the foot by which it carries out the dictates of anger. This is completed by means of things outside of the body, such as weapons, etc.

Then, too, the appetite for food and the means of securing it are of no profit to him who needs food as long as he has no knowledge of food. So in order to gain this knowledge the heart needs two armies; an internal army, which is the perception of sight, taste, smelling, hearing, and touch; and an external, which is the eye, ear, nose, etc. A detailed account of the need for these and the wisdom in them would be very long, and many volumes would not contain it. We have referred to a small portion of it in the Book of Thanksgiving,³⁶ and this will suffice.

All the armies of the heart are limited to three classes. One class incites and instigates either to the obtaining of that which is profitable and suitable, as, for example, appetite (shahwah); or to the warding off of that which is harmful and destructive, as, for example, anger (ghaḍab). This impulse may be called the will (irāḍah). The second class is that which moves the members to the attainment of these desired ends, and it is called power (qudrah). These are armies which are diffused throughout the rest of the members, especially the muscles and sinews. The third class is that which perceives and gathers information[#] as spies.

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[#] Following Cairo and MS texts.

These include the power of sight, hearing, smell, taste, etc., which are divided among certain appointed members. This is called knowledge (*‘ilm*) and perception (*idrâk*).

Corresponding to each of these internal armies there are external armies which are the physical members. These are made up of flesh, fat, nerve, blood, and bone, which are prepared as the instruments of these armies. Thus the power to seize lies only in the fingers, the power to see only in the eye, and so on for the other powers. We are not now speaking of the external armies, I mean the physical members, for they belong to the visible material world, but rather of those unseen armies by which the heart is helped. This third class, which alone of this group perceives, is divided into that which is lodged in the outer abodes, or the five senses, I mean hearing, sight, smell, taste, and touch; and that which has been lodged in inner abodes, or the ventricles of the brain which are also five. Thus a man after seeing an object closes his eye and perceives its image (*ṣūrah*) within himself. This is the retentive imagination (*khayâl*). This image then remains with him by reason of something which preserves it, which is the army of memory (*al-jund al-hâfiḡ*). He then

Following Cairo text.

thinks about what he has remembered and combines part with part, after which he recalls what he had forgotten and it comes back to him again. Then he gathers together in his retentive imagination all the meanings of his sense impressions by means of the common sense (³⁷ḥiss mushtarak). For there are within man common sense, imagination (takhayyul), reflection (tafakkur), recollection (tadhakkur), and memory (³⁸ḥifẓ). Were it not that Allah created the powers of memory, thought, recollection, and imagination, the brain would be devoid of them even as is the hand and the foot. Thus these powers are internal armies and their seats are internal.

Such then are the armies of the heart. It would take a long time to explain this by citing examples [#] so that the understanding of the weak could comprehend it, while our purpose in such a book as this is that the strong and superior from among the learned shall be profited thereby. Yet we will strive to make the weak understand by the citation of examples so that this may be brought within the range of their understanding.

 # Following Cairo text.

CHAPTER THREE-

An Exposition of the Similitudes of the Heart with its
Internal Armies.

Know that the two armies of anger and appetite are sometimes perfectly obedient to the heart, which helps it along the path it journeys, and their companionship on the journey which lies before it is desirable. But these two also disobey the heart at times, in trespass and revolt, until they gain the mastery over it and bring it into subjection. This results in destroying it and cutting it off from its journey by which it might reach eternal happiness.

The heart has another army which is knowledge, wisdom (hikmah), and reflection, the explanation of which will follow. It should gain the assistance of this army, for it is the party of Allah, ³⁹ against the other two armies, for they may join themselves to the party of Satan. If it neglects this help and gives the army of anger and appetite dominion over itself, it will surely perish and suffer a manifest loss. This is the state of the majority of people, for their intellects have been forced by their appetite to labor at devising stratagems to satisfy the appetite, whereas appetite

should be forced by their intellects to labor at that which the mind has need of. We will make this clearer to your understanding by means of three examples.

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Example One. We may say that the soul (I mean by the soul the aforementioned subtle tenuous substance) is like a ruler in his city and his kingdom, for the body is the kingdom of the soul, its world, its abode, its city. The powers and members of the body occupy the place of craftsmen and laborers. The intelligent reflective power is like the sincere advisor and intelligent minister. Appetence is like an evil slave who brings food and provisions to the city. Anger and ardor (*hamiyyah*) are like the chief of police. The slave who brings the provisions is a liar, a deceiver, an impostor, and a malicious person who plays the part of a sincere advisor, while beneath his advice there is dreadful evil and deadly poison. It is his wont and his custom to contend against every plan which the wise minister makes, so that not even for an hour does he cease his contention and opposition to his opinions. When the ruler in his kingdom seeks the advice of his minister and shuns the counsel of this vile slave, inferring

Following Cairo text; Z. & MS read 'heart'.

Following Cairo & MS texts.

indeed from his counsel that the right course is that which is contradictory to his opinion; and the chief of police disciplines him and brings him under the authority of the minister and causes him to be under his orders, empowering him on his part over this vile slave and his followers and helpers, so that the slave is under authority and not the possessor of it, and so that he is subject to orders and directions and not one who gives orders and directs; then the rule of his state is upright and justice is ordered because of him.

Thus when the soul seeks the aid of the intellect and is disciplined by the ardor of anger which it empowers over appetite, seeking the aid of one of the two against the other; sometimes through lessening the degree and excess of anger by making an ally of appetite and gradually modifying it; sometimes through subduing and overcoming the appetite by giving anger and ardor power over it and by disapproving of its demands; then its powers are made harmonious and its character comely. Whoever turns aside from this path is like unto him of whom Allah has said, "Hast thou seen him who takes his lusts for his god, and Allah leads him astray wittingly" (45:22). He also said, "... and followed his lust and his likeness was as the likeness of a dog..." (7:175). Again He

[#] Following Cairo and MS texts.

said about him who restrains his soul from lust, "But^{if} as for him who feared the dignity of his Lord, and restrained his soul from lust, verily he shall have the Garden as his dwelling place" (79:40-41). The way in which these armies strive, and the way in which some of them are given power over others will be told, if Allah so wills, in the Book of the Discipline of the Soul.

Example Two. The body is like a city and the mind ('aql), I mean the perceptive power in man, is like a king who rules over it. Its perceptive powers of the senses both external and internal are like to its armies and helpers. Its members are like the people of the city. 'The soul which commands to evil',^{##} which is appetence and anger, is like the enemy who opposes him in his kingdom and strives to destroy his people. His body thus becomes as it were a frontier outpost, and his soul the place in which guards are stationed. So if he is one who strives against the enemy and routs him and conquers him as he ought, then will his deeds be praised in the day when he returns to the Presence (i.e. of Allah). As saith the Most High, "...and those who strive in Allah's

Following Cairo text; Z omits the first clause of verse.

Cf. Qur'ân, 12:53.

way with their wealth and their persons, Allah hath preferred those who strive with their wealth and their persons above those who sit still" (4:97). But if he loses the frontier and neglects his people, his deeds will be blamed and vengeance will be taken against him when he meets Allah. Tradition says, "It will be said to him on the day of resurrection, 'O evil shepherd, thou didst eat meat and drink milk and didst not bring back the lost nor restore the broken; today will I be revenged against thee.'" ⁴¹ It is also to this struggle that reference is made in the saying of the Prophet, "We have returned from the lesser religious warfare (jihād) to the ⁴² greater."

Example Three. The intellect is like a horseman who has gone hunting. His appetite is his horse and his anger is his dog. When the horseman is skilled and his horse well broken and his dog trained and taught, then he is able to succeed. But when he is himself clumsy, his horse ungovernable, and his dog vicious, then his horse is neither guided under him, nor does his dog go forth in obedience to his signs. So he himself deserves to perish rather than to gain that which he seeks. The clumsiness of the horseman is like the ignorance of a man, his paucity of wisdom, and his dim insight. The restiveness of the horse is like the victory

of appetence, and especially the appetite for food and for sexual indulgence. The viciousness of the dog is like the victory of anger and its domination.[#]

[#] Cairo text adds: "We ask Allah in His grace to grant us
43
success."

CHAPTER FOUR.

An Exposition of the Special Properties of the Heart of Man.

Know that Allah has bestowed on all animals other than man all of these things which we have mentioned. For animals have appetite and anger, and the senses both outer and inner. Thus the sheep sees the wolf with her eye and knows in her heart its enmity, and so flees from it. That is an inner perception.

We will now mention that which peculiarly characterizes the heart of man, and because of which he has been given great honor and is qualified to draw near to Allah. This special characteristic has its basis in knowledge and will. By 'knowledge' is meant that knowledge which deals with the things of this world and the world to come, and with intellectual realities (ḥaqâ'iq 'aqliyyah). These things are beyond the objects of sense perception, and animals do not share with man in them. Nay rather, knowledge of axioms and universals (al-'ulûm al-kulliyyah al-ḍarûriyyah) is a peculiar property of the reason. Thus a man judges that a single

 # Following Cairo text; Z & MS read 'of religion.'

 horse cannot be imagined to be in two places at one time. This is his judgment for every horse, although it is well known that he has only observed some horses by his sense perception. So his judgment passed on all horses goes beyond that which sense has perceived. If you understand this in regard to this obvious axiomatic knowledge, it is even more obvious in the rest of the theoretical sciences (nağariyyât).

Now regarding the will, when a man perceives by his intellect the consequences of an act and the good way to deal with it, there is aroused within his essential self (dhât) a desire for the advantageous way, a desire to exert himself in the means to attain it, and also the will to this end. This differs from the will of appetite and the will power that animals have, indeed it is quite the opposite of appetite. For appetite shuns bleeding and cupping, while the intelligent man wants them, seeks them, and freely spends money for them. The appetite inclines to savory foods in time of sickness, while the intelligent man finds within himself that which causes him to abstain from them. This abstinence does not come from appetite. Had Allah created the intellect which gives information regarding the consequences of things,

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Cairo text reads 'individual', etc. throughout this illustration.

and not created this cause which moves the members to carry out the mandates of the intellect, then the judgment of the intellect would in reality be lost. Thus the heart of man has the special properties of knowledge and will, which separate it from the other animals, may rather, which separate it from the youth in his original constitution, for this comes to him only with maturity.

Now appetite, anger, and the external and internal senses exist potentially in youth, but in attaining them the youth must pass through two stages. One stage is that his heart must comprehend the knowledge of axioms and first principles, such as the knowledge of the impossibility of impossible things, and the possibility of things manifestly possible. But in this stage he has not as yet attained to the speculative sciences, save that they have become possible and within easy reach of attainment. His status in relation to knowledge is like that of the writer whose knowledge of writing consists merely in knowing inkstand, pen, and the letters as they are written separately but not in their combining forms, for such a person is well on the way to writing but has not as yet achieved it.

 # Following Cairo & MS texts.

The second stage is that he shall gain that knowledge which is acquired by experiment and thought, so that it is stored up in him and he can return to it whenever he wills. His status is like that of a man skilled in writing who, on account of his ability therein, is called a writer, even when he is not actually engaged in writing. This is the highest stage of humanity, but in this stage there are innumerable degrees of contrast among men in the abundance or paucity of knowledge, in the dignity of knowledge or its sordidness, and in the way of attaining it. This knowledge comes to some hearts through divine revelation (ilhām ilâhî) by way of immediate disclosure (mubâda'ah) and unveiling (mukâshafah), and for some it is a thing to be learned and acquired. Sometimes it is gained quickly and sometimes slowly. In this stage are seen the varying degrees of the learned ('ulamâ'), the wise (⁴⁷ḥukamâ'), saints (⁴⁸awliyâ'), and prophets (⁴⁹anbiyâ').

The degrees of advancement in knowledge are unlimited inasmuch as Allah's knowledge is infinite. The highest rank is that of the prophet to whom is revealed all realities, or most of them, not by a process of acquisition nor after difficulty, but by a divine unveiling in the shortest possible time. In this happiness man draws near to Allah in idea (ma'mâ), reality, and quality, not in respect to place and distance.

The stepping stones up to these various degrees are the stages (manâzil) reached by those journeying toward Allah, and there is no limitation to these stages. Each traveller knows only his own stage to which he has attained on his journey. He knows it and he knows also those stages which are behind him. He does not know the real nature of that which is just ahead of him, but he may believe in it as he believes in the unseen. Even as we believe in prophecy and the prophet and accept his existence as true, while no one but a prophet knows the real nature of prophecy; and even as the embryo knows not the state of the babe, nor the babe the state of the discerning child and what has been opened up to him of axiomatic knowledge; nor the discerning child the state of the intelligent man and what he has acquired of speculative knowledge; so also the intelligent man knows not what attainments of the grace and mercy of Allah have been revealed to His saints and prophets. "The mercy which Allah openeth to men none can withhold"(35:2). This mercy is generously bestowed by reason of the goodness and generosity of Allah who does not grudge it to anyone, but it only appears in those hearts which are exposed to the gifts of Allah. The Prophet said, "Verily your Lord in the days of your generation nas gifts; will ye then not expose yourselves to them?"

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This exposing of one's self to them is done through

cleansing and purifying the heart from evil and from the turbidness which comes from blameworthy character, as will be set forth later. This liberality is that which is referred to in the statement of the Prophet, "Allah descends every night to the lowest heaven and says, 'Is there anyone who asks, that I may grant his request?'"⁵¹ Again the Prophet said, quoting the statement of his Lord, "Great indeed is the longing of the righteous to meet me, and I long even more to meet them."⁵² There is also the saying of the Most High, "Whoever draws[#] nearer to me by a span, I approach him by a cubit."⁵³

All of this is an indication that the light of knowledge is not veiled from men's hearts by any stinginess or prohibition on the part of the Giver, who is far removed from such acts, but rather is it veiled by wickedness, uncleanness and anxiety within the heart. For hearts are like vessels; as long as they are filled with water air cannot enter them. So the knowledge of the majesty of Allah cannot enter into hearts which are occupied with anything else apart from Him. It is to this that reference is made in the Prophet's saying, "The sons of Adam would look unto the Kingdom of Heaven were it not that the demons hover over their hearts."⁵⁴

 # Following Cairo & MS texts. Z says a tradition of Muhammad.

From all of this it is clear that the special characteristic peculiar to man is knowledge and wisdom, and that the noblest kind of knowledge is the knowledge of Allah, His attributes, and His deeds. By this comes man's perfection, and in his perfection is his happiness and worthiness to live near to the divine majesty and perfection. The body then is a vehicle for the soul (nafs), and the soul is the seat of knowledge. Knowledge is the end destined for man and his special characteristic for which he was created.

The horse shares with the donkey the power to carry burdens and is distinguished from it by its own special characteristics of charging and fleeing, and beauty of form, and therefore the horse was created for the sake of these special characteristics the removal of which from it would bring it down to the low rank of the donkey. Likewise man shares in some things with the donkey and the horse, and differs from them in others which are his own special characteristics. These distinguishing characteristics are among the qualities of the angels who are drawn near to Allah.

Man has a rank between the brutes and the angels. Man, in that he takes nourishment and reproduces, is a plant; and in that he has sense perceptions and moves by his own free will, he is an animal; and as regards his figure and his

stature, he is like the figure sculptured on the wall; but his distinguishing characteristic is his experiential knowledge (ma'rifah) of the real nature of things.⁵⁶ Whoever makes use of all of his members and powers in such a way as to seek their aid in attaining unto knowledge and work, has become like unto the angels and is worthy to be joined to them, and deserves to be called an angel and a lordly being (rabbâni). Thus Allah has declared, ^٧"This is no mortal; this can be no other than an honorable angel" (12:31). But whoever spends his energy in following after bodily pleasures and eats as do the animals is brought down to the low depths of the brutes. So he becomes ignorant as an ox, gluttinous as a hog, greedy as a dog, ^٨malevolent as a camel, vain as a leopard, or sly as a fox. Or he may unite all of these and become a rebellious demon (shaiṭân marîd).

There is not a single one of the bodily members nor a single sense perception which may not be a help along the path that leads to Allah, as will be set forth in part in the Book of Thanksgiving. Whoever uses them therein wins the victory, but whoever turns aside therefrom loses and is disap-

^٧ Cairo text adds: 'by the mouths of the women who beheld Joseph.'

^٨ Cairo text adds: 'or a cat.'

pointed. The totality of man's happiness therein lies in making the meeting with Allah his aim, the abode of the world to come his dwelling place, this present world his temporary stopping place, the body his vehicle, and its members his servants.

So the perceptive part of man dwells in the heart, as a king in the midst of his kingdom. The imaginative faculty whose seat is in the front of the brain acts as the master of his couriers, for the reports of sense perceptions (maḥsûsât) are gathered therein. The faculty of retentive memory (ḥâfiḡah), whose seat is the back of the brain, acts as his keeper of stores. The tongue is his interpreter and the active members of his body his scribes. The five senses act as his spies, and he makes each one of them responsible in a certain domain. Thus he sets the eye over the world of colors, hearing over the world of sounds, smell over the world of odors, and so on for the others. These are the bearers of tidings which they collect from their different worlds and transmit to the imaginative faculty which is like the master of the couriers. The latter in turn delivers them to the keeper of the stores, which is memory. The keeper of the stores sets them

 # Following Cairo and MS texts. Z reads 'path.'

forth before the king who selects therefrom that which he has need of in managing his kingdom, in completing the journey ahead of him, in subjugating his enemy by whom he is afflicted, and in warding off from himself those who cut off his path. If the king does this he is successful, happy, and thankful for the blessings of Allah. But if he neglects all of these things, or uses them for the welfare of his enemies which are appetite, anger, and other swiftly passing pleasures, and in the building of his path instead of his abode,-- for this present world is his path through which he must pass, while his own country and his permanent abode is the world to come, -- then he is forsaken, wretched, ungrateful for the blessings of Allah, being one who makes ill use of the armies of Allah and forsakes His path. So he deserves hatred and exile in the day of overturn and return. May Allah protect us from such!

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Ka'b al-Ahbâr referred to this example which we have given when he said, "I went to 'Ā'ishah and said to her, 'Man's eyes are a guide, his ears a funnel, his tongue an interpreter, his hands wings, his feet couriers, and the heart is his king. If the king enjoys good health, so also do his armies.'" She said, "Thus have I heard the Apostle of Allah speak."

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'Alī also, in illustrating the heart of man, said, "Verily Allah in His earth has vessels, and they are the hearts

of men. Those most beloved by Him are the gentlest, the clearest, and the most robust.⁶² Then he explained, saying, "The most robust in religion, the clearest in certainty, and the gentlest to the brethren." This is a reference to the statement of the Most High, "...vehement against the misbelievers, compassionate among themselves;" (48:29), and also, "His light is as a niche in which is a lamp" (24:35). 'Ubai bin Ka'b⁶³ said, "This means 'as the light of a believer and his heart.'" Again there is the statement of the Most High, "Or like darkness on a deep sea," (24:40), which is an illustration of the heart of the hypocrite. Zaid bin Aslam⁶⁴ said of the statement of Allah, "in a preserved tablet" (85:22), "It is the heart of the believer." Sahl said, "The heart and the breast are like the throne and the seat." These then are the examples of the heart.

CHAPTER FIVE.

An Exposition Summarizing the Qualities and Similitudes of
the Heart.

Know that there are four mingled factors which dwell together in man's nature and make-up, and therefore four kinds of qualities are united against him. These are the qualities (ṣifât) of the beasts of prey (sabu'iyah), brutish qualities (bahîmiyyah), demonic qualities (shaitâniyyah), and lordly qualities (rabbâniyyah).

In so far as anger rules over him he is addicted to the deeds of a beast of prey, such as enmity, detestation, and attacking people by beating and cursing them. In so far as [#]appetence rules him he is addicted to brutish acts of gluttony, greed, carnal desire, and so on. In so far as there is within his soul something lordly, as Allah has said, "The Spirit is my Lord's affair" (17:87), he claims lordship for himself and loves mastery, superiority, exclusiveness, and despotism in all things; and to be the sole ruler, and to slip away from the noose of servitude and humility. He longs to study all the sciences, nay rather he claims for himself science

[#] Following Cairo and MS texts.

and knowledge and the comprehension of the real nature of things. He rejoices when knowledge is attributed to him, and is grieved when accused of ignorance. The comprehension of all realities, and seeking to rule by force over all creatures are among the lordly qualities, and man is greedy for them. In so far as he differs from the brutes in having the faculty of discernment, although sharing with them in anger (ghaḍāb) and appetite (shahwah), he attains to demonic qualities. Thus he becomes wicked and uses his discernment in the discovery of ways of evil. He seeks to attain his ends by guile, deceit, and cunning, and sets forth evil as though it were good. These are the characteristics of demons (shayāṭīn).

Every man has within him a mixture of these four qualities, i.e., lordly, demonic, beastly, and brutish; and all of these are gathered together in the heart. So there are gathered inside of a man's skin, as it were, a pig, a dog, a demon, and a sage. The pig is appetite, for the pig is not blamed for his color, his shape or appearance, but for his covetousness, his voracity, and his greed.

The dog is anger, for the carnivorous beast and the savage dog are not dog and beast from the standpoint of their appearance or color or shape, but because the spirit and meaning of this bestial quality is savageness and enmity and

slaughter. Now within man there is the savageness and anger of the beast, and the greed and voluptuousness of the pig. Thus the pig through gluttony invites man to excess and abomination, and the wild beast by means of anger calls him to oppression and harmful acts.

The demon continues to stir up the appetite of the pig and the wrath of the wild beast, and to incite the one by means of the other; and he makes their inborn dispositions to appear good to them.

The sage, who represents the intellect, is in duty bound to ward off the plotting and guile of the demon by revealing his dissembling by means of his (i.e. the sage's) penetrating insight and evident clear illumination; and to destroy the gluttony of this pig by setting the dog over him, for by means of anger he breaks down the assault of appetite. He wards off the savageness of the dog by setting the pig over him and bringing the dog in subjection under his rule. If he does this successfully his affairs are set right, equity is manifest in the kingdom of the body, and all goes in the straight path.

But if he is unable to overcome them they overcome him and bring him into servitude, and so he continues to search out crafty tricks and careful plans to satisfy his pig and please his dog. Thus he is constantly in servitude to a dog or a pig.

This is the condition of the majority of mankind whenever their primary concern is for the belly, sexual indulgence, and vying with the enemy. The strange thing is that he disapproves of idolaters worshipping stones, whereas if the veil were removed and his true state were disclosed and his true condition set before him as it is set before mystics (al-mukâshafûn), either in sleep or when awake, he would see himself standing before a pig, now prostrating himself before him and again kneeling, awaiting his signal and his command. So whenever the pig is roused up to seek the satisfying of any of his appetites, the man is sent forth at once to serve him and to bring that for which he lusts. Or else the man would see himself standing before a savage dog worshipping him, obeying his demands and requests, and carefully planning schemes to render obedience to him. Thus he endeavors to please his demon, for he it is who stirs up the pig and arouses the dog and sends them forth to bring the man into subjection. In this way he worships the demon in his worship of these two.

So let every man watch over his times of activity and of inactivity, his silence and his speech, his rising up and his sitting down, and let him look to them with careful insight,

ⁱⁱ Cairo text inserts, 'him and giving ear to.'

and he will find, if he is honest with himself, nothing but an effort all day long to serve these base impulses. This is the acme of oppression for it makes the possessor to be possessed, the lord to be lorded over, the master a slave, and the conqueror to be conquered, in that man forces the mind which is worthy of lordship, conquest and rule to serve these low impulses. And undoubtedly from obedience to these three there are spread to the heart qualities which are heaped up thereupon so that they become a dirty stain and a rust which is destructive and deadly to the heart.⁶⁵

From obedience to the pig of appetite there result the following characteristics: shamelessness, wickedness, wastefulness, avarice, hypocrisy, defamation, wantonness, non-sense, greed, covetousness, flattery, envy, rejoicing at another's evil, etc. As for obedience to the dog of anger there are spread thereby into the heart the qualities of rashness, squandering, haughtiness, boasting, hot temper, pride, conceit, sneering, disregard, despising of creatures, the will to evil, the lust of oppression, etc. In regard to obedience to the demon through obedience to appetite and anger, there results from it the

[¶] Following Cairo and MS texts.

^{¶¶} Cairo text inserts 'rancour.'

qualities of guile, deceit, craftiness, cunning, deception^{##},
dissembling, violence, fraud, mischief, obscenity, and such
like.

But if the matter is reversed and man overcomes all
these, bringing them under the rule of the lordly element within
him, then his heart becomes the abode of such lordly qualities
as knowledge, wisdom, ^{##}the comprehension of the real nature of
things, the knowledge of things as they really are, the subju-
gation of all by the power of knowledge and insight, and worth-
iness to advance beyond all creatures because of the complete-
ness and majesty of his knowledge. Then too he dispenses with
the worship of appetite and anger, and, through holding in
check the pig of appetite and placing him back again within his
proper limits, he acquires such honorable qualities as chastity,
contentment, quietness, abstemiousness, godliness, piety, happi-
ness, goodly aspect, modesty, sagacity, helpfulness, and such
like. By holding in check the power of anger and conquering it,
and putting it back within its proper limits, man attains to the
qualities of courage, generosity, gallantry, self-control,
patience, gentleness, endurance, pardoning, steadfastness,

^{##} Cairo text has 'audacity.' The rest of this list is from the
Cairo text and is omitted in Z.

^{##} Cairo text inserts 'certainty.'

nobility, valor[#], dignity, and others.

The heart is as a mirror which is surrounded by these factors which exert their influence upon it. These influences reach the heart in uninterrupted succession. The praiseworthy influences which we have mentioned add to the clearness, shining, illumination, and brightness of the mirror so that the clear statement of the Real⁶⁶ (jalliyyatu 'l-haqq) shines therein, and there is revealed in it the real nature of the thing sought in religion. To such a heart as this is the reference of the Prophet in his saying, "Whenever Allah wills good for a man He causes his heart to exhort him"⁶⁷; and in his saying, "The man whose heart is his exhorter has a protector from Allah over him."⁶⁸ This is the heart in which there abides the remembrance (dhikr) of Allah. Allah said, "Shall not the hearts be comforted by the remembrance of Allah?" (13:28).

The blameworthy influences are like a darkening smoke which rises up over the mirror of the heart and is heaped up upon it time after time until it becomes black and gloomy and entirely veiled from Allah. This is corrosion and rust. Allah said, "Nay, but that which they have gained has rusted their hearts" (83:14). He also said, "...did we please, we would smite

Following Cairo & MB texts. Z omits the last two of the list.

them in their sins, and we would corrode their hearts, and then they would not hear " (7:98). Here He connected their lack of hearing with their being corroded by sins, even as He connected hearing with godly fear. He said, "...but let them fear Allah and listen " (5:107), and "...fear Allah, for Allah teaches you " (2:282). Whenever sins are heaped up the heart is corroded, and thereupon it is blinded to the perception of reality and the goodness of religion. It scorns the world to come and magnifies this present world, feeling concern for it alone. So if anything concerning the world to come and the dangers therein knocks at its ear gate, it goes into one ear and out the other. It does not find an abiding-place in the heart nor stir it to repentance and making amends. These are they who despair of the world to come even as the infidels despair of those who are in their graves. [¶] This is the meaning of the blackening of the heart by sins according to the statement of the Qur'ân and the Sunnah. ^{69 ¶¶}

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Maimûn bin Mahrân said, "Whenever a man commits a sin he makes a black spot upon his heart, and whenever he turns away

¶ Cf. Qur'ân, 60:13.

¶¶ Z. says in Qur'ân in 83:14; in Sunnah in what follows.

 from it and repents, the spot is polished away, and if he returns to sin it increases until it covers the heart." This is rust. The Prophet said, "The heart of the believer is stripped clean and a lamp shines therein, but the heart of the unbeliever is black and upside down." ⁷¹ Obedience to Allah by striving against the appetites polishes the heart, but disobedience to Him blackens it. So whoever engages in acts of disobedience blackens his heart; and whoever does a good deed after he has done an evil one, and thereby removes its effect, does not have his heart blackened, but its light is lessened. It is like a mirror which is breathed upon and then wiped off, and then breathed upon again and wiped off, which is not without a certain cloudiness.

The Prophet said, "There are four kinds of hearts: ⁷²
 a heart which is stripped clean in which a lamp shines; and this is the believer's heart; a heart which is black and upside down, which is the heart of the unbeliever; a hardened heart bound in its sheath of evil, which is the heart of the hypocrite; and a broad heart in which there is both belief and hypocrisy. Its belief is like green herbage which pure water causes to abound, and its hypocrisy is like an ulcer which purulent matter and

Following Cairo and MS texts.

pus cause to spread. This heart is judged to belong to whichever of the two gains the mastery." Another reading is, "... is carried away by whichever..."

Allah said, "Verily, those who fear Allah, if a wraith from Satan touch, mention Him, and lo! they see " (7:200). Thus He stated that the clearness of the heart and its perspicacity are attained by the practice of remembrance (dhikr)⁷³, and none achieve this except those who fear Him. For the fear of Allah is the door to remembrance of Him; remembrance is the door to mystical unveiling (kashf)⁷⁴; and mystical unveiling is the door to the greatest success (fawz) which is the success of meeting (liqâ') Allah.

CHAPTER SIX.

An Exposition of the Similitudes of the Heart as Related to
the Special Sciences.

Know that the seat (maḥall) of knowledge (ʿilm) is the heart, by which I mean the subtle tenuous substance (laṭīfah) which rules all the parts of the body and is obeyed and served by all its members. In its relationship to the real nature of intelligibles (maʿlūmât) it is like a mirror in its relationship to the forms (ṣuwar) of changing appearances (mutalawwinât). For even as that which changes has a form, and the image (mithâl) of that form is reflected in the mirror and represented therein, so also every intelligible has its specific nature, and this specific nature has a form which is reflected and made manifest in the mirror of the heart. Even as the mirror is one thing, the forms of individuals another, and the representation of their image in the mirror another, being thus three things in all, so here too there are three things: the heart, the specific natures of things, and the representation and presence of these in the heart. The 'intellect' (al-ʿâlim) is an expression for the heart in which there exists the image of the specific natures of things. The 'intelligible' (al-maʿlûm) is an expres-

sion for the specific natures of things. 'Intelligence' (al-'ilm) is an expression for the representation of the image in the mirror.

Even as the act of grasping, for example, requires that which grasps, such as the hand, and that which is grasped, such as the sword, and an act bringing together the sword and the hand by placing the sword in the hand which is called the act of grasping, so also the coming of the image of the intelligible into the heart is called intelligence. The reality was in existence and so also the heart, but there was no intelligence present, for intelligence is an expression for the coming of the reality into the heart. Similarly the sword was in existence and also the hand, but there was nothing named 'the act of grasping and taking' present because the sword had not actually come into the hand. It is true that 'grasping' is an expression for the presence of the sword itself in the hand, while the intelligible itself does not actually come into the heart. For fire itself does not actually come into the heart of one who knows fire, but that which is actually present is its definition and its real nature which corresponds to its form. So the comparison of the heart with the mirror is the better, for man himself is not really present in the mirror, but there is present merely an image which corresponds to him,

and thus the presence of an image in the heart corresponding to the real nature of the intelligible is called intelligence. ⁷⁵

The mirror may not reflect the forms for five reasons; first, a defect in its formation, as, for example, a piece of crude iron before it is turned and shaped and polished; second, because of its dirt and rust and dullness, even though it is perfect in formation; third, because it is turned away from the direction of the object toward something else, as, for example, if the object were behind the mirror; fourth, because of a veil placed between the mirror and the object; and fifth, because of ignorance of the direction of the object desired, so that it is impossible to place it in front of the position and direction of the object.

Thus too is the heart a mirror ready to have reflected in it the true nature of reality in all things. Hearts are destitute of the knowledge which they lack only because of the following five reasons. The first reason is an imperfection in its own nature, such as the heart of a youth which does not reflect intelligibles because of its imperfection.

The second reason is because of the dullness due to acts of disobedience, and the filth from many lusts which is heaped up upon the face of the heart, for these prevent the purity and cleanness of heart. Reality ceases to be manifest

therein in proportion to its darkness and the filth heaped up upon it. To this the Prophet referred in his statement, "When a man commits a sin something of his intelligence forsakes him and does not return to him again."⁷⁶ That is to say, there comes over his heart a dullness whose influence abides forever, even when his purpose is to follow it with a good deed which will erase it. But if he had done the good deed without the preceding evil deed, then the illumination of the heart would unquestionably have increased. However when the evil deed preceded, the value of the good deed was lost, although the heart was restored by it to its state previous to the evil deed, but its light was not increased thereby. This is an evident loss and an inescapable defect. The mirror which has been stained and then wiped off with a polishing cloth is not like that which has been wiped with the polisher to increase its clearness without any previous stain. So undertaking obedience to Allah and opposing the demands of the appetites is that which brightens the heart and purifies it. Therefore Allah said, "But those who exert themselves for us we will surely guide into our ways" (29:69). The Prophet said, "Allah causes him who does the best he knows to become the heir to knowledge

Following Cairo text.

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which he knows not."

The third reason is that the heart may be turned away from the direction of reality which is sought. For the heart of the good and obedient man, although it is bright[#], does not have the clear statement of the Real revealed in it, for he does not seek the Real and does not have his mirror opposite to the direction of the thing sought. Perhaps all of his attention is taken up by the details of bodily submission or arranging the means of his livelihood, and his thought is not free to contemplate the Lordly Presence and the hidden divine realities. So there is revealed to him only that which he thinks about, whether it is the minute defects of his religious works or the hidden[#] faults of the soul if it is these which occupy his mind, or the interests of gaining a livelihood if he thinks of them. Now if limiting one's attention to works and the details of acts of obedience prevents the revelation of the clearness of the Real,
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what is your estimation (ḡann) of one who expends his energies in the lusts and pleasures of this present world and the things connected therewith? And how should true revelation not be denied to such a man?

The fourth reason is the veil. The obedient man who

[#] Following Cairo and MS texts.

has overcome his appetites and devotes himself exclusively to a certain specific reality may not have this revealed to him because it is veiled from him by some belief which he has held from his youth, and which he has blindly followed and accepted in good faith. This belief walls him off from the true nature of the Real and prevents there being revealed to his heart anything contrary to the strict interpretation of the doctrines which he has blindly accepted. This too is a great veil which overshadows most Muslim theologians (mutakallimân)⁷⁹ and those who are fanatical followers of the schools (madhâhib),⁸⁰ nay indeed most righteous men who think upon the kingdom of the heavens and the earth; for they are veiled by their blindly followed dogmas which are hardened in their souls and firmly fixed in their hearts, and have become a veil between them and the perception of realities.

The fifth reason is ignorance of the direction from which the knowledge of the thing sought must be obtained. For the seeker after knowledge cannot obtain knowledge of that which is unknown except by recalling the sciences which are related to what he desires, so that when he recalls them and arranges them within himself in a special order to which the learned give the name of 'process of deduction' (ṭariq al-i'tibâr), he will then have found the direction of the thing sought, and its true

nature will be clearly revealed to his heart. For the things which are not instinctive which one desires to know cannot be caught save in the net of acquired knowledge; indeed no item of knowledge is acquired except from two preceding items of knowledge which are related and combined in a special way, and from their combination a third item of knowledge is gained.⁸¹ This is like the result of the union of a stallion and a mare. Here even as he who wishes to produce a mare cannot do so from donkey, cow, nor man, but from a special source, from male and female horses, and this if there takes place a special union; so also every item of knowledge has two special sources and a way for their combination, and from this combination there is gained the derived item of knowledge which is sought. Ignorance of these sources and of the manner of combining them is what prevents understanding. An example of this already mentioned is the ignorance of the direction in which the object is.

Another example is that of a man who desires to see the back of his neck in a mirror. If he holds up the mirror in front of his face he does not have it placed opposite to the position of the back of the neck, and the back of his neck does not appear in it. If he holds it behind the back of his neck and facing it, he has turned the mirror away from his eyes and so cannot see either the mirror or the reflection of the

back of his neck in it. So he needs another mirror to place behind the back of his neck, with the first mirror facing it in such a way that he can see it; and he must observe the proper relationship between the placing of the two mirrors so that the image of the back of his neck is reflected in the mirror opposite to it, and the image of this mirror is reflected in the other mirror which faces the eye. Then the eye perceives the image of the back of his neck. So in the hunt for knowledge there are strange ways in which there are devious turnings and oblique shiftings, stranger than those we have mentioned concerning the mirror; and rare indeed upon the face of the earth is he who is guided to the way of clearly seeing through those devious ways.

These are the reasons which prevent the heart from coming to know the real nature of things . Otherwise every heart is constitutionally fitted to come to know realities, for it is a lordly and noble thing, differing from other substances in the world by this special property and noble quality. To it is the reference in the statement of Him who is Mighty and Majestic, "Verily we offered the trust to the heavens and the earth and the mountains, but they refused to bear it, but man bore it "(33:71). This refers to his possession of a special characteristic which distinguishes him

from the heavens, the earth, and the mountains, by which he is enabled to bear the trust of Allah. This trust is experiential knowledge and the divine unity (tawhīd).⁸²

The heart of every human being is, in its original constitution, fitted for and capable of bearing this trust, but the causes which we have mentioned prevent it from carrying this burden and arriving at the realization of the trust. In this connection the Prophet said, "Every child is born with a natural conformity to religious truth (i.e., of Islam), and it is only his parents who make him a Jew or a Christian or a ~~Ma-~~⁸³gian." The Apostle of Allah also said, "Were it not that the demons hover over the hearts of the children of Adam they would turn their eyes toward the Heavenly Kingdom." This is a reference to some of these hindrances which are the veil between the heart and the Kingdom.

To this also is the reference in the tradition which has come down from Ibn 'Umar.⁸⁴ He said, "The Prophet was asked, 'O Apostle of Allah, where is Allah in the earth?'[#] He replied, 'In the hearts of His believing creatures.'⁸⁵" There is also a tradition that Allah said, "My earth cannot contain me, neither my heaven, but the tender and calm heart of my servant."⁸⁶

[#] Cairo text adds, 'or in heaven.'

Another tradition says that the Apostle of Allah was asked, "Who are the best of men?" He replied, "Every believer whose heart is cleansed." They asked, "What is the cleansed heart?" He answered, "It is the godfearing, pure heart in which there is no fraud, nor iniquity, nor treachery, nor rancour, nor envy."⁸⁷ On that account ⁸⁸ Umar said, "My heart saw my Lord when, because of godly fear, He raised the veil." For whomsoever the veil is lifted between himself and his heart[†], the form of the material world (al-mulk) and of the unseen world of spirits (al-malakût) is clearly manifest in his heart, and he sees a Garden the breadth of but a part of which is that of the heavens and the earth. Its total expanse is greater than the heavens and the earth, for 'the heavens and the earth' is only an expression for the visible material world, which, although broad in extent and far-reaching in compass, is yet but a part of the whole. But the unseen world of spirits is boundless, consisting of those secrets hidden from the sight of the eyes and perceived only by insight. It is true that only a part of it appears to the heart, but in itself and in its relation to the knowledge of Allah it is infinite. The material world and the unseen world of spirits taken together under one classification are called the Lordly

† Cairo text reads, 'between himself and Allah.'

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Presence (al-ḥadrah al-rabûbiyyah), for the Lordly Presence encompasses all existing things. For there exists nothing except Allah, His works, and His Kingdom; and His servants are a part of His works.⁹⁰ What appears of this to the heart is, according to some, the Garden⁹¹ itself, and according to the people of reality (ahl al-ḥaqq),⁹² it is the means of meriting the Garden. The extent of his possession in the Garden is in proportion to[#] the extent of his knowledge and the measure to which Allah and His attributes and works have been revealed to him.

The intent of all of these acts of obedience and actions of the members is the purification, improvement, and enlightenment of the heart. "Prosperous is he who purifies it "(91:9). The purpose of improvement is to achieve the illumination of faith in it; I mean the shining of the light of knowledge (of Allah). That is the point in the statement of the Most High, "Whomsoever Allah wishes to guide, He expands his breast to Islam " (6:125); and in His statement, "Is he whose breast Allah has expanded for Islam, and who is in light from his Lord " (39:23). This illumination and this faith have indeed three degrees. The first degree is the faith of the rank and file which is purely blind imitation (taqlid).⁹³ The second is the

[#] Following Cairo & MS texts; Z. reads, 'because of.'

faith of the theologians which is mingled with a sort of logical reasoning. ⁷ The third degree is the faith of the mystics (‘ârîfûn), which is seeing clearly with the light of certainty. ⁹⁴

We will make this plain to you by the example of your accepting it as true that Zayd, for instance, is in the house. This has three degrees. The first is that someone has told you, someone whom you have experienced to be truthful, and never known to lie and never doubted his word. Your heart by the mere hearing calmly receives his report and is satisfied with it. This is the belief by mere blind acceptance, and of such nature is the faith of the rank and file. For when they reached the age of discrimination they heard from their fathers and mothers of the existence of Allah, of His knowledge, will, and power, and the rest of His attributes; also of the sending of the Apostle ⁷⁷, his veracity, and his message. They received even as they heard and became established therein and satisfied therewith; and it never occurred to their minds to disagree with what their fathers and mothers and teachers told them because of the high esteem in which they held them. This faith

⁷ Cairo text adds, 'but its degree is nearly the same as that of the faith of the rank and file.'

⁷⁷ Cairo text reads, 'the apostles, their veracity...' etc.

is the efficient cause of salvation in the world to come, and those who embrace it are in the first (i.e. lowest) ranks of the people of the right hand ^{##}, but not among those who are drawn near to Allah. For this faith has in it no mystical unveiling, nor insight, nor enlargement of the breast by the light of certainty, since it is possible for there to be an error in what is heard from individuals, may indeed from groups, in that which pertains to doctrine. The hearts of Jews and Christians are also satisfied with what they hear from their fathers ^{##}, only their belief is a mistaken one because an error has been passed on to them. Muslims believe the truth, not because they have studied it, but because the word of truth has been passed on to them.

The second degree of belief is that you hear the words and voice of Zayd from within the house, but from behind a wall, and you deduce from this the fact of his being in the house. Then your belief, your acceptance as true, and your certainty that he is in the house are stronger than your belief through hearsay alone. For if you are told, "He is in the house," and then hear his voice, you become more certain of it, for the

‡ Cf. Qur'ân, 56:26.

Cairo text adds, 'and mothers.'

voice indicates shape and form to him who hears it on condition of seeing the form. So his heart judges this to be the voice of that person. This is belief mingled with proof. It is also possible for error to follow because one voice might resemble another. Also pretense is possible by means of imitating the voice. This might not occur to the mind of the hearer, for he had no thought of any such accusation, or that anyone had a purpose in such dissembling and imitation.

The third degree of belief is to enter the house and look at him with your own eye and see him. This is real experiential knowledge and sure observation. It is like the knowledge of those who are drawn near to Allah and of the veracious (ṣiddīqūn), for their belief is based on eye-witness. This belief includes that of the rank and file and that of the theologians; and they have this very evident additional advantage that the possibility of error is taken away. It is true that believers of this class differ in rank according to their attainments in knowledge, and the degrees of unveiling. An example of the difference in degrees of knowledge is that one man sees Zayd in the house when he is near at hand in the court-yard and while the sun is shining, and so he sees him perfectly; while another sees

Following Cairo text.

him in a room, or at a distance, or in the evening, so that his form is sufficiently plain that he can be sure that it is he, but the minute details and hidden features of his form are not made clear to him. The variance in degree in seeing divine things is of this sort. Regarding the difference in the attainments of knowledge, it is as though one sees Zayd, 'Amr, Bakr, and others in the house, while another sees Zayd only. The knowledge of the former is unquestionably greater than that of the latter because of the abundance of things known.

This is the state of the heart in relation to the sciences.

Cairo text adds, 'and Allah knows best that which is right.'

CHAPTER SEVEN.

An Exposition of the Condition of the Heart as Related to the Divisions of the Sciences: Intellectual, Religious, Pertaining to this World, and Pertaining to the World to Come.

Know that the heart is innately prepared to apprehend the real nature of ideas as has been stated previously. But the kinds of knowledge which exist in it may be divided into that which pertains to the intellect, and that which pertains to divine law. Intellectual knowledge ('ulûm 'aqliyyah) is subdivided into axiomatic (darûriyyah) and acquired (muktasabah). Acquired knowledge is further divided into that which deals with this present world, and with the world to come. By intellectual knowledge we mean that by which the innate intellect makes its judgments and which does not come into existence through blind imitation and instruction. It is divided into axiomatic and acquired. No one knows whence or how the axiomatic is attained. Such is a man's knowledge that one person cannot be in two places, and that one thing cannot be both created and eternal, existent and non-existent at the same time. For man finds this knowledge to be a natural endowment of his soul from his youth, and does not know when or whence he attained it, I mean that

he does not know any proximate cause for it. Otherwise it would not be hidden from him that it is Allah who has created him. ⁷/₇

Acquired knowledge is that which is gained by learning and deduction. Both of these are sometimes called intellectual.

'Alī said, "I beheld the intellect as though it were two-fold; innately endowed, and developed through instruction. That which is developed through instruction is of no avail apart from the innate endowment, even as the sun is of no avail apart from a seeing eye." ⁹⁵

The first of these is referred to in the saying of the Prophet ⁷/₇, "Allah certainly has not created anything more honor-

able to Him than the intellect." ⁹⁶ The second is referred to in his statement to 'Alī, "When men draw near to Allah by different kinds of good deeds, you draw near by your intellect." ⁹⁷ For

it is not possible to draw near by innate constitutional endowment, nor by axiomatic knowledge, but by that which is acquired. In 'Alī's case he was able to draw near by using his intellect to acquire the knowledge for which close proximity to the Lord of the worlds is bestowed. The heart is like the eye, and the innate intelligence in it is like the potentiality of

⁷/₇ Cairo text adds, 'and guided him aright.'

⁷/₇ Cairo text adds, 'to 'Alī.

sight in the eye. The potentiality of sight is a subtlety which is lost in blindness, but which is present in sight, even though a man may have closed his eyes, or the darkness of night may have enfolded him. The knowledge attained thereby in the heart is like the potentiality of perception of sight in the eye[#], and its vision of the essences of things. The fact that knowledge is held back from the eye of the intellect during youth until the age of discretion and maturity is like the holding back of the vision from the sight until the time when the sun shines with its flood of light upon the objects of the sight.

The pen with which Allah has written knowledge upon the pages of the heart is like the disk of the sun. Knowledge is not achieved within the heart of the youth before the age of discretion only because the tablet of his heart is not yet prepared to receive the engraving of knowledge. The pen (al-qalam)⁹⁸ is a term for one of the creations of Allah which He has made a cause for achieving the engraving of knowledge upon the hearts of men. Allah said, "Who taught with the pen, taught man what he did not know" (96:4-5). The pen of Allah does not resemble the pen of His creatures, even as His description does not resemble the characterization of His creation. Thus His pen is

Following Cairo text.

not made from a reed nor from a piece of wood, even as He Him-
 99 100
 self is not made up of substance (jawhar) nor of accident ('araḍ).

So the comparison between the inner insight and the outer vision is valid from these points of view, save that there is no comparison between them in honor. For the inner insight is the very soul itself which is the subtlety which perceives. This is like the rider, and the body like his mount; and blindness in the rider is more dangerous to the rider than blindness in his mount. Indeed there is no relation between the one affliction and the other, nor any comparison of the inner insight with the outer vision. Allah has called it by its name for He said, "The heart belies not what he saw " (53:11), thus calling the perception of the mind a vision (ru'yah). Like this is the statement of the Most High, "Thus did we show Abraham the kingdom of the heavens and the earth " (6:75). In this He did not mean the outer vision of the eye, for that was not granted exclusively to Abraham that it should be set forth as having been a special favor. Therefore the non-perception is called blindness. The Most High said, "For it is not their eyes which are blind, but blind are the hearts which are within their breasts " (22:45). And again, "But he who in this life is blind shall be blind in the next too, and err farther from the way " (17:74). This is the exposition of intellectual science.

Now as regards the religious sciences, they are taken by way of acceptance on authority (taqlīd) from the prophets (anbiyā'), on whom be the blessings of Allah. This is acquired by learning the Book of Allah and the Sunnah of the Apostle of Allah, and understanding their meaning after having heard them. In this is the heart made perfect in quality and safe from illness and disease. For the intellectual sciences, although needed by the heart, are not sufficient for its safety; just as the intellect is not sufficient to make continuous the causes of physical health, but needs also to gain the experiential knowledge of the properties of medicines and herbs by learning them from the doctors (aṭibbā'¹⁰¹) and not by reading in books, since the intellect alone cannot find this knowledge. But after it is heard it cannot be understood except by means of the intellect. Thus the intellect cannot dispense with instruction (lit. hearing), nor can instruction dispense with the intellect.

So he who is a proponent of mere blind imitation and of setting the intellect entirely aside is ignorant; and he who is satisfied with the intellect alone, without the light of the Qur'ān and the Sunnah, is deluded. Take care that thou be not in either of these two groups, but be one who unites the two sources. For the intellectual sciences are like foods, and the sciences of religious law are as medicines. The sick person is

harmd by food whenever he neglects the medicine. Thus the diseases of the heart can be treated only by the medicines derived from the religious law (sharifah), which are the offices of the rites of worship and the works which the prophets set in order for the reformation of hearts. So he who does not treat his sick heart by the use of ritual worship, but is content to use the intellectual sciences alone, is harmed thereby, even as the sick man is harmed by food.

The supposition of those who think that the intellectual sciences are opposed to the sciences of religious law and that it is impossible to bring them together in harmony, is a supposition which arises from blindness in the eye of insight. We take refuge in Allah from it. But often such a man finds some of the sciences of religious law contradictory to others and is unable to harmonize them; so he supposes that there is a contradiction in our religion and is perplexed thereby, and he withdraws from religion as a hair is withdrawn from dough. This is only because his own impotence has caused him to imagine an inconsistency in our religion! How far that is from the truth! He is indeed like a blind man who entered a house and there stumbled over some of the vessels of the house and said, "What are these vessels doing in the path; why are they not put in their place?" They answered him, "Those vessels

are in their place, but you did not find the way because of your blindness. How strange it is of you not to blame your stumbling on your blindness, but rather to blame it upon the negligence of someone else." This is the relationship between religious and intellectual sciences.

The intellectual sciences are divided into those of the present world and those of the world to come. Those of this present world are such sciences as medicine, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and the other professions and trades. Those of the world to come are such as the knowledge of the states of the heart, of defects in religious works, and of the knowledge of Allah and His attributes and His acts, as we have explained in the Book of Knowledge. These are two incompatible sciences, by which I mean that whoever applies himself to one of them and goes deeply into it has his insight into the other lessened for the most part.

'Alī has given three similies of this present world and the world to come. He said, "They are like the two scales of the balance; and like the East and the West; and like a man's two wives, for when he makes the one content he makes the other angry." So you see those who are wise in the affairs of the present world, in medicine, arithmetic, geometry, and philosophy, are ignorant in the matters of the world to come.

Similarly those who are wise in the minutiae of the sciences of the world to come are ignorant, for the most part, of the sciences of this present world; for the power of the intellect cannot accomplish the two things together, as a general thing. Thus one of them prevents the perfection of the second. The Prophet said, "Most of the inhabitants of the Garden are simpletons (bulh)."¹⁰³ That is, they are simpletons in the things of this present world. Al-Ḥasan said,¹⁰⁴ "We perceived a group, which if you saw them, you would say that they are mad; and if they saw you, they would say that you are demons."

So whenever you hear about a strange thing in the field of religion which people wise in the sciences deny, do not let their denial delude you so that you do not accept it; for it is impossible for him who walks the Eastern path to get possession of that which exists in the West. So also is the case with this present world and that which is to come. The Most High said, "Verily those who hope not for our meeting, and are content with the life of this world, and are comforted thereby ..." (10:7). Again, "They know the outward appearance of the life of this present world, but of the world to come they are heedless" (30:6). And again, "But turn aside from him who turns his back

[#] Cairo text adds, 'in one of his sermons.'

upon our warning and desires naught but the life of this present world. This is their sum of knowledge " (53:30-31). So to combine a complete attentive observance of the affairs of this present world and of religion is rarely easy, save to those whom Allah has firmly established for the direction of His servants in their livelihood and their return (to Allah). Such are the prophets who are helped by the Holy Spirit, who receive divine power sufficient for all things, nor does it fall short at all. But when the hearts of creatures are given over completely to that which pertains to this present world, they turn aside from the world to come and fall short of coming to perfection therein.

CHAPTER EIGHT.

An Exposition of the Difference between General Inspiration (ilhâm) and Learning (ta'allum); and the Difference between the 106 Sûfî Way of Seeking the Unveiling of Reality and the Way of the Speculative Philosophers (nuẓẓâr).

Know that the sciences which are not axiomatic but which come into the heart at certain times, differ in their manner of attainment. Sometimes they come upon the heart as though something were flung into it from a source it knows not. 107 At other times they are gained through deduction (istidlâl) and study. That which is not attained by way of acquisition nor through the cunning of proof is called general inspiration (ilhâm), and that which is attained through inference is called reflection (i'tibâr) and mental perception (istibsâr). Furthermore that which exists in the heart apart from some expedient or cunning or effort on the part of man is subdivided into two classes. In the first the man is not aware how he achieved it, nor whence; in the second he is acquainted with the secondary 108 cause (sabab) from which he has derived that knowledge, which is the vision of the angel who casts it into his heart. The former is called general inspiration, and inbreathing into the heart

(naḥṯ fi l-rawḥ). The latter is called prophetic inspiration
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 (waḥy), and it is an exclusive characteristic of the prophets
 (anbiyâ'), whereas the former is given only to the saints (awliyâ')
 and the pure (aṣfiyâ'). The preceding type which is gained
 through deduction is that given to the learned (ulamâ').
 110

The true doctrine is that the heart has the capacity
 to have revealed in it the true nature of reality in all things.
 But this is prevented by the intervention of the five aforemen-
 tioned causes. These are as a veil which hangs down between the
 mirror of the heart and the Preserved Tablet (al-lawḥ al-mahfûz),
 111
 which is engraved with all that Allah has decreed until the day
 of resurrection. The reflection of the real nature of know-
 ledge from the mirror of the Tablet upon the mirror of the heart
 is like the reflection of an image from one mirror to another
 mirror opposite it. The veil between the two mirrors is some-
 times removed by the hand, and at other times by a gust of wind
 which moves it. Thus the winds of divine favor sometimes blow
 and the veils are drawn aside from the eyes of hearts so that
 there is reflected in them something of that which is written
 upon the Preserved Tablet. Sometimes this takes place during
 sleep, and thereby there is revealed that which will come into
 being in the future. The veil is completely lifted by death
 when the covering is withdrawn. At other times revelation is

made during waking hours and the veil is lifted by a secret favor from Allah, and some of the marvels of knowledge glisten in the heart from behind the curtain of the unknown. This may be like a dazzling flash of lightning, or it may be continuous up to a certain point, but its continuance is most rare. Revelation then does not differ from acquiring as regards the knowledge itself, its seat, and its cause, but it differs only in the removal of the veil for this is not accomplished by man's volition. General inspiration does not differ from prophetic inspiration in any of these respects, but only in the matter of the vision of the angel who imparts the knowledge; for our hearts attain knowledge only by means of the angels. To this the Most High refers in the statement, "It is not for any mortal that Allah should speak to him, except by inspiration, or from behind a veil; or by sending a messenger who reveals, by His permission, what He pleases " (42:50-51).

If you have come to know this, know also that the inclination of the Şūfis is toward the knowledge gained through inspiration, and not to that gained through instruction. Therefore they do not covet the study of knowledge, nor the acquiring of that which authors have written, nor discussion about the statement of doctrines and proofs which have been mentioned. But they say, "The way of knowledge is to put foremost spiritual

striving, to abolish blameworthy traits, to cut all ties, and to advance toward Allah with utmost concern." Whenever this takes place Allah becomes the ruler over the heart of His creature and the surety for his illumination with the light of knowledge. When Allah becomes the ruler of the heart He floods it with mercy and sheds His light upon it, and the breast is opened and there is revealed to it the secret of the unseen world of spirits (¹¹³malakût), and by a gift of mercy there is cleared away from the surface of the heart the veil of whiteness which blinds ¹¹⁴its eye, and there shines in it the real nature of divine things.

¹¹⁵The novice (murîd) has only to make himself ready by a thorough purifying, by summoning intention along with a sincere desire, by utter thirsting, and by watching with constant expectation for the mercy which Allah may grant to him. For prophets and saints have had divine things revealed to them, and the light has flooded their breasts, not by learning and study [#] of books, but by asceticism (¹¹⁶zuhd) in this present world, by cutting self off from all of its ties, by emptying the heart of all of its busying affairs, and by advancing with the utmost concern toward Allah; for, whoever belongs to Allah, Allah belongs to him.

[#] Cairo text inserts, 'and the writing.'

The Ṣūfīs assert that the way to this is, first of all, by cutting off entirely all ties with this present world and by emptying the heart of them, by taking away concern for family, possessions, children, native land, knowledge, rule, and rank. Nay rather he must bring his heart into that state in which the existence of all these is the same as their non-existence.¹¹⁷ Then he must withdraw alone into a place of private devotion apart¹¹⁸ (zāwiyah), and limit himself to the prescribed religious duties¹¹⁹ (farâ'id) and the supererogatory prayers (rawâtib).¹²⁰ He must sit with empty heart and concentrated purpose. He must not divide his thought by reciting the Qur'ân, nor the contemplation of its exposition, nor by books of tradition, nor anything else. But he must strive that nothing save Allah shall come into his mind. Then after he has seated himself in a place apart he shall keep saying continuously with his tongue, "Allah, Allah," and his heart shall be fixed on it too, until he comes finally to a state in which the motion of the tongue will cease and it will seem as though the word is flowing over his tongue. He must continue patiently in this until every trace[#] of the word is effaced from the tongue and he finds his heart persevering in this devotional exercise (dhikr). Still he shall persevere

[#] Following Cairo and MS texts for two sentences.

until the form and letters of the expression and the very appearance of the word is effaced from the heart and there remains present in it naught save the ideal meaning which is, as it were, adhering to and inseparable from the heart.

To attain to this point is a matter of his choice; so too is the prolonging of this condition by warding off the suggestions of Satan. Not by his choice, however, can he procure Allah's gift of mercy. By what he has done thus far he has exposed himself to the breezes of Allah's mercy, and it only remains for him to wait for such mercy as Allah may grant to him, even as He has in this way given His mercy to the prophets and saints. Upon doing this, if his desire is sincere, his intention pure, and his perseverance good, and if his lusts do not draw him aside nor the suggestions of the self (ḥadīth al-nafs) ¹²¹ engross him with the ties of this present world, there will shine forth the gleams of reality into his heart. In its beginning this will be like a blinding flash of lightning. It is not continuous but it returns, although it may delay. If it returns it may continue, and it may be but a flash. If it continues it may be for a longer or shorter time. These different types may appear, the one succeeding the other, or they may be limited to one sort only. The stages (marāzil) of the saints of Allah in this are unlimited, even as the superiority of their nature and moral characteristics

is not to be reckoned. So this way goes back to an absolute purifying and clarifying and brightening of the heart on your part, and then only to make ready and wait in expectation.

The speculative theologians and those whose opinions deserve consideration have not denied the fact that this way does exist, that it is a possibility, and that it does, in rare instances, lead to the desired end. Indeed this way has been that of most prophets and saints. But they consider it a difficult way, and think it slow in bringing results, and feel that the fulfilling of all of its conditions is very improbable. They claim that to blot out all ties to this extent is practically impossible. If it does happen for a moment its continuation is even more difficult, since the slightest evil prompting or involuntary suggestion disturbs the heart.

The Prophet said, "The heart of the believer is more unsteady than a cooking pot as it boils." He also said, "The heart of the believer is between two of the fingers of the Merciful." During such strenuous effort the physical constitution may be disordered, the intellect confused, and the body diseased. If progress in the discipline and improvement of the soul is not made by means of the realities of the sciences, then the heart is ensnared with corrupt imaginings in which the soul trusts for a long time before they come to an end; and one may live out his

appointed time without succeeding. Many a ṣūfī has travelled this way and still has continued to hold a certain fancy for twenty years, whereas if he had studied science thoroughly beforehand, the point of confusion in his fancy (khayâl) would have been opened up to him at once. So to busy one's self in the path of learning is a surer and easier means of attaining the aim. They claim that it is as though a man left off the study of jurisprudence (fiqh),¹²³ asserting, "The Prophet did not study it, and he became one who understood the divine law by means of prophetic and general inspiration without any repetition or application, and perhaps discipline of the soul¹²⁴ will bring me finally to that goal." Whoever thinks this wrongs himself and wastes his life. Nay rather, he is like one who gives up the way of gain through farming, hoping to chance upon some treasure. The latter is indeed possible, but extremely unlikely. So too in the matter of gaining knowledge. They say, "It is first of all necessary to attain to that which the learned have achieved and to understand what they said. Then after that there is no harm in expectantly waiting for that which has not been disclosed to the other learned men, and it may be that this will be disclosed afterwards through strenuous effort."

¹²⁴ Cairo text adds, 'and steadfastness.'

CH. ER NINE.

An Exposition of the Difference in Rank between the Two
Positions by a Tangible Example.

Know that the wonders of the heart are outside the realm of things perceived through the senses (mudrakât al-ḥawâss)¹²⁴, for the heart is also beyond sense perception. The understandings are too weak to grasp, except by means of a tangible example, that which is not perceived through the senses. So we shall explain this to people of weak understanding by means of two examples.

For the first illustration let us suppose a reservoir dug in the earth, into which the water can be conducted from the surface above through streams which empty into it. The bed of the reservoir may also be dug up and the dirt removed from it until the fountain of pure water is reached, and then the water bursts forth from the bottom of the reservoir. This water is purer and more constant, and perhaps more copious and abundant. The heart then is like the reservoir and knowledge like the water. The five external senses are like the streams. Knowledge may possibly be conducted to the heart by means of the streams of the senses and the consideration of things observed until it is

thus filled with knowledge. It is also possible to stop up these streams from it by solitude and retirement and averting the eyes from seeing, and then to resolve in the depths of the heart upon purifying it and taking away from it the layers of coverings until the fountain of knowledge bursts forth from within it.

But if you say, "How can knowledge burst forth from the heart itself while it is destitute of it?" Know that this is one of the wonders of the heart's secrets. It is not permissible to deal with it in the science of practical philosophy ('ilm al-mu'âmalah). This much however, can be mentioned, that the real natures of things are written down in the Preserved Tablet (al-lawḥ al-mahfûḏ), and indeed in the hearts of the angels who are brought near (to Allah).

For just as an architect draws plans for buildings on blank paper and then brings them into actuality in accordance with that archetype; thus the Creator of the heavens and the earth wrote an archetype of the world from beginning to end upon the Preserved Tablet, and then brought it into actuality in accordance with that archetype.

From the world which has been brought into actuality in the image of the archetype there is transmitted to the external senses and the retentive imagination (khayâl) still another image. For whoever looks at the sky and the earth and then

closes his eyes, sees in his imagination the image of the sky and the earth, so that it is as though he were looking at them; and were the sky and the earth annihilated and he himself remained, he would find within himself the image of the sky and the earth as though he were beholding them and looking at them.

Then from his imagination an effect is transmitted to the heart, so that there is represented in it the real natures of things which have entered into sensation and imagination. The representation in the heart corresponds to the world which is represented in the imagination, which in turn corresponds to the world as it exists in itself external to the imagination and heart of man. This existing world corresponds to the archetype existing in the Preserved Tablet.

Thus the world has four degrees of existence. ¹²⁶ There is existence in the Preserved Tablet which is prior to its corporeal (jismānī) existence. Its real (ḥaqīqī) existence follows this, and it is followed in turn by its imaginative existence, I mean the existence of its image in the imagination. Its imaginative existence is followed by its intellectual existence, I mean the existence of its image within the heart. Some of these orders of being are immaterial (rūḥāniyyah) and some of corporeal character. Of the immaterial some are more immaterial in their order of being than others. This is a kindness (luṭf)

coming from the divine wisdom; for Allah has made the pupil of your eye in such a way that, in spite of its smallness, there is pictured within it the image of the world, the heavens and the earth, with all their widespreading extent. Then it goes on from existence in the realm of sensation to existence in the imagination; and from it to existence in the heart. For you can never apprehend anything save that which has reached you; and were it not that He has placed an image ^{# 127} of the whole world within your very being you would have no knowledge of that which is apart from yourself. Glory belongs unto Him who has ordered these wonders in heart and eye, and then blinded heart and eye to the perception of them so that the hearts of the majority of creatures have become ignorant of themselves and their wonders. ^{##}

Let us now go back to the purpose in view and say, "It is conceivable that the real nature of the world might be represented in the heart, its mental image coming now from the senses and again from the Preserved Tablet; even as it is conceivable that the image of the sun should be represented in the eye, coming now from looking directly at ^{it} it, and again from looking at the water on which the sun shines which reproduces its image."

So whenever the veils are lifted between the heart and the Pre-

¹/₇ Following Cairo and MS texts.

served Tablet, the heart sees the things which are therein, and knowledge bursts forth into it therefrom, so that it does not have to acquire its knowledge through the avenues of the senses. This is like the bursting forth of water from the depths of the earth. Whenever the heart becomes occupied with things in the imagination derived from sensibles, this veils it from examining the Preserved Tablet, just as when water is collected from streams into a reservoir it is thereby prevented from bursting forth from the earth; or just as he who looks into the water which reproduces the image of the sun is not looking at the sun itself.

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Thus the heart has two doors. One door opens toward the unseen world of spirits which is the Preserved Tablet and the world of the angelic. The other door opens toward the five external senses which lay hold on the visible material world. This visible world also resembles the unseen world of spirits to a certain extent. Now the fact that the door of the heart is opened to the acquisition of knowledge through the senses is a thing you understand. But regarding its door which opens to the invisible world of spirits and the examining of the Preserved Tablet, you have certain knowledge through meditating upon the wonders of dream-visions (ru'ya) and the heart's observation in sleep: of what will be in the future or what was in the past,

without any acquisition on the part of the senses.

That door however is opened only to him who devotes himself exclusively to the remembrance of Allah. The Prophet said, "Men of a single thought have taken the lead." He was asked, "Who are they?" He answered, "Those who are infatuated with the remembrance of Allah, for this devotional exercise of theirs has put away from them their load of sin and they come to the resurrection unburdened." Then ¹²⁹ he [#] described them by relating the statement of Allah, "Then I shall draw near with my face toward them. Do you think that anyone knows what thing I desire to bestow upon him toward whom I turn my face?" Then He said, "The first thing I give them is that I cast something of my light into their hearts and they give tidings of me even as ¹³⁰ I give tidings of them." The entrance for these tidings is the inner door.

So then there is this difference between the knowledge of the prophets and saints and that of the learned and the philosophers: the knowledge of the former comes from within the heart through the door which is opened toward the unseen world of spirits, whereas the knowledge of the philosophers comes through the doors of the senses which open to the material world. The

Following Cairo text.

wonders of the world of the heart and its wavering between the visible and invisible worlds cannot be fully dealt with in the science of practical philosophy. But this is an example which will teach you the difference in the place of entrance of the two kinds of knowledge.

The second example will cause you to know the difference between the two types of action, I mean the action of the learned and that of the saints. The learned work to acquire knowledge itself and gather it into the heart, but the saints among the Şûfis labor only to the end of polishing, cleansing, clarifying, and furbishing the heart.

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The story is told that once the Chinese and the Byzantine Greeks vied with one another before a certain king as to the beauty of their workmanship in decorating and painting. So the king decided to give over to them a portico so that the Chinese might decorate one side of it and the Byzantine Greeks the other side, and to let a curtain hang down between them so as to prevent either group from looking at the other. And he did so. The Byzantines gathered together numberless strange colors, but the Chinese entered without any color at all and began to polish their side and to furbish it. When the Byzantines had finished the Chinese claimed that they had finished also. The king was astonished at their statement and the way in which

they had finished the decorating without any color at all. So they were asked, "How have you finished the work without any color?" They replied, "You are not responsible for us; lift the veil." So they lifted it, and behold on their side there shone forth the wonders of the Byzantine skill with added illumination and dazzling brilliance, since that side had become like unto a polished mirror by reason of much furbishing. Thus the beauty of their side was increased by its added clearness.

The care of the saints in cleansing, polishing, purifying, and clarifying the heart until the true nature of the Real shines forth clearly therein with utmost illumination is like the work of the Chinese. The care of the learned and the philosophers in acquiring and adorning knowledge, and the representation of this adornment in the heart is like the work of the Byzantines.

But, however this matter is, the heart of the believer does not die, nor is its knowledge erased at death nor its clearness beclouded. To this al-Ḥasan referred in his saying, "Dust will not consume the seat of faith." This knowledge is a means of access which brings him near to Allah. But what the heart has attained of knowledge itself; or what it has attained of purity and capacity to receive what knowledge writes upon the heart, does not enable it to dispense with more knowledge. There is no happiness for anyone apart from learning and mystical know-

ledge, (and some degrees of happiness are more noble than others), just as there is no wealth without money. For he who has a dirhem is wealthy and he who has storehouses crammed full is wealthy. The contrast between the different degrees of the happy is in accordance with their contrast in mystical knowledge and faith, just as the contrast between the different degrees of men of wealth is in accordance with the scarcity or abundance of their money.

The varieties of mystical knowledge are lights, and believers do not run to meet Allah save by their lights. Allah said, "...their light runs on before them and on their right hand" (57:12). Tradition relates, "Some of them are given a light the size of a mountain and some smaller. The last of them will be a man who is given a light on his big toe, which sometimes shines and again goes out. Whenever it shines he puts his foot forward and walks, and when it goes out he stands still. Their crossing al-Şirâṭ is in accordance with their light. Some of them cross in the twinkling of an eye, some as a flash of lightning, some as the passing of a cloud, some as a falling star, and some as a charging horse. He who was given a light on his big toe crawls along on his face and hands and feet. One hand slips off but he holds on with the other, and one foot slips off but the other holds. The fire reaches his sides, but he keeps on in this way

¹³³
 until he is saved." Thus the distinction in the faith of men
 is shown. Were the faith of Abū Bakr to be placed on one side
¹³⁴
 of the balances, and on the other side that of all men except
 prophets and messengers, the first would tip the scale. This
 resembles the statement of him who said, "Were the light of the
 sun to be placed in the balances over against that of all lamps
 it would preponderate." For the light of the faith of indivi-
 duals among the common people is like the light of a lamp, and
 with some it is as the light of a candle. But the faith of the
 righteous gives light comperable to that of the moon and stars,
 and the faith of the prophets is as the light of the sun. For
 even as the form of the entire horizon with all its broad ex-
 ppanse is revealed in the light of the sun, while only a narrow
 corner of the house is revealed in the light of a lamp, thus
 also is there a distinction in the expansion of the breast by
 mystical knowledge, and in the unveiling of the breadth of the
 unseen world of spirits to the mystics.

So tradition tells us, "On the day of resurrection
 the command will be given, 'Remove from the fire whoever has a
¹³⁵
 mithqāl of faith, or half a mithqāl, or a quarter of a mithqāl,
¹³⁶
 or a grain, or an atom' ". All of this goes to show the distinct-
 ion in the degrees of faith, and that these quantities of faith
 do not prevent entering the fire. It is also understood from

this that whoever has more than a mithqâl of faith will not enter the fire. For if he entered orders would be given for removing him first of all. Again whoever has an atom's weight of faith in his heart does not deserve to abide forever in the fire even though he entered it.

So also is the Prophet's statement, "There is nothing which is better than a thousand like it except a man, that is a believer,"¹³⁷ referring to the superiority of the heart of a believing mystic, for it is better than a thousand hearts of the common folk. The Most High said, "Ye shall be the highest if ye but be believers" (3:133), thus giving preference to believers over Muslims¹³⁸. The one referred to is the believing mystic and not the blind imitator.

He who is Exalted said, "Allah will raise all you who believe, as well as those who are given knowledge, many degrees" (58:12). By 'those who believe' here He means those who give assent apart from learning, and has thus discriminated between them and 'those who are given knowledge.' This indicates that the name 'believer' is applied to the blind imitator even though his giving assent does not result from insight nor mystical revelation.¹³⁸ Ibn 'Abbâs in commenting on 'those who are given know-

¹³⁸ Following Cairo and MS texts.

ledge' said, "The learned man is exalted above the believer by seven hundred degrees, between each two of which there is a distance equal to that between heaven and earth." The Prophet said, "Most of the people of the Garden are simpletons, but the Sev¹³⁹anth Heaven is for men of understanding." He also said, "The learned man is as far superior to the ordinary worshipper as I am superior to the least man of my Companions,¹⁴⁰" Another reading has it, ".as the moon is superior to the rest of the stars."

So by these evidences it is clear that the distinction in rank among the people of the Garden is in accordance with the distinction in their hearts and their mystical knowledge. Therefore the day of resurrection is 'a day of cheating'[#] since he who is deprived of the mercy of Allah is badly cheated and suffers a great loss. For he who is thus deprived sees high ranks above his own station, and he looks to them in the same way that a rich man who owns ten dirhems looks to the rich man who owns the earth from East to West. Each of them is rich, but how great is the difference between the two! So how greatly has he been cheated who has lost the favor of Allah: "In the next life are greater degrees and greater preference." (17:22).

[#] Cf. Qur'ân 64:9.

CHAPTER TEN.

An Exposition of the Testimony of Divine Law to the Validity of the Method of the Mystics in Gaining Experiential Knowledge, not through Instruction nor in the Ordinary Way.

Know that whosoever has had even a small thing revealed to him through general inspiration (ilhām), and a coming into his heart from whence he knows not, has learned by experience the truth of this way. He who has never apprehended this must nevertheless believe in it, for the rank of mystical knowledge therein is very rarely attained. It is attested by the proof texts of divine law, experiences, and stories.

Beginning with the proof texts there is His statement, "But those who strive for us we will surely guide into our way" (29:69). All wisdom that appears in the heart through steadfastness in worship apart from instruction comes by way of mystical unveiling and general inspiration. The Prophet said, "Allah causes him who does what he knows to inherit the knowledge of that which he knows not, and aids him in what he does so that he comes to deserve the Garden. But he who does not do what he knows goes astray in that which he knows, and is not aided in what he does so that he comes to deserve the fire."

Allah said, "And whoso feareth Allah, to him will He grant a prosperous issue, and will provide for him from whence he reckoned not " (65:2). This is interpreted, 'He will grant a prosperous issue from all difficulties and doubts, and He will cause Him to know without instruction and to be sagacious without experiment.' Allah said, "O ye who believe, if ye fear Allah He will make for you a distinction " (8:29). This is said to be a light which distinguishes between reality and vanity (bâṭil), and by which one finds a way out of uncertainties. Therefore the Prophet used to pray much for light. He said, "Allah give me light and increase light unto me; grant me light in my heart and ^{light} light in my hearing." He even said, "...in my hair, my skin, my flesh, and my bones." The Prophet was asked about the statement of Allah, "Is he whose breast Allah has expanded for Islam, and who is in light from his Lord " (39:23), what this 'expanding' was. He replied, "It is enlarging, for, when the light is cast into the heart, the chest is enlarged and expanded for it." He also said to Ibn 'Abbâs, "O Allah give him discernment in religion and teach him interpretation." 'Alī said,

Following Cairo and MS texts.

Cairo text adds, 'light in my grave and '.

Cairo text adds, 'and light in my seeing.'

"I have nothing which the Prophet divulged to me save that Allah gives a servant understanding in His book." ¹⁴⁵ This was not by instruction. In commenting on the Most High's statement, "He bringeth wisdom unto whom He will " (2:272), it is said that 'wisdom' is understanding in the Book of Allah. Allah said, "And this we gave Solomon to understand " (21:79), referring especially to what was revealed to him under the name 'understanding'. ¹⁴⁶ Abū l-Dardā' used to say, "The believer sees with the light of Allah from behind a thin veil." And by Allah that is the truth. Allah casts it into their hearts and makes it to move upon their tongues. Some of the fathers ¹⁴⁷ (al-salaf) have said, "The estimation (ḡann) of the believer is divination."

The Prophet said, "Beware of the natural insight ¹⁴⁸ (firāsah) of the believer, for he sees with the light of Allah," ¹⁴⁹

It is to this that reference is made in the statements of the Most High, "Verily, in that there are signs for those who read them aright " (15:75); and "We have made manifest the signs unto a people that are sure " (2:112). Al-Ḥasan quotes a tradition from the Apostle of Allah, "Knowledge is two-fold -- there is an ¹⁵⁰ inner knowledge within the heart and it is the profitable knowledge." One of the learned was asked about what this inner

¹⁵⁰ Following Cairo and MS texts.

knowledge was, and replied, "It is one of the secrets of Allah which He casts into the hearts of His beloved (aḥibbâ'), and with which He has acquainted no angel nor human being."

The Prophet said, "Verily there are in my nation ¹⁵¹relaters of traditions (muḥaddithûn) and theologians, and 'Umar is one of them." Ibn 'Abbâs recited, "We have not sent any apostle before thee" ¹⁵²(21:25), nor any prophet, nor any relater of traditions, that is, any who were trustworthy. ¹⁵³The relater of traditions is he who has been inspired (mulham), and he who has been inspired is one in whose heart an unveiling has been made from within, and not from the direction of external sensibiles. The Qur'ân plainly states that godly fear (taqwâ) is ¹⁵⁴the key to right guidance (hidâyah) and mystical revelation. This is knowledge without instruction. Allah said, "And in what Allah has created in the heavens and the earth are signs unto a people who do fear" (10:6), given especially to them. He said, "This is an explanation unto men, and a guidance and a warning to those who fear" (3:132).

¹⁵⁴Abû Yazîd and others used to say, "The learned man is not he who learns something by heart out of a book, for if he

‡ Cairo text inserts, 'and teachers.'

‡ Following Cairo and MS texts.

forgets what he has memorized he becomes ignorant. But the learned man is he who takes his knowledge directly from his Lord whensoever he wishes without any memorizing or study." Such a man is a learned divine, and to him is reference made in the statement of the Most High, "We taught him knowledge from our presence " (18:64). Although all knowledge is from His presence (min ladunhi), yet some of it comes through the means used in teaching mankind, and this is not called directly given divine knowledge (¹⁵⁵‘ilm ladunni). This latter however, is the knowledge which is opened in the secret of the heart without any usual means from without.

These are the traditional evidences, and were all of the existing evidence of this sort to be gathered together -- ¹⁵⁶verses, traditions, and recorded sayings -- it would be boundless.

The witness of experience to this is also boundless. This appears from the ¹⁵⁷Companions, the ¹⁵⁸Followers, and those who came after them.

Abū Bakr the Great Believer (al-ṣiddīq) said to ‘Ā’ishah just before his death, "They are your two sisters." His wife at the time was pregnant and later bore a daughter, and he knew before her birth that she was a girl. ‘Umar said during his ¹⁵⁹sermon ¹⁶⁰one Friday, "O Sâriyah, the mountain! "; since it had

been disclosed to him that the enemy was upon them, so he, since he knew it, warned them. The fact that his voice reached them was one of the many miraculous gifts (karamât) of the saints.

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Anas bin Malik said, "I entered into the presence of 'Uthmân, and on my way there I had come across a woman and looked at her out of the corner of my eye and reflected on her charms. As I entered 'Uthmân said, 'One of you comes into my presence with the marks of adultery showing in his eyes. Know you not that adultery of the eyes is the look? So repent or I shall punish you.' I said, 'Is there inspiration (wahy) after the Prophet?' He replied, 'No, but mental perception, inference, and true natural insight.'"

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Abû Sa'îd al-Kharrâz said, "I entered into the sacred mosque and saw a poor man wearing two tattered cloaks and said to myself, 'This man and his ilk are a burden upon mankind.' But he called me to him and said, 'Allah knows what is in your hearts, so beware of Him ' (2:236). Then I asked forgiveness of Allah secretly, at which he again called me and said, 'He it is who accepts repentance from His servants ' (9:105). Then he disappeared from me and I did not see him again."

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Zakariyâ bin Da'ûd said that Abû l-'Abbâs bin Masrûq went in to see Abû l-Faḍl al-Ḥâshimî when he was sick; now he had children but was without known means of a livelihood.

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Abû l-'Abbâs said, "When I got up I said to myself, 'Where does this man get anything to eat from?' But he shouted at me, 'O Abû l-'Abbâs, put away this sordid anxiety, for Allah has hidden kindnesses.'"

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Ahmad al-Naqîb said, "I went into the presence of al-Shiblî who said, 'Tried, Ahmad.' I said, 'What do you mean?' He said, 'As I was sitting there came over me the thought 'you are miserly.' I said, 'I am not miserly', but my thought continued to reproach me saying, 'but you are miserly.' So I said, 'Whatever the day brings to me, I shall give to the first poor man who meets me.' Hardly had I finished the thought when there came to me a companion of Mu'nis al-Khâdim who brought fifty dinars and said, 'Use this for your own expenses.' When he had said this I rose up and took it and went out, and behold, a poor blind man sitting in front of a barber who was shaving his head. So I approached him and gave him the dinars. He said, 'Give them to the barber.' I said, 'But their sum is such and such.' He replied, 'Did we not tell you that you are miserly?' When he said this I gave them to the barber, who said, 'When this poor man sat down before me I agreed that I should take no fee from him.' So I cast them into the Tigris and said, 'No one magnifieth thee but Allah humbleth him.'"

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Samzah bin 'Abdallah al-'Alawî said, "I went into the

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presence of Abû l-Khair al-Tinânî, thinking in my heart that I would greet him but not eat food in his house. After I left his house he soon caught up with me, and he was carrying a platter of food. He said, 'Eat, O youth, for you have now passed out from the limits set by your former resolution.'" This man Abû l-Khair al-Tinânî was famous for his miraculous gifts. Ibrâhim al-Raqqî ¹⁷³ said, "I went to see him to greet him, but arrived at the time of the sunset prayer, and he had not recited the Fâtihah correctly. So I said to myself that my trip was in vain. When he had finished I went outside to perform my ablutions and a lion came at me, so I went back to Abû l-Khair and told him that a lion had come at me. Then he went and shouted at it, 'Did I not tell you not to attack my guests?' Thereupon the lion turned aside and I performed my ablutions. When I returned he said to me, 'You have labored to make right that which is external (al-zâhir) and were afraid of the lion, while we have labored to make right that which is within (al-bâ'in) and the lion was afraid of us.'"

The stories of the insight of the Shaikhs and of how they have been able to tell the thoughts and intents of men are numberless. Indeed the stories told of their seeing al-Khidr ¹⁷⁴ and asking questions of him, of hearing the voice of an unseen speaker ¹⁷⁵ (hâtif), and of various kinds of miraculous gifts are

without number. A story is of no value to him who denies as long as he does not see it with his own eyes, and he who denies the basic idea denies also the details.

The absolute proof which no one can deny consists of two things. One of them is in the wonders of true dream-vision, for by it the unknown is unveiled. If this is permissible in sleep, it is also not impossible during waking hours; for sleep does not differ from waking save that the senses are stilled and not busied in the things perceived by them. How many a waking man is there so deep in thought that he neither hears nor sees because of his preoccupation with himself.

The second is that the Apostle of Allah was able to speak accurately about the unknown and things in the future, as is set forth in the Qur'ân. If that is permissible in the case of the Prophet it is also permissible for others. For a prophet is merely a person to whom the true nature of things has been disclosed, and who works for the reformation of mankind. So it is not impossible that there should exist a person to whom the true nature of things has been disclosed, but who does not work for the reformation of mankind. Such a man is not called a prophet, but a saint (walî). So whoever believes in the prophets and considers true dream-vision as trustworthy must unquestionably assert that the heart has two

doors: a door to the outer world which is the external senses, and a door to the unseen world of spirits from within the heart, which is the door of both general and prophetic inspiration and inbreathing within the heart. If he asserts his belief in both of these he cannot limit knowledge to what is gained by learning and the ordinary direct methods, but striving (muja¹⁷⁶hadah) is also another way for him. This illustrates the fact which we have mentioned of the strange swaying back and forth of the heart between the material world and the unseen world of spirits.

Now regarding for the unveiling of a thing in sleep by means of an example which needs interpretation, and likewise the appearance of angels to prophets and saints in different forms, these are among the secrets of the wonders of the heart, and only that knowledge which comes through mystic revelation befits them. So let us limit ourselves to what we have mentioned, for it is sufficient to stir up to striving and to seeking unveiling therein.

One of those to whom secrets are unveiled said, "There appeared unto me an angel who asked me to dictate to him something of what I had seen of theology (tawhîd) in my secret devotions. He said, 'What deed shall we write down to your account? We wish to take up (i.e., to Allah) for you a deed by which we shall draw near to Allah.' I said, 'Do not you two write down

the practice of the divine ordinances (farâ'id)?' They answered, 'Surely.' I said, 'That will suffice you.'" This is an indication that the noble recording angels are not acquainted with the secrets of the heart, but only with deeds which are manifest.

One of the mystics said, "I asked one of the Substitutes (abdâl) ¹⁷⁷ concerning the perception of certitude (yaqîn). He turned to his left and said, 'What do you say, (Allah's mercy be upon you)?' Then he turned to his right and said, 'What do you say?' Then he smote upon his breast and said, 'What do you say?' Thereupon he answered me with the strangest reply I have ever heard. So I asked him about his turning and he replied, 'I did not have any ready answer in that matter; so I asked the angel on the left and he said, 'I do not know'; then I asked the angel on the right who is more learned than he, and he also said, 'I do not know'; then I looked into my heart and asked it, and it told me the answer which I gave you, so therefore it is more learned than both of them.'"

This was the meaning of the Prophet's saying, "Verily there are in my nation relaters of traditions, and 'Umar is one of them."

There is a late tradition (athar) that Allah says, "Whenever I examine the heart of a man and find persistent re-

membrance of me preponderant therein, I assume control over him and become his companion; I converse with him and become his familiar friend." ¹⁷⁸ Abû Sulaimân al-Dârânî said, "The heart is like a pavilion which has been pitched, around which are closed doors, and whatever door is opened into it influences it."

So it appears that the opening of one of the doors of the heart is toward the world of unseen spirits and the highest beings. This door is opened by means of striving, scrupulous abstinence (warf), and shunning the lusts of this present world. For this reason 'Umar wrote to the commanders of the troops, "Remember what you hear from those who are obedient (i.e. to Allah) for they have revelations which are true." Some of the learned have said, "The hand of Allah is on the mouth of the sages (hukamâ'), and they only speak of that reality which Allah has prepared for them." Another said, "You can say, if you will, that Allah acquaints the lowly (khâshi'ûn) with some of His secrets."

CHAPTER ELEVEN.

An Exposition of the Domination of Satan over the Heart through Evil Promptings; the Meaning of such Suggestion, and the Means of Overcoming it.

Know that the heart, as we have mentioned, is like a pavilion which has been pitched, to which there are doors, and influences and their resultant effects pour into it from each door. It is also like a target into which arrows are shot from every direction. Or it is like a mirror which is set up, across which there pass various different images; so there appears in it one image after another, some image being always present. Or it is like a basin into which different streams of water empty from channels opening into it.

The entrances of these influences which are constantly being renewed in the heart are either from without: i.e. the five external senses; or from within: i.e. imagination, appetite, anger, and characteristics which are made up of the temperament of the man. For if he apprehends a thing by means of the senses it has an effect upon the heart. Likewise when lust is aroused, for example that which is caused by hearty eating and a strong constitution, it leaves its mark upon the heart.

Even if the effect upon the senses ceases, there remain the imaginative images which have been formed in the soul. The imagination shifts from one thing to another, and in accordance with the shifting of the imagination, the heart shifts from one state to another. We mean that the heart is constantly in a state of change and of being influenced by these secondary causes. The most important of these influences which come into the heart are involuntary suggestions (khawâṭir). By involuntary suggestions I mean the ideas (afkâr) and recollections (adhkâr) which take place therein. By these I mean its perceptions of knowledge, either by way of renewal or recollection; for these are called involuntary suggestions since they come into the mind while the heart has been unmindful of them.

These involuntary suggestions are what move wills. Intention, resolution, and will are all unquestionably subsequent to the suggestion of the thing intended to the mind. Thus the basis of action is involuntary suggestions. Then the suggestion stirs up desire (raghbah); desire stirs up resolution; resolution stirs up intention; and intention stirs up the members of the body.

The involuntary suggestions which stir up desire are

ⁱⁱ/_{ii} Following Cairo text.

divided into two classes; that which leads to evil, I mean that which has a harmful result; and that which leads to good, I mean that which is profitable in the next world. These are two different suggestions and need two different names. The praiseworthy suggestion is called 'general inspiration' (ilhâm), and the blameworthy suggestion, I mean that leading to evil, is called 'prompting to evil' (wiswâs)¹⁷⁹.

Moreover you know that these suggestions are created (hâdithah), and also that every created thing must have a creator (muḥdith)¹. Whenever the created things differ this indicates a difference in the secondary causes (asbâb). This is what is known from the Sunnah of Allah regarding the relationship between effects and causes.

Whenever the walls of a house are lighted by the light of the fire and its ceiling is blackened by the smoke, you know that the cause of the blackening differs from that of the lighting. Similarly the light of the heart and its darkness have two distinct secondary causes. The cause of the suggestion which leads to good is called an angel (malak), and the cause² of the suggestion which leads to evil is called a demon (shaiṭân).

¹ MSS texts read, 'a secondary cause' (sabab).

² Following Cairo and MS texts.

The divine favor by which the heart is prepared to receive the inspiration of the angel is called 'divine succor' (tawfîq); while that by which it is prepared to receive the evil prompting of the demon is called 'deception' (ighwâ') and 'desertion' (khidhlân).¹⁸⁰ For these different meanings need different names.

'Angel' is a term for a creature whom Allah has created whose business it is to bestow benefits, to serve knowledge, to reveal the real, true and right, to promise good, and to command to good; and Allah has created him and constrained him to do these things.

'Demon' is a term for a creature whose business is the opposite of all this, viz., to promise evil, to command to excess, to threaten with poverty whenever one intends to do good.¹⁸¹ Thus prompting to evil stands over against inspiration; the demon over against the angel; and divine succor over against forsaking. To this is reference made in the divine statement, "And of everything have we created pairs " (51:49). For all existing things have opposites, being in pairs, save only Allah who is unique and has none over against Him. Indeed He is the One, the Real, the Creator of all these pairs.

¹⁸⁰ Following MSS texts. Cairo & Z. texts have, 'of good.'

¹⁸¹ Cf. Qur'ân, 2:271.

The heart, being between the demon and the angel, is attracted by each of them. The Prophet said, "The heart has two visitations (lammatân). The one is from the angel and it is a promise of good and belief in the Divine Reality; and whoever finds this let him know that it is from Allah, and let him give praise to Allah. The other visitation is from the enemy and it is a promise of evil, a denial of the Divine Reality, and forbidding of good; and whoever finds it let him take refuge with Allah from Satan the Stoned." After that he repeated the statement of the Most High which begins, "Satan promises you poverty and bids you sin" (2:271).

Al-Hasan said, "There are two anxieties which revolve in the heart: an anxiety from Allah, and another from the enemy. Allah has mercy on the creature who pays attention to that which gives him concern, executing that which has its source in Allah, and struggling against that which has its source in His enemy." In regard to the attraction of the heart toward these two ruling forces, the Apostle of Allah said, "The heart of the believer is between two of the fingers of the Merciful." Allah is too highly exalted to have a finger made up of flesh, bone, and blood,

Following Cairo text and Cairo MS. Other texts shortened.

MSS texts read, 'two visitations.'

and ^{is} divided by joints. But the meaning of a finger is swiftness in turning and ability to move and change objects; for you do not want your finger for its own sake, but for what it will do in turning and replacing things, even as you ordinarily do your work with your fingers.

Allah does what He does by constraining the angel and the demon, the two of them being forced by His power to turn hearts, even as, for example, your fingers are forced by you to turn objects. The heart in its original innate condition is fitted for receiving the influences of angel and demon alike, with no preponderance of the one over the other. The preponderance of the one side over the other is, however, brought about by following desire (hawâ) and giving one's self over to the appetites, or by turning from and opposing them.

When a man follows the dictates of anger and appetite the domination of Satan through desire appears, and the heart becomes the nest of Satan and his seat. Desire is the pasturage of Satan and his abundant provision. But when a man strives against the appetites and does not give them the rule over him, and imitates the moral character of the angels, then his heart becomes the habitation and resting place of the angels.

² Cairo text inserts, 'nerve, and '.

Since no heart is devoid of appetite, anger, miserliness, covetousness, hope of long life, and other similar human qualities which originate in desire, without doubt there is no heart in which Satan does not roam about prompting to evil. In regard to this the Prophet said, "There is not one of you but has a demon."¹⁸² They asked, "And you, O Apostle of Allah?" He answered, "And I also, save that Allah helped me to gain the victory over him and he became a Muslim, and commands only good." This is because the demon works only through appetite. So when Allah has given anyone the victory over appetite so that it extends only in proper directions and within proper limits, then appetite does not invite to evil and the demon which is armed thereby commands naught but good.

Whenever the thought of this present world predominates in the heart because of the demands of desire, then the demon finds an opportunity and prompts to evil. But when the heart is devoted exclusively to the thought of Allah, the demon leaves it and his field is straitened, and the angel draws near and inspires.¹⁹

In the battle of the heart there are constant attacks and counter-attacks between the forces of the angels and demons

¹⁹ Following Cairo and MSS texts.

until it is conquered by one of them which takes up its residence and abode therein. When the second enters he takes it by a trick. Most hearts have been conquered and occupied by the forces of demons, and so filled with promptings to evil which call for the preference of the swiftly passing world and the casting aside of the world to come. The starting point for their taking possession is the following of the appetites and desire. After this takes place the heart cannot be reconquered except by emptying it of the demon's food which is desire and the appetites, and building it up by means of remembrance of Allah which is the place of angelic influence.

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Jarīr bin 'Ubaidah al-'Adawī said, "I complained to
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 al-'Alā' bin Ziyād, 'I do not find any promptings to evil in my breast!' He said, 'This is like a house which thieves pass by; if there is anything in it they take it; otherwise they pass on and leave it.'" That is to say the demon does not enter the heart which is devoid of desire. Regarding this Allah said, "Verily thou hast no authority over my servants." (17:67).

But whosoever follows desire is the servant of desire, not a servant of Allah; therefore Allah gives the demon power over him. Allah said, "Dost thou see him who takes his desire as his god?" (25:45). That is, his desire is his god and the object of his worship, and so he is a servant of Setan, not a

servant of Allah.

185 [#]
 'Uthmân bin Abû l-[#]Āṣ said to the Prophet, "O Apostle of Allah, a demon has kept me from my prayer and reciting (the Qur'ân)." He replied, "That demon is called Khinzib, so when-¹⁸⁶ ever you are conscious of his presence take refuge from him with Allah, and spit three times to your left." He said, "I did so, and Allah sent him away from me." Tradition says that ceremonial purification (wuḍû') has a demon called al-Walhân,¹⁸⁷ so take refuge from him with Allah.

The evil prompting of Satan is not removed from the heart save by the remembrance of that which is other than what he suggests. For if there is suggested to the heart the thought of anything, what has been in it previously is annihilated. Everything other than Allah and what is connected with Him may possibly become a field for Satan's activity. The remembrance of Allah is the safe side, for it is known that there is no room for Satan there. A thing is treated only by its opposite, and the opposite of all the evil promptings of Satan is the remembrance of Allah by taking refuge with Him and disclaiming strength and power. This is what you mean when you say, "I take¹⁸⁸ refuge with Allah from Satan the Stoned", and, "There is no

[#] Following Cairo: MS text & B. Com. Cairo & Z. texts read 'Amr bin al-[#]Āṣ in error.

strength nor power save in Allah the High the Mighty." This¹⁸⁹ can be done only by the pious in whom the remembrance of Allah predominates, and Satan only approaches them as by a sly trick at the times of their blunders (falatât). Allah said, "Verily if a wraith from Satan touch those who fear Allah, they remember Him, and then they see " (7:200). In regard to the meaning of Allah's statement, "...from the whisperer who slinks off "¹⁹⁰ (114:4), Mujâhid said, "He (i.e., Satan) stretches out his authority over the heart; if Allah is remembered he slinks away and crouches down, but if this is carelessly overlooked he stretches out his authority over the heart." The mutual hostility (taṭârud) existing between the remembrance of Allah and the evil prompting of Satan is like the mutual hostility between light[#] and darkness and night and day. Of their mutual opposition Allah said, "Satan hath overcome them and made them forget the remembrance of Allah." (58:20).

Anas quotes the Apostle of Allah as having said, "Satan places his snout on the heart of the son of Adam. If he remembers Allah, Satan slinks away, but if he forgets Allah,¹⁹¹ Satan gobbles up his heart."

¹⁹²
Ibn Waḍḍâh in one of his traditions said, "When a man

[#] Following Cairo and MSS texts.

becomes forty years old without repenting, Satan rubs his hand over the man's face and says, 'By my father it is the face of one who will not succeed.'¹⁹³"

Just as the appetites are mingled with the flesh and blood of the son of Adam, so the authority of Satan courses through this flesh and blood and surrounds the heart on all sides. Thus the Prophet said, "Verily Satan courses through the son of Adam just like the circulation of his blood, so make his coursings difficult by means of hunger." For hunger breaks down appetite, and Satan's course is in the appetites. Because of the fact that the appetites surround the heart on all sides, Allah has revealed the words of Iblis, "I will lie in wait for them in thy straight path; then I will surely come to them from before and behind, on their right hand and on their left" (7:16-17).

The Prophet said, "Verily Satan lies in wait for the son of Adam in all his ways." He lay in wait in the path of Islam and said, 'Will you become a Muslim and leave your religion and the religion of your fathers?' But he disobeyed him and became a Muslim. Then he lay in wait for him in the path of emigration (hijrah)¹⁹⁵ and said, 'Will you emigrate; will you leave your land and your sky?' But he disobeyed him and emigrated.¹⁹⁶ Then he lay in wait for him in the path of the holy war (jihād)

saying, 'Will you engage in war which is the destruction of self and property, and kill and be killed, and your wives be remarried and your property divided?' But he disobeyed him and fought in the holy war." The Apostle of Allah said, "Whoever does this and dies, it is incumbent upon Allah to bring him into the ¹⁹⁷ Garden."

Thus the Apostle of Allah mentioned the meaning of evil prompting which is these involuntary suggestions which occur to the mind of the warrior: that he will be killed and his wives remarried, and similar thoughts which would keep him from the holy war. These suggestions are known, and so the evil prompting is known by observation. Every involuntary suggestion has a secondary cause which requires a name to define it, and the name of this cause is the demon. It is not to be imagined that any human being will be released from him. People differ only in that they disobey him or follow after him. Therefore the Prophet said, "There is no one but has a demon."

From this sort of investigation there is made clear the meaning of 'prompting to evil', 'general inspiration', 'angel', 'demon', 'divine succor', and 'desertion'.

In addition to this some have speculated about the

¹⁹⁷ Following Cairo and MSS texts.

essence of Satan: whether he is a refined body, or incorporeal; and how, if he is a body, that which is a body can enter into the body of a man. But this is not now needed in the science of practical philosophy. He who seeks after this is like the man into whose clothing a snake has crawled. What he needs is to remove it and get rid of its harm, but he occupies himself with investigating its color, form, length, and breadth, which is absolute ignorance. The way in which these involuntary suggestions which incite to evil strike the soul is known. This indicates undoubtedly that a cause lies behind it. It is known that he who invites to the evil against which warning has been given for the future is an enemy. Undoubtedly^u also, man knows through experience who the enemy is, so he ought to busy himself in struggling against him. Allah has made known his enmity in many passages of His Book that men might believe in his existence and guard against him. The Most High said, "Satan is a foe to you, so take him as a foe. But he only calls his party that they may become the people of the fire " (35:6). Again, "Did I not enjoin on you, O children of Adam, that ye should not serve Satan? Verily he is an open foe to you " (36:60).

So man must work to ward off the enemy from himself,

^u Following Cairo text.

not by asking about his origin, his relationships, and his dwelling-place. It is true that he must ask about his weapons so that he may ward them off from himself. The weapons of Satan are desire and the appetites. This is sufficient for the intelligent. But in regard to the knowledge of the quality of his essence, his real nature, and the real nature of the angels, this is the field of the mystics who have penetrated deeply into the science of mystical revelations, and it is not required in the science of practical philosophy that one should know it. One must indeed know that involuntary suggestions are divided into the following: what is known certainly to invite to evil, which is manifestly evil prompting; what is known to invite to good, which is undoubtedly general inspiration; and what one is uncertain about, for he does not know whether it is from the visitation of the angel or the demon.

Indeed it is one of the tricks of Satan to set forth evil as though it were good. To make correct distinctions in this matter is a subtle ⁷problem and the majority of men perish therein. Satan cannot invite them to open evil, so he portrays evil in the form of good. Thus he will say to the man who is learned in the art of preaching, "Wilt thou not look at mankind

⁷ Following Cairo and MSS texts.

dead through ignorance, lost through heedlessness, and about to enter the fire? Hast thou no mercy on the creatures of Allah to rescue them from the dangerous places by thy counsel and preaching? Allah has blessed you with a perspicacious heart, an eloquent tongue, and an acceptable manner of speaking; so how can you deny the grace of Allah and expose yourself to His wrath by abstaining from spreading knowledge abroad and calling mankind unto the straight path?" He continues to confirm this idea within the man's soul and to draw him on by agreeable tricks until he engages in preaching to the people for a time. After that Satan invites him to adorn himself for them, and to affect a more beautiful style of utterance and a show of good, saying to him, "If you do not do this your discourse will make no impression upon their hearts, and they will not be guided to the Truth." Satan keeps on confirming this to him, at the same time fastening on him unmistakably the stains of hypocrisy, popularity with the crowd, delight in high rank, pride in the power given by many followers and much learning, and a contemptuous attitude toward mankind. Thus with his advice he leads on the poor man gradually to destruction, for he speaks, supposing that his purpose is good, whereas it is actually to attain high

⌘ Following Cairo and Cairo MS texts.

rank and popularity. By reason of this he perishes, supposing that he has a high standing in the sight of Allah. He is one of those of whom the Apostle of Allah said, "Verily, Allah aids this religion by a group for which there is no share of happiness", and again, "Verily, Allah establishes this religion by means of the impious ¹⁹⁹man." ²⁰⁰

It is related that Iblis appeared to 'Isa²⁰¹ and said to him, "Say, 'There is no god save Allah'". He answered, "That is a true word, but I do not say it because of your saying." So, underneath the good, Satan has dissemblings, and his dissemblings of this sort are endless. By them are destroyed learned men, godly worshippers, ascetics, the poor and the rich, and all types of men who hate evident evil, and will not permit themselves to enter into open acts of disobedience.

We shall give a summary of the tricks of Satan in the Book of Things that Deceive in the latter part of this ²⁰²quarter. It is our purpose if time permit to write a special book on the subject which we shall call 'The Dissembling of Iblis' (talhis Iblis). His dissembling is now spread abroad among lands and peoples, especially among the sects and creeds, so that of good things only a trace remains. All of this is in submission to the dissemblings of Satan and his tricks. So it is the duty of man to pause at every intent which is suggested to him so that

he may know whether it is from the visitation of the angel or of the demon, and to ponder over it as he looks into it with true insight, not with the desire of nature. He should not consider it save in the light of piety, insight, and abundant knowledge, as the Most High said, "Verily, if a wraith from Satan touches those who fear Allah, they remember Him ", i.e., return to the light of knowledge, " and lo they see ", i.e., the forms are revealed to them. (7:200).

But he who has not disciplined his soul through godly fear, and whose nature is inclined to submit to the dissembling of Satan through following after desire, makes many mistakes thereby, and his destruction is, unknown to him, hastened through it. He who is praised and exalted said of such, "...but there shall appear to them from Allah that which they had not reckoned on " (39:48). It is said that this refers to deeds which they supposed to be good deeds, and behold they are evil deeds.

The most obscure type of the sciences of practical philosophy to understand is the deceit of the soul and the wiles of Satan. This is the individual obligation (farḍ 'ain) of every creature, but men have neglected it and busied themselves with sciences which bring evil promptings to them and give Satan authority over them, and cause them to forget his enmity

and the way to guard against him. Nothing can deliver from an abundance of evil promptings save closing the doors of the involuntary suggestions. These doors are the five external senses, and the inner doors are the appetites and the affections of this present world. Solitude in a dark house will close the door of the senses, and disentangling one's self from kin and money lessens the entrances for evil promptings from within. There remain, however, inner entrances in the imaginings which course in the heart, and these cannot be warded off save by exercising the heart in the remembrance of Allah. But still Satan continues to contend and struggle with the heart, and to divert it from meditating on Allah. So there is no escape from struggling against him, and this struggle has no end but death, since no one, as long as he lives, is safe from Satan. ²⁰³

It is true that one may become strong so that he is not led astray by him, and he may ward off his evil from himself by means of struggle, but he can never dispense with struggle and defense as long as the blood courses through his body. For as long as he is alive the gates of evil are open to his heart and cannot be closed. They are appetite, anger, envy, covetousness, greed, and others which will be explained later. So whenever the gate is open and the enemy not careless, he cannot be warded off except by watchfulness and struggle.

A man said to al-Ḥasan, "O Abū Sa'īd, does Satan sleep?" He smiled and answered, "If he slept we should rest." Therefore the believer has no escape from him. It is true that he does have a way of warding him off and weakening his power. The Prophet said, "The believer can exhaust his demon just as one of you exhausts his camel on his journey." Ibn Mas'ūd said, "The demon of the believer is emaciated." Qais bin al-Ḥajjāj said, "My demon said to me, 'When I entered into you I was like a camel fit to be slaughtered, and now I am like a sparrow.' I asked him, 'Why is that?' He answered, 'You cause me to melt away by your remembrance of Allah.'"

Thus it is not impossible for pious people to stop up the doors of Satan and to keep them by being on guard; I mean the obvious doors and the clear paths which lead to overt acts of disobedience. But they stumble in his obscure paths, for they are not clearly guided to them so as to guard them, as we indicated in 'The Deceiving of the Learned and the Preachers.'

The difficulty is that the doors to the heart which are opened to Satan are many, while there is but a single door for the angels, and that one door is likely to be confused with all the others. Man before them is like a traveler in a desert of many paths and obscure roads on a dark night, where he can hardly know the way except by the eye of insight or the rising

of a shining sun. The eye of insight here is the heart which has been purified by piety; and the shining sun is that abundant knowledge derived from the Book of Allah and the Sunnah of His Apostle. By these two he is rightly guided regarding Satan's obscure ways; otherwise, his paths are many and obscure.

'Abdallah bin Mas'ûd said, "The Apostle of Allah one day drew a line for us and said, 'This is the way of Allah.' Then he drew other lines to the right and left of that line and said, 'These are ways on every one of which there is a demon inviting (men) to him.' Then he repeated, "'This way of mine is straight so follow it, but follow not the ways " (6:154) of those other lines."²⁰⁷ Thus the Prophet showed the abundance of Satan's ways.

We have mentioned an example of one of his obscure ways which is that by which he deceives the learned and the worshipful ('ubbâd) who have control over their appetites and abstain from overt acts of disobedience. Let us now mention an example of his plain ways by which it is evident that the child of Adam must pass. This is contained in the following story which is attributed to the Prophet.

²⁰⁸
There was once an ascetic (râhib) of the children of Israel. Satan entered into a maid and caused her to have a fit, and put it into the hearts of her folk that she could be cured

by the ascetic. So they brought her to him, but he refused to receive her. They continued asking him until he finally took her in. When she was with him for treatment, Satan came to him and made being near to her seem very attractive, and he kept on tempting him until he ensnared her and she became pregnant by him. Then he whispered to him and said, "Now you will be disgraced openly. Her folk will come to you; so kill her, and if they ask you, say that she died." So he killed her and buried her. But Satan went to her folk and whispered to them, and put in their hearts the thought that he had seduced her and then killed and buried her. Her folk then came to him and asked him about her and he told them that she had died. They took him to kill him in revenge for her. Then Satan came to him and said, "I am he who caused her to have the fit, and I put the thought in the hearts of her folk. Now obey me and you will be rescued. Prostrate yourself before me twice." So he prostrated himself twice. He (Satan) it is of whom Allah said, "Like unto Satan when he said to man, 'Disbelieve.' But when he disbelieved, he said, 'Verily I am clear of thee!'" (59:16).²⁰⁹

So look at his tricks and the way in which he compelled the ascetic to commit these great sins (kashâ'ir),²¹⁰ and all of this because he obeyed him in taking in the maid for treatment. This in itself was an insignificant matter, and perhaps he who

did it considered it a good and charitable act, and he approved of it in his heart because of a hidden desire. So he went ahead with it as one desirous of doing good, and thereafter the matter went beyond the sphere of his choice, one thing leading him on to another, until he found no escape. We take refuge with Allah from the loss of the beginnings of things. To this is the reference in the Prophet's saying, "He who hovers about a forbidden thing is in danger of falling into it."²¹¹

CHAPTER TWELVE.

A Detailed Exposition of the Ways by which Satan Enters the
Heart.

Know that the heart is like a fortress, and Satan is an enemy who wishes to enter the fortress, to take possession of it, and to rule over it. The fortress cannot be kept secure from the enemy except by guarding its doors and entrances, and the breaches in its walls. He who does not know its doors cannot guard them. The protection of the heart from the evil prompting of Satan is a prescribed duty and an individual obligation upon every morally responsible creature (‘abd mukallaf)²¹². That which is indispensibly connected with fulfilling duty is itself also obligatory. The warding off of Satan cannot be achieved save by a knowledge of his ways of entering, and so the knowledge of his entrances becomes an obligation. The entrances of Satan and his doors are the qualities (ṣifât) of the creature, and they are many. But we shall refer to the great doors which are like the large street gates, which are not too narrow for the many forces of Satan.

One of his great gates is anger and appetite. Anger is the ogre of the intellect. If the forces of the intellect

grow weak the forces of Satan attack, and whenever man becomes angry Satan plays with him just as a lad plays with a ball.

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It is related that Iblīs found Mūsā and said, "O Mūsā, thou art he whom Allah chose to bring His message and to whom He spoke directly, and I am one of the creatures of Allah. I have sinned and desire to repent. So intercede with my Lord on my behalf that He may forgive me." Mūsā said, "Very well." So Mūsā called upon his Lord. Then Allah revealed to Mūsā, "O Mūsā, you have fulfilled your duty; order him to prostrate himself before the grave of Adam in order that he may be forgiven." Then Mūsā met Iblīs and said to him, "You are commanded to prostrate yourself before the grave of Adam in order to be forgiven." But he became angry and proud and said, "I would not prostrate myself to him when he was alive, and shall I do it now that he is dead?" Then he said, "O Mūsā, you have made me indebted to you in that you have interceded with your Lord on my behalf. So remember me on these three occasions and

¹¹/₁₁ Cairo text instead of following short sentence reads, "So Mūsā went up into the mountain and spoke with his Lord, and wanted to descend, when his Lord said to him, "Be faithful in that which was intrusted to you." Mūsā said, "O Lord, thy creature Iblīs desires that you forgive him."

¹¹/₁₁ Cairo text inserts, 'I have fulfilled your request.'

¹¹/₁₁ Cf. Qur'ân, 2:32.

I shall not destroy you; (1) Remember me when you are angry, for then my spirit is in your heart and my eye in yours, and I am coursing through you even as the circulation of your blood.

(2) Remember me when you encounter the army of the enemy, for I come to a man who meets the army of the enemy and remind him of his wife, his children, and his people, so that he will turn back. (3) See to it that you do not sit by a woman who is unrelated to you, for I am her apostle to you and yours to her."

By this he referred to appetite and anger and greed. Fleeing from the army is greed for this present world. His refusal to prostrate himself to Adam after he was dead was envy, which is the greatest of his entrances.

It is related that one of the saints said to Iblis, "Show me how you overcome a son of Adam." He replied, "I take him while in anger or desire." The story is told that Iblis appeared to an ascetic who asked him, "What characteristics of the sons of Adam are most helpful to you?" He answered, "Hastiness of temper; for if a man is sharp-tempered we can turn him upside down even as youths toss a ball."

¹ Cairo text adds, 'Remember me when you are angry, for when a man is angry I breathe into his nose and he does not know what he is doing.'

¹¹ Cairo text adds, 'I keep on until I cause you to be enamoured of her and her of you.'

There is a reputed saying of Satan like this, "How can the son of Adam overcome me, for if he is content I come so that I may be in his heart, and if he gets angry I fly so that I may be in his head."

Among the great doors for his entrance is that of envy (ḥasad) and greed (ḥirs). For whenever a man is greedy for anything his greed makes him blind and deaf, as the Prophet said, "Your love for the thing blinds and deafens." ²¹⁵ The light of insight is that which makes known the entrances of Satan, but if envy and greed cover it up man cannot see and then Satan finds his opportunity. He makes everything which will help to the attainment of his desire appear good to the greedy one, even though it be disapproved and immoral.

²¹⁶
It is related that Nūḥ when he entered the ark took into it a pair of every sort as Allah commanded him. He saw in the ark an old man whom he did not recognize. So Nūḥ said to him, "What brought you here?" He said, "I came to seize the ²¹⁷ hearts of your friends, so that their hearts would be with me and their bodies with you." So Nūḥ said to him, "Go out from here, O Enemy of Allah, for you are accursed." Iblīs said to him, "By means of five things I destroy mankind, and I shall tell you about three of them, but I shall not tell you about the other two." Allah then revealed to Nūḥ, "You have no

need of the three; let him tell you of the two." Nûh said to Iblîs, "What are the two?" He replied, "They are the two which never play me false nor disobey me, and by them I destroy man: they are greed and envy. Through envy I was cursed and made a stoned Satan; and as for greed, the whole garden was permitted to Adam, save ⁷ only the tree, but I obtained my desire over him through greed."

One of his great doors is a satiety (shabaʿ) of food, even though it be lawful and pure. Satiety strengthens the lusts, and lusts are weapons of Satan. It is related that Iblîs appeared to Yaḥyâ bin Zakariyâ ²¹⁸ who saw on him (i.e. Iblîs) hooks of every sort. So he said to him, "O Iblîs, what are these hooks?" He replied these are the lusts by which I overcome the son of Adam." He (Yaḥyâ) asked, "Do I have any of these?" He answered, "Perhaps you became surfeited with food and thus we made ritual prayer (²¹⁹ṣalâh) and devotional exercises (dhikr) a burden to you." He asked, "Is there anything else?" He answered, "No." So he said, "By Allah I shall never fill my stomach with food again." Iblîs replied, "And, by Allah, I shall never give advice to a Muslim again."

⁷ Following Cairo text.

It is said that in eating abundantly there are six blameworthy qualities: First, it drives the fear of Allah from his heart. Second, it drives from his heart compassion toward mankind, for he supposes that they are all satiated. Third, it makes obedience a burden. Fourth, if he hears wise speech he finds nothing elegant in it. Fifth, if he speaks in admonition and wisdom it makes no impression on the hearts of men. Sixth, it stirs up disease within him.

Another of his great doors is the love of adornment in furnishings, apparel, and house. When Satan sees this quality dominant in the heart of man he lays eggs in that heart and hatches them, and keeps on bidding him to make the house habitable, to adorn its ceiling and walls, and to enlarge its buildings. He invites him also to adorn his apparel and his riding animals, and seeks to enslave him therein his whole life long. If he overcomes him in this he has no need to return to him again. For one phase of this leads on to another and continues to take him on from one thing to another until his fixed term is brought to him, and he dies while he is in the way of Satan and of the followers of desire. Evil consequences are to be feared therefrom in infidelity; we take refuge with Allah from it.

¶ This whole paragraph is found only in the Cairo text.

Another of his great doors is covetous desire (ṭamʿ) towards men. For if such desire predominates in the heart of a man, Satan constantly makes it seem good to him to use craftiness and flattery towards him on whom he has fixed his desire, using all sorts of hypocrisy and deception so that he who is the object of his desire becomes, as it were, the object of his worship. So the man keeps on thinking of a scheme for attracting his love and affection, and tries every means possible to attain this end. The very least he does is to praise him for something he does not possess, and to treat him with blandishment by not commanding him to do beneficial deeds (al-ʿamr bil-²²¹maʿrūf) nor forbidding him that which is disapproved (al-nahy ²²¹ʿan al-munkar).

²²²Ṣafwān bin Salīm has told how Satan appeared to ²²³ʿAbdallah bin Ḥanḏalah and said to him, "O Ibn Ḥanḏalah learn from me a thing which I shall teach you." He answered, "I have no need of it." He said, "Look, and if it is good, take it, if bad, give it back. O Ibn Ḥanḏalah, do not ask for anything you desire of any save Allah; and look how you will be if you get angry."

Another of his great doors is heste, and giving up

¹/₂ Cairo text adds, 'For I take possession of you if you become angry.'

steadfastness in affairs. The Prophet said, "Haste is from Satan and deliberate action from Allah." ²²⁴ The Most High said, "Man is created of haste " (21:38), and again, "And man was ever hasty " (17:12). He said to His Prophet, "Hasten not the Qur'ân until its inspiration is completed for thee " (20:113). This is because actions should follow clear understanding (tabşirah) and experiential knowledge. Clear understanding requires reflection (ta'ammul) and leisurely action (tamahhul), but haste prevents this. For when a man seeks to make haste Satan readily dispenses to him his own evil from whence the man knows not.

It is related that when 'Îsâ was born the demons came to Iblîs and said, "All of the idols have bowed their heads this morning." He answered, "This is some new event that has taken place; keep your places." So he flew over the earth until he came from East to West, but he found nothing. Then he found 'Îsâ who had been born, and beheld the angels were surrounding him. So Satan returned to them and said, "A prophet was born last night. No female ever conceived or brought forth save when I was present except this one. So despair of idols being worshipped after this night, but approach the sons of Adam through haste and agility." ²²⁵

Another of his great doors lies in dirhems and dinars,

and the other types of possessions, such as goods and beasts and estates; for whatsoever exceeds the bounds of daily sustenance and need is the abiding-place of Satan. For he who has his daily provision supplied has an empty heart;²²⁶ but if he found a hundred dinars, for example, on the road, ten desires would be stirred up in his heart, each one of which would require another hundred dinars. So what he found would not satisfy him, but he would need nine hundred more. Before he found the hundred he had been self-sufficient, and now when he has found the hundred he thinks that through them he has become rich. But he has come to be in need of nine hundred in order to buy a house in which to dwell, to buy a servant girl, household effects, and rich clothing. Each one of these things calls for something else to go with it, and that for something else ad infinitum, until he falls into a pit the bottom of which is Jahannam,²²⁷ for it has no other end.

²²⁸
Thâbit al-Banânî relates that when the Apostle of Allah was sent forth on his mission, Iblîs said to his demons, "Something has happened, so go and see what it is." They dispersed in their search until they were weary, and then they came back and said, "We do not know." He said, "I shall bring you the news." So he went, and returned saying, "Allah has sent forth Muhammad." He (Thâbit) went on to say, "So Iblîs began

sending his demons to the Companions of the Prophet, but they returned frustrated, saying, "We never associated with such folk as these. We no sooner smite some of them than they rise up for their prayers and it is all cancelled." Iblis said to them, "Take your time with them; perhaps Allah will give them some of this present world's goods, and then we shall seize those of whom we have need."²²⁹

It is related that 'Īsā one day took a stone for a pillow and Iblis passed by him and said, "O 'Īsā, you have desired something in this present world." So 'Īsā took it and threw it away from beneath his head and said, "You may have this along with this present world." And in reality he who owns a stone to use for a pillow during sleep possesses of the things of this world that which may be a tool of Satan against him. Take for example a man who rises by night for prayer. Whenever there is near him a stone which he can use for a pillow it keeps on calling him to sleep, and to use it as a pillow. Were it not for this he would not think of doing such a thing, nor would his desire for sleep be aroused. This being true for a stone, what is the state of him who possesses downy pillows and a soft bed and goodly recreation places? When will such a man rouse himself to the worship of Allah?

Another of his great entrances is stinginess and the

fear of poverty. This is what prevents him from spending and giving alms, and summons to storing up goods, to laying up treasures, and to that painful punishment which is promised to those who vie with one another in possessions, even as the Qur'ân [#] says. ²³⁰ Khaythamah bin 'Abd al-Rahmân quotes Satan as saying, "No son of Adam has overcome me, nor will any overcome me in three things when I command him: taking money wrongfully, spending it wrongfully, and withholding it from its proper use." ²³¹ Sufyân said, "Satan has no weapon like the fear of poverty, and if man accepts this from him he begins deeds of vanity, withholding the right, talking passionately, and supposing evil of his Lord."

One of the evils of stinginess is a greedy frequenting of markets to gather money, for marketplaces are the nesting-places of demons. ²³² Abû umâmah quoted the Apostle of Allah as saying, "When Iblîs descended to the earth he said, 'O Lord, Thou hast cast me down to the earth and caused me to become a stoned one, so appoint for me a house.' The Lord answered, 'The bath.' Then he said, 'Appoint for me a place to sit.' He answered, 'The marketplaces and the intersections of the streets.' He said, 'Appoint food for me.' He answered, 'That over which the name of Allah has not been mentioned.' He said, 'Appoint

[#] Cf. Qur'ân, 9:34.

drink for me.' He answered, 'Everything intoxicating.' He said, 'Appoint for me an announcer.' He answered, 'Musical instruments.' He said, 'Appoint a qur'ân for me.' He answered, 'Poetry.' He said, 'Appoint for me a kind of writing.' He answered, 'Tattooing.' He said, 'Appoint a tradition for me.' He answered, 'Falsehood.' He said, 'Appoint snares²³³ for me.' He answered, 'Women.'

Another of his great doors is sectarian and partisan prejudices (al-ta'aṣṣub lil-madhâhib wal-'ahwâ'²³⁴), and secret hatred of opponents and looking upon them contemptuously and disdainfully. This is one of the things which destroy both pious and profligate together. For one of the savage characteristics in nature is an inborn disposition to calumniate, and to busy one's self with men's shortcomings. So when Satan makes this appear to a man as the truth and it is agreeable to his nature, its sweetness overcomes his heart, and he goes to work at it with all enthusiasm. He is glad and happy in it, and thinks that he is striving in the field of religion when he is really endeavoring to follow Satan. Thus you will see one who is a devoted partisan of Abû Bakr al-ṣiddîq, and at the same time a partaker of that which is unlawful, giving free rein to his tongue as a busybody and in falsehood, being

²³³ Following Cairo & MSS texts.

addicted to all manner of corruption. Were it possible for Abû Bakr to see him, would he be his foremost enemy; for the follower of Abû Bakr is he who chooses his way and walks in his mode of life, and guards his mouth. It was a habit of Abû Bakr to put pebbles in his mouth so that his tongue might be silent about what did not concern him. So how can such a busybody pretend loyalty to him and love for him?

Then you will see another individual who goes beyond all bounds in his partiality for 'Alî. Now 'Alî was so much an ascetic in his manner of life that he wore, while he was Caliph, a garment which he bought for three dirhems, and he cut off the end of the sleeve up to the back of the hand. But you see the profligate wearing silk garments and adorned with wealth gained unlawfully, while he quarrels over love to 'Alî and pretends such love, when in fact 'Alî will be his foremost opponent in the day of resurrection. What would you say of a person who took a man's son, dear to him, his consolation and his heart's life, and began to beat him and tear him, to pluck out his hair and cut it off with shears, and at the same time pretend to love the boy's father and be loyal to him? What would the father think of such a man? Now it is a known fact

¶ Cairo text adds, 'while he does not walk in his way of life?'

that religion and religious law were more loved by Abû Bakr[#] and 'Alî and the rest of the Companions than family or son, nay rather, more than their own selves. Those who rush blindly into disobedience to the law are they who rend the law and cut it off with the shears of lusts, and thereby show their love for Iblîs, the enemy of Allah and of His saints. What then do you suppose will be their condition on the day of resurrection in the presence of the Companions of the Prophet and the saints of Allah? Nay rather, if the lid were removed so that these might know what the Companions desire in the people of Allah's Apostle, they would be ashamed to mention them with their tongues because of the turpitude of their acts.

Satan also makes them imagine that if anyone dies a devotee of Abû Bakr and 'Umar the fire will not come near to him. He makes another imagine that if he dies a devotee of 'Alî there is no fear for him. This is what the Apostle of Allah also said to Fâṭimah²³⁵, who was a part of himself²³⁶, "Do righteously, for I cannot take your place in anything Allah²³⁷ requires."

We have cited as an example this one of all the partisan loyalties. Such also is the predicament of the partisans

[#] Cairo and MS texts insert 'Umar and 'Uthmân.'

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of Al-Shâf'î, Abû Hanîfah, Mâlik, and Aḥmad, and other imâms.

For if anyone pretends to belong to the sect of an imâm and does not walk according to his manner of life, that imâm will be his opponent in the day of resurrection when he will say to him, "My belief is to do, and not merely to talk with the tongue; and talking with the tongue is to the end of doing, not raving. So why have you disobeyed me in the practise and manner of life which are my belief, and my walk by which I advanced, and in which I departed to Allah, and then afterward pretended falsely to belong to my sect?"

This is one of the great entrances of Satan and by it he has destroyed most of the world. The schools ^{'''} (madâris) have been given over to a group in which there is but little of the fear of Allah, whose insight into religion has grown weak, whose desire for this present world has become intense, and whose greed to gain followers has grown strong. They have not been able to gain a following and attain influence save through their partisanship. So they have veiled this fact within their own breasts, and have not reminded their followers of the wiles of Satan therein, but indeed they have acted as the agents of

≠ Following Cairo and MSS texts.

''' MSS texts read, 'pulpits' (manâbir).

Satan in carrying out his wiles against them. So men have continued in partisanship and have forgotten the principal truths (ummahât²⁴²) of their religion. Thus they have perished and caused others to perish. May Allah forgive us and them.

Al-Ḥasan relates that Iblīs said, "I enticed the people of Muḥammad to disobedience, but they overcame me by seeking forgiveness. Then I enticed them to sins for which they would not seek forgiveness: these are partisan prejudices." In this the Accursed One told the truth, for they do not know that these are the causes which lead to acts of disobedience, so how should they seek forgiveness for them?

One of the great devices of Satan is to turn men's attention away from himself by causing them to become busied with the disputes and contentions which arise between people in the matter of sects. 'Abdallah bin Mas'ūd said, "A group of people were seated at a dhikr and Satan came to cause them to abandon their assembly and to cause divisions among them, but he could not. So he came to another company who were conversing on worldly affairs, and stirred up strife among them so that they began to fight with one another. But it was not they on whom he had set his purpose. Then they who were engaged in the dhikr rose up and busied themselves in deciding between those who were fighting, and so were scattered from their assembly,

and this was the thing that Satan was aiming to accomplish with them."

Another of his great doors is to induce the common
²⁴³ people, who are not experienced in the science of theology and
 have not gone deeply into it, to set themselves to thinking
 about the essential nature and attributes of Allah, and about
 subjects to which their limited intelligence cannot attain,
 until he causes them to doubt the basis of their religion or to
 indulge in vain imaginings unworthy of Allah. By this a man
 becomes an unbeliever (²⁴⁴kâfir) or an innovator (²⁴⁵mubtadi'), while
 at the same time he is happy, joyful, and rejoicing at that
 which has come into his heart. He supposes it to be mystical
 knowledge and insight, and that this has been revealed to him
 because of his own perspicacity and greater intelligence. The
 most foolish of men are those who believe most strongly in
 their own intelligence; and the men of most stable intelligence
 are those most suspicious of themselves and most ready to ask
 of the learned.

'A'ishah quoted the Apostle of Allah as having said,
 "Verily Satan will come to one of you and say, 'Who created
 you?' He will reply, 'Allah who is blessed and exalted.' Then
 Satan will say, 'But who created Allah?' Therefore if one of
 you has this experience let him say, 'I believe in Allah and

His Apostle,' and Satan will go away from him.²⁴⁶"

The Prophet did not order any investigation of a way of treating this evil prompting because it affects the common people rather than the learned. The common people should content themselves with believing, submission, and occupying themselves with their worship and their means of gaining a living, and leave learning to the learned. Were the common man to commit adultery and steal, it would be better for him than to talk about the science of theology. For he who speaks about Allah and His religion without sure learning falls into unbelief in a way which he knows not, and is like one who rides the fathomless sea without knowing how to swim. The devices of Satan which have to do with creeds and sects are unnumbered, and we have only mentioned these by way of example.

Another of the doors by which Satan enters the heart is thinking evil of Muslims (sû' al-ğann bil-muslimîn). Allah has said, "O ye who believe, shun much supposition, for verily (there is a) certain (sort of) supposition (that) is sin " (49:12). For if anyone passes an evil judgment on another through conjecture, he is sent by Satan to slander him by means of backbiting, and he shall perish. Satan may induce him to give the other less than his just rights, or to be remiss in honoring him, or to look at him with the eyes of disdain, con-

sidering himself much better than the other. These all are among the things that destroy. Divine law has therefore forbidden man to give himself to accusations.

The Prophet said, "Beware of places of accusations."²⁴⁷

He himself guarded against exposing himself to accusation. A tradition coming down from 'Alī bin ²⁴⁸Ḥusain says that Ṣafīyyah ²⁴⁹bint Ḥayy told him, "The Prophet was spending a time of retreat in the mosque, and I came to him and began to converse with him. When I bade him good evening and was leaving, he arose and walked with me. There passed by him two of the ²⁵⁰Helpers (anṣār) who greeted him and withdrew. But he called to them and said, 'She is Ṣafīyyah bint Ḥayy.' They replied, 'O Apostle of Allah, we suppose naught but good concerning you.' He said, 'Satan courses through the son of Adam even as the circulation of the blood in his body, and I feared lest he might enter into you.'²⁵¹ Observe how the Prophet was anxious about their religion and guarded them, and how he felt anxiety for his nation and taught them how to guard themselves against accusation. Thus the godly learned man who is known for his religion should not think lightly about his affairs and say in self-admiration, "No one would suppose aught but good of a man

²⁴⁷ Following Cairo and MSS texts.

like me." For all men do not look at even the most godly and pious and benevolent people in the same way. Some look upon them with the eye of approval, but others with the eye of displeasure. "The eye of approbation is dulled to every fault, but the eye of disapproval reveals the defects."²⁵²

So one must guard against supposing evil of another, and against accusing evil men. Wicked men think naught but evil of all men; so whenever you see a person thinking evil of men and looking for faults, know that he is a corrupt person in his own heart. His wickedness is his thinking evil of others, and this fairly oozes out of him. He thinks of others only from his own standpoint. The believer looks for excuses; the hypocrite for faults. The believer is sound-hearted in his attitude toward all creatures.

These are some of the entrances of Satan into the heart. If I desired to compass all of them I should be unable to do so. But this number will point to others. There is no blameworthy characteristic in man that is not an instrument of Satan, and one of his entrances into the heart.

Now you may ask, "What then is the remedy and the way to ward off Satan?" And, "Is it not enough to remember Allah and for a man to say, 'There is no might nor power save with Allah'?" Know that the remedy for the heart in this matter is

to stop up these entrances by purifying the heart of these blameworthy characteristics. This is something that would take a long time to mention. Our aim in this quarter of the book is to set forth the remedy for the characteristics which destroy, and every characteristic needs a separate book, as will be explained later.

It is true that if you were to cut out of the heart the roots of these characteristics, Satan would still be able to pass through it and make suggestions to it, but it would not be an abiding-place for him. Remembrance of Allah prevents him from passing through it. The true nature of remembrance does not dominate the heart until after it has been built up in piety and cleansed of all blameworthy qualities. Otherwise remembrance is merely a suggestion of the self which has no power over the heart and does not ward off the power of Satan. Therefore Allah said, "Verily those who fear Allah, if a wraith from Satan touch them, mention Him, and lo they see " (7:200). He thereby made this a special characteristic of the godfearing men.

Satan is like a hungry dog which comes to you. If you have neither bread nor meat in your hands it is driven back by your saying 'go away', the voice alone sufficing to ward it off. But if you have some meat in your hands and the dog is hungry, it will rush at the meat and will not be driven away by mere

talk. Thus Satan can be driven away from the heart which is devoid of his food by merely remembering Allah. But if appetite overcomes the heart it drives the true nature of remembrance of Allah to the marginal regions of the heart so that it does not gain the mastery over its core. This core is thus the abiding-place of Satan.

But Satan tempts the hearts of those who fear Allah, which are devoid of passion and blameworthy characteristics, not to lusts, but to emptiness through neglect of remembrance. When one begins the exercise of remembrance again Satan draws back. The proof of this is the statement of the Most High, "So ask refuge with Allah from Satan the pelted one" (16:100), and also the other traditions and verses on the subject of remembrance.

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Abû Hurairah related that the demon of the believer met the demon of the unbeliever. The demon of the unbeliever was sleek, fat, and well clothed,¹ while the demon of the believer was emaciated, dishevelled, dust-colored, and naked. The unbeliever's demon asked that of the believer, "What is the matter with you that you are so emaciated?" He replied, "I am with a man who names the name of Allah when he eats, and so I

¹ Following Cairo and MS texts.

remain hungry. He repeats the name when he drinks, so I stay thirsty. He says the name when he dresses, and I continue naked; and when he anoints himself he repeats the name and I remain dishevelled." The other said, "I dwell with a man who does nothing of all this, so I share with him in his food, his drink, and his clothing."²⁵⁴

²⁵⁵
Muhammad bin Wāsi' used to say every day after the morning prayer, "O Allah, thou hast given power over us to an enemy who has insight into our faults, and who with his cohorts sees us as we cannot see them. O Allah, cause him to despair of us ever as thou hast caused him to despair of thy mercy. Make him abandon hope of us as thou hast made him abandon hope of thy pardon. Remove him far from us as thou hast removed him far from thy mercy, for thou art able to do all things." One day as he was on his way to the mosque Iblis appeared to him and said, "O Ibn Wāsi', do you recognize me?" He replied, "Who art thou?" He said, "I am Iblis." He asked, "What do you want?" He said, "I desire that you will not teach anyone this formula for seeking protection." He answered, "By Allah, I shall not keep it from anyone who desires it, and you may do what you will."²⁵⁶

'Abd al-Rahmān bin Abū Lailā said, "There was a demon

²⁵⁴ Cairo text adds, 'and I shall never oppose you.'

who used to come to the Prophet with a firebrand in his hand and stand before him as he prayed. The Prophet would recite and take refuge in Allah, but the demon would not go away. Then Jibril, ³⁵⁷ on whom be peace, came and said to the Prophet, "Say, 'I take refuge in the complete words of Allah, which neither pious nor impious creature may cross, from the evil which persists in the earth and from what goes forth from it; from what comes down from heaven and what ascends up into it; from the temptations of the night and the misfortunes of the day, except that which brings good, O Merciful One.'" So he said this and the demon's firebrand was extinguished and he fell ²⁵⁸ on his face.

Al-Ḥasan said, "I was informed that Jibril came to the Prophet and said, 'Verily an 'ifrit of the jinn is plotting against you, so when you retire to your bed recite the Throne ²⁵⁹ Verse.'" ²⁶⁰

The Prophet said, "A demon came to me and contended with me and contended with me again, so I seized him by the throat. By Him who sent me forth a messenger of truth, I did not release the demon until I found the cold saliva from his tongue on my hand, and had it not been for the summons of my ²⁶¹ brother Sulaimān, he (i.e., the demon) would have been left ²⁶² prostrate in the mosque. The Prophet also said, "Umar never ²⁶³

travelled a path but that Satan took a different course from his.²⁶⁴

This is because the hearts of these (aforementioned prophets and saints) had been cleansed of that on which Satan pastures and feeds, namely the appetites. So however much you desire that Satan be warded off from you by mere remembrance of Allah, as he was warded off from 'Umar, you will find it impossible. You will be like a man who takes medicine before he abstains from food, whose stomach is burdened with heavy foods, and yet he hopes that the medicine will benefit him, even as it benefits one who has taken it after abstinence and emptying his stomach. Remembrance of Allah is the medicine, and piety is abstinence which frees the heart from the appetites. So when remembrance comes into a heart empty of all else save the thought of Allah, Satan is warded off, even as illness is repelled when the medicine enters a stomach empty of all foods.

Allah said, "Verily in that is a warning to him who has a heart " (50:36). He also said, "...it is decreed that whoso takes him for a patron, verily, he will lead him astray, and will guide him to the torment of the blaze " (22:4).

Whoever helps Satan by his work is a follower of his, even though he makes mention of Allah with his tongue. If you

²⁶⁴ Following Cairo text.

say that the tradition is absolute that remembrance of Allah drives out Satan, and do not understand that most general statements of the divine law are limited in their particular application by conditions laid down by those learned in religion, then look to your own self, for hearing a statement is not like seeing with the eye. Consider that the highest point of your remembrance of Allah and of your worship is the ritual prayer. So watch your heart when you are at prayer and see how Satan attracts it to the markets, to the reckoning of dealers, and to answering those who contend. Observe how he causes you to pass through the valleys of this present world and its places of destruction, so that you do not recall the unnecessary things of this world which you had forgotten, except during your prayer. Satan does not press upon your heart save while you pray. Thus prayer is the touchstone of hearts by which its good qualities and vile qualities both are made manifest. Ritual prayer which comes from hearts laden with lusts is not accepted. It is no wonder then that Satan is not driven away from you; nay rather, his evil promptings to you may increase, just as the medicine taken before abstaining from food may do you increased harm. So, if you seek deliverance, begin with abstinence through piety.

 7/ Following Cairo and MSS texts.

and then follow it with the medicine of remembrance and Satan will flee from you as he fled from the shadow of 'Umar.

Regarding this Wahb bin Munabbih ²⁶⁵ said, "Fear Allah, and do not curse Satan openly while in secret you are his friend ", i.e., while you are obedient to him. Another said, "How strange it is that a man, knowing the Benefactor's goodness, will disobey Him; and knowing likewise the Accursed One's rebellion, will yet obey him." As Allah said, "Call upon me, I will answer you " (40:62), and you call and He does not answer; so also you practise remembrance of Allah, and Satan does not flee from you because of your failure to observe the conditions of remembrance and supplication (du'â') ²⁶⁶.

Ibrâhîm bin Adhem ²⁶⁷ was asked, "Why is it that we ask and our petitions are not granted, although the Most High has said, 'Call upon me, I will answer you'?" He answered, "Because your hearts are dead." He was asked, "What killed them?" He answered, "Eight bad habits: (1) You have known Allah's right (over you) but have not done your duty towards Him. (2) You have read the Qur'ân but have not acted according to the limitations it has imposed. (3) You have said, 'We love the Apostle of Allah' but you have not followed his law. (4) You have said, 'We fear death' but you have not prepared for it. (5) Allah has said, 'Verily Satan is to you a foe, so take him

as a foe' (35:6), but you have agreed with him upon acts of disobedience. (6) You have said, 'We fear the fire', and constrained your bodies to enter it. (7) You have said, 'We love the Garden', but have not labored to gain it. (8) When you have risen from your beds you have cast your faults behind your backs and spread the faults of other men before your faces. You have angered your Lord, so how can He answer your prayers?"

If you ask whether he who invites to the different acts of disobedience is a single demon or different demons, know that in practice you have no need to know about this matter. Busy yourself in warding off the enemy, and do not ask about his characteristics. "Eat the vegetable wherever it comes from, and do not ask where the garden ²⁶⁸ is." However in the light of investigation and the testimony of tradition it appears evident that the demons are "armies set in array", ²⁶⁹ and that every type of disobedient act has its own demon, appointed to it and inviting to it. But the path of investigation is a long one, and what we have mentioned will suffice you, namely, that different effects indicate different causes. This is what we have mentioned regarding the light of the fire and the blackness of smoke.

As for tradition, Mujâhid said, "Iblis has five sons and has appointed to each one of them the charge over a certain

matter. They are Thabr¹, al-'A'war, Miswaḡ, Dâsim, and Zalanbûr. Thabr is the master of afflictions who commands destruction, splitting of pockets, smiting of cheeks, and the claim of the days of ignorance (al-jâhiliyyah)²⁷¹. Al-'A'war is the master of adultery who commands thereto and makes it appear beautiful. Miswaḡ is the master of lying. Dâsim enters into the relations between a man and his people, accusing them of faults to him and making him angry at them. Zalanbûr is the master of the market-place, and by reason of him those in the market continue to be unjust to one another." The demon of the ritual prayer is called Khinzib, and the demon of ceremonial ablution is al-Walkhân. Many traditions have been handed down on this subject.

Even as the demons are a host so also there are a host of angels. In the Book of Thanksgiving we have mentioned²⁷² the secret of the multitude of angels, and that each one of them is appointed for a special work uniquely his own.

Abû Umâmah al-Bâhili quoted the Apostle of Allah as saying, "One hundred and sixty angels have been given charge over the believer to drive away from him that which he cannot ward off. Of these seven are for sight and they drive away

Following order and form of names given in Cairo & MSS texts.

(evil) from it even as flies are driven away from a plate of honey on a summer day. They drive away also those whom, were they to appear to you, you would see on every plain and mountain, each one with outstretched hand and open mouth; and that which if the believer were given charge of himself therein for a single instant, the demons would snatch him away.²⁷³"

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Aiyûb bin Yazîd said that the report had come to him that there are born children to the jinn along with the children of mankind, and these grow up together. Jâbir bin 'Abdallah²⁷⁵ said that when Adam was cast down to the earth he said, "O Lord, thou hast placed enmity between this creature and myself, so wilt thou not give me help against him so that I shall be able to overcome him?" Allah answered, "There shall not be a child born to you but he will be given to the keeping of an angel." He said, "O my Lord, give me more." He answered, "I shall recompense an evil deed with an evil deed and a good deed with ten save when I increase their number." He said, "O Lord, give me more." He answered, "The door of repentance is open as long as the spirit is in the body." Then Iblis said, "O Lord, wilt thou not give me help against this creature whom thou hast honored above me, so that I may be able to overcome him?"

²⁷⁵ Cairo text & Cairo MS read, 'or as many more as I please.'

He answered, "No son shall be born to him but there shall be one born to you also." He said, "O Lord, give me more." He answered, "Thou shalt course through them as the circulation of their blood, and thou shalt take their breasts as dwelling-places." He said, "O Lord, give me more." He answered, "...bear down upon them with thy horse and with thy foot, and share with them in their wealth and their children; and make them promises, - but Satan promises them naught but deceit" (17:66).

A tradition from Abû Dardâ' relates that the Prophet said, "Allah has created the jinn of three sorts. One sort is snakes, scorpions and creeping insects of the earth. Another is like the wind blowing through the atmosphere. The third sort is subject to reward and punishment. Allah has also created three kinds of men. One kind is like the brutes, as the Most High said, "They have hearts and they discern not therewith; they have eyes and they see not therewith; they have ears and they hear not therewith; they are like cattle, nay, they go more astray!" (7:178). Another kind has bodies which are those of human beings and spirits which are those of demons. A third sort are those who will be in the shadow of Allah on the

 1/2 Cairo text inserts, 'the day of resurrection.'

day when there is no other shadow save his alone." ²⁷⁶

²⁷⁷
 Wahîb bin al-~~Uard~~ relates the following tradition:

"Iblis appeared to Yaḥyâ bin Zakariyâ, peace be upon them both, and said, 'I want to give you some advice.' He answered, 'I do not need your advice, but tell me about the sons of Adam.' He said, 'From our point of view they are of three sorts. The first sort which is the strongest of them all against us, is such that, when we come to one of them to tempt him and gain control over him, he in fear betakes himself for protection to seeking forgiveness and to repentance. Thus he destroys every advantage we may have gained over him. We return to him again and he repeats the same thing. Thus we neither despair of him, nor do we achieve our purpose in him, so we are in distress regarding him. Another kind consists of those who are in our hands just like a ball in the hands of your children, and we catch them as we will, for we can cope with their souls. The other kind are those who, like yourself, are preserved from sin (ma'ṣûmîn), ²⁷⁸ and we can do nothing with them."

You may say, "But how can Satan appear to some men and not to others? If one sees his form, is it his real form, or is it an image in which Satan appears to him? If it is his

¹ Following Cairo and MSS texts.

real form, how is it that he is seen in different forms? How can he be seen in two places and in two forms at the same time in such a way that two people see him in two different forms?"

Know that the angel and demon each have two forms which are their real forms. These are not perceived by natural sight, save only by the illumination of the prophetic office. The Prophet only saw Jibril in his true form on two occasions. ²⁷⁹

Once the Prophet asked him to show himself to him in his real form, and Jibril appointed for him a place full of the roots of various trees. He appeared to him and filled the whole horizon from East to West. He saw him again in his true form the night of the Heavenly Journey (al-mi'râj) at the lote tree of the boundary. But for the most part he saw him in the form of a man. He used to see him in the form of Eîhyah al-Kalbî ²⁸⁰ who was a man of a goodly countenance. ²⁸¹

For the most part he (the spiritual being: angel or demon) unveils an image of his form to mystics and possessors

¹/₇ Following Cairo and MSS texts.

¹¹/₁₁ MSS texts read, ' he promised this to him at Ĥirâ'. And Jibril appeared to him and filled....' ²⁸²

¹¹¹/₁₁₁ Cairo text inserts 'at Ĥirâ'.'

¹¹¹¹/₁₁₁₁ Cf. Qur'ân, 53:1-13.

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of hearts; and thus he appears to one of them while he is awake, and this man will see him with his eye and hear his speech with his ear. This will take the place of his real form. In like manner he is revealed to a majority of good men during sleep. Revelation during waking hours is made only to one who has attained such a high rank that the occupation of his senses with the things of this world does not prevent the revelation which comes in sleep, so he sees while awake what another sees during sleep.

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It is also related on the authority of 'Umar bin 'Abd al-'Aziz that a man asked his Lord to show him the place Satan occupies in relation to the heart of a man. He saw in his sleep the body of a man which was like crystal, and the inside of it was visible from without. He saw Satan in the form of a frog sitting on the left shoulder, between the shoulder and the ear, and he had a long and thin proboscis which he had put in through the left shoulder into the heart in order to make evil promptings to it. Whenever the man made mention of Allah, Satan withdrew. This very same thing is sometimes seen in waking hours, for some of the mystics have seen Satan in the form of a dog reclining on a carcass and inviting men to it. The carcass represents this present world.

This is like observing his real form. For of

necessity reality must appear in the heart from that side of it which is turned toward the unseen world of spirits. Then its influence shines upon the side which is turned toward the visible material world, for the two sides are connected, the one with the other. We have already explained that the heart has two sides. One of them is turned toward the world of the unseen which is the place of entrance of inspiration both general and prophetic. Another side is turned toward the world of sense; and that which appears of this world in the side turned toward the world of sense is only an imaged form, for the world of sense is entirely subject to imaginative reproduction. Sometimes the image comes from looking by means of the sense (of sight) at the exterior of the visible world. Thus it is possible that the form may not correspond to the ideal reality. You may see a person with a beautiful external appearance, while he is abominable in his heart and hideous in his inner life, because the world of sense abounds in deception (talbis).

But the form produced in the imagination by the illuminating effect of the unseen world of spirits upon the inner secret hearts cannot but reflect accurately their qualities and correspond to them. For the form in the unseen world of spirits follows the true characteristic and corresponds to it. So it is not strange that the hideous reality is not seen save in a

hideous form. Thus Satan is seen in the form of a dog, a frog, a pig, etc. The angel is seen in a beautiful form, and this form is an indication of the ideal realities and a true reflection of them. Therefore the monkey or pig seen in sleep indicates some hideous likeness, while a sheep indicates a man of integrity.

Thus it is with all the categories of dreams and their interpretation. These are strange mysteries, and they belong to the wonders of the heart. It is not fitting to mention them in the science of practical philosophy. But the intent is that you shall believe that Satan is revealed to possessors of hearts, and so also the angel, sometimes by means of a representation and reflection such as takes place in sleep, and sometimes in reality. For the most part revelation is representation by a form that reflects the ideal reality, not the ideal reality itself. The latter is however seen by the eye in very truth. Only the mystic has this direct sight, not others around him, as for instance a man asleep.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN.

An Exposition of that for which Man is Held Accountable and that for which He is Pardoned and Unpunished in the Field of Evil Promptings to Hearts, their Decisions, Involuntary Suggestions, and Purposes.

Know that this is an obscure matter and that there have appeared traditions and verses regarding it which contradict each other. It is confusing for all save discriminating scholars of the law (sharʿ) to find a way of hermonizing these statements.

It is related that the Prophet said, "My people are pardoned the suggestions of the self." 285 ^{7/7} Abū Hurairah also quotes the Apostle of Allah as saying, "Verily Allah says to the recording angels (al-ḥafazah), 'If a servant of mine intends to do an evil deed, do not write it down; but if he does it then write it down as an evil deed. If he intends to do a good deed record it as a good deed, and if he does it write it

^{7/7} Following Cairo and Cairo MS texts.

^{7/7} Cairo text and Z. in Commentary add the rest of the tradition, 'so long as they do not utter them nor do them.'

as ten." Both Muslim and Al-Bukhârî publish this tradition in their volumes. ²⁸⁶ This points to pardon for the action of the heart and its intention to do an evil deed. Another reading says, "He who intends to do a good deed but does not do it has the intent reckoned to him as a good deed; and he who intends a good deed and does it has it reckoned to him up to seven hundred fold. He who intends an evil deed but does not do it does not have it reckoned against him, but if he does it it is written down." Another reading is, "If he contemplates doing an evil deed, I will forgive him this, so long as he does not do it." All of this points to pardon.

Regarding that which indicates punishment, we have the statement of the Most High, "If ye show what is in your souls, or hide it, Allah will call you to account, and He forgives whom He will, and punishes whom He will." (2:284). Again, "And do not pursue that of which thou hast no knowledge; verily the hearing, the sight, and the heart, all of these shall be enquired of " (17:38). This indicates that the deed of the heart is like that of the hearing or sight and is not pardoned. He also said, "And conceal not testimony, for he who conceals it, verily, sinful is his heart " (2:283); and again, "Allah will not hold you accountable for a casual word in your oaths, but He will hold you accountable for what your hearts

have earned " (2:225).²⁸⁷

One cannot become well acquainted with the true nature of this matter, as it seems to us, until he comprehends the details of the heart's actions from the time they begin to appear until the act is committed by the members of the body.²⁸⁸ Thus we say that the first thing that comes to the heart is the involuntary suggestion (khâṭir). For example, the thought of the form of a woman may be suggested to a man, and that she is behind him in the road so that if he were to turn around he would see her. The second is the stirring up of his desire to look, which is the moving of appetite which is in human nature. This is generated by the first involuntary suggestion and we call it natural inclination (mayl al-ṭab'), while the first is called the suggestion of the self (ḥadīth al-nafs). The third is the judgment of the heart that the thing must be done, i.e., that he must look at her. For when there exists a natural inclination there is still no decision (ḥimmaḥ) nor intention (niyyah)²⁸⁹ until the inhibitions (ṣawârif) are put away. Thus modesty or fear may prevent him from looking. The nullification of these inhibitions may come through reflection (ta'ammul), but in any case it is a judgment of the reason and is called a conviction (i'tiqâd). This is subsequent to the involuntary suggestion and natural inclination. The fourth stage is to fix his determin-

ation ('azm) upon looking, and to make it his definite intent. This we call a decision (hamm) to act and intent and purpose (qaṣd). This decision may have a weak beginning, but if the heart gives heed to the first involuntary suggestion until its attraction to the self is prolonged, this decision becomes inevitable, and it becomes a determination of the will. Then when the will is determined the man may repent after determination and give up the action. Perhaps he may neglect it because of some happening and neither do it nor give heed to it. Or again, perhaps some hindrance may come along to prevent him from the action.

Here then are four states of the heart before the bodily member acts: involuntary suggestion, which is the suggestion of the self; then inclination; then conviction, then decision.

Now regarding the involuntary suggestion we say that one is not held accountable for it because it is not included in voluntary choices. Such also is the case with inclination and the stirring up of appetite, for they too are involuntary. These are what the Prophet intended in his statement, "My people are pardoned the suggestions of the self." The sug-

 # Following Cairo and MSS texts.

gestion of the self is thus an expression to denote the involuntary suggestion which suddenly comes into the mind, but is not followed by any determination to carry it out.

Determination and decision are not however, called suggestions of the self. The tradition regarding 'Uthmân bin Maz'ûn²⁹⁰ illustrates the suggestion of the self. He said to the Prophet,[#] "O Apostle of Allah, my heart tells me that I ought to divorce Khawlah."²⁹¹ The Prophet answered, "Go slowly; my usage includes marriage."²⁹² He said again, "My heart tells me to emasculate myself." The Prophet answered, "Go slowly; castration in my nation is persistent fasting."²⁹³ He said, "My heart tells me to become a religious devotee." The Prophet answered, "Go slowly; the asceticism of my people is warfare (jihâd) and the pilgrimage (hajj)."²⁹⁴ He said, "My heart tells me to give up meat."²⁹⁵ The Prophet answered, "Go slowly, for I like it. If I should find it I would eat it; and if I were to ask Allah for it He would feed me therewith." These were involuntary suggestions, unaccompanied by a determination to carry them out, and they were the suggestions of the self. Therefore he consulted with the Apostle of Allah since he had made no determination nor decision to act.

[#] Following Cairo text.

The third stage is conviction (iftiqâd), and the judgment of the heart that the thing must be done. There is an element of uncertainty in this, in that it may be compulsory or voluntary, and the states differ accordingly. One is held accountable for that which is voluntary, but not for that which is compulsory.

The fourth of these stages is a decision to act, and one is held accountable for it. But if it is not carried out the case is to be considered. If the man has given it up through fear of Allah and contrition for his decision, then this is reckoned to him as a good deed. His decision was evil, but his abstaining from it and struggle with himself against it were good. A decision in accord with nature does not indicate a complete heedlessness of Allah, but abstinence through struggle against the nature requires great power. So his effort in going contrary to nature, which is a work done for Allah, is stronger than his effort to agree with Satan through agreeing with his own nature. Thus it is reckoned to him as a good deed, because his effort in abstaining and his decision thereto outweighed his decision to do the deed. But if the act is stopped by some hindrance, or if he gave it up for any reason other than the fear of Allah, it is reckoned to him as an evil deed. His decision is a voluntary act of the heart.

The proof of this detailed statement is found in a passage in Al-Ṣaḥīḥ explaining the words of the following tradition: The Apostle of Allah said, "The angels said, 'O Lord, that servant of thine desires to do an evil deed', although He ²⁹⁶ perceived (that) better (than they). He said, 'Keep watch of him, and if he does it, write it down as it is; but if he gives it up write it down for him as a good deed, for he has given it up only for my sake.'" When He said, 'If he does not do it', He meant the forsaking of it for Allah's sake.

But if a man has determined on an act of turpitude which is made impossible for him by some cause or neglect, how can this be reckoned to him as a good deed? The Prophet said, ²⁹⁷ "People will be judged according to their intentions alone." We know that he who determines at night to get up the next morning and kill a Muslim or commit adultery with a woman, and then dies that night, dies with his mind made up and will be judged according to his intention, having decided upon an evil deed and not carried it out.

The decisive proof of this is in the tradition of the Apostle of Allah, "If two Muslims meet in a sword fight, both ²⁹⁸ the slayer and the slain will be in the fire." Someone said to him, "This one was a murderer, but why include the slain man also?" He replied, "Because he desired to slay his fellow."

This is an authoritative statement which shows that by mere desire he became one of the people of the Fire even though he himself was unjustly slain.

How can anyone suppose that Allah will not punish for intention and decision, when man is punished for everything that comes within the scope of voluntary action, save as he atones for it by a good deed? Destroying the determination by contrition is a good deed, and it is therefore reckoned to him as a good deed. But to miss the thing desired because of some hindrance is not a good deed.

But involuntary suggestion, the suggestion of the self, and the stirring up of desire are all outside the realm of voluntary acts. So to consider them as worthy of punishment would be to make man responsible for what is beyond his power. So when there was revealed the statement of the Most High, "...and if ye show what is in your souls or hide it, Allah will call you to account " (2:284), some of the Companions came to the Apostle of Allah and said, "A responsibility has been put upon us which we cannot bear. One of us experiences a suggestion of the self about something which he does not want to remain in his heart, and then he is judged for it." The Prophet said, "Perhaps you will say as the Jews said, 'We hear and disobey.' Say, 'We hear and obey.'" So Allah sent down that which dis-

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 pelled their anxiety in His statement, "Allah will not require
 of the soul save its capacity " (2:286). From this it appears
 that man is not held accountable for the deeds of the heart
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 which are not within his power.

Here then is an uncovering of this ambiguity. Who-
 ever supposes that every action of the heart is called a sug-
 gestion of the self and does not differentiate between these
 three classes must inevitably err. For how could it be that
 man would go unpunished for the acts of his heart, such as pride,
 conceit, hypocrisy, dissimulation, envy, and all the malicious
 acts of the heart? Nay rather, "...the hearing, the sight, and
 the heart, all of these shall be enquired of " (17:38), i.e.,
 as much as is included in voluntary action. If the eye of a
 man were to fall involuntarily upon a woman other than a near
 relative whom he could not lawfully marry, he would not be
 blameworthy for it, but if he followed it with a second look
 he would be punishable, for it would be done voluntarily. In
 like manner the involuntary suggestions of the heart follow
 the same course. Indeed the heart is more deserving of blame
 since it is fundamental.

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The Apostle of Allah said, "Piety is here", pointing

⁷
 Cairo text adds, 'after a year.'

toward his heart. Allāh said, "Their flesh will never reach to Allah, nor yet their blood; but piety on your part will reach to Him" (22:38).³⁰² The Prophet said, "Sin is the allure³⁰²ment (ḥawwâz) of the heart." He also said, "Righteousness (birr) is that in which the heart quietly trusts, even though men may give you legal decision after legal decision."³⁰³ So we can say that if the heart of a mufti gives a decision making anything obligatory, even though it errs therein, this becomes a meritorious act. Indeed, if a man thinks that he is ceremonially purified and must pray, and then prays, but afterwards remembers that he had not performed the necessary ablutions, he still has the reward for doing it. But if he remembers and then neglects it he is punished.³⁰⁴ If a man finds a woman in his bed and supposes her to be his wife, he commits no act of disobedience by lying with her, even though she is a stranger. But if he thinks that she is a stranger and then lies with her, he becomes disobedient even though she is his wife. All of this is so because the heart is what is considered, not the bodily members.

³⁰² MSS add, 'and piety is in the heart.'

³⁰³ Other readings: (ḥazzâz), grief or scall; (ḥawâzz), perplexity. (jawâz), permission. True reading uncertain.

³⁰⁴ Following Cairo text.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN.

An Exposition of whether or not Evil Promptings Can be Conceived of as Entirely Cut Off During Devotional Exercises.

Know that the learned, who have observed the heart of man and investigated its characteristics and its wonders, disagree on this question, holding five different opinions.

One group says that evil suggestion is cut off by remembrance of Allah. They quote the saying of the Prophet, "Whenever Allah is remembered, he (i.e. Satan) hides himself." ³⁰⁵ To hide one's self is to keep still, so it is as though he keeps silent.

A group says that the source of evil suggestion does not entirely cease to exist, but continues to move in the heart. It has no effect, however, for the heart, since it is entirely immersed in remembrance is veiled from the effect of evil suggestion. The heart is like a man so engrossed in his chief concern that, if he were spoken to, he would not understand, even though the voice reaches his hearing.

Another group says that neither the evil suggestion nor its effects are cut off entirely, but its domination over the heart is cut off. It is as though Satan whispered at a

distance and weakly.

A group says that evil suggestion ceases to exist for a moment at the remembrance of Allah, and that remembrance is also annihilated for a moment. These two states follow each other at such close intervals that they seem, because of their closeness, to be pressing against each other. They are like a ball which has several separate dots on it, for if you roll it rapidly you will see the dots as though they were circles, because of the speed with which the motion brings them together. This group says that (Satan's) hiding is mentioned (i.e. in the tradition), while we observe evil suggestion along with remembrance, and that there is no other explanation for it than this.

A group says that evil suggestion and remembrance crowd upon each other constantly within the heart in a struggle which is unending. Just as a man may see two things at the same time, so also the heart may be the channel for two things. The Apostle of Allah said, "Every man has four eyes. Two are in his head and through them he sees what pertains to his relationships to this present world. The other two are in his heart, and through them he sees what pertains to his religion."³⁰⁶

³⁰⁷
Al-Muḥāsibī held this view.

But in fact, as we see it, all of these groups are correct. Each one fails to include all the species of evil

suggestions, and looks only at one species of evil suggestion and tells of it.

Evil suggestions are of different sorts. The first is clothed with truth to a degree, for Satan may be garbed with truth. Thus he will say to a man, "Do not give up the enjoyment of pleasures; life is long and resisting your desires throughout your whole life causes great suffering." But if the man remembers at this time the greatness of Allah's right (over him) and His great rewards and punishments, he will say to himself, "Resisting the desires is hard, but it is still more difficult to endure the Fire, and one of the two is inevitable." So if the man remembers the promise and threat of Allah and renews his faith and certainty, then Satan hides himself and flees away. For he cannot say that the Fire is easier to bear than resisting acts of disobedience, nor can he say that disobedience does not lead to the Fire, because his faith in the Book of Allah prevents him from that, and thus his evil whisperings are cut off. So also he will suggest that one should be proud of his own deeds, saying, "What creature knows Allah as thou knowest Him, or serves Him as thou servest? How great then is thy place with Allah!" But then the man remembers that his knowledge, his heart, and his members with which he works, and his work itself are all of them created by Allah, so how can he be proud of them?

Then Satan hides himself, for he cannot say, "This is not from Allah", because his knowledge and faith compel him. This is a sort of whispering that can be cut off entirely from those who have mystical knowledge and are enlightened ^{if} by the light of faith and knowledge.

The second species of evil suggestion is that which moves and stirs up appetite. This is divided into that which man knows assuredly to be an act of disobedience, and that of which he is strongly suspicious. If he knows it assuredly Satan withdraws from the stirring up which results in moving appetite, but does not withdraw from stirring up per se. But if it is of the suspected sort it may continue to exert its influence in such a way as to call for a struggle in warding it off. Thus the evil suggestion exists, but is warded off and does not gain the victory.

The third type of evil suggestion is that which comes only from involuntary thoughts and recollecting past states; for example, thinking about something other than prayer. ^{if} So when the man begins the practice of remembrance, conceivably it is warded off and returns again and again. Remembrance and evil

^{if} Following Cairo text.

^{if} Cairo MS adds, 'while praying.'

suggestion thus keep alternating. It is conceivable that they press so closely upon one another that the understanding will include an understanding of the meaning of the thing recited, and also of those involuntary suggestions, as though the two were in two different places in the heart. That this sort of evil suggestion should be entirely warded off so as not to recur is very unlikely, but it is not impossible since the Prophet said, "Whoever prays a two-cycle prayer without experiencing any suggestions of the self about this present world during the prayer will have all his former sins forgiven." ³⁰⁸ If this were not conceivable he would not have mentioned it. This cannot be conceived, however, save of a heart over which love has so gained the mastery that it has become as one infatuated. Thus we sometimes see a man whose heart is so wholly occupied with an enemy who has injured him that he may think about contending with his enemy for the space of two prayers and many more, and no other thought save that of his enemy will cross his mind. So too one deeply in love may think in his heart about conversing with his beloved and be so deeply submerged in this thought that nothing else save conversing with his beloved ever occurs to him. If someone else were to speak to him he would not hear, and if one should pass in front of him he would be as one unseeing. If this is conceivable in the case of fearing an

enemy and coveting reputation and money, why should it be inconceivable in the case of fearing the Fire and coveting the Garden? But this is rare because of the weakness of faith in Allah and the last day.

If you consider all of these classifications and types of evil suggestions you will understand that each one of these groups has its own point which applies under particular circumstances. To summarize: Salvation (khalâṣ) from Satan for a moment or for an hour is not an unlikely thing, but safety from him for a long lifetime is very remote indeed and impossible of attainment. If anyone could have escaped from the evil suggestions which Satan makes by means of involuntary thoughts and the rousing of desire, the Apostle of Allah surely would have escaped. It is related of him that he looked at the ornamented border of his robe during prayer, and when he had finished the prayer he threw the robe away, saying, "It distracted me from
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 prayer." He said, "Take it to Abû Jahm and bring me his coarse garment (anhiĵāmiyyah)." Another time he had a gold ring on his finger, and he looked at it while he was in the pulpit. Then he flung it away, saying, "One look at it and one
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 at you." This was due to the evil suggestion of Satan by

Following Cairo text. Z. & MS omit the sentence.

arousing the pleasure of looking at the gold ring and the ornamented border of the garment. This took place before gold was forbidden, and therefore he wore it and then threw it away.

The evil suggestions of this world's things of show and its money are cut off only by casting them away, and separating one's self from them. For as long as a man owns anything beyond his actual need, be it but a single dinar, Satan will not allow him during prayer to be free from the thought of his dinar. How will he keep it? For what will he spend it? How can he hide it so that no one will know about it? How shall he show it so as to boast of it, etc.? Whoever fixes his clutches on this present world and then desires to get rid of Satan is like a man dipped in honey who thinks that the flies will not light on him. This is impossible, for this present world is a great entrance for the evil suggestions of Satan. Indeed there is not one entrance only, but many.

One of the wise men said, "Satan approaches the son of Adam from the direction of his acts of disobedience. If he abstains from them, Satan comes to him by way of giving advice, in order to cause him to fall into some innovation (bid'ah). If he refuses this he commands a life of narrowness and abstinence so that he considers as unlawful that which is lawful. If he refuses this, Satan makes him doubt regarding his

ceremonial ablution and prayer so that he may not have certain knowledge (about the performance of them). If he abstains from this, Satan makes righteous acts easy for him so that men may see him as patient and pure, and their hearts be turned to him. Then he becomes proud of himself, and by this he (i.e. Satan) destroys him. At this point man is in great need, for this is the extreme degree of temptation, and Satan knows that if man passes by it he has escaped from him into the Garden.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN.

An Exposition of the Rapidity of the Heart's Changes; and of the Way Hearts are Classified in Respect to Change and Stability.

Know that the heart, as we have mentioned, is surrounded by the qualities which we have spoken of, and that various effects and states are poured into it from the entrances which we have described. So it is, as it were, a target which is being hit constantly from every direction. Whenever a thing hits the heart by which it is influenced, it is also hit from another direction by an opposing influence so that its character is changed. If a demon comes to the heart and calls it to desire, there comes also an angel to drive it away. If a demon entices it to one evil, another demon entices it to another. If an angel attracts it to one sort of good, another angel attracts it to some other good. So at one time it is torn between two angels, at another between two demons, and at another between an angel and a demon. It is never left alone at all.

To this is the reference of the Most High's statement, "We will overturn their hearts and their eyesights " (6:110). The Apostle of Allah, because of his wide observation of the strange doings of Allah in the wonders of the heart and

its constant changes, used to swear by it and say, "No, by Him
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 who overturns hearts." He often used to say, "O Thou who over-
 turnest hearts, establish my heart firmly upon thy religion."³¹³
 They said, "Dost thou fear, O Apostle of Allah?" He answered,
 "What is there to make me sure since the heart is between two
 of the fingers of the Merciful, who turns them about even as
 He wills?" Or according to another version, "...if He wills to
 establish it He causes it to stand, and if He wills to cause it
 to go astray He does ³¹⁴ so."

The Prophet used three similes of the heart: (1) "The
 heart is like a sparrow, turning about every hour."³¹⁵ (2) "The
 heart in its constant changes is like a pot all boiling up to-
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 gether." (3) "The heart is like a feather in a desert which
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 the winds blow along over and over." These changes and the
 wonders of the dealings of Allah in causing them, which cannot
 be sought out, are known only by those who watch and ponder over
 their own condition in relation to Allah.

Hearts are divided into three classes from the stand-
 point of being fixed on good, on evil, or alternating between
 the two of them.

There is a heart which is built up by means of piety,
 purified by means of discipline, and cleared of all evil char-
 acteristics. Into it are poured involuntary suggestions of

of good from the storehouses of the unseen and the entrances to the heavenly kingdom. The intellect is then wholly occupied with thinking about that which has been suggested to it so as to know the minute details of good therein and understand the secrets of its benefits. Thus its purpose is revealed to the intellect by the light of insight, and so it decided that this thing must needs be done. It then urges the heart and calls it to do the act. The angel looks to this heart and finds it good in its substance (jawhar), pure because of its piety, enlightened by the light of reason, furnished with the light of experiential knowledge, and he sees that it is worthy to be his place of abode and alighting. Thereupon he supplies it with an unseen host, and guides it into other blessings, so that good is thus led on to greater good unceasingly. His help in causing it to desire good and making it easy of attainment does not cease. To such a heart is reference made in the statement of the Most High, "But as for him who gives alms and fears Allah and believes in the best, we will make easy his path to happiness" (92:5-7). In such a heart there shines the light of the lamp from the niche of lordship, so that there is no secret polytheism (shirk) concealed therein, for such is more hidden than the creeping of a black ant on a dark night. No hidden thing is concealed from this light, nor do any of the wiles of

Satan get the start of a heart like this. Indeed Satan stands and speaks alluring words striving to deceive, but the heart will not turn to him. This heart, after being purified from the things which destroy (al-muhlikât), soon becomes filled with the things which save (al-munajjiyyât). We shall mention these: thanksgiving, patience, fear, hope, poverty, asceticism, love, satisfaction, longing, trust, meditation, examination of conscience, etc. This is the heart to which Allah turns His face. It is the heart at rest referred to in His statement, "Do not hearts find rest in remembrance of Allah?" (13:28); and again, "O thou soul which art at rest " (89:27).

The second heart is forsaken, burdened by passion, corrupted by foul actions, stained by blameworthy characteristics. Its doors for demons are open, and its doors to angels closed. The starting point of evil in it is an involuntary suggestion of passion which is cast into it and speaks therein. Then the heart turns to the intellect as judge to get its decision and learn the right course therein. But the intellect has become accustomed to serve passion, and familiar with it, and continues to invent tricks to agree with passion and assist it until they entice the soul and help on the passion. Thus the breast rejoices in passion whose darkness covers it because of the withdrawal of the forces of the intellect from the defense

of the heart. Accordingly the power of Satan grows because of the breadth of his field due to the spread of passion. Satan then approaches the heart with allurements and seduction and anticipations, speaking alluring words to deceive. The power of faith in (Allah's) promise and threat grows weak and the light of certainty regarding fear of the world to come is extinguished. For there rises up from passion a dark smoke over the heart which fills it entirely so that its lights are extinguished. Then the intellect becomes like an eye whose lids are full of smoke so that it is not able to see. This is what the victory of appetite does to the heart, so that there is no possibility left for the heart to stop and look. If a warner should try to make it see and hear what the truth is, it would blind itself to understanding and close its ears against hearing. Appetence is roused up in it and Satan overpowers it. The bodily members move in accordance with the desires of passion, and the act of disobedience appears in the physical material world from the world of the unseen in accordance with ^{the} general and particular decree (qaḍā' wa qadr) of Allah. To such a heart is reference made in His statement, "Dost thou consider him who takes his lusts for his god? Wilt thou then be in charge over him? Or dost thou reckon that most of them will hear or understand? They are only like the cattle; nay, they stray further from the

way " (25:45-46). Again, "Most of them deserve the sentence, for they will not believe " (36:6). And again, "It is all the same to them if thou dost warn them or dost warn them not; they will not believe " (36:9).

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Many a heart is in this condition as regards all desires; and many a heart is in this state as regards certain desires, like a man who abstains from some things, but if he sees a pretty face he cannot control his eye and heart. Or it may be like a man who cannot control himself in anything having to do with high rank, leadership, and pride. He has no grip to hold himself firm when the occasion appears. It may be like one who cannot control himself in anger, no matter how much he may despise it and recall its faults. Or it may be like a man who cannot control himself when he is able to get a dirhem or a dinar, but he covets it as one bereft and disordered, forgetting therein manly virtue and piety. All of this is because of the rising of the smoke of passion over the heart so that the light of modesty, manly virtue, and faith is extinguished, and he strives to secure what Satan desires.

The third heart is that in which there appears

¹⁷ The first clause is from MSS texts; the rest of the paragraph from Cairo and MSS texts. Z. omits the whole paragraph.

suggestions of passion which summon it to evil. But there follows them a suggestion of faith which summons it to good. The soul with its lusts hastens to the aid of the evil suggestion, the lust grows stronger, and enjoyment and delight seem good. But the intellect hastens to the aid of the good suggestion, repels the idea of the lust, and makes the doing of it appear abominable, attributing it to ignorance and likening it to a brute or a lion in rushing blindly into evil and showing little concern for consequences. The soul then inclines toward the advice of the intellect. The demon in turn attacks the intellect and makes the call of passion louder, saying, "What is this cold narrow aloofness? Why do you abstain from your passions and torment yourself? Do you see any of your contemporaries going contrary to his passions, or giving up his aim? Will you thus leave the pleasures of this present world for them to enjoy, and deprive yourself of them until you are avoided, miserable, and worn out, and become the laughing-stock of modern folk? Do you want to attain a higher rank than so-and-so and so-and-so? They have done what you have longed to do and have not abstained. Don't you see the learned man so-and-so? He does not guard against doing this, and if it were evil he would abstain from it." Thus the soul inclines to the demon and is turned to him.

Then the angel attacks the demon and says, "Has anyone

ever perished save he who followed the pleasure of the moment, forgetting the consequences? Will you be contented with a trifling pleasure and forsake the pleasure of the Garden and its blessedness forever? Or do you think that the pain of resisting your lust is too great a burden, but do not think the pain of the Fire grievous? Will you be deceived by men's neglect of themselves, their following their own passions, and their taking sides with Satan, in spite of the fact that the torment of the Fire will not be made easier for you to bear because of the disobedience of another? Now if it were summer⁷ and all the people were standing in the sun, but you had a cool house, would you stay with the people, or would you seek safety for yourself? How could you disagree with men through the fear of the sun's heat and not disagree with them through fear of the Fire?" Thereupon the soul inclines to the saying of the angel.

The heart continues to sway between the two forces, being attracted by each of the two parties, until there overcomes it that which is dominant therein. For if the characteristics of the heart are predominantly the satanic qualities which we have mentioned, then Satan is victorious and the heart inclines to its own sort among the parties of demons, turning

⁷ Cairo text says, 'a very hot summer day.'

away from the party of Allah and His saints, and taking sides with the party of Satan and its own enemies. Because of predestination (sâbiq al-qadr) its members have done that which is the reason for its remoteness from Allah.

If the angelic characteristics are the dominant element in the heart it will not give heed to the allurements of Satan, nor his urging the claim of the swiftly passing world, nor his making light of the world to come. But it inclines to the party of Allah, and its obedience appears in its members in accordance with what has previously been decreed.

[#]
"The heart of the believer is between two of the fingers of the Merciful", i.e., between the attraction of these two parties. This is the case with most men; I mean the turning and shifting from one party to another. But perpetual constancy in the party of the angels or that of the demons is rare in both cases.

These acts of obedience and of disobedience appear, coming from the storehouses of the unseen into the physical material world, by means of the storehouse of the heart; for it is one of the storehouses of the unseen world of the spirit. When these appear they are signs which teach possessors of hearts

[#] Following Cairo and MSS texts.

the fact of the predetermined decree (sâbiq al-qađâ'). For him who is created for the Garden the means of obedience are made easy, and for him who is created for the fire the means of disobedience are made easy. Evil companions have been empowered over him, and the wise sayings of Satan have been cast into his heart. For by varieties of wise sayings he (i.e. Satan) deceives the foolish. Examples of these sayings are: "Truly Allah is merciful, so do not worry. Men do not all fear Allah, so do not differ from them. Life is long, so wait and repent tomorrow."

"He makes them promises, and stirs up desires within them, but Satan promises only to deceive" (4:119). He promises them repentance and stirs up within them a desire for forgiveness, but he destroys them, by the permission of Allah, through these tricks and the like. He opens a man's heart to receive the deception, but contracts it against the reception of truth. All of this is because of the general and particular decrees of Allah. "Whomsoever Allah wishes to guide, He expands his breast to Islam; but whomsoever He wishes to lead astray, He makes his breast straight and narrow, as though he would mount up into heaven" (6:125). "If Allah helps you there is none can overcome you; but if He leaves you in the lurch, who is he that can

 2/ Following Cairo and MSS texts.

help you after Him?" (3:154).

He is the One who guides aright and leads astray. He does as He wills and judges as He desires. There is none to avert His judgment, nor is there any who can avert His decree. He has created the Garden and created a people for it, and He engages them in obedience. He has also created the fire and created a people for it, and He engages them in disobedience. He has taught mankind the sign of the people of the Garden and of the people of the fire. He said, "Surely the righteous are in bliss, and, verily, the wicked are in hell " (82:13-14). Then He said, in a tradition related by our Prophet, "These are in the Garden and I care not, and these are in the fire and I care not." So Allah, the King, the Real, is exalted; "He shall not be questioned concerning what He does, but they shall be questioned " (21:23).

Let us then limit ourselves to this brief amount in mentioning the wonders of the heart, for to carry it out completely is not suitable for the science of practical philosophy. But we have mentioned what is needed in order to know the depths and secrets of the science of practical philosophy, in order that he may be profited thereby who is not satisfied with things external, nor content to take the shell instead of the kernel, but longs to have a detailed knowledge of the true nature of

causes. In what we have mentioned he will find that which, if Allah wills, will both suffice and convince. Allah is Lord of success.

The Book of the Wonders of the Heart is ended, and to Allah be praise and gratitude. It is followed by the Book of the Discipline of the Soul and the Training of Character. Praise be to Allah alone, and may His blessing be upon every chosen servant.

^a/₇ Following Cairo text to the end. Z. omits all that follows; MSS have slightly varying endings.

NOTES.

1. A pious phrase known as the basmala. It possesses magical powers, and is used at the beginning of formal writings as well as in many other connections touching all phases of Muslim life. Ency. of Islam, i. p. 672.
2. The hamdala is an ascription of praise to Allah; it is used as one of the fixed introductory phrases to every formal writing. Ency. of Islam, ii. p. 245.
3. Z. in Commentary says that the mystics' knowledge of Allah is in the fact that they come experientially to know that they can never know Him in the sense of having a complete experiential knowledge of His being and attributes. This knowledge is His alone.
4. An Arabic proverb, poetic in form according to MSS texts, quoted in Frøytag, Arabum Proverbia, Bonn, 1839, ii. p. 371, no. 179. Majma' al-anthâl lil-Kaidani, ii. p. 73. Cairo 1310.
5. This is a proverb often quoted by Muslim writers of all shades of belief. It had its origin in the 'know thyself' of Socrates and other early Greek philosophers. To this was added the idea that man's soul is an inbreathing of divine life, Qur'ân 32:8. Baiḍāwī in his comment on this verse quotes this proverb. Philosophical Muslims of different groups, including the Ikhwân al-Ṣafa and Ibn Sina use this proverb. Ibn al-'Arabī and al-Ghazzālī

among other mystics use the phrase repeatedly, sometimes speaking of it as a tradition from the Prophet. See kiriya' al-sa'adah, Sa'adah Press, Cairo, 1343, p. 4. ^{is} Z. says that this/reported to be a saying of Yahya bin Mu'adh al-Razi (d. 256), a famous preacher. (Ibn Khallikan's Biographical Dictionary, iv. pp. 51 ff.)

6. A much quoted tradition. Ibn Qutaibah, mukhtalif al-hadith, p. 263. Muslim also relates it from 'Abdallah bin 'Amr.

7. Al-mala'ikah al-muqarrabun; see Ency. of Islam, iii. pp. 189 ff. esp. p. 190 a. Also Wensinck, The Muslim Creed, Cambridge 1932, p. 198.

8. For a treatment of mulk and malakut see Macdonald, Life of al-Ghazzali, pp. 116 ff.; his Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory, pp. 234 f.; Ency. of Islam, art. Ghaib, ii. p. 135; art. Djabarut, i. p. 986; art. 'Islam. Supp. pp. 16-17; On the Relation between Ghazali's Cosmology and his Mysticism, by Wensinck, reprint, Amsterdam, 1933.

9. i.e. the first half of the Ihya'.

10. The Book of the Discipline of the Soul and the Development of Character and the Treatment of the Ills of the Heart is the second book of the third quarter, and follows this book immediately.

11. Art. nafs see Ency. of Islam, iii. pp. 827 ff.; Macdonald, Religious Attitude, pp. 72 ff. Cf. "The blood round the heart is the thought of men." H. Diels; Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker,

- p. 105, quoted in Brett, A History of Psychology, London 1912, i. p. 359.
12. For the early ideas of Arabian physiology see E. G. Browne, Arabian Medicine, Cambridge 1921, pp 121 ff. Cf. Brett, op. cit. i. pp. 283 ff.
13. This concept has been expressed by the word 'subtlety', following the usage of the older philosophy. See Macdonald, Religious Attitude, pp. 221, 229ff. The nearest parallel in modern psychology to the refined nature of this 'subtile tenuous substance' is probably found in the ectoplasm or teleplasm of psychical research.
14. For the different kinds of science and knowledge see film, Ency. of Islam, i. pp 469 f. and the references there given.
15. See Rasûl, Ency. of Islam, iii. pp. 1127 f.
16. The eulogistic phrases are translated at their first occurrence and then generally omitted.
17. A tradition given by al-Bukhari and Muslim from Ibn Mas'ûd.
18. See Ency of Islam, i. p. 227.
19. See Ency of Islam, i. pp. 223 f.
20. The commentator Z. says that this 'spirit' is a very refined substance, the animal life principle. The arteries are made doubly strong so as to be able to carry the subtile body (jism la'îf) which is the spirit. Z. quotes al-Suhrawardi's al-'awârif on the spirit. Animals have it. It gives the power of sense per-

ception. It is strengthened by nourishment. Z. says further that the learned say that this spirit is a tenuous vaporous body produced from the blood which comes to its left chamber. Its value lies in that it bears the physical powers so that they are circulated in the body.

21. Z. says that about nothing have thinkers and writers differed so much as about the true nature of the spirit (rūḥ).

22. The nafs is the appetitive soul or self, the 'flesh' of Pauline usage. Ency. of Islam, iii. pp. 827-830. Macdonald, Religious Attitude, pp. 228-230.

23. The two-fold division of the irrational soul according to Plato was: (1) θυμὸς, anger or the irascible faculty, including courage, energy, and ambition. This is the higher of the two and its seat is the heart. (2) ἐπιθυμία, the appetite or the concupiscible faculty, including the appetites. It is the lower part and its seat is in the abdominal cavity. This idea with slight variation is a basic factor in the psychology of al-Ghazzālī.

24. A tradition quoted by al-Baihaqī from Ibn 'Abbās.

25. Z. gives an additional list of types of souls: (1) the concealing soul; Qur. 91:10, al-nafs al-dassâsah; (2) the bought soul; Qur. 9:112, al-nafs al-mushtarâh; (3) the soul which makes evil seem inconsequential, which conceals and slays; al-nafs

al-sawwâlah al-dassâsah al-qattâlah; (4) the purifying soul; Qur. 91:9, al-nafs al-zâkiyah; (5) the remembering soul; Qur. 7: 204, al-nafs al-dhâkirah; (6) the controlled (possessed) soul; Qur. 5:28, al-nafs al-mamlûkah; (7) the scientific (ideal) soul; al-nafs al-'ilmiyyah.

26. See Ency. of Islam, i. pp. 241 f. for discussion and bibliography.

27. The Book of Knowledge is the first book of the *Ihyâ'*. The discussion referred to is in Ithaf, i. pp. 458 ff.

28. A poorly attested tradition with many variations, discussed at length in Z. i. pp. 453 ff. Z. here gives one fuller form of it as follows: When Allah created the intelligence He said to it, "Draw near", and it drew near. Then He said, "Retreat", and it retreated. Then He said, "I have created nothing which I love more than thee; by thee I take and by thee I give."

The idea to which al-Ghazzâlî refers in this passage is probably related to the Neoplatonic concept of the intellect being the first emanation from the Absolute. See n.23. Cf. also the Active Intellect of al-Fârâbî and Ibn Sina, Ueberweg, History of Philosophy, New York 1901, i. pp. 412 f.; Brett, op. cit.

ii. p. 53.

29. Khawâṭir, see introduction, pp. xl - xliv.

30. Al-Ghazzâlî gives the heart the place of honor; it is the

seat of the noblest functions, the brain being given an inferior position. For this concept as it was held in the Aristotelian psychology see Brett, *op. cit.* i. p. 106.

31. Sahl al-Tustarî, Abû Muhammad Sahl bin 'Abdallah bin Yûnus, 203-283 A.H., was a Sunnî theologian, a mystic, and a strict ascetic. He held that in interpreting the Qur'ân it was necessary to seek four meanings: literal, allegorical, moral, and analogical. See Ency. of Islam, iv. p. 63.
32. See Ency. of Islam, art. kursî, ii. p. 1156.
33. An allusion to the well known tradition quoted by al-Bukhârî and Muslim, "Spirits:are:armies levied (set in array)". See Wensinck, Concordance et Indices de la Tradition Musulmane, Leiden, i. p. 385. Mishkât al Masâbih, Dihli, 1327, p. 263.
34. See Ency. of Islam, i. pp. 1081 f.
35. See Ency. of Islam, i. p. 231.
36. The second book of the fourth quarter of the Ihyâ'.
37. Sensus communis. See Brett, *op.cit.* i. pp. 120 ff.; ii. p. 55; Warren, Dictionary of Psychology, Cambridge, Mass., 1934, p. 51; The Thousand and One Nights, Night 449.
38. For a discussion of these internal senses see Wolfson, The Internal Senses in Latin, Arabic, and Hebrew Philosophic Texts, Harvard Theological Review, xxviii, No. 2, pp. 69-133. See also Brett, *op.cit.* ii. pp. 55 ff.

39. Cf. Qur. 5:61; 58:20. Ency. of Islam, ii. pp. 322 f.
40. Cf. The Psychology of Ibn-i-Sina, Islamic Culture, ix, No. 2, April 1935, p. 355.
41. A poorly attested tradition, not found in the well known collections. Al-'Irâqî (725-800 A.H.), the famous Egyptian traditionist who wrote on the traditions of al-Ghazzâlî, says that he finds no authority for it.
42. A doubtful tradition, says al-'Irâqî. See Scherer, O Youth, Beirut 1933, p. 62 n. 2.
43. Tawfîq is the divine favor by which success is attained. Theologians differed in explaining it. The Ash'arite position was that it was the creation of the power needed for obedience. See Dictionary of Technical Terms, Calcutta 1862, p. 1501; Asín, Algazel, Dogmática, Moral, Ascética, Zaragoza 1901, pp. 447ff.
44. See Browns, Arabian Medicine, pp. 12, 43.
45. Fiṭrah - Ency. of Islam, ii. pp. 115 f.
46. Ilhâm is the general inspiration given to saints. See Ency. of Islam, ii. pp. 467 f.
47. Ḥukamâ' - Ency. of Islam, ii. p. 224.
48. Awliyâ' - Ency. of Islam, iv. pp. 1109 ff.
49. Anbiyâ' - Ency. of Islam, iii. pp. 802 f.
50. A semi-reliable tradition, quoted also in Ihyâ' i. p. 167.
51. A well attested tradition given by many authorities.

Wensinck, Concordance, ii. p. 152 b.;

Muhammad al-Madanī, al-ithāfāt al-saniyyah fil-ahādīth al-gudsiyyah, Haidarabad 1323, Nos. 422, 796, 844-850; Ibn Qutaibah, mukhtalif al-hadīth, p. 243. It is quoted also in Ithāf, iii. p. 3.

52. A very poorly attested tradition.

53. A good tradition given by al-Bukhārī from Abū Hurairah, and accepted by all. Wensinck, Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition, Leiden 1927, p. 18 b.; Ibn Qutaibah, op.cit. p. 284.

54. A tradition quoted by Ahmad bin Hanbal from Abū Hurairah. Previously quoted in Thyā' i. pp. 208, 255.

55. This was one of the teachings of the Aristotelian system; see Windelband, A History of Philosophy, translated by Tufts, Macmillan New York 1907, p. 154.

56. For the Aristotelian development of the vegetative soul, the animal soul, and the rational soul which is the basis of this section, see Windelband, op.cit. pp. 149-154; Brett, op.cit. i. pp. 128 ff.; ii. pp.54 ff.; For the Muslim development of this thought before al-Ghazzālī see Islamic Culture, April 1935, pp. 335-358.

57. This localization of the seat of the imaginative power was an older idea of Greek philosophers and was given new life by Ibn Sina. Brett, op.cit. ii. p.56.

58. Ka'b al-Ahbâr, Abû Ishaq bin Mati' bin Haisû', was a Yamanite Jew, converted to Islam in the caliphate of Abû Bakr or 'Umar. He was the oldest authority for Jewish-Muslim traditions. Ency. of Islam, ii. pp 582 f.
59. 'Ā'ishah hint Abû Bakr, the favorite wife of Muḥammad, Ency. of Islam, i. p. 216.
60. An uncertain tradition.
61. 'Alî bin Abû Ṭâlib, the cousin of the Prophet and his son-in-law, was the fourth caliph. Ency. of Islam, i. pp. 283 ff.
62. A poorly attested tradition quoted from oûl al-qulûb.
63. 'Ubai bin Ka'b, a Helper, died A.H. 22 or 30. He wrote down some of the prophetic revelation for Muḥammad. Ibn Ḥajar, A Biographical Dictionary of Persons who knew Mohammed, Calcutta 1856, i. pp. 30 ff. Ibn Qutaibah, Handbuch der Geschichte, Wûstenfeld, Göttingen 1854, p. 133.
64. Zaid bin Aslam al-'Adawî (d. 36) was a freedman of the Caliph 'Umar and a reliable traditionist. Ibn Ḥajar, ii. p. 39; Flügel, kitâb al-fihrist, Leipzig 1871-72, pp. 23, 225.
65. Cf. Qur. 9:88,94; 83:14.
66. Al-Ḥaqq, Allah as the Absolute Reality.
67. A well attested tradition says al-'Irâqî.
68. A very doubtful tradition according to al-'Irâqî.
69. Sunnah, usage or way of life. Ency. of Islam, iv. pp.555 ff.

70. Maimūn bin Mahrān, Abū 'Amr bin Mahrān al-Jazarī, (d. 116 or 117), a follower. He was a cloth merchant and tax collector under 'Umar bin 'Abd al-'Azīz. Ibn Qutāibah, p. 228; Ibn Ṭag̃rī Bardīi Annal, i. pp. 291, 308.
71. A part of the following tradition, see 72.
72. A tradition given by Ahmad from Abū Sa'īd al-Khudarī. Wensinck, Handbook, p. 95 a. Previously quoted Ihyā' i. p. 109. Cf. Massignon, Essai sur Les Origines du Lexique Technique de la Mystique Musulmane, Paris 1922, p. 138.
73. Dhikr, often written zīkr, includes the remembrance of the heart and the act of making mention with the tongue. See Ency. of Islam, i. p. 958.
74. Vashf, mystic unveiling. Ency. of Islam, ii. pp. 787 f.
75. Cf. the separated form or intellectus agens of Ibn Sina's doctrine of the intellect. Brett, op.cit. ii. pp. 57 f.
76. An unsupported tradition, says al-'Irāqī.
77. A rather poorly attested tradition quoted from qūt al-qulūb; it precedes in Ihyā', i. p. 63.
78. See Wolfson's Internal Senses, op.cit. p. 93 n.; also Waliur Rahman, The Psychology of Ibn-i-Sina, Islamic Culture, ix, No. 2, April 1935, p. 354.
79. Mutakallimūn, theologians. Ency. of Islam, ii. pp. 672 ff.
80. Madhāhib, sects or schools, generally the four orthodox schools

of Mâlik, al-Shâfi'î, Abû Hanifah, and Ahmad bin Hanbal.

Ency. of Islam, ii. p. 104 f; cf. also iv. p. 252.

81. The reference is to the syllogism.

82. Tawhîd. Jurjâni, kitâb al-ta'rifât, p. 73, says that tawhîd consists in: experientially knowing Allah's lordship; declaring His unity; and denying that there is any other like Him. The term is thus practically synonymous with Muslim 'theology' in the narrower sense of that term. Ency. of Islam, i. p. 306; ii. p. 704.

83. Lane, Lexicon, p. 2416, says. "Every infant is born in a state of conformity to the natural constitution with which he is created in his mother's womb, either prosperous or unprosperous (in relation to the soul)." See also note 45. This is a tradition from Abû Hurairah related by all. Wensinck, Handbook, p. 43 a. Cf. Tertullian's "Anima naturaliter Christiana."

84. Ibn 'Umar, 'Abdallah bin 'Umar bin al-Khaţţâb, a Companion and the son of the second caliph, d. 73. Ency. of Islam, i. p. 28 f.

85. A very uncertain tradition, possibly confused with that mentioned in n. 62, says al-'Irâqî.

86. A tradition given in qût al-qulûb and al-risâlah al-gushairiyyah with no basis of authority, says al-'Irâqî.

87. A well attested tradition given by Ibn Mâjah from 'Abdallah bin 'Umar. Wensinck, Concordance, ii. p. 78 b.

88. 'Umar bin al-Khaṭṭāb was the second caliph; died 23 A.H.
Ency. of Islam, iii. pp. 982 ff.
89. Ḥadrah - see Ency. of Islam, ii. pp. 207.
90. Z. in Commentary gives another reading: "and His Kingdom is made up of His servants and His works." This passage is an assertion of the unity of Allah, the Self-existent One, which also guards against the possibility of there being anything in the universe which owes its existence to other than Him.
91. See art. Djanna, Ency. of Islam, i. p. 1014 f.
92. Ahl al-ḥaqq, a general term for Muḥammadan mystics, 'the followers of reality', according to the usage here by al-Ghazzālī. See Nicholson, The Mystics of Islam, G. Bell & Sons, London 1914, p.1.
93. Taqlid, faith based on blind acceptance of custom and authority. Ency. of Islam, iv. pp. 630 f.
94. Z. gives a further analysis of these degrees of faith which is taken from other writings of al-Ghazzālī. The first two are from iljām al-'awāmm, and the third from mishkāt al-anwār. The first degree of faith, or that of the rank and file, is blind imitation. It comes through: (1) hearing the doctrine from someone who is an authority worthy of trust, as a child trusts a parent or teacher; (2) hearing in convincing circumstances something known about previously; (3) hearing a doctrine that appeals to the nature of the individual, which is the weakest of all types of faith. The faith

of the theologians is the second degree, and it is mingled with some logical reasoning. It may be: (1) belief resting on complete proof which has been worked out step by step, which is the highest rank of this sort; or (2) belief resting on the well known stock arguments of leading teachers; or (3) belief resting on written proofs, such as those used in debates and correspondence. The third degree of faith, which is that of mystics, is seeing with the light of certainty. (1) It is belief that all other than Allah has no essential existence, but only contingent and figurative existence. Man therefore is the absolute possession of the One Unique Ruler who has no partner. (2) This is followed by advancement from the level of the figurative to an ascent to the summit of reality, until a clear vision is experienced that the face of Allah is the One Existence, and all else is eternally perishing. Cf. Qur. 28:88. (3) After attaining the heaven of reality there is no existence seen save Allah and the believer is devoid of all feeling of self or of other than Allah, and is lost in contemplation of Him. This state, in which a 'passing away' (fanâ') takes place figuratively called 'union' (ittiḥâd), but is in reality an experience of the Divine Unity (tawhîd). See also Macdonald, Religious Attitude, pp. 245 ff.

95. This quotation is in poetic form and might be reproduced approximately as follows:

Man's mind a two-fold intellect appears;
 The one instinctive; the other what he hears.
 That which is heard avails naught, save when joined
 To that which is instinctive in the mind.
 Just as the sun which shineth in the sky
 Is of no worth without a seeing eye.

96. A tradition quoted by Tirmidhî, but not well attested. For Z's discussion of this and the following tradition see Ithâf, i. pp. 461 f.
97. A poorly attested tradition.
98. Qalam, pen. See Ency of Islam, ii. pp. 675 f. (Qalam).
99. Jawhar, substance in the philosophic sense. Ency. of Islam, i. pp. 1027 f.; Wolfson, The Philosophy of Spinoza, Harvard University Press, 1934, i. p. 64 n.2.
100. 'Arad, accident which exists in a substance. Ency. of Islam, i. p. 417.
101. Aṭibbâ', doctors of medicine. Ency. of Islam, art. Ṭibb, iv. pp. 740 f.
102. Shari'ah - Ency. of Islam, iv. pp. 320 ff.
103. A weak and generally denied tradition, says Z.
104. Al-Ḥasan bin Abû al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrî, a very prominent and learned traditionist and pious ascetic. Ency. of Islam, ii. p.273. He lived A.H. 21-110.
105. This is apparently an extension of the teaching in the Qur'ân about the supernatural aid given to 'Isâ (2:81, 254; 5:109), so as

to include all the prophets. The meaning of the term 'Holy Spirit' here is probably explained by the words which follow, 'divine power sufficient for all things'. Baiḍāwī on the above passages gives this as one meaning of the 'Holy Spirit', another of course, being Jibrīl. See also n.11.

106. Ṣūfī, a Muslim mystic. Ency. of Islam, art. Taṣawwuf, iv. pp. 681 ff.; Wilson, Remarks of Sufism and its Relation to Pantheism and Islam, Islamic Culture v. No.1, Jan.1931, pp.142 ff.

107. For a close and interesting parallel see the statement of Philo quoted in Brett, op.cit. i. p. 249, here given in part.

"..and sometimes when I come to my work empty, I have suddenly become full, ideas being in an invisible manner showered upon me and implanted in me from on high; so that through the influence of Divine Inspiration I have become greatly excited, and have known neither the place in which I was nor those who were present, nor myself, nor what I was saying, nor what I was writing."

108. Saḥab, secondary cause. Ency. of Islam, Supp. p. 191 f.

109. Wahy, prophetic inspiration. Ency. of Islam, iv. pp. 1091 ff.

2. gives six varieties of wahy, as follows: (1) that which comes as the ringing of a bell; (2) that in which an angel appears and addresses man; (3) visions in sleep; (4) that which comes, being cast into the heart; (5) Jibrīl comes (to the Prophet) in his true form, having six hundred wings, each one of which fills the horizon; (6) Allah speaks to him directly as He did the night of the heavenly journey. This is the highest sort.

110. 'Ulamâ', the learned. See Ency. of Islam, iv. p. 994.

Z. says in commenting on this that there are three kinds of 'ilm mentioned by Ibn 'Arabî, as follows: (1) intellectual knowledge, whether axiomatic or rationally proven; (2) knowledge of states, which is learned only through experience; (3) knowledge of secrets, which is above the intellect, and is received only through the in-breathing of the Holy Spirit.

111. The Preserved Tablet, Ency. of Islam, iii. pp. 19 f; also Wensinck, On the Relation between Ghazâlî's Cosmology and his Mysticism, pp. 16 ff.

112. Z. says that knowledge is gained in the following ways: (1) through intuitive intelligence and sense contact; (2) through sight, based on intellectual or sensible premises; (3) through the report of others, hearing, or reading; (4) through general inspiration (wahy), (A) through the tongue of an angel who can be seen, (B) through hearing the voice of an angel without seeing him, or (C) through a casting into the heart, either during waking hours or when asleep.

113. Z. says that this elevation above the world of sense is the first ascent (al-mi'râj al-awwal) of the traveller on the mystic's path.

114. Ghurrah - whiteness. Probably the reference is to the white leucoma which so often causes loss of sight in Eastern lands.

115. Murîd, novice or neophyte. Ency. of Islam, iii. p. 735.
116. Zuhd, asceticism. Ency. of Islam, iv. p. 1239.
117. Z. says that this is the first stage or the true beginning of the mystic's path.
118. Zâwiyah. See Ency. of Islam, iv. pp. 1220 f.
119. Farâ'id. See Farḍ, Ency. of Islam, ii. p. 61; Ithâf, i.p.144.
120. Rawâtib, supererogatory performances of worship which precede and follow the prescribed prayers. See also Calverley, Worship in Islam, Madras 1925, pp. 21, 186 ff.; Ency. of Islam, iii. p. 1129.
121. The hadîth al-nafs is equivalent to al-khâtir al-nafsi (q.v. Introd. p. xli). See al-risâlah al-qushairiyyah, Cairo 1290, i. p. 182; iii. p. 180; Ṣaidâwî on Qur. 50:15. It is the lightest type of sin, and according to some, is not even to be reckoned as sin on the day of judgment. Ency. of Islam, ii. p. 927 a. See also translation, p. 160.
122. An accepted tradition quoted by Aḥmad from Ibn al-Aswad.
123. Fiqh. See Ency. of Islam, ii. pp. 101 ff.
124. Ḥawâss, external senses. See Islamic Culture, ix, No. 2, April 1935, pp. 344-351.
125. Khayâl, the power to preserve the forms of sensibles perceived by the common sense after the objects themselves have been removed. It is a storehouse for the common sense, placed in the back part of the front ventricle of the brain, Jurjâni, p. 107.

See also Wolfson on the Internal Senses, op. cit. p. 100 n.;

Islamic Culture, ix. No.2, April 1935, p. 353.

126. Cf. Ibn Sīna's three modes of existence. Things are ante res, in the mind of Allah; in rebus, natural existence together with its accidents; and post res, as conceived by the human intellect. Ueberweg, op.cit. i. p. 413. Al-Ghazzālī has merely subdivided this third division, post res, into imaginative and intellectual existence. In this chain of modes of existence we see some of the influence of Neoplatonism on the Arabian philosophic thinkers.

127. Cf. the Aristotelian idea of the human soul as a microcosm, uniting in itself all the faculties of the other orders of animate existence and distinguished by $\psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\epsilon}$. Ueberweg, op.cit. i. p. 168.

128. Man's potential intelligence is made actual from two directions: divine inspiration, and reasoning and argumentation. This was taught by Ibn Sīna, (Islamic Culture, op.cit. pp.356 ff.; Ueberweg, op. cit. i. pp 412 f.; Brett, op.cit. ii. pp. 51, 57), and further developed by al-Ghazzālī who added ṣūfī elements as we find here. The soul of man, or his heart, is between sense perception and divine illumination and is influenced by them both, in the sense that both are sources of knowledge. This is similar to what al-Ghazzālī has already told us of man's being between the angel and the demon, in the sense of being influenced

by them both in the sphere of conduct.

129. The first part is a well attested tradition given by al-Bukhârî and Muslim from Abû Hurairah. The latter part which begins 'for this devotional exercise' etc. is a poorly attested later addition. Wensinck, Handbook, p. 97 a.

130. A hadîth qudsî (Ency. of Islam, ii. p. 190 b.; iv. p. 336 a.); I do not find its source.

131. Z. gives a proverb which says that wisdom descended (in special power) upon three bodily members: the brain of the Greek, the hand of the Chinese, and the tongue of the Arab.

132. Z. says that the knowledge here referred to is the believer's experiential knowledge of Allah.

133. A tradition from Ibn Mas'ûd related by al-Bukhârî and Muslim. Cf. ahâdîth qudsiyyah. Nos. 49, 258.

134. Abû Bakr al-Şiddîq, the first caliph, Ency. of Islam, i. pp 80 ff.; iv. pp. 402 f.

135. Mithqâl, here apparently a standard weight, although the passage has some textual variants. Equivalent to one and one half dirhems or twenty carats, says Lane.

136. A generally accepted tradition from Abû Sa'îd. See Wensinck, Concordance, ii. p. 22 b.

137. A good tradition from Ibn 'Umar.

138. Ibn 'Abbâs, 'Abdallah, a cousin of the Prophet and a cele-

brated traditionist and commentator, d. 68 or 69 or 70. Ency. of Islam, i. pp. 19 f.

139. The first part of this tradition has preceded, n. 103.

Al-'Irâqî says that he finds no authority for the addition. The word 'illiyyûn, Seventh Heaven, comes from the Hebrew 'elyôn.

Cf. Qur. 83:18-19; Genesis 14:18. Ency. of Islam, ii. p. 469 b.

140. A tradition quoted by al-Tirmidhî from Abû Umâmah; see also Ihyâ', i. p. 6 and ii. p. 215. Wensinck, Concordance, ii. p. 151 a.

141. The tradition proper probably ends here, the rest being a quotation from the qût, says Z. This is also evidenced by the statement of al-'Irâqî that the first part is a tradition of Anas given by Abû Na'îm, but that he finds no source in tradition for the rest of the quotation. The first part is also quoted in the Ihyâ', i. p. 63, and by al-Baidâwî in his comment on the preceding Qur'ânic quotation, 29:69.

142. A well known tradition from Ibn 'Abbâs:

143. An accepted tradition from Ibn Mâs'ûd; also Ihyâ', i. p. 68.

144. A tradition related by Ahmad and others from Ibn 'Abbâs; also Ihyâ', i. p. 33.

145. An accepted tradition, varying considerably in form. In Ihyâ', i. p. 254 it is given as follows: "The Prophet did not disclose to me anything which he concealed from the people save that Allah gives a servant understanding in His Book."

146. Abū l-Dardā' al-Khazrajī al-Anṣārī, a great Qur'ân scholar and Qâdī in Damascus where he died in 31 A.H. Ency. of Islam, i. p. 82.
147. Saiaf, the Fathers, i.e. Companions, Successors, Followers, heads of Schools, etc. Dict. of Tech. Terms, p. 676 f.; Hughes, Dictionary, p. 560 a.
148. Firâsah, divinely given intuition. Ency. of Islam, ii.p.108b.
149. A tradition quoted by al-Tirmidhī from Abū Sa'īd; also Ihyâ', ii. p. 259.
150. An accepted tradition of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī quoted by al-Tirmidhī. In Ihyâ', i. p. 52 it is given, "Knowledge is two-fold, a knowledge on the tongue, which is Allah's argument (ḥujjah) against His creatures; and a knowledge in the heart, which is the profitable knowledge."
151. Al-Bukhârī quotes a similar tradition from Abū Hurairah, and Muslim from 'Ā'ishah.
152. The meaning apparently given to this quotation here is quite different from that of the Qur'ânic context.
153. Siddiqūn, those who accept and assert the truth of Allah and His Apostle. See Qur'ân 4:71 and 57:18 with Baiḍāwī's comment on the latter verse. For the early usage of the term see Hassignon, Essai, p. 193. Cf. the use of al-ḥiddiq, the great believer, with the name of Abū Bakr, Ency. of Islam, iv. p. 402 b.

154. (add) Cf. Margaret Smith, Studies in Early Mysticism, Macmillan, New York, 1931, by index; JRAS, 1913, p. 56.
154. Abû Yazîd al-Bistâmî, also known as Bâyezîd (d. 261 or 264), a Persian pantheistic Şûfî, the grandson of a Magian, probably the first to introduce the doctrine of fanâ', self-annihilation. Ency. of Islam, i. p. 686 & Supp. p. 42; Massignon, Essai, p. 247 ff.
155. 'Ilm ladunnî, the meaning here seems to be knowledge learned directly from Allah by a spoken word or a vision without the mediation of prophet or angel. The term is also used of a direct certain knowledge of Allah's essence and attributes. Dict. of Tech. Terms, p. 1066; Massignon, Essai, p. 111.
156. Al-Ghazzâlî uses akhbâr for traditions which go back to Muḥammad, and 'âthâr for traditional sayings which go back to the Companions. See Ency. of Islam, art. Khâbar, ii. p. 859.
157. Şaḥâbah, the Companions of the Prophet. See Ency. of Islam, art. Aṣḥâb, i. pp. 477 f.
158. Tâbi'ûn, the Followers who came after the Companions. Ency. of Islam, iv. p. 583.
159. Khuṭbah, the regular Friday sermon in the mosque. Ency. of Islam, ii. pp. 980 ff.
160. Sâriyah, an expedition which travels at night, here personified in direct address.
161. Karâmât, Ency. of Islam, ii. p. 744.
162. Anas bin Mâlik, Abû Ḥanzah, (d. 91 or 93), one of the most prolific traditionists. Ency. of Islam, i. p. 345.

163. 'Uthmân, Abû 'Amr 'Uthmân bin 'Affân, the third caliph, d. 35. Ency. of Islam, iii. pp. 1008 ff.
164. Abû Sa'îd Ahmad bin 'Isâ (Muhammad) al-Kharrâz al-Baghdâdî, a famous mystic and companion of Dhû'l-Nûn and others, d. 277 or 286. Al-Çushairî, al-risâlah, Cairo 1304, pp. 28 f.
165. Zakariyâ bin Da'ûd. I cannot identify him.
166. Abû l-'Abbâs Ahmad bin Muhammad bin Masrûq al-Çusî, a mystic and pupil of al-Muḥâsibî, d. 295 or 298. Al-Çushairî, p. 29; Massignon, Essai, pp. 209, 223.
167. Abû l-Faḍl al-Ḥâshimî. I am not sure of the identification, but he may be the mystic who studied Indian mysticism and brought it into Islam. See Massignon, Essai, pp. 68, 70, 78.
168. Ahmad al-Naqîb. I cannot identify him.
169. Al-Shib'î, Abû Bakr, (247-334), a famous Sunnî mystic. Ency. of Islam, iv. p. 360 f.
170. Mu'nis al-Khâdim (al-Muḡaffar), a famous 'Abbâsîd general, d. 321. Ency. of Islam, iii. pp 723 f.
171. Ḥamzah bin 'Abdallah al-'Alawî, a traditionist. Annales at-Tabari, Series iii. vol.1, p. 254, 1 4, p. 258, 1 12.
172. Abû l-Khair al-Timânî al-Aḡṣa', a mystic noted for karâmât and firâsah, d. 340-349. Al-Çushairî, p. 34; Al-Sha'arânî, al-tabaqât al-kubrâ, p. 87.
173. Abû Ishâq Ibrâhîm bin Da'ûd al-Raqqî, d. 326, a leading shaikh among Damascus mystics. Al-Çushairî, p. 34.

174. Al-Khiḍr (al-Khaḍīr), a popular figure of uncertain identity often referred to in legend and story. Ency. of Islam, ii. pp. 861 ff.; Islamic Culture, April 1929, p. 317; Massignon, Essai, pp. 111 f.
175. Hâtif, Ency. of Islam, ii. p. 289.
176. Mujâhadah, the struggle against the desires of the lower nature by compelling it to conform to the demands of the religious law. Jurjânî, op.cit. pp. 216, 290.
177. Abdâl, Substitutes, persons who are spiritual pillars by whom Allah continues the world in existence. No one can identify them. For the Şûfî hierarchy and further definition see, Hughes, Dictionary; Lane, Lexicon; Sell, The Religious Orders of Islam, 1908, p. 24 f.; Ency. of Islam, Supp. p. 35; Massignon, Essai, pp. 112 f. The term here seems to be used non-technically for a Muslim saint.
178. Abû Sulaimân al-Darânî (d. 205 or 215), a mystic who developed the doctrine of gnosis in Şûfism. Ibn Khallikân, ii. p.88; Hitti, History of the Arabs, p. 434; Massignon, Essai, pp.197 ff.
179. Wiswâs, cf. al-khâṭir al-shaiṭânî, Introd. p. xlii.
180. Khidhlân, desertion. See Wensinck, The Muslim Creed, pp. 143 and 213.
181. A tradition from Ibn Mas'ûd quoted by al-Tirmidhî and al-Nasâ'î. Wensinck, Concordance, ii. p. 98 a.

182. A tradition given by Muslim. Z. gives a number of variants of this tradition. See Ency. of Islam, art. Shaiṭān, iv. pp. 286 f.
183. Jarīr bin 'Ubaidah al-'Adawī (Cairo text has Jābir) . I cannot identify him.
184. Al-'Alā' bin Ziyād bin Maṭar al-'Adawī al-Baṣrī (d. 194), a Follower and traditionist. Al-Sha'rānī, op.cit. p. 28; al-Nawawī, kitāb tahdhīb al-asmā', Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1849, p. 540.
185. 'Uthmān bin Abū l-'Āṣ al-Thaqafī (d. 51 or 55), one time governor of Ṭā'if and Bahrain. Ibn Hajar, ii. p. 1098 f.; Ibn Qutaibah, p. 137.
186. Khinzih, according to Z.; Hughes, Dictionary, and Muhit al-Muhit, Beirut 1870, give Khanzah; Tāj al-'Arūs and Lisān al-'Arab give both vowelings and also khunzub. The word means a piece of decayed meat, and is applied to the demon who interferes with the ritual prayer. The Tāj says that Ibn al-Athīr quotes the tradition about khinzib among the traditions on ritual prayer.
187. Al-Walḥān, also al-Walahān. The name signifies grief or distraction of mind. This demon deceives by calling for an abundance of water for the ritual ablution. Muhit al-Muhit p. 2287; see also Nishkāṭ, ii. ch. 7.
- This tradition is quoted by al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Kājah from Ubai bin Ka'b.
188. Ta'awudh. Hughes, Dictionary, p. 624 a.

189. See Wensinck, Concordance, i. p. 532 a.
190. Mujāhid bin Jabr al-Makkī (d. 101-4 or 111), Successor, Ibn Khallikān, i. p. 568; Al-Nawawī, p. 540; Massignon, Essai, pp. 142 f.
191. A poorly attested tradition given by Ibn Abū l-Dunyā and others.
192. Ibn Waddāh, Muhammad, (d. 287), a traditionist and ascetic, and a freedman of 'Abd al-Rahmān bin Mu'āwiyah al-Amawī in Spain. Wüstenfeld, Dehahi, Liber Classicum Virorum, Göttingen 1834, ii. p. 61, No. 15; Biblioteca Arabo-Sicula, M. Amari, Torino e Roma 1881, ii. pp. 495, 702; Ibn Khallikān, iii. p. 85.
193. A baseless tradition, says al-'Irāqī.
194. A universally accepted tradition, except for the last clause. See also Ihyā', i. p. 208; Wensinck, Concordance, i. p. 342 a.
195. Hījah, Ency. of Islam, ii. p. 302.
196. Jihād, Ency. of Islam, i. pp. 1041 f.
197. A well attested tradition given by al-Nasā'ī, says al-'Irāqī.
198. This passage is undoubtedly autobiographical.
199. A tradition quoted by al-Nasā'ī from Anas, says al-'Irāqī. Given as a verse missing from the Qur'ān in an article by Arthur Jeffery, Abū 'Uбайд on the Verses Missing from the Qur'ān, The Moslem World, xxviii, No.1, Jan. 1938, p. 64.
200. A tradition accepted by all, from Abū Hurairah. See also

- Thyā', i. p. 43; Wensinck, Concordance, i, p. 139 a.
201. 'Īsā, the Jesus of the Bible. Ency. of Islam, ii. pp.524 ff.
202. The last book of the third quarter; Thyā', iii. p.326.
203. Z. quotes a tradition from Abū Sa'īd related by Aḥmad and others that Satan said, "By thy power, O Lord, I shall not leave off leading thy servants astray as long as their breath is in their bodies." The Lord answered, "By my power and majesty, I shall forgive them when they seek forgiveness of me." Cf. Qur. 38:83-84.
204. Aḥmad quotes this tradition from Abū Hurairah.
205. 'Abdallah bin Mas'ūd bin Ghāfil, Companion, d. 32 or 33. Ency. of Islam, ii. p. 403.
206. Qais bin al-Ḥajjāj al-Kalā'ī al-Miṣrī, a traditionist, d. 229. Biographien des Ibn Ishāq ad-Dahabī, Fischer, Leiden 1890, p. 14.
207. Al-Masā'ī quotes this tradition which is well attested.
208. Rāhib, Ency. of Islam, iii. p. 1103 b.
209. An accepted tradition. Z. gives several forms of it with their narrators. A much longer form is given in Ibn Jawzī, talbis ihlīs, pp.26 ff.
210. Kaḥā'ir. The great sins here referred to are adultery, murder, and worship of another beside Allah. Muslim theologians divide sins into two classes: great sins (kaḥīrah, plu. kaḥā'ir), and little sins (saghīrah, plu. saghā'ir). This division is based

on Qur. 53:33 and similar verses. The lesser sins are faults and imperfections inherent in human nature. The greater sins include the three here mentioned and theft, etc. Great sins have a specific punishment. Christian influence is seen early in Muslim tradition bringing in the seven mortal sins; Thus the two-fold division corresponds in general with the Christian categories of mortal and venial sins. For discussion and bibliography see Wensinck, Handbook, p. 215 b. Hastings, Dictionary of Religion and Ethics, xi. pp. 567 ff.; and Ency. of Islam, art. Khaṭi'ā, ii. pp. 925 ff.

211. An accepted tradition quoted by al-Bukhārī, says al-'Irāqī.

212. Mukallaf. Every sane human adult is responsible for his acts and will be judged for them in accordance with the provisions of the divine law. Angels and jinn are also said to be mukallafūn in relation to the Prophet Muḥammad. But angels are given an in-born disposition to obedience. Hāshiyat al-Baijūrī on Faḍālī, p. 14; Ency. of Islam, art. Taklif, iv. p. 631; Dict. of Tech. Terms, p. 1255; Dozy, Supplement, ii. p. 485.

213. Mūsā, the Biblical Moses. Ency. of Islam, iii. pp. 738 f.

214. i.e. one who is not dhāt mahram, or a woman so closely related that a man could not marry her. Lane, Lexicon, p. 556.

215. A fairly well attested tradition the authenticity of which is discussed by Z. at length. Wensinck, Concordance, i. p. 409 a.

216. Nūḥ, the Biblical Noah. Ency. of Islam, iii. pp. 948 f.

217. For this meaning of 'asâba see Lichtenstädter, Women in the Aiyâm al-'Arab, Royal Asiatic Society, London 1935, pp. 31 ff.
218. Yahyâ bin Zakariyâ, the Biblical John the Baptist. Ency. of Islam, iv. pp. 1148 f.
219. Şalâh, also Şalât, Ency. of Islam, iv. pp. 96 f.; Calverley, Worship in Islam, introduction.
220. i.e., he stays there a long time, says Z.
221. These are two technical phrases often used. Cf. Qur. 22:42; Ihyâ', iv. hook 9.
222. Şafwân bin Salîm, Abû 'Abdallah al-Madani, Follower, d. 132 or 133, a traditionist and ascetic. Wüstenfeld, Dahabî, Liber Classicum Virorum, i. pp. 24 f.; Al-Sha'rânî, al-tahcât al-kubrâ, p. 30.
223. 'Abdallah bin Hançalah bin Abû 'Âmir al-Râhib al-Anşâri, a traditionist, d. 173. Ibn Hajar, ii. p. 731.
224. A fairly well attested tradition given by al-Tirmidhî. Wensinck, Concordance, i. p. 129 a.
225. A well attested tradition somewhat expanded. The tradition is from Abû Hurairah and is given in most of the large collections.
- Professor Asín, in Algazel, p. 460 n., says that this tradition seems to have arisen from the following sources: (1) The story of the Apocryphal Gospels of the idols in Egypt falling down when Jesus went there. (2) Luke 2:13. (3) A very curious idea of

St. Ignatius, quoted by St. Jerome (In Evangelium secundum Mattheum, Liber i, cap. 1.): Quare non de simplici virgine sed de desponsata concipitur? Martyr Ignatius etiam quartam addidit causam cur a desponsata conceptus sit: ut partus, inquit, ejus celaretur diabolo, dum eum putat non de virgine sed de uxore generatum.

226. i.e., a care-free heart, with no worries about a means of gaining a livelihood.

227. Jahannam, the Muslim hell. Ency. of Islam, i. pp. 998 f.

228. Thâbit al-Banâni, Abû Muḥammad al-Baṣrî, a Quraishite traditionist, d. 21-29. Ibn Qutaibah, p. 241.

229. A fairly reliable tradition. Z. gives various readings and their authorities.

230. Khaythamah bin 'Abd al-Rahmân, a traditionist, the son and grandson of Companions, d. 86. Dababi, Liber Classicum Virorum, i. p.8.

231. Sufyân, Abû 'Abdallah Sufyân bin Sa'îd bin Masrûq al-Thawri al-Kûfi, a celebrated theologian and ascetic and reliable traditionist, 97-161. Ency. of Islam, iv. pp. 500 ff.

232. Abû Umâmah (Imâmah) al-Bâhili, Companion, d. 81 or 86. Ibn Qutaibah, p. 157 f.; Massignon, Essai, p. 127.

233. A poorly attested tradition, says al-'Irâqî. See ahâdith qudsiyyah, Nos. 452, 636-7. Ency. of Islam, iv. p. 286.

234. Cf. ahl al-ahwâ', Ency. of Islam, i. p. 183.
235. Fâṭimah, the daughter of Muḥammad and wife of 'Alī, d. 11. Ency. of Islam, ii. pp. 85 ff.
236. A tradition accepted by all. Wensinck, Concordance, i.p.187 b.
237. A tradition from Abū Hurairah, accepted by all.
238. Al-Shâfi'ī, al-Imâm Abū 'Abdallah Muḥammad bin Idrīs, 150-204, the founder of the school of law which bears his name. Ency. of Islam, iv. pp. 252 ff.
239. Abū Ḥanīfah, Muslim jurist and founder of the Ḥanīfite school, (c.80-150). Ency. of Islam, i. pp. 90 f. & Supp. p. 6.
240. Abū 'Abdallah Mâlik bin Anas bin Mâlik, jurist and founder of the Mâlikite school, (c.94-179). Ency. of Islam, iii.pp. 205 ff.
241. Ahmad bin Muḥammad bin Ḥanbal, a celebrated theologian for whom one of the four schools of canon law is named, (d. 241). Ency. of Islam, i. p. 188; Ithâf, i. pp. 214 f.
242. Cf. Qur. 3:5 umm ul-kitâb, with Baiḍâwī's comment.
243. Cf. Al-Ghazzâlī's book iljâm al 'awâmm 'an 'ilm al-kalâm, of which a brief abstract is here given. This tract was written to show that the common people should not study theology because of the danger of a wrong idea of Allah and His attributes through literal interpretation of terms applied to Him, such as; form, hand, foot, descent, movement, sitting on the throne, etc. Those who hold these literal interpretations think that they are following

the belief of the Muslim fathers (salaf). So al-Ghazzâlî writes first to explain the true doctrines of the fathers, i.e., the Companions and the Followers. This is that whenever one of the common people hears any such statements he is obligated to do seven things: (1) To believe that Allah is far above a corporeal nature or any of its concomitants. (2) To believe that what the Prophet taught was true in the way he said it and intended it. (3) To confess his inability to grasp the subject and that it is not his province. (4) Not to seek its meaning which would be innovation, nor to delve into it which would be dangerous for his faith and likely to lead to unbelief. (5) To quote such language only as it is revealed without grammatical variation or change. (6) To honestly cease investigating it and pondering over it. (7) Not to think that because it is hidden from him that it is hidden from the Apostle of Allah, or the prophets, the trustworthy, and the saints. Al-Ghazzâlî then goes on in the second part to prove that this doctrine of the fathers is the only true teaching, and that whoever diverges from it is an innovator. In the third part of the book he answers objections raised against his position and questions regarding it. He concludes that the happiness of mankind lies in a fixed belief in things as they are: in Allah, His attributes, His books, His apostles, and the last day, even though this belief is not by means of a formulated proof. Allah

does not require more than this of them.

244. Kâfir, Ency. of Islam, ii. pp. 618 ff.

245. Muhtadi', Ency. of Islam, art. Bid'at, i. pp. 712 f.

246. A well attested tradition quoted by all. Z. mentions some slight variations.

247. A tradition for which al-'Irâqî finds no basis. Z. gives two variations of it with sources, but poorly attested.

248. 'Alî bin Ḥussain bin 'Alî bin Abû Ṭâlib al-Ḥâshimî, Zain al-'Abidin, one of the twelve Shi'ite imams, d. 93 or 94. Ency. of Islam, i. p. 288.

249. Ṣafiyyah bint Ḥayy bin Akḥṭab, a Jewess who became the eleventh wife of Muḥammad after Khaibar, d. 50 or 52. Ency. of Islam, iv. p. 57.

250. Anṣâr, Ency. of Islam, i. pp. 357 f.

251. A well attested tradition given by nearly all authorities. Wensinck, Handbook, p. 211 a.

252. A quotation from a poem which might be rendered,

Favor's eye to every fault is dull
But anger's eye is quick to set forth ill.

253. Abû Hurairah, a Companion and the most prolific traditionist, d. 57 or 58. Ency. of Islam, i. pp. 93 f.

254. Z. quotes a number of traditions which parallel this story at certain points.

255. Muḥammad bin Wāsi' bin Jābir al-Baṣrī, a pious ascetic, d. 120. Flügel, Fihrist, p. 163; De Goeje, Annales de Tabari, ii. 1326.
256. 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin Abū Lailā al-Anṣārī, a Follower, d. 81 or 83. Ibn Khallikān, ii. p. 84; Ibn Faḡar, ii. p. 1008.
257. Jihriī, Ency. of Islam, i. pp. 990 f.
258. A tradition quoted by Ibn Abū l-Dunyā, says al-'Irāqī.
259. 'Ifrit, Ency. of Islam, ii. p. 455 a.
260. Jinn, Ency. of Islam, i. pp 1045 f.
261. A tradition given by Ibn Abū l-Dunyā.
262. Sulaimān, the Biblical Solomon, Ency. of Islam, iv. pp 519 ff.
263. A tradition quoted with variations by various authorities. Wensinck, Concordance, ii. p. 87 a. gives it from Aḥmad.
264. One form of this tradition which shows how Satan avoided 'Umar is noted in Wensinck, Handbook, p. 234 b.
265. Waḥb bin Munabbih, a Follower and famous South Arabian traditionist and ascetic, d. 110. Ency. of Islam, iv. pp. 1084 f. See also article by J. Horowitz, Islamic Culture, i. No.4, Oct. 1927, pp. 553-559; and article by F. Krenkow, Islamic Culture, ii. No. 1, Jan. 1928, pp 55 ff.
266. Du'ā', Ency. of Islam, i. p. 1077 b.
267. Ibrāhīm bin Adham bin Maṣṣūr bin Yazīd bin Jābir al-Tamīnī al-'Ijlī, a famous ascetic of Balkh, d. 160-168. Ency. of Islam, ii. pp. 432 ff.

268. Z. says that this is a proverb. The MSS. indicate that it is in poetic form.
269. Cf. note 33.
270. For the names of these demons see Tāj, Lisân, Muht al-Muht, Ibn Jawzî, talbis iblîs, Cairo 1928, pp. 32 f.; Ad-Damiri, Ḥayât al-Ḥayawân, trans. by Jayakar, Bombay 1906, p. 465. The following information may be added to that given here by al-Ghazzâlî. Thabr is also written thubar (Princeton MS), bathr (Ad-Damiri, op.cit), and al-ahtar, (Tāj iii. p. 24; Lisân v. p. 99). This latter is described as a short-tailed snake called al-shaitân. Whoever sees it flees from it, and if a pregnant woman sees it she miscarries. Miswat, so named from the stick used to stir up the contents of a cooking pot, and thus he stirs up trouble, (Lisân ix. p.198). Ad-Damiri gives other names of sons of Satan: lâkis, al-haffâf, muṭawas, al-ahnas. Cf. also reference to Satan's seed, Qur.18;48.
271. The 'call' of the jâhiliyyah was prohibited. See al-Bukhârî in Wensinck, Handbook, p. 41 a.
272. See Ihyâ', iv. 104 f.
273. A weak tradition, says al-ʿIrâqî.
274. Aiyûb bin Yazîd, an unknown man who related traditions from the Followers, says Z.
275. Jâbir bin ʿAbdallah bin ʿAmr, a Helper, d. 74 or 78. Ibn Qutaybah, p. 156; Hajî-Khalfae Lexicon, ii. pp. 332, 334.

276. A rather poorly attested tradition quoted in varying forms by al-Tirmidhī and others.
277. Wahīb bin al-Ward al-Makkī (also Wuhaib ; 'Abd al-Wahhāb), a pious traditionist, d. 153. Al-Nawawī, p. 620; Hassignon, Essai, p. 146.
278. Ma'fūmūn, Ency. of Islam, art. 'Isma, ii. p. 543.
279. A tradition related by al-Bukhārī and Muslim from 'Ā'ishah. Wensinck, Handbook, p. 59 a.
280. Dihyah bin Khalīfah bin Farwah bin Fuḍālah al-Kalbī, a Companion, died in the caliphate of Mu'āwiyah. Ency. of Islam, i. p. 973; iv. p. 57.
281. A tradition quoted by al-Bukhārī and Muslim. Wensinck, Handbook, p. 59 a.
282. Hīrā'; in a cave in this place Muḥammad used to spend considerable time and receive revelations. Ency. of Islam, ii. p.315.
283. Possessors of hearts. Macdonald, Emotional Religion in Islam, JRAS, 1901, p. 725 n. says that al-Ghazzālī means by this expression "those who are of an emotional nature and can be affected through the heart."
284. 'Umar bin 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Amawī, the eighth 'Umayyad Caliph. Ency. of Islam, iii. pp. 977.ff. His dates were 63-101.
285. A well attested tradition, quoted by all from Abū Hurairah.
286. For this tradition see Wensinck, Handbook, p. 111; ahādīth qudsiyyah, Nos. 120, 127, 202.

287. Cf. Qur. 24:13 and 49:12.
288. For a parallel to the development which follows here, and a probable contributing source, see Margaret Smith, The Forerunner of Al-Ghazâlî, JRAS, 1936, p. 67 with references there given.
289. Niyyah, intention, an important principle in all religious life and activity in Islam. Ency. of Islam, iii. p. 930.
290. 'Uthmân bin Maṣ'ûn bin Ḥabîb bin Wahb al-Jamhî, one of the earliest Companions and the thirteenth man to adopt Islam, d.3 or 4. He showed the ascetic tendency in primitive Islam. Ency. of Islam, iii. p. 1011.
291. Khawlah bint Ḥakim bin 'Umayyah al-Silmî was the wife of 'Uthmân bin Maṣ'ûn, and disagreed with his ascetic practices. She gave herself to Muhammad as did others. Wensinck, Handbook, p. 159 a.
292. A tradition given by al-Tirmidhî and denied by Aḥmad, says al-'Irâqî.
293. Muslim quotes this tradition.
294. Raḥbâniyyah, asceticism. Lane, Lexicon, p. 1168; Ency. of Islam, iii. p. 1103; Massignon, Essai, p. 124; Wensinck, Concordance, i. p. 388 b.
295. Ḥajj, Ency. of Islam, ii. pp. 196 ff.
296. A tradition from Abū Hurairah given by Muslim. Wensinck, Handbook, p. 111. Cf. also note 286.

297. Al-'Irâqî gives several versions of this well attested tradition which is quoted by Muslim and others. Wensinck, Concordance, i. p. 194 b.
298. A well attested tradition given by many authorities. Wensinck, Handbook, p. 172 a.
299. A tradition given by Muslim from Abû Hurairah.
300. Cf. note 212.
301. A tradition given by Muslim from Abû Hurairah.
302. A tradition which seems to be fairly well attested in spite of its varying readings. Z. discusses it at length in Ithâf, i. p. 159.
303. A tradition given by al-Ṭabarâni, says al-'Irâqî. Ahmad gives a very similar tradition. Wensinck, Concordance, i. p.160 b; Ihyâ', ii. p. 93.
304. Cf. the tradition given by Ibn Mâjâh and Ahmad, Wensinck, Handbook, p. 192 b.
305. Cf. note 191.
306. A tradition which is untrue and harmful, says al-'Irâqî.
307. Al-Muḥāsibî, Abû 'Abdallah al-Ḥārith bin Asad, a highly trained Sunni mystic and a prolific writer, d. 243. His chief work was ri'âyah li huqûq Allah which held a high place in Islamic mysticism and was one of al-Chazzâlî's source-books. Ency. of Islam, iii. p. 699. See reference in note 288.

308. A well attested tradition given by al-Bukhârî and Muslim. Wensinck, Concordance, i. p. 434 a; Ihyâ', i. p. 134.
309. An accepted tradition from 'Ā'ishah quoted by all. Ihyâ', i. p. 59; Wensinck, Handbook, p. 189.
310. Abû Jahm. Ibn Hajar, iv. pp. 62 f.; al-Nawawî, pp. 686 f. Al-Bukhârî quotes this tradition in kitâb al-lihâs.
311. An accepted tradition from Ibn 'Umar. Ihyâ', i. p. 59. Cf. many similar versions, Wensinck, Concordance, ii. pp. 9-10.
312. A tradition quoted from Ibn 'Umar by al-Bukhârî.
313. A tradition quoted by al-Tirmidhî and Ibn Mâjah, Wensinck, Concordance, i. p. 287 b.
314. An accepted tradition quoted by many. Wensinck, Concordance, i. p. 287 b.
315. A tradition quoted by Muslim and others.
316. A tradition quoted by al-Bukhârî and others.
317. A tradition quoted by Ibn Mâjah and others, Wensinck, Handbook, p. 95 a.
318. Shirk, Ency. of Islam, iv. pp. 378 ff.
319. Qadâ' and qadar, Ency. of Islam, ii. pp. 603-605.
320. A tradition from Ahmad and others. Cf. ahâdith qudsiyyah, Nos. 259-261.

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