

Reference

1. Read a; the Centenary Meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, July, 1923.
2. Ptd. Salaq. 1290, on margin of super-commentary of Mustafa al'Arud.
3. Rfees. Are to Bulaq ed. 1284 A.B.
4. Ed. Caior, 1312, ptd. On margin of al-Ghazali's '*Ihya'u-Ulumi'd-Din*'.

The Ethical Philosophy of Al-Ghazzali

Prof. Umaruddin

New Edition, Hard Bound

Price: Rs. 250/-

INSTITUTE OF ISLAMIC CULTURE
2-Club Road, Lahore.

found memory of posterity paid to one of the worthiest of Islamic rulers.

The tenth *fasl* (16 19) is of special interest in that it gives in detail the ritual connected with the taking of the covenant, the assumption of the *Khirqah*, etc. The 'Awarif gives a short account of the first two, designating the covenant as the '*ahdu'l-wajā*,' and the *Khirqah* or *parehel* garment for which Hartmann would find an Indian origin (o.c 129), as the *Khirqatul iradah*, as distinguished from the *Khirqatu itabarruk* (I, 209). On all three occasions as described by Zakariya' there is purification on the part of the shaykh, then of the *murīd*, and the repetition of formulae in the same order the whole having that solemn formality characteristic of ceremonies of initiation

N.B.—The paper as read at the centenary meetings of the R.A.S. was based on MS. 23 (Naskh; 6"x 3 ¾; c 17th cent). Govt. 3rd Collect, Asiatic Society of Bengal. Since the another MS. (Naskh; 8" x 6 ½"; early 19th cent.) the third of twelve treatises copied by the same scribe and bound together in vol. 42, Govt. Ist Collect., A.S.B., has been traced. Through the kind agency of Canon Gairdner, Cairo, a copy was made of MS. 11, 99, in the Sultaniyah Library, Cairo. The original has been collated with both of these and variants and emendations have been entered in the foot-notes during the passage of the paper through the Press, but possibly the references to sources consulted while only one text was available may prove useful.

ABBREVIATIONS

- A: MS. 23, Govt. 3rd. Col., A.S.B
 B: " " 42³, " Ist. " " "
 C: copy of II, 99, *Sultan*. Lib. Cairo,

Before whom he will be as a corpse under the hand of the washer—a figure employed by *Sahl at-Tustarī*, under the head of *Tawakkul* however (R., 99¹⁷)

In No. 6(9 17 inf), *Mulāzamatū dh-dhikr*, Zakarīya adjusts two views of *dhikr*. According to the former, it is unnecessary when *mushahadah* supervenes; indeed it is inconceivable, for *dhikr* implies forgetting. i.e. of God, whereas in this state of “vision” there is no question of the possibility of such. Those who adopt the other view maintain that *dhikr* is to be made when, and on condition that, “non-God” is forgotten. There is, he holds, no conflict between these views, but only the resulting difference from the accession of *mushahādah* to the former.

Omitting the usual two-fold classification of *dhikr*, viz., *bi'l-lisān* and *bi'l-qalb*, he resolves it into three kinds (10^e): (a) *dhikru qalb* (*lubb*); (b) *dhikru nu'uti* ‘*I-madhkur*; (c) *dhikru shuhudi* ‘*I-madhkur*. Its fundamental expression is *la ilaha illa'l-lāhu*, a composite of negation and affirmation, the former putting an end to the corrupt elements whence arises aegritude of heart, and the latter producing elements requisite to its integrity (10⁹⁻¹²).

He who adheres to *Sabr* loves affliction, wherefore it is said that ‘when God afflicts his saints with some affliction (11⁴) He does not punish them by means of it but rather punishes it through them—a poetical idea he adds, and illustrated in a *bayt* given with its context in the *Awarif* (IV, 242), where it is quoted by that “sair sanet for the croon”. ‘*Umar b. ‘Abdi* ‘*I-‘Aziz*, the “fifth of the *Khulafa’u-r. Rashidun*,” and attributed to *Sumnūn*. As the *Sumnūn* in question seems to be none other than the *Sufi Sumnūn b. Hamzab* (R., 28), who died fully a century-and-a-half after ‘*Umar* (19 14 inf.), its ascription to him is an anachronism, and another instance of many ill-founded tributes which the

It is evident therefore that Zakariyā is of those who see utility in travel, and commend it.

As-*Suhrawardī* adds a fourth attitude to *safar*, viz., that of those who confined it to the latter portion of their lives ('*Awārif* II, 2)

There are yet other aspects, if minor; a *shaykh* may order it as a form of punishment for his pupil (R. 237¹²); again, if a *murid* have no *shaykh* by him to help him prevail over earthly desires he may take to the road as a means of escape from them (R., 241¹⁰).

The followers of the "path" unto God are classified into three groups:

- (a) that of the *akhyār*, or '*arbābul-mu'āmalāt*, who make manifold observance of the outward ordinances of prayer, fasting, etc.
- (b) that of the *abrār*, or *arbābu'l-mujāhadāt*, who devote their efforts to the improvement of their inner edifice;
- (c) that of the *sā'irūn*, who "die unto themselves." Their path is built on ten principles (*usūl*). Under which term may be recognised the more customary one of the "*maqāmāt*". Whose number is usually left indeterminate, as e.g. in the *Kitābu'l-Luma'* and the *Risālah*. They are:

1: *Taubah*; 2: *Zahd*; 3: *Tawakkul*; 4: *Qanā'*; 5: '*Uzlah*'; 6: *Mulazamatuldh-dhikr*; 7: at-*Tawajjuhulā'l-iāhi bi kulliyatihi*-by which War may be intended; 8: *Sabr*; 9: *Murāqabah*; 10: *Bidā'*.

Under '*Uzlah* (No.5) he requires dissociation on the part of the *murīd* from his fellows, and complete submission to a *shaykh*, as to a father (177, 9 inf.); [*'Awari*], I. 211:

وسرّ الخرقه ان الطالب الصادق اذا دخل في صحبة الشيخ وسلم نفسه

و صار كالولد الصغير مع الوالد يربيه الشيخ بعلمه المستمد من الله تع بصدق الافتقار

و حسن الاستقامة.....

kinds: (a) *Safar bi'l-badan*, i.e. purely local transference and by *bil-qalb*, i.e. moral progression, a much rarer experience than the former (R. 170¹⁰). *Sūfis* are at variance in their attitude towards *sajar*; al-Junaid, Sahl at-Tustarī, etc., were opposed to it (R., 170), deeming that the heart is more collected in continued residence, and holding only an obligation like the holy pilgrimage of *jihād* sufficient justification for it (Sh. IV, 23). Abu 'Abdi'l-lāh al-Maghribī, 'Ibrāhim b. 'Adham, etc., advocated it, and continued their wanderings until the end of their lives (R. 170), preferring it because of the profit to be gained from persons sight of and contact with whom was salutary (Sh., IV, 23). Abū Bakr ash-Shiblī, Abū 'Uthmān al-Hiri, etc., constitute a third group who confined their wandering to the early portion of their lives (R., 170). The objects of such peregrinations, as stated in the 'Awārif, are:

1: تعلم شئ من العلم (II, 2):

2: لقاء المشائخ والاحوان الصادقين (ib., 3):

3: استكشاف دقائق النفوس واستخراج رعوناتهن ودعوايتها لانها لاتكاد

تتبدن حقائق ذلك بغير السفر (ib., 6)

Indeed *safar* is so named because it is an "unveiling of character:

(*Awarif*, II, 6) وسمى السفر سفر الانه يسفر عن الاخلاق و اذا وقف

على دائه بتشمردلوائه:

(R., 172²) وقيل سمي السفر سفرا لانه يسفر عن اخلاق الرجال- اى

والزهد والتوكل وغيرها من مقامات الرجال فاذا سافر بهذا القصد انكشف له من

اخلاقه ودعاوى نفسه ما كان مستترا عنه فيردها الى احكام الرياضة لتصح دعوايتها

وتحسن اخلاقه*

within milk, from which it is only got by churning, and the aim of all three is the establishment of 'ubūdiyyah on the part of the 'abd in the prescribed way. Further the murīd covenants with his shaykh as the vicar of God and his Prophet to keep haqiqah conjoined with shari'ah (17¹⁰ inf.).

After the wonted exordium and the mention of the title of the work the straight way proceeds to the division of the subject into ten sections:

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1: Definitions of <i>Sūfism</i> ; its object: | 6: <i>Muhādarah</i> ; kashf; <i>mushāhadah</i> , etc. |
| 2: Its <i>arkān</i> ; the <i>tarīq</i> : | 7: <i>Sharī'ah</i> ; <i>haqiqah</i> ; <i>tarīqah</i> : |
| 3: Tauhīd; 'Imān; Islām: | 8: <i>Sa'ādah</i> ; shaqāwah |
| 4: 'ilm; <i>yaqīn</i> ; etc.; | 9: Khawātir: |
| 5: <i>ilhām</i> ; <i>wahy</i> ; <i>firāsah</i> : | 10: Taking of the covenant; assumption of the <i>khirqah</i> ; dictation of <i>dhikr</i> . |

His métier lay in exposition, as witness his many commentaries, but though his subject matter in the *Futūhāt* may not lay claim to originality, his synopsis is skilful, in that he has made a methodical survey, and explained many technicalities lucidly, within the space of a few pages, and his treatment fresh. The latter point is illustrated in for instance, the theoretical and practical aspects of *Sūfism* (7¹⁸⁻¹⁹); the grouping of its constituent *arkān* (8²⁻¹¹); the reduction of the followers of the "path" unto God to a triple classification (8¹³ ff.); the concise statement of the ten principles of the *tarīq* (8¹⁸ ff.), etc.

Of the *arkān* of *Sūfism* frequent and extensive itineration (No. 8, p 8⁸) may here be noticed. Al-Qushairī enjoined on the *murīd* that he should travel only with the permission of his *shaykh*. But would delay it until his spiritual progress is far advanced, and the Path calls him (R. 238¹⁸). Judging it by a moral standard he says it is of two

With the 'Awāriful Ma'ārif of Shihabud-Din as-Suhrawardi he was probably also acquainted; the bayt, for instance, quoted at 11 inf., (see also 5, 19 inf.) is given with its context there (IV, 242),⁴ Compare further 'Awārif, Bab XII with *Futūhāt*, fasl X (16¹⁹ ff.) and the definition of 'ilmu' *I-yaqīn* as *وقد يتوصل اليه بالنظر والاستدلال* ('Awārif, I. 114) with that at 13⁷ inf.

Al-Ghazālī is presumably alluded to at 14¹⁴ inf., since he is specified in the *Sharh* (II, 79) as entertaining a different opinion regarding the order of *Mukāshafah*, *Mushāhadah* and *Mu'ayanah*. *Zakariyā'* probably had first-hand acquaintance with these and other standard authorities, but it is also possible that he drew from sources, *majma's* for instance, in which experiences had already crystallised into stock definitions. Suffice it here to state that in the Dictionary of Technical Terms of Md. 'Ali b. 'Ali at-Tahnawī (ed. Sprenger, Cale., 1862) a number of definitions, etc. are found which occur more or less verbatim in the *Futūhāt*; some of them are there quoted as being contained in the *Majmau-s-Sulūk*,--see, e.g. at 12¹⁶ and 13 inf., and one in the Persian work, 'Asrāru'l-Fātihah, viz., at 11 inf.

Al-Junaid is mentioned at 10¹⁵, and alluded to at 16⁹⁻¹² Sahl b. 'Abdillāh at-Tustarī is cited at 11, and his figure illustrating *Tawakkul* at 9¹², though here in a different connection (5²¹ inf).

Zakariyā', endeavoured, as did this moderate school (R., 10⁵⁻¹²). To maintain the connection between *haqīqah* and *shari'ah*, incidentally defending adherents there by from disfavour with the orthodox on the ground of innovations. According to him the former is *aslul-īmān*, the latter *al-qiyaṃubil-arkān* (Sh., II. 93); or, as he expresses it here 14⁶ inf.), all three *Haqīqah*, *Shari'ah* and *Tarīqah* ('the entering on the path of the *Shari'ah*') are mutually attached, for the *Tarīqa*, has an interior (*haqīqah*) and an exterior (*shari'ah* and *tarīqah*), and *haqīqah* is within *shari'ah* and *tarīqah* as butter is

inf), referring to it as a source to be consulted by the reader who desires fuller treatment of the subject under discussion, and has here copied from it phrases and passages.

A main source of the *Futūhāt* as may therefore be expected is the classic compilation of *Abūl-Qāsim 'Abdul-Karīm b. Hawāzin al-Qushairī* [376-465 A.H.]; Brock., I, 432; *Abūl-Fida'*, II, 199, (Constant., 1286 A.H.); *Ibn Khallikān*, tr. De Slane, II, 152: *Nafahātul-Uns* (p. 354) adds a miraculous story of the beginning of his spiritual experience concerning stones turning to gems in his hands (cf. *Kashfu l-Mahjūb*, tr. Nicholson. Gibb Mem. S., 227)], known as *ar-Risālatul-Qushairīyah*, begun in 437 (R, 2),³ and completed in the beginning of 438 (R., 242).—an epistle written to the 'company of the *Sūfis* in the lands of Islam, a company whom God had made the elect of his saints, and distinguished them above all his servants after his apostles and prophets' (R., 2). He was led to indict it unto them by the remissness and worldliness that had increasingly beset them since the passing of the Masters, and he set himself the task of describing to them the character, tenets and spiritual progress of these Shaykhs, in the hope of strengthening their followers in the Path (R.,3). "Goldziher characterizes his work as 'a reaction of positive legalism (Gesetzlichkeit) against the nihilism of mysticism.' It is therefore not *Sūfism* in its entirety that we learn from the *Risālah*. It is orthodox *Sufism*. *Al-Qushairi* is not a *Sūfī* only, but also an *Ash'arī* theologian. But for the history of spiritual development, in Arabic-speaking Islam at least moderate orthodox *Sūfism* is on the whole of greater importance than the extreme schools" (Hartmann, *al-Qusharī's Darstellung des Sūfilums*, 1-2). With *Zakariyā, al-Ansārī's Sharh* and his *Futuhāt* it provides that "companion picture drawn especially from those moderate types" to the picture presented by "the extreme type, which is pantheistic and speculative rather than ascetic or devotional" (Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam*, 27).

By A. H. Harley

A Manual of Sūfism: *Āl-FūtuhātuI- llāhiya fi Naf'ī Arwahi'dh-DhawātiI-Insanīy*g. By Zaynud-Dīn Abu Yahya Zakarīyā b. Muhammad al-Ansārī ash-Shafī'ī.1

To the short biographical account in Brockelmann's Ges. d. Ar. Lit. (II, 99), according to which the industrious commentator and author *Zakariya al-Ansārī*, the writer of this *Futūhāt* was born in Sunaikā, to the East of Cairo, in 826 A.H., and in course of time was appointed a professor in Cairo, and in 886 Shafi'ite Chief *Qādī*, an office from which he was deposed some years later because he wrongfully declared a certain person to be of unsound mind and had put him in hospital, where he died; may be added a notice of the interesting complaint brought before him as *Qādi* by the irate Jalalud-Dīn as-Suyūtī, who contended that Ahmad b. Md. *Al-Qastallānī*, author of *al-Mawāhibul-Ladunniyah*, had borrowed from him without recognition (*Kashfu'z-Zunūn*, ed. Flugel. VI, 246). The date of his death is variously given as 910 (ib., I, 211, 222, etc.), 926 (*K.Zun*; iv.533: Brock, 11,99), and 928 (*K. Zun.*, IV, 533; VII, 836).

The *Futūhāt* is obviously a later work than his much better known and more copious *Sharhur-Risālatil-Qushiairīyah*, entitled' *Ahkāmu-d-Dalālati 'ala Tahrīrir-Risālah*.² whose composition was completed in 893 (col. To the Sh.), as he mentions this latter work in it (13¹⁴, 16¹, 16¹,