

ROUTLEDGE SUFI SERIES

Islamic Mysticism and Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī

The Role of the Heart

Saeko Yazaki



Islamic Mysticism and Abū Tālib al-Makkī

Both in everyday language and in religious metaphor, the heart often embodies the true self and is considered to be the seat of emotion in many cultures. Many Muslim thinkers have attempted to clarify the nature of Sufism using its metaphorical image, particularly in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

This book examines the work of Abū Tālib al-Makkī and his wider significance within the Sufi tradition, with a focus on the role of the heart. Analysing his most significant work, *Qūt al-qulūb* ('The Nourishment of Hearts'), the author goes beyond an examination of the themes of the book to explore its influence not only in the writing of Sufis, but also of Ḥanbali and Jewish scholars.

Providing a comprehensive overview of the world of al-Makkī and presenting extracts from his book on religious characteristics of the heart with selected passages in translation for the first time in English, this book will give readers a better understanding not only of the essential features of Sufism, but also the nature of mysticism and its relation to monotheistic faiths.

Saeko Yazaki (PhD, Edin.) is Lord Kelvin Adam Smith Fellow in Religious Studies at the University of Glasgow, and Research Associate at the Centre of Islamic Studies, University of Cambridge. Her research focuses on mysticism and epistemology of religion, the Judaeo-Islamic tradition, and their continuing relevance to the present. She is also pursuing comparative study of monotheistic and non-monotheistic faiths.

Routledge Sufi Series

General Editor: Ian Richard Netton
Professor of Islamic Studies, University of Exeter

The Routledge Sufi Series provides short introductions to a variety of facets of the subject, which are accessible both to the general reader and the student and scholar in the field. Each book will be either a synthesis of existing knowledge or a distinct contribution to, and extension of, knowledge of the particular topic. The two major underlying principles of the Series are sound scholarship and readability.

PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED BY CURZON

Al-Hallaj

Herbert I. W. Mason

Beyond Faith and Infidelity

The Sufi Poetry and Teaching of Mahmud Shabistari

Leonard Lewisohn

Ruzbihan Baqli

Mysticism and the Rhetoric of Sainthood in Persian Sufism

Carl W. Ernst

Abdullah Ansari of Herat

An Early Sufi Master

A.G. Ravan Farhadi

The Concept of Sainthood in Early Islamic Mysticism

Bernd Radtke and John O'Kane

Suhrawardi and the School of Illumination

Mehdi Amin Razavi

Persian Sufi Poetry

An Introduction to the Mystical Use of Classical Poems

J.T.P. de Brujin

Aziz Nasafi

Lloyd Ridgeon

Sufis and Anti-Sufis

The Defence, Rethinking and Rejection of Sufism in the Modern World

Elizabeth Sirriyeh

Sufi Ritual

The Parallel Universe

Ian Richard Netton

Divine Love in Islamic Mysticism

The Teachings of al-Ghâzâlî and al-Dâbbâgh

Binyamin Abrahamov

Striving for Divine Union

Spiritual Exercises for Suhrawardi Sufis

Qamar-ul Huda

Revelation, Intellectual Intuition and Reason in the Philosophy of Mulla Sadra

An Analysis of the *al-hikmah al- 'arshiyah*

Zailan Moris

PUBLISHED BY ROUTLEDGE

1. Muslim Saints of South Asia

The Eleventh to Fifteenth Centuries

Anna Suvorova

2. A Psychology of Early Sufi Sama

Listening and Altered States

Kenneth S. Avery

3. Sufi Visionary of Ottoman Damascus
‘Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulusi, 1941–1731
Elizabeth Sirriyeh

4. Early Mystics in Turkish Literature
Mehmed Fuad Koprulu
Translated, edited and with an Introduction by Gary Leiser and Robert Dankoff

5. Indian Sufism Since the Seventeenth Century
Saints, Books and Empires in the Muslim Deccan
Nile Green

6. Sufi Castigator
Ahmad Kasravi and the Iranian Mystical Tradition
Lloyd Ridgeon

7. Popular Sufism in Eastern Europe
Sufi Brotherhoods and the Dialogue with Christianity and ‘Heterodoxy’
H. T. Norris

8. The Naqshbandiyya
Orthodoxy and Activism in a Worldwide Sufi Tradition
Itzchak Weismann

9. Sufis in Western Society
Global Networking and Locality
Edited by Ron Geaves, Markus Dressler and Gritt Klinkhammer

10. Morals and Mysticism in Persian Sufism
A History of Sufi-Futuwwat in Iran
Lloyd Ridgeon

11. Spiritual Purification in Islam
The Life and Works of al-Muhasibi
Gavin Picken

12. Sufism and Society
Arrangements of the Mystical in the Muslim World, 1200–1800 CE
Edited by John J. Curry and Erik S. Ohlander

13. Islamic Mysticism and Abū Ṭālib Al-Makki
The Role of the Heart
Saeko Yazaki

Islamic Mysticism and Abū¹ Tālib al-Makkī

The Role of the Heart

Saeko Yazaki

First published 2013
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

Simultaneously published in the USA and Canada
by Routledge
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2013 Saeko Yazaki

The right of Saeko Yazaki to be identified as author of this work has been asserted by her in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
A catalog record for this book has been requested

ISBN: 978-0-415-67110-1 (hbk)
ISBN: 978-0-203-07354-4 (ebk)

Typeset in Times New Roman
by Integra Software Services Pvt. Ltd, Pondicherry, India

Contents

| | |
|--|-----------|
| <i>Preface</i> | ix |
| <i>Notes on presentation</i> | xii |
| <i>List of abbreviations</i> | xiv |
| | |
| Introduction | 1 |
| <i>Editions and translations of the Qūt</i> | <i>7</i> |
| | |
| 1 Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī: his life, intellectual formation and scholarship | 12 |
| <i>The life of al-Makkī</i> | <i>12</i> |
| <i>The teachers of al-Makkī</i> | <i>19</i> |
| <i>Works of al-Makkī</i> | <i>22</i> |
| | |
| 2 Qūt al-qulūb: its religious context, contents and sources | 29 |
| <i>The heart as a metaphysical entity</i> | <i>29</i> |
| <i>The mystical idea of the heart in the early history of Sufism</i> | <i>35</i> |
| <i>Qūt al-qulūb: righteous conduct in this world and true belief in God</i> | <i>38</i> |
| <i>The religious authorities cited in the Qūt</i> | <i>43</i> |
| | |
| 3 Summary of Section 30 of the <i>Qūt</i> with commentary and selected passages in translation, part 1 | 46 |
| <i>The Nourishment of Hearts in Relation to the Beloved and the Description of the Path of the Novice to the Station of tawḥīd: the thirtieth section in which is the detailed account of the impulses experienced by the true believers, and the characteristic of the heart and its similarity to lights and jewels [1]–[78]</i> | <i>47</i> |

| | | |
|----------|---|------------|
| 4 | Summary of Section 30 of the <i>Qūt</i> with commentary and selected passages in translation, part 2 | 66 |
| | <i>The thirtieth section in which is the detailed account of the impulses experienced by the true believers, and the characteristic of the heart and its similarity to lights and jewels [79]–[136]</i> | <i>66</i> |
| | <i>The idea of the heart in Section 30 of the Qūt</i> | <i>81</i> |
| 5 | Contemporaries of al-Makkī | 85 |
| | <i>Al-Sarrāj and Luma‘ fi'l-taṣawwuf: the pseudo and the genuine Sufi</i> | <i>86</i> |
| | <i>Al-Kalābādhī and al-Ta‘arruf li-madhhab ahl al-taṣawwuf: misconception about Sufism and the true path to God</i> | <i>89</i> |
| 6 | The influence of al-Makkī, part 1 | 95 |
| | <i>Works on Sufism and religious sciences</i> | <i>96</i> |
| | <i>Hadīth and biographical literature</i> | <i>115</i> |
| 7 | The influence of al-Makkī, part 2 | 126 |
| | <i>Works by Hanbalī scholars</i> | <i>126</i> |
| | <i>Pre-modern Muslim scholarship: al-Makkī, preacher of Islamic piety</i> | <i>140</i> |
| 8 | Ibn Bāqūdā and <i>al-Hidāya ilā farā‘id al-qulūb</i> | 145 |
| | <i>Ibn Bāqūdā: the Jewish echo?</i> | <i>147</i> |
| | <i>The significance and scholarship of al-Hidāya</i> | <i>149</i> |
| | <i>Al-Hidāya ilā farā‘id al-qulūb: a reminder of religious obligations</i> | <i>152</i> |
| 9 | The <i>Qūt</i> and <i>al-Hidāya</i>: a Muslim–Jewish dialogue? | 160 |
| | <i>Framework</i> | <i>160</i> |
| | <i>Aims and structure</i> | <i>161</i> |
| | <i>Approach</i> | <i>164</i> |
| | <i>The religious idea of the heart</i> | <i>167</i> |
| | <i>Dynamics between Judaism and Islam</i> | <i>171</i> |
| | <i>Conclusion</i> | <i>174</i> |
| | <i>Select bibliography</i> | <i>177</i> |
| | <i>Index</i> | <i>192</i> |

Preface

The substance of the present study first appeared as my doctoral thesis, ‘A study of *Abū Ṭālib al-Makķī*’, submitted to the University of Edinburgh in 2010. Since then I have received further inspiration and support from a number of people. From my life in both Japan and the UK, there are far too many people to list here who have generously offered me their help. Their goodwill, without which my book would have never appeared, has often caught me by surprise in a most delightful way.

First and foremost, I would like to express my heartfelt thanks to Professor Carole Hillenbrand who was unfailing in her care. I would have to compose another book to describe the generosity and abundant support which she and my friends offered me especially when my study was interrupted during my PhD. I have never forgotten their encouragement, which was unconditionally given when needed. My grateful thanks are also due to Professor Yasir Suleiman and Paul Anderson for their constant support, patience and understanding in allowing me time for my research. My time at the Centre of Islamic Studies has been a priceless learning experience not only for my study but also for life in general.

My doctoral study in Edinburgh was such a wonderful time. I would like to express my great debt of gratitude to all the members of staff and friends in the Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies at the University of Edinburgh. I can find no words to express my deep appreciation for having given me a sense of belonging, when my home country is on the other side of the globe. Reliable support, comradeship and friendship were offered by a number of people at 19 George Square, including Jokha Alharthi, Marilyn Booth, Stephen Burge, Tony Gorman, Margaret Graves, Rhona Hajcman (née Cullen), Christian Lange, Alex Mallett, Andrew Marsham, Songül Mecit, Golnaz Nanbakhsh, Guy Puzey, Kamran Rastegar, Ayman Shihadeh, Clarissa Sweet, Richard Todd and Ben White. They have greatly enriched my PhD life and beyond.

My special thanks go to various people at the School of Literatures, Languages and Cultures, especially Heather Elliott, Kate Marshall and Sebnem Susam-Sarajeva, and Jim Mooney and other staff at the Office of Lifelong Learning, and members of the Centre for the Advanced Study of the Arab World, Professor Robert Hillenbrand and Jonathan Featherstone above all. It was delightful to be acquainted with them and it is my sincere hope that our paths will cross again. I would also like to extend my gratitude to my examiners, Professor Ian Richard Netton and

Dr Andrew Newman, for reading my long thesis and offering me helpful feedback. I am grateful to Professor Netton in particular for his encouragement to submit a proposal to the publisher.

Outside Edinburgh University, it is impossible for me not to thank Ben Young, whose feedback on my thesis was enormously helpful, and Peter Evans, whose friendship I simply treasure. Being acquainted with the members and staff of the Taichi Society, the Japan Society of Scotland and the Consulate-General of Japan in Edinburgh has also been a source of inspiration directly and indirectly. In Damascus and afterwards, encouragement and support were willingly given by al-Ustadh al-Misri and Fadi al-Fatayri. The time I spent with them was something special, and all my fingers are crossed for their safety. Teaching at the University of St Andrews offered me the opportunity to look at my thesis from a different angle. I am particularly indebted to Catherine Cobham – without her support I could not have managed.

Since I moved to England in summer 2010, I have received another source of inspiration from a number of staff and members of the Centre of Islamic Studies, the Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies, the Main Library, the Taylor-Schechter Genizah Research Unit and the Sanskrit Manuscripts Project at the University of Cambridge, the Woolf Institute, the Islamic Manuscript Association, the Gulf Research Centre-Cambridge, the Cambridge Arab Media Project and the Kaetsu Centre. What I have learned from them on various occasions has been a source of motivation and strength. Among them, I would like to thank especially Mohammed Abdul-Aziz, Abdullah Baabood, Tony Brinkman, Edward Cheese, Jill Cooper, Yuval Evri, Steve Fagg, Ahmad Azem Hamad, Jeremy and Tania Henzell-Thomas, Mary Howe, Khaled Hroub, Dilwar Hussain, Yoni Mendel, Molly O'Reilly, Tash Sabbah, Ghazala Sadiq, Anas Al-Shaikh-Ali, Françoise Simmons, Omer Totonji, Vincenzo Vergiani and Susie White, who have always shown their care despite their undoubtedly hectic life. My special gratitude also goes to Harith Bin Ramlī for stimulating discussion and useful information, sharing a common interest in al-Makkī. My dear friends and colleagues in the UK, France, Sarajevo, the Middle East, North Africa, Ukraine, China, Canada and the United States have always been more willing than I could have expected to provide me with their expertise and helping hands. Just remembering them is enough to warm the deepest part of my heart. It has been a sheer joy to get to know so many inspiring people that I do not even know where to stop.

All the inadequacies and insufficiencies that still remain in this book are, needless to say, mine. In this regard, al-Makkī left us a sensible remark: perfection does not belong to humans. While emphasising the importance of improvement, he claimed that we should *not* try to be perfect in order to avoid devilish arrogance and non-repentance, which inevitably accompany the false feeling of achieving perfection. Greatly encouraged by this piece of wisdom, I offer you the findings of my intellectual exercise. This is my hope that the readers, whose numbers may not be large but whose enthusiasm must have been great to have picked up this book, will also enjoy employing their interpretative muscles and will offer me the fruits of their exercise.

Lastly, but not least by any means, grateful thanks are due to my family, relatives and friends in Japan for their acceptance of my stubbornness in leaving them for so

long and for their safeguarding a place for me that I can call one of my homes. I would like to dedicate my humble work especially to those who departed this life and have been suffering from the Great East Japan Earthquake in March 2011. Although these events have shown the precariousness of human civilisation, they have led to a heart-warming demonstration of international goodwill. May the latter be the side which we always see in the future.

Cambridge, December 2011 (Heisei 23nen, Junigatsu kichijitsu)
Saeko Yazaki

Notes on presentation

Transliteration and dates

The transliteration for Arabic used in this book follows the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*. Case endings are only marked when necessary, and common English names (such as Sufism, Mecca) are not transliterated. The word *ibn* (son) is abbreviated as ‘b.’, unless it is part of a commonly known name (for instance, ‘Ahmad Ibn Hanbal’, rather than ‘Ahmad b. Hanbal’, indicating that he is generally known as Ibn Hanbal).

The transliteration for Hebrew used in this book follows the *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World*.

Dates are mostly given according to the Hijra followed by the Common Era. I employ CE only for modern figures and Jewish scholars especially in the last two chapters. In the bibliography, I include the Hijra when the publisher year appears in this way.

Citations from the Qur’ān, Ḥadīth, Hebrew Bible and New Testament

Chapter and verse numbers of the Qur’ān follow:

The Meaning of the Glorious Qur'an, trans. M.M. Pickthall, New Delhi: Adam Publishers & Distributors, 2002.

Translations of Qur'anic verses are cited from Pickthall's interpretation, unless specified. (Although Pickthall generally uses the word 'Allah', 'God' is used throughout this book.) Two more interpretations are consulted in this book:

The Koran Interpreted, trans. A.J. Arberry, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998;

The Qur'an, trans. A. Jones, E.J.W. Gibb Memorial Trust, Exeter: Short Run Press, 2007.

Any quotations from the Qur'ān are cited in italics in guillemets («*Qur'ān*»), while any quotations from the Ḥadīth are put in angle brackets (<Tradition>).

All translations of the Hebrew Bible and New Testament are from the King James Version, unless specified:

The Bible: authorized King James version with Apocrypha, ed. R. Carroll and S. Prickett, Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.

List of abbreviations

Books, articles and theses

Amin Amin, W. Mohd Azam b. Mohd, ‘An evaluation of the *Qūt al-qulūb* of al-Makkī with an annotated translation of his *Kitāb al-tawba*’, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1991.

‘Awārif’ al-Suhrawardī, Abū Ḥafṣ ‘Umar, ‘Awārif al-ma ‘ārif’, Cairo: al-Maktabat al-‘Alāmiyya, 1358/1939.

Bin Ramli Bin Ramli, H., ‘A study of early Sufism in relation to the development of scholarship in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries A.H./C.E.: with special reference to knowledge and theology in the *Qūt al-qulūb* of Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (d. 386/996)’, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Oxford, 2011.

Böwering Böwering, G., review of *Die Nahrung der Herzen: Abū Ṭālib al-Makkīs Qūt al-qulūb*, vol. 1: chs 1–31, trans. R. Gramlich, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 115, no. 3, July 1995, pp. 555–6; review of *Die Nahrung der Herzen: Abū Ṭālib al-Makkīs Qūt al-qulūb*, vol. 2: ch. 32, trans. R. Gramlich, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 117, no. 3, July 1997, pp. 619–20; review of *Die Nahrung der Herzen: Abū Ṭālib al-Makkīs Qūt al-qulūb*, vol. 3: chapters 33–48 and vol. 4: bibliography and indices, trans. and ed. R. Gramlich, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 118, no. 1, January 1998, pp. 145–6. (The volume number will be specified in brackets.)

Companion Frank, D.H. and Leaman, O. (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Jewish Philosophy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Concepts Izutzu, T., *Ethico-Religious Concepts in the Qur’ān*, Montréal: McGill University Press, 1966.

De Slane Ibn Khallikān, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, *Ibn Khallikan’s Biographical Dictionary*, trans. W.M. de Slane, 4 vols, New York; London: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1842.

Dialogue Lobel, D., *A Sufi–Jewish Dialogue: philosophy and mysticism in Bahya Ibn Paqūda’s Duties of the Heart*, Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007.

| | |
|---------------------|---|
| <i>Dimensions</i> | Schimmel, A., <i>Mystical Dimensions of Islam</i> , Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1975. |
| <i>Direction</i> | Ibn Bāqūdā, Bahyā, <i>The Book of Direction to the Duties of the Heart</i> , trans. M. Mansoor, Oxford; Portland, OR: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2004. |
| <i>Doctrine</i> | al-Kalābādhī, Abū Bakr, <i>The Doctrine of the Sūfīs: kitāb al-ta'arruf li-madhhab ahl al-taṣawwuf</i> , trans. A.J. Arberry, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1935. |
| <i>Early Mystic</i> | Smith, M., <i>An Early Mystic of Baghdād: a study of the life and teaching of Hārith b. Asad al-Muḥāsibī A.D. 781–857</i> , London: Sheldon Press, 1935. |
| <i>Epistle</i> | al-Qushayrī, Abu'l-Qāsim, <i>al-Qushayrī's Epistle on Sufism: al-risala al-Qushayriyya fi 'ilm al-tasawwuf</i> , trans. A.D. Knysh, Reading: Garnet, 2007. |
| <i>Fatāwā</i> | Ibn Taymiyya, Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad, <i>Majmū 'fatāwā shaykh al-Islām Aḥmad b. Taymiyya</i> , ed. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Najdī al-Ḥanbālī et al., 30 vols, Riyad: Maṭābī al-Riyād, 1381/1961–2. |
| <i>Futūhāt</i> | Ibn al-'Arabī, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad, <i>al-Futūhāt al-Makkiyya</i> , ed. 'Uthmān Yaḥyā, 4 vols, Cairo: al-Hay'at al-Miṣriyyat al-'Āmma lil-Kitāb, 1405-12/1985–92. |
| <i>GAL</i> | Brockelmann, C., <i>Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur</i> , 2 vols and 3 supplementary vols, Leiden: Brill, 1943. |
| <i>GAS</i> | Sezgin, F., <i>Geschichte des Arabischen Schrifttums</i> , 9 vols, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1967–84. |
| <i>Gedankenwelt</i> | van Ess, J., <i>Die Gedankenwelt des Hārīt al-Muḥāsibī</i> , Bonn: Selbstverlag des Orientalischen Seminars der Universität Bonn, 1961. |
| <i>Ghunya</i> | 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, Abū Muḥammad, <i>Ghunya li-tālibī ṭarīq al-haqq</i> , 2 vols in 1, Cairo: Maṭba'at Muḥammad 'Alī Ṣabīḥ wa Awlāduh, 1288/1871–2. |
| <i>God and Man</i> | Izutsu, T., <i>God and Man in the Koran: semantics of the Koranic Weltanschauung</i> , Tokyo: Keio Institute of Cultural and Linguistic Studies, 1964. |
| <i>Hava</i> | Hava, J.G., <i>Al-Faraid Arabic–English Dictionary</i> , Beirut: Dār al-Mashriq, 1970. |
| <i>Hidāja</i> | Ibn Bāqūdā, Bahyā, <i>al-Hidāja ilā farā'īd al-qulūb des Bachja Ibn Jōsēf Ibn Paqūda aus Andalusien im arabischen Urtext zum ersten Male nach der Oxford und Pariser Handschrift sowie den Petersburger Fragmenten</i> , ed. A.S. Yahuda, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1912. |
| <i>Ibar</i> | al-Dhahabī, Shams al-Dīn, <i>Kitāb al-'ibar fi khabar man ghabar</i> , ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid and Fuād Sayyid, 5 vols, Kuwait City: Dār al-Maṭbū'āt wa'l-Nashr, 1960–6. |
| <i>Iḥyā'</i> | al-Ghazālī, Abū Ḥāmid, <i>Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn</i> , 4 vols, Cairo: Dār Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-'Arabiyya, n.d. |

Ilm pseudo-al-Makkī, Abū Ṭālib, *Ilm al-qulūb*, ed. ‘Abd al-Qādir Aḥmad ‘Atā, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2004.

Iḥāf Muḥammad Murtadā al-Zabīdī, Abu’l-Fayd, *Iḥāf al-sādat al-muttaqīn bi-sharḥ Iḥyā’ ʻulūm al-dīn*, 10 vols, Cairo: Aḥmad al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1894.

Kashf Hujwīrī, ‘Alī b. ‘Uthmān, *Kashf al-mahjūb of al-Hujwīrī ‘The revelation of the veiled’: an early Persian treatise on Sufism*, trans. R.A. Nicholson, E.J.W. Gibb Memorial Trust, Wiltshire: Aris & Phillips, 2000.

Kazimirski Kazimirski, A. de B., *Dictionnaire Arabe–Français*, 2 vols, Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1944.

Khalil Khalil, A., ‘Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī & the Nourishment of Hearts (*Qūt al-qulūb*) in the context of early Sufism’, *The Muslim World*, DOI: 10.1111/j.1478-1913.2011.01361.x, 2011 (first published online).

Knowledge Renard, J., *Knowledge of God in Classical Sufism: foundations of Islamic mystical theology*, New York; Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 2004.

Lane Lane, E.W., *An Arabic–English Lexicon*, 2 vols, London: Williams and Norgate, 1984.

Lomba Lomba, J., ‘Ibn Paqūda’, in N.A. Stillman, P.I. Ackerman-Lieberman *et al.* (eds) *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World*, vol. 2, Leiden: Brill, 2010, pp. 529–31.

Luma al-Sarrāj, Abū Naṣr, *The Kitāb al-luma’ fi l-taṣawwuf of Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāj*, ed. R.A. Nicholson, London: Luzac, 1963.

Margoliouth Ibn al-Jawzī, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, “The devil’s delusion” by Ibn al-Jauzi’, trans. D.S. Margoliouth, *Islamic Culture* 9–12, quarterly, 1935–8. (The issue number will be specified in brackets.)

Mawsū’ā al-Zuhīlī, Wahba, *al-Mawsū’āt al-Qur’āniyyat al-muyassara*, Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1423/2002–3.

Mīzān al-Dhahabī, Shams al-Dīn, *Mīzān al-i’tidāl fī naqd al-rijāl*, ed. ‘Alī Muḥammad al-Bajāwī, 4 vols, Cairo: ‘Īsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1382/1962–3.

Munqidh al-Ghazālī, Abū Ḥāmid, *al-Munqidh min al-ḍalāl*, ed. Maḥmūd Bījū, Damascus: Dār al-Taqwā; Amman: Dār al-Faṭḥ, 1992.

Muntaẓam Ibn al-Jawzī, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, *al-Muntaẓam fī ta’rīkh al-mulūk wa l-umām*, 10 vols, Haydarabad: Maṭba’at Dā’irat al-Ma’ārif al-‘Uthmāniyya, 1357/1938.

Mustarshid al-Muḥāsibī, al-Ḥārith b. Asad, *Risālat al-mustarshid*, ed. Sharafī Aḥmad al-Rifā’ī, Qusanṭīna (Algeria): Dār al-Ba’th, 1401/1981.

Mu’tamad Ibn al-Farrā’, Qāḍī Abū Ya’lā Muḥammad, *al-Mu’tamad fī uṣūl al-dīn*, ed. Wadi Z. Haddad, Beirut: Dar el-Machreq, 1974.

Mysticism Knysh, A., *Islamic Mysticism: a short history*, Leiden: Brill, 2000.

| | |
|-------------------|--|
| <i>Nahrung</i> | al-Makkī, Abū Ṭālib, <i>Die Nahrung der Herzen: Abū Ṭālib al-Makkīs Qūt al-qulūb</i> , trans. R. Gramlich, 4 vols, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1992–5. |
| <i>Ohlander</i> | Ohlander, E. S., ‘Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī’, in G. Krämer <i>et al.</i> (eds) <i>Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> , 3 rd edn, Leiden: Brill, 2010, fasc. pp. 27–30. |
| <i>Pūrjavādī</i> | Pūrjavādī, Naṣr Allāh, ‘Bāzmāndahā-yi kitāb-i <i>al-Ishāra wa l-ibāra-i</i> Abū Sa‘d-i Khargūshī dar kitāb-i ‘Ilm al-qulūb’. <i>Ma‘ārif</i> 15, no. 3, 1999, pp. 34–41. |
| <i>Qūt</i> | al-Makkī, Abū Ṭālib, <i>Qūt al-qulūb fī mu‘āmalat al-mahbūb wa wasf ṭarīq al-murīd ilā maqām al-tawhīd</i> , 3 vols, ed. Maḥmūd b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Raḍwānī, Cairo: Dār al-Turāth, 2001. (Other editions will be referred with the year of publication.) |
| <i>Rasā‘il</i> | al-Rundī, Ibn ‘Abbād, <i>al-Rasā‘il al-ṣughrā: lettres de direction spirituelle</i> , ed. P. Nwyia, Beirut: Dār al-Mashriq, 1974. |
| <i>Ri‘āya</i> | al-Muḥāsibī, al-Ḥārith b. Asad, <i>Kitāb al-ri‘āya li-huqūq Allāh</i> , ed. M. Smith, London: Luzac, 1940. |
| <i>Risāla</i> | al-Qushayrī, Abu'l-Qāsim, <i>al-Risālat al-Qushayriyya fī ‘ilm al-taṣawwuf</i> , Cairo: Maṭba‘at al-Taqaddam, 1346/1927–8. |
| <i>Satan</i> | Awn, P. J., <i>Satan’s Tragedy and Redemption: Iblīs in Sufi psychology</i> , Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1983. |
| <i>Shukri</i> | Shukri, M.A.M., ‘The mystical doctrine of Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī as found in his Book <i>Qūt al-qulūb</i> ’, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1976. |
| <i>Ṣifa</i> | Ibn al-Jawzī, ‘Abd al-Rahmān, <i>Ṣifat al-ṣifwa</i> , Haydarabad: Maṭba‘at Dā’irat al-Ma‘ārif al-‘Uthmāniyya, 1355/1936. |
| <i>Siyar</i> | al-Dhahabī, Shams al-Dīn, <i>Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'</i> , ed. Ḥusayn al-Asad Shu‘ayb al-Arnā’ūt, 25 vols, Beirut: Mu‘assasat al-Risāla, 1981. |
| <i>Steingass</i> | Steingass, F.J., <i>A Comprehensive Persian–English Dictionary</i> , London: Allen, 1892. |
| <i>Sufism (A)</i> | Arberry, A.J., <i>Sufism: an account of the mystics of Islam</i> , Mineola, NY: Dover, 2002. |
| <i>Sufism (K)</i> | Karamustafa, A. T., <i>Sufism: the formative period</i> , Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007. |
| <i>Ta‘arruf</i> | al-Kalābādhī, Abū Bakr, <i>al-Ta‘arruf li-madhhab ahl al-taṣawwuf</i> , ed. ‘Abd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd and Ṭāhā ‘Abd al-Bāqī Surūr, Cairo: Dār Iḥyā’ al-Kutub al-‘Arabiyya, 1380/1960–1. |
| <i>Taimīya</i> | Laoust, H., <i>Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de Takīd-Dīn Ahmad b. Taimīya: canoniste hanbalite, né à Harrān en 661/1262, mort à Damas en 728/1328</i> , Le Caire: Imprimerie de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1939. |
| <i>Talbīs</i> | Ibn al-Jawzī, ‘Abd al-Rahmān, <i>Talbīs Iblīs</i> , ed. Muḥammad Muṇīr al-Dimashqī, Cairo: Idārat al-Ṭibā‘at al-Muṇīriyya, 1369/1949–50. |

| | |
|----------------------|--|
| <i>Talqīḥ</i> | Ibn al-Jawzī, ‘Abd al-Rahmān, <i>Talqīḥ fuhūm ahl al-athar fī ‘uyūn al-ta’rīkh wa’l-siyar</i> , Cairo: Maktabat al-Ādab, 1975. |
| <i>Ta’rīkh</i> | al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Abū Bakr Aḥmad, <i>Ta’rīkh Baghdaḍ aw madīnat al-salām</i> , 14 vols, Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī, 1931. |
| <i>Ta’rīkh (351)</i> | al-Dhahabī, Shams al-Dīn, <i>Ta’rīkh al-Islām wa wafayāt al-mashāhīr al-a’lām ḥawādīth wa wafayāt 351–380</i> , ed. ‘Umar ‘Abd al-Salām Tadmūrī, Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-‘Arabī, 1989. |
| <i>Ta’rīkh (381)</i> | al-Dhahabī, Shams al-Dīn, <i>Ta’rīkh al-Islām wa wafayāt al-mashāhīr al-a’lām ḥawādīth wa wafayāt 381–400</i> , ed. ‘Umar ‘Abd al-Salām Tadmūrī, Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-‘Arabī, 1988. |
| <i>Théologie</i> | Vajda, G., <i>La théologie ascétique de Bahya ibn Paquda</i> , Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1947. |
| <i>Theology</i> | Izutsu, T., <i>The Concept of Belief in Islamic Theology: a semantic analysis of īmān and islām</i> , Tokyo: Keio Institute of Cultural and Linguistic Studies, 1965. |
| <i>Transition</i> | Ohlander, E.S., <i>Sufism in an Age of Transition: ‘Umar al-Suhrawardī and the rise of the Islamic mystical brotherhoods</i> , Leiden: Brill, 2008. |
| <i>Vision</i> | Böwering, G., <i>The Mystical Vision of Existence in Classical Islam: the Qur’anic hermeneutics of the Sufi Sahl at-Tustarī (d. 283/896)</i> , Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1980. |
| <i>Wafayāt</i> | Ibn Khallikān, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, <i>Wafayāt al-a’yān wa anbā’ abnā’ al-zamān</i> , ed. İhsan ‘Abbās, 8 vols, Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1968. |
| <i>Yazaki</i> | Yazaki, S., ‘A study of Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī’, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2010. |

Encyclopaedias, journals and publishers

| | |
|-----------------------|---|
| <i>BSOAS</i> | <i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i> |
| <i>BSOS</i> | <i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies</i> |
| <i>CUP</i> | Cambridge University Press |
| <i>EI¹</i> | <i>Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> , 1 st ed. |
| <i>EI²</i> | <i>Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> , 2 nd ed. |
| <i>EI³</i> | <i>Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> , 3 rd ed. |
| <i>EJ</i> | <i>Encyclopaedia Judaica</i> |
| <i>EJIW</i> | <i>Encyclopaedia of Jews in the Islamic World</i> |
| <i>EQ</i> | <i>Encyclopaedia of the Qur’ān</i> |
| <i>ER</i> | <i>Encyclopaedia of Religion</i> |
| <i>EUP</i> | Edinburgh University Press |
| <i>IC</i> | <i>Islamic Culture</i> |
| <i>IS</i> | <i>Islamic Studies</i> |

| | |
|-------------|---|
| <i>JAOS</i> | <i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i> |
| <i>JQR</i> | <i>The Jewish Quarterly Review</i> |
| <i>JRAS</i> | <i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i> |
| OUP | Oxford University Press |

Abbreviations of books of the Hebrew Bible and New Testament follow the Chicago Manual of Style.

Introduction

Despite the discourse on Islamophobia and topical issues around Islam and the West, Sufism appears to be accepted in Western society compared to other dimensions of Islam. Sufi thought is often described as ‘moderate’ and ‘tolerant’, in stark contrast, for example, to ‘extreme’ Salafis who attack ‘peace-loving’ Sufis.¹ In addition to this liberal image, the religious status of Sufism in Islam seems to be equivalent to Yoga in Hinduism and Zen in Buddhism, especially in popular culture; while Islamic (or Hindu or Buddhist) aspects are not entirely neglected, they are not central. The spiritual teachings of Sufism (and Yoga and Zen) are often regarded in the West as an alternative to conventional religious institutions and not incompatible with other belief systems. Many Sufism-related organisations in Europe and the United States have contributed to this image by focusing on humanity, peace, love and the universality of mysticism.² (One of the prime examples would be the doctrine of Inayat Khan (d. 1927) – the Sufi and musician from India who tried to spread the idea of universal Sufism in the UK, Holland, France and the USA.³)

Alongside this appreciation of Sufism that appeals to the popular spiritual movement, Islamic mysticism has also attracted significant scholarly attention in the West. The modern study of Sufism began in the colonial period when the image of Sufis was influenced partially by political interests and partially by European travellers’ narratives of exotic dervishes in the Orient.⁴ From the early twentieth

1 Ibrahim, ‘Salafi intolerance threatens Sufis’, *Guardian* 10 May 2010, online, available HTTP: <<http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/belief/2010/may/10/islam-sufi-salafi-egypt-religion>> (accessed 8 March 2012). (For the sake of brevity, unless necessary, full bibliographical information, e.g. the full name of author, the subtitle, the name of editor and/or translator appear only in the bibliography.)

2 See e.g. websites of the International Association of Sufism <<http://ias.org>>, the Threshold Society <<http://sufism.org>>, the Muhyiddin Ibn ‘Arabi Society <<http://www.ibnarabisociety.org>> (all accessed 24 March 2012).

3 See the International Sufi Movement <<http://www.sufimovement.org>> formed by Inayat Khan (accessed 24 March 2012).

4 See e.g. Ernst who provides a concise description of a complicated history of the term ‘Sufism’ in the modern study of Sufism in Europe (*The Shambhala Guide to Sufism*, Boston, MA: Shambhala, 1997, pp. 1–31).

2 Introduction

century, a number of scholarly works have been produced in Islamic studies in various European languages. The topics range from general surveys of the doctrine of Sufism and translation of Sufi writings, to more specific studies of a certain figure, order or period in the history of Islamic mysticism.⁵

This book seeks to contribute to this growing body of literature, focusing on the tenth-century Muslim writer on piety, Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (d. 386/996), whose major work *Qūṭ al-qulūb* ('The Nourishment of Hearts') appeared in different fields of study, including Sufism, asceticism, Ḥadīth, social sciences, Ḥanbalism and, beyond Islam, Jewish spirituality. The *Qūṭ* was written in a period which is generally accepted as a time of systematisation of the Sufi tradition (the fourth/tenth and fifth/eleventh centuries). These two centuries produced various treatises which became important mystical guidebooks for later Sufis, and al-Makkī is often regarded as one of the earliest writers to have composed a 'Sufi manual'.⁶ In the *Qūṭ*, al-Makkī discussed the role of the heart as the mediator between this world and the hereafter, governing human mind and body as king. He urged the reader to maximise the quality of the heart in order to be a pious believer carrying out God's will.

The *Qūṭ* has been read widely as a guide on ethics and exerted a great influence on later Muslim scholars. For instance, the famous Islamic thinker Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) lists the *Qūṭ* first as a work on Sufism which he read for his study,⁷ and his heavy reliance on the *Qūṭ* in the writing of his *magnum opus*, *Iḥyā ulūm al-dīn* ('The Revivification of the Religious Sciences'), has been discussed by a number of scholars on Sufism. Among prominent medieval Sufi authors, al-Makkī is highly esteemed, for instance, in the writings of al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234), Ibn al-‘Arabī (d. 638/1240) and Rūmī (d. 672/1273), where al-Makkī is praised as the author of a significant book on Islamic devotion, the *Qūṭ*. Compared to the straightforward respect al-Makkī enjoys from Sufi thinkers, Ḥanbali literature reveals a more complex estimation in the writings of, for instance, Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200) and Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328), which demonstrate a more ambivalent attitude towards al-Makkī and his thought.

The teachings of the *Qūṭ* may even have crossed faith borders, as some scholars in Jewish studies have pointed out al-Makkī's influence on the Andalusian Jewish thinker Ibn Bāqūdā (d. after 1080), who composed a moral guidebook, *al-Hidāya ilā farā’id al-qulūb* ('The Right Guidance to the Religious Duties of Hearts'), in Judaeo-Arabic. The name of al-Makkī thus frequently appears in medieval literature in biographical dictionaries, Ḥadīth, Sufi and Ḥanbali writing, and his relevance to scholarship lies beyond the study of Sufism, and even Islamic studies.

Despite this, few studies have carried out a critical analysis of al-Makkī and his work, and no single monograph has yet been published on the subject. In 1992–5,

⁵ For a list of major general surveys on Sufism, see e.g. *Mysticism*, pp. 2–3 (Knysh's book itself is a general survey, intended to complement the predecessors).

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

⁷ *Munqidh*, p. 64.

Gramlich published a complete translation of the *Qūt* in German, *Die Nahrung der Herzen*. (See below for translations of the *Qūt*.) There exist several PhD theses on al-Makkī: Shukri in 1976 investigates the life and works of al-Makkī and his spiritual doctrines in the *Qūt*; Amin in 1991 examines al-Makkī's contribution to Sufism and provides a translation of an extract from the *Qūt* to analyse its influence on a chapter of the *Ihya'* by al-Ghazālī; Bin Ramli in 2011 focuses on the development of scholarship in the history of early Sufism through analysis of knowledge and theology of the *Qūt*. Specific scholarship on al-Makkī also includes an article on al-Makkī in *EP*³, where Ohlander in 2010 greatly expands the previous articles on al-Makkī in *EI*¹ and *EI*² by Massignon, shows an extensive use of Gramlich's introduction to the translation and Amin's article in 1999, which is an extract from his thesis. In 2011 Khalil published an article where he tries to situate al-Makkī in the history of early Sufism.⁸

Based on this scholarship and my own PhD thesis on al-Makkī submitted in 2010, the present study attempts to provide a fresh examination of the world of al-Makkī and his work, *Qūt al-qulūb*. This book differs from the above-mentioned works in the following points. Firstly, the study is carried out through an exploration of the religious role of the heart, on which al-Makkī's teachings are based. The heart is a unique organ – not only for its physical function as the sole organ pumping blood to the body but for its supposed spiritual capacity. Both in everyday language and in religious metaphor, the heart often embodies the true self and is considered to be the seat of emotion. In common with other cultures and religious traditions, Islam shares this central concern with the heart, as can be clearly seen in the title of al-Makkī's major work, *The Nourishment of Hearts* – one of the prime extant examples of such early work. Focusing on the universal symbolism of the heart helps crystallise the nature of his thought in comparison with teachings of other Muslim thinkers, as well as Islamic spirituality in comparison with doctrines of other religions.

Secondly, I will examine the characteristics of the *Qūt* within and beyond the context of Sufism, where the *Qūt* is conventionally regarded as a paradigm of the early mystical guidebook in Islam, together with two contemporary treatises: *Kitāb luma'fi'l-taṣawwuf* ('The Book of Sparkling Lights in Sufism') by al-Sarrāj (d. 378/988), and *Kitāb al-ta'arruf li-madhhab ahl al-taṣawwuf* ('The Book of Acquaintance with the Path of Sufis') by al-Kalābādhī (d. ca. 385/995).⁹ Rather than dealing exclusively with mysticism as we can see in the latter two works, al-Makkī fills his book with warnings and moral guidelines for believers based on an Islamic ethos. This view depends on the way in which we interpret al-Makkī's understanding of *taṣawwuf*, Sufism, which raises a further question of how we examine Islamic mysticism.

⁸ For detailed discussion of modern scholarship on al-Makkī, both centrally and partially, before 2010, see Chs 1 and 2 of my PhD thesis (Yazaki, pp. 10–52).

⁹ E.g. *Dimensions*, p. 85; Khalil, p. 8.

4 *Introduction*

The definition of the term ‘Sufism’ is beyond the scope of the present work; however, part of the title of Schimmel’s famous work, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, would encapsulate the basic meaning of what I seek to convey by the terms ‘Sufism’ or ‘Islamic mysticism’ in this book. A mystical perspective is a way of interpretation of how the world works. Sufis may appear to pursue personal experience with the Divine through internalisation of faith oblivious to the happenings in the external world. However, the personal *is* social. A Sufi way of living inevitably has an effect on every aspect of individual and communal life. As the study indicates, this understanding of mysticism accords with the teachings of al-Makkī, which do not distinguish between the devotional manner of living of a Sufi and a Sufi lifestyle. An examination of the nature of the *Qūt* without pigeonholing it as a Sufi work, should problematise the way in which we study Sufism and mysticism in general.

Thirdly, through an exploration of the influence of al-Makkī, this book addresses the complexity of Sufi–Hanbalī and Muslim–Jewish relations, which has often been obscured especially by the current political discourses. The tradition of anti-Sufi Hanbalism receives some support from certain Hanbalī literature and its image has been further strengthened by puritanical Saudi–Wahhābī policy, whose principles are influenced by the prominent Hanbalī scholar Ibn Taymiyya. This, however, conflicts with the fact that the earliest extant Sufi order was founded by a famous Hanbalī mystic, ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jilānī (d. 561/1166).

The long and rich history of the Judaeo-Islamic tradition has often been regarded as one of hostility, largely owing to the contemporary political conflict surrounding Israel and Palestine. This, again, clashes with the idea of the ‘Golden Age’ in the Jewish history, which is applied to the time in al-Andalus during the Islamic period.¹⁰ The relationship between Sufism and Hanbalism on the one hand, and between Muslims and Jews on the other hand, thus shares a particular feature: their complexity and ambiguity are greatly affected by current political and ideological discourses. Through an examination of al-Makkī’s influence on Hanbalī scholars and an Andalusian Jewish judge, this book seeks to shed a different light on these polarised views and give historical reference to them.

Considering these three issues, I have divided the focus of the present study into nine chapters. The first two chapters set the scene. Chapter 1 introduces al-Makkī’s life and works through an examination of a number of medieval biographical dictionaries and modern studies. Chapter 2 introduces the *Qūt* and situates it in its wider context through an exploration of the symbolism of the heart in various religious traditions, with special reference to Judaism, Christianity and the early history of Sufism. I then provide a detailed outline of the whole *Qūt* and discuss al-Makkī’s manner of citation of the religious authorities.

Chapters 3 and 4 examine the role of the heart in the belief of al-Makkī through annotation and selective and paraphrastic translation of an extract from the *Qūt*. Section 30 of the book is the only part where al-Makkī explains the different

¹⁰ E.g. Mann *et al.* (eds), *Convivencia*, New York: Jewish Museum, 1992, p. xi.

functions which he attaches to the heart. The selection of this part of the *Qūt* is not only because it can sum up his spiritual teachings, but also because the symbolism of the heart plays a pivotal role in the theory of Sufism as well as in other cultures and religious traditions. The copy of the *Qūt* used in this study is the 2001 edition by al-Raḍwānī.¹¹ Although not well known to researchers on Sufism, this appears to be the only version to include descriptions of the manuscripts used in the editing process.¹² (See a list of modern editions of the *Qūt* at the end of this section.) The summarised translation of the extract from the *Qūt* provided here will be the first English translation based on this edition. At the end of Chapter 4, I compare al-Makkī's religious teaching on the heart with those of several other Muslim thinkers.

Based on a close examination of al-Makkī's work and its intellectual context, Chapter 5 compares the *Qūt* with two tenth-century contemporary treatises, the *Luma'* by al-Sarrāj and *al-Ta'arruf* by al-Kalābādhī. Modern-day studies of Sufism often glue these three works as the earliest encyclopaedic Sufi treatises. This chapter, however, will highlight the differences between them. It will challenge the simplified estimation of the *Qūt* as a Sufi work only, through a discussion of the essential components of Islam as presented by al-Sarrāj and al-Kalābādhī.

The first part of this study lays emphasis on the nature of the *Qūt* as a moral guide of Islamic devotion, relying heavily on the Ḥadīth rather than Sufi sayings. However, the following two chapters examine the way in which he was known chiefly among his fellow believers in pre-modern times as a writer on Sufism. The diverse views on al-Makkī and his work will underline different interpretations of the Sufi way among medieval Islamic scholars. Chapter 6 first examines how al-Makkī is treated in notable medieval works on Sufism by scholars, such as al-Suhrawardī, Ibn al-‘Arabī, Rūmī, al-Rundī (d. 792/1390) and Jāmī (d. 898/1492). Despite their great debt to the *Qūt*, however, well-known medieval Sufi hagiographies make no reference to al-Makkī. This chapter will then examine the way in which major biographical dictionaries and Ḥadīth literary works discuss al-Makkī over the period of around six centuries.

Chapter 7 focuses on the influence of al-Makkī on Ḥanbalī scholars, which will challenge the general picture of Ḥanbalism as hostile towards Sufism due to its heretical views of the Divine and its religious practices. I will analyse the evaluation of al-Makkī by four notable Ḥanbalī scholars from the eleventh to the fourteenth century who left literary works in the fields of Kalām, Sufism, historiography, law and polemics. The first is Ibn al-Farrā' (d. 458/1066), whose work on Kalām appears to be the earliest extant source which mentions al-Makkī, and shows the author's heavy reliance on him. The second scholar is the well-known Ḥanbalī mystic ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, whose influential Sufi work reveals his

¹¹ My sincere thanks go to al-Ustadh Irfan al-Misri of L'Institut français du Proche-Orient at Damascus, who made me aware of this edition, and Fadi al-Fatayri, who obtained this volume for me.

¹² *Qūt*, vol. 1, pp. 19–23. The manuscripts that form the basis of this edition differ from those which Gramlich used in his complete German translation.

6 *Introduction*

great debt to al-Makkī's teachings. The last two Ḥanbalī scholars show more complicated attitudes towards al-Makkī. Ibn al-Jawzī, the author of a famous Ḥanbalī polemic, demonstrates both criticism and acceptance of al-Makkī in his works. The same tendency can be seen in the renowned Ḥanbalī thinker Ibn Taymiyya, who influenced the anti-Sufi Wahhābī movement. Given the extensive focus on Islamic piety in al-Makkī's writing, it is not surprising to see his name appearing in a wide range of fields. The examination of the treatment of al-Makkī by these four Ḥanbalī scholars reveals the complexity of the Sufi–Ḥanbalī relationship, raising questions of the fundamental meaning of Sufism in the history of Islam and the way in which we study it.

In order to situate al-Makkī's moral teachings in a wider context beyond Sufism, and indeed even Islam, the focus of the last part of the book shifts from Islam to Judaism. Throughout the vast area of the Islamic empire, Arabic served as the lingua franca. This encouraged continuous interaction beyond faith borders and in many places the Jewish adoption of Arabic as the vernacular and written language. In what Goitein famously called the 'Jewish–Arab symbiosis',¹³ there was a dynamic interaction between Jewish and Islamic and/or Arabic writings, particularly in al-Andalus. In this study, I compare the works of al-Makkī and Ibn Bāqūdā, who wrote a Jewish moral guide which shows the great influence of Muslim literature, and I will address the issue of his possible debt to al-Makkī's *Qūt*.

Chapter 8 first introduces Ibn Bāqūdā and his major work, *al-Hidāya*. This Judaeo-Arabic work became popular among Jews soon after its completion as the first systematic treatise on ethics. Due to its title, contents and terminology, several scholars in Jewish studies have mentioned al-Makkī's influence on this work; however, a systematic comparison has not yet been carried out. Chapter 9 therefore analyses the works of al-Makkī and Ibn Bāqūdā through an evaluation of their aims, structures and approaches, and then their religious views of the heart, which underpin both authors' thought. In concluding, I examine more closely this possible link between al-Makkī and Ibn Bāqūdā through the linguistic differences between Arabic and Judaeo-Arabic, and the shared heritage between Judaism and Islam in the context of intellectual and religious enquiry.

Mysticism is generally considered to be universal; however, it expresses itself in a language within a specific cultural context. With different social locations and dimensions, Islamic mysticism has allowed its forms to be constantly changing. Regardless of the question of whether al-Makkī considered himself to be a Sufi, he employed certain terms often used by Sufis, and he argued within the framework of Islam. It is questionable whether the *Qūt* should be classified simply as a mystical writing; however, it is clear that the intended readership of al-Makkī was his fellow Muslims. Despite this, his thought can be seen as transferable into intellectual and religious traditions beyond Islam. This might be partly because of the nature of mysticism and monotheistic traditions.

¹³ Goitein, *Jews and Arabs*, New York: Schocken Books, 1955, p. 131.

Throughout this book, an attempt is made to present al-Makkī in a multi-dimensional way, without pigeonholing him as a Sufi or a Ḥadīth specialist, and to examine how he has been viewed later, despite – or because of – the way he projects himself in his writing. Through an exploration of the work and influence of al-Makkī, I hope this book will provide an opportunity to give further thought to the study of Sufism, the nature of mysticism and its relation to monotheistic faiths.

Editions and translations of the *Qūt*

Editions of the Qūt

There are nine modern editions of the *Qūt*. These are chronologically:

- i. 2 vols, ed. Muḥammad al-Zuhrā, Cairo, 1892–3, each volume has a book in the margin:
 - 1 – *Sirāj al-qulūb wa ‘ilāj al-dhunūb li-Abī ‘Alī Zayn al-Dīn ‘Alī al-Mu‘ayrī al-Fanānī*,
 - 2 – *Hayāt al-qulūb fī kayfiyya al-wuṣūl ila ‘l-maḥbūb li-‘Imād al-Dīn al-Umawī*;
- ii. 4 vols in 2, Cairo: al-Maṭba‘at al-Miṣriyya, 1932, editor not given;
- iii. 2 vols, Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1961, editor not given;
- iv. 2 vols, ed. Sa‘īd Nasīb Makārim, Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1995;
- v. 2 vols, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1997, editor not given;¹⁴
- vi. 3 vols, ed. Maḥmūd b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Raḍwānī, Cairo: Dār al-Turāth, 2001;
- vii. 2nd ed., 2 vols, ed. ‘Āṣim Ibrāhīm al-Kayyālī, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2005;
- viii. 2 vols, Cairo: al-Maktabat al-Tawfiqiyya, n.d., editor not given;
- ix. 2 vols in 1, Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, n.d.,¹⁵ editor not given; it has two other books in the margin:
 - 1 – *Sirāj al-qulūb wa ‘ilāj al-dhunūb li-Zayn al-Dīn ‘Alī al-Mu‘ayrī*,
 - 2 – *Hayāt al-qulūb fī kayfiyya al-wuṣūl ila ‘l-maḥbūb li-‘Imād al-Dīn al-Umawī*.

Both the 1892–3 Cairo edition and n.d. Damascus edition have two books in the margin. According to Brockelmann, *Sirāj al-qulūb* was written by Nūr Allāh

¹⁴ The same publisher published the second edition of the *Qūt* in 2005 (ed. al-Kayyālī). Although the editor’s name does not appear in the 1997 version, the contents of the introductions are almost the same in the two copies, and it may be assumed that the editor of the *Qūt* (1997) is also al-Kayyālī, who made corrections in spelling and added two extra pages to the original introduction in the 2005 edition.

¹⁵ It appears that this edition is a reprint of the 1892–3 Cairo edition, as both have exactly the same pagination, font and design.

8 Introduction

al-Shushtarī (d. 1019/1610), a Shīrī *qādī* in Lahore.¹⁶ It is not obvious from the contents of the book whether the author is Shīrī or not.¹⁷ As for the second work in the margin, Shukri states that Muḥammad b. al-Asnāwī al-Shāfiī (d. 764/1363) produced a work entitled *Hayāt al-qulūb fī kayfiyyat al-wuṣūl ilā 'l-maḥbūb* in the margin of the *Qūt*, which was published in Cairo in 1310/1892–3.¹⁸ According to Brockelmann, *Hayāt al-qulūb* was written by al-Asnawī 'Imād al-Dīn (d. 764/1363) and published in the margin of the *Qūt* in 1310/1892–3 in Cairo.¹⁹ The second title in the margin of the Damascus and Cairo editions seems to be the work that both Shukri and Brockelmann mention.

Differences among the modern editions are mainly in punctuation, auxiliary signs, such as *shadda* and *hamza*, the numbering of Qur'anic verses and paragraph structure. In the contents of the *Qūt*, slight discrepancies can be seen in terminology and numbering of sections. (Many copies incorporate the content of Section 34 into Section 33 and skip the number 34. For Sections 1 to 32 and from Section 35 till the end, the same numbering system seems to be applied in all the editions.) There are also variations in words and expressions throughout the main body of the *Qūt*.

Among the nine modern editions of the *Qūt*, the 2001 edition of al-Raḍwānī (no. vi in the above list) is the only version which provides a description of the manuscripts and the modern edition used in editing.²⁰ This edition is the most reliable and used throughout this book. Al-Raḍwānī uses five manuscripts: two from Dār al-Kutub in Cairo and three from Turkey.²¹ Among these, only one manuscript – from Cairo – is complete. According to al-Raḍwānī, this manuscript contains 181 folios and is written in a 'fine Maghribī style'.²² The name of the copyist and the history of the manuscript are unknown.²³ As well as the five manuscripts, al-Raḍwānī also consulted the 1892–3 edition (no. i),²⁴ which seems to be the first printed copy of the *Qūt*.²⁵

¹⁶ *GAL*, SII, pp. 607–8.

¹⁷ Gramlich, who used the 1892–3 Cairo edition, does not mention the two works in the margin; al-Raḍwānī, who also used the Cairo edition, does mention them (as *Sīrāj al-qulūb* by Abū 'Alī Zayn al-Dīn 'Alī and *Hayāt al-qulūb* with no author's name) but does not expand on this information (*Nahrung*, vol. 1, p. 21; *Qūt*, vol. 1, p. 23).

¹⁸ Shukri, p. 45.

¹⁹ *GAL*, SII, p. 148.

²⁰ *Qūt*, vol. 1, pp. 19–23.

²¹ See *GAL* and *GAS* for numerous manuscripts of the *Qūt* where Brockelmann enumerates in total around forty manuscripts of the *Qūt* and a few manuscripts of extracts from it, and Sezgin adds several more manuscripts to both these categories (*GAL*, vol. 1, p. 217 and SI, pp. 359–60; *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 666–7). The manuscripts are scattered across various places, including London, Dublin, Paris, The Escorial, Damascus and Tunis, as well as libraries in Germany, India and Turkey. Neither *GAL* nor *GAS* mentions whether these manuscripts are complete or not.

²² *Qūt*, vol. 1, p. 19.

²³ Dār al-Kutub, no. 1543 (*tasawwuf*), 181 fls (microfilm no. 7383). According to al-Raḍwānī, each folio has 43 lines and its dimensions are 22×30cm (*Qūt*, vol. 1, p. 19). Neither *GAL* nor *GAS* lists this manuscript.

²⁴ *Qūt*, vol. 1, p. 23.

²⁵ Ibid.; *Nahrung*, vol. 1, p. 21.

In the *Nahrung*, Gramlich uses six manuscripts for his translation: three from Turkey (not used by al-Rađwānī), one from Heidelberg, one from the British Library and one from Princeton.²⁶ According to Gramlich, the Heidelberg manuscript is the only complete version, having 585 folios and dated 1120/1708–9.²⁷ In addition to the six manuscripts, Gramlich uses three modern editions (nos. i, ii and iii) for his translation and states that the 1892–3 edition is very close to the complete Heidelberg manuscript.²⁸ Although he describes this oldest copy as a ‘very flawed (*reichlich fehlerhafter*)’ edition and ‘not pleasant to read (*schlecht lesbarer*)’, it has fewer mistakes than the other two editions he consulted, and thus provides the basis for his translation.²⁹ (It is not clear, however, why he did not choose the complete Heidelberg manuscript as the basis of his translation.)

Translations of the Qūt

There are four translations, either partial or whole of the *Qūt*, in European languages. These are chronologically:

- 1978: Douglas, ‘the beard’ [an excerpt from Section 36 of the *Qūt*];³⁰
- 1991: Amin, ‘the first religious station: repentance’ [an excerpt from Section 32];³¹
- 1992–5: Gramlich, *Die Nahrung der Herzen* [the whole *Qūt*];
- 2004: Renard, ‘knowledge’ [Section 31].³²

Douglas used the 1932 edition (no. ii) for his short translation and Amin consulted the 1961 edition (no. iii). Renard relied on the 1997 version (no. v), and did so reluctantly, since he knew it was not a critical edition.³³

There is also a Turkish translation (1999) and a Chinese translation (2008) of the *Qūt*.³⁴ Böwering, reviewing the *Nahrung*, mentions an Urdu translation of the *Qūt*, which was published in 1984 in Lahore.³⁵

Here, I would like to comment on Gramlich’s complete translation of the *Qūt* into German, since Böwering does not mention Gramlich’s actual translation style in his

²⁶ *Nahrung*, vol. 1, p. 21.

²⁷ Heidelberg, Cod. Or. 246 (ibid.; cf. *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 667). Gramlich does not provide as much information about any of the manuscripts as al-Rađwānī does.

²⁸ *Nahrung*, vol. 1, pp. 21–2.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Douglas, ‘The beard’, *The Muslim World* 68, issue 2, Apr. 1978, pp. 100–10 [*Qūt*, vol. 3, pp. 1316–24].

³¹ Amin, pp. 53–154 [*Qūt*, vol. 2, pp. 499–537].

³² *Knowledge*, pp. 112–263 [*Qūt*, vol. 1, pp. 363–489].

³³ Douglas, ‘Beard’, p. 100; Amin, p. 101 n. 1; *Knowledge*, p. 386 n. 1.

³⁴ *Kütü'l-kulüb: kalplerin azağı*, trans. Muhamrem Tan, 4 vols, Istanbul: İz Yayımları, 1999; *Xīn lǐng de liáng dān* (‘Good Remedy of the Heart’), trans. Xiǎo Pèi Mǎ, Beijing: Chinese Social Science Press, 2008.

³⁵ Böwering (vol. 2), p. 620. According to him, this translation was done by Muḥammad Manzūr al-Wajīdī, who paraphrased the *Qūt* into ‘simple’ and ‘accessible’ Urdu with almost no annotation.

three reviews.³⁶ The *Nahrung* consists of four large volumes. At the beginning of Volume 1, Gramlich provides a succinct introduction. It has to be pointed out that it is unexpectedly short compared to the massive work of Gramlich's translation (only thirteen pages long, including three pages in which he discusses the six manuscripts and three modern editions used in his volumes).³⁷ After this rather unsatisfying start, Gramlich provides a translation of the whole *Qūt* in three volumes. In the process of translation, states Gramlich, an effort was made to keep as close to the original text as possible. Unfortunately, this does not produce a fluent German style and makes the translation difficult to read, as Gramlich himself admits.³⁸ As he also clearly points out, commentaries on the text are rarely added in his translation.³⁹ The *Nahrung* might be faithful to al-Makkī's work, but it leaves difficult words and unusual expressions, which need to be explained, unexplained. No identification is made either of the people who are cited in the *Qūt*, although their death year in general appears in the index of the *Nahrung*. These points sometimes make the *Nahrung* even more difficult to understand, in addition to Gramlich's literal translation style.

It is also regrettable that Gramlich omits all the doxologies and eulogies to God, the Prophet Muhammad and deceased pious worshippers in his *Nahrung*. This is because of the significant variations among the manuscripts he used for his translation, including regarding the use of eulogy.⁴⁰ Doxology, however, is part of the source text and should not be disregarded in the process of translation, especially when a translator tries to stay as close to the text as possible. The way in which doxology is used can also be a useful tool of analysis for scholars and it is doubtful whether it is a translator's choice to include it or not.

Leaving aside these critical observations, it is undoubtedly useful that Gramlich provides us with the sources of Ḥadīth and sayings cited in the *Qūt* throughout the *Nahrung*. He also often refers to al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā* and al-Suhrawardī's *Awārif* in comparison with the *Qūt*. These references are meticulously carried out and succeed in offering us plentiful sources for further research. In addition, he provides a well-selected bibliography and a helpful index in the last volume of the *Nahrung*.⁴¹ (It would have been more convenient if Gramlich had provided a list of Arabic terminologies in transliteration and separately from an index of proper names. They are mixed in the existing index, which is more than 200 pages long, and a trial-and-error process is required to find Gramlich's German rendering for a given Arabic term. Nevertheless, his index is certainly useful, especially when all

³⁶ Ibid.; idem (vol. 1); idem (vols 3 and 4), pp. 145–6. For brief discussion on the partial English renderings of the *Qūt*, see Yazaki, pp. 48–50.

³⁷ *Nahrung*, vol. 1, pp. 11–23.

³⁸ Gramlich describes his translation as 'textnahe Übersetzung' rather than 'freie Übersetzung' (ibid., vol. 1, p. 23).

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 21–2.

⁴¹ Literaturverzeichnis (ibid., vol. 4, pp. 7–25) and Analytischer Index (pp. 49–268). This volume also contains a list of the Qur'anic verses cited in the *Qūt* (pp. 27–47).

the available Arabic copies of the *Qūt* do not contain one.) In his review of this work, Böwering describes the *Nahrung* as a ‘meticulously annotated’ translation.⁴² In a context of providing references and a substantial index, there is no doubt about the scholarly value of this German rendition.

In [Chapters 3](#) and [4](#) of the present study, which provide a summarised translation of an excerpt from Section 30 of the *Qūt*, significant differences from Gramlich’s German translation will be mentioned.

⁴² Böwering (vol. 1), p. 556.

1 Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī: his life, intellectual formation and scholarship

The life of al-Makkī

Unfortunately, little is left for us to reconstruct his life story. Although al-Makkī appears in many biographical dictionaries, these reports are in general highly repetitive, and the weight of numbers does not count for a great deal in building up a picture of al-Makkī's personal life. This section attempts to collate information which is currently scattered across modern research on al-Makkī¹ and various *ṭabaqāt* works.

The earliest extant book which mentions a personal account about al-Makkī seems to be *Ta’rīkh Baghdād* ('The History of Baghdad') by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071).² This famous work contains a short but valuable sketch of al-Makkī's life, which is frequently quoted by later authors. Among other early accounts, al-Makkī is also mentioned in *al-Ansāb al-muttafiqa* ('Homonymous Lineages') by Ibn al-Qaysarānī (d. 507/1113),³ *al-Ansāb* ('Lineages') by al-Sam‘ānī (d. 562/1166),⁴ *al-Muntaẓam fī ta’rīkh al-duwal wa’l-umam* ('Systematic Arrangement in the History of States and Communities') by Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200)⁵ and the *Wafayāt al-a'yān* ('Obituaries of Famous People') by Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1282).⁶ The *Ta’rīkh*, *al-Muntaẓam* and the *Wafayāt* can be said to be the key early sources for the life of al-Makkī, and their accounts are often cited in later literature. Ibn al-Qaysarānī uses al-Khaṭīb's report almost *verbatim* and al-Sam‘ānī copies Ibn al-Qaysarānī's account virtually word

¹ See e.g. Shukri, pp. 4–38; Bin Ramli, pp. 20–58; Amin, pp. 1–16; *Nahrung*, vol. 1, pp. 11–13; *Vision*, pp. 25–6; *Mysticism*, pp. 121–2; Ohlander, pp. 27–8; *Qūt*, vol. 1, pp. 6–10; *Knowledge*, pp. 33–5. See also *Qūt* (2005), vol. 1, p. 6; *Ilm*, p. 10.

² *Ta’rīkh*, vol. 3, p. 89.

³ Ibn al-Qaysarānī, *al-Ansāb al-muttafiqa*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1865, pp. 153–4. Amin claims that this work is no longer extant but this is a false statement (Amin, pp. 21, 23), which is repeated in his article ('Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī: a traditional Sūfi', *Hamdard Islamicus* 22, no. 3, 1999, p. 75).

⁴ Al-Sam‘ānī, *The Kitab al-ansāb of ‘Abd al-Karīm ibn Muhammād al-Sam‘ānī*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1912, p. 541.

⁵ *Muntaẓam*, vol. 7, pp. 189–90.

⁶ *Wafayāt*, vol. 4, pp. 303–4.

for word. Neither of them adds anything new about al-Makkī unlike Ibn al-Jawzī and Ibn Khallikān.

In the *Ta’rīkh*, al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī includes al-Makkī among approximately eight thousand figures who had some connection with Baghdad. This famous preacher and Ḥadīth scholar writes in an account of al-Makkī:⁷

Muhammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Atīyya Abū Ṭālib is generally known as al-Makkī. He compiled a book entitled *The Nourishment of Hearts* in Sufi language, wherein he talked of objectionable and dishonourable (*munkara wa mustashna*) matters concerning the attributes [of God]. He learned Ḥadīth from ‘Alī b. Aḥmad al-Maṣīḥī, Abū Bakr al-Mufid and others. Muhammad b. al-Muẓaffar al-Khayyāt and ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. ‘Alī al-Azjī told me about him. Abū Ṭāhir Muhammad b. ‘Alī b. al-‘Allāf related to me that Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī was one of the people of Jabal, brought up in Mecca, entered Basra after the death of Abu’l-Ḥasan Ibn Sālim and became associated with his doctrine. He came to Baghdad and people gathered together [to hear] him preach, but then he became confused in his words. It was recorded of him that he said: Nothing is more harmful to the created beings than the Creator. People accused him of heretical innovation and left him. Al-Makkī stopped preaching in Jumādā II 386.⁸ Al-‘Atīqī said that he was a virtuous man and diligent in worship. He produced literary works on *tawhīd*.⁹

Ta’rīkh Baghdād is often considered as one of the first general biographical dictionaries, although al-Khaṭīb compiled the *Ta’rīkh* as a reference book for Ḥadīth scholars by providing numerous Ḥadīth transmitters. It may be deduced from the explanation of the *Qūṭ* and the report of al-Makkī’s ‘confused’ statement that he is probably not in favour with al-Khaṭīb. It should be mentioned here that there seems to have been open hostility between al-Khaṭīb and the Ḥanbalīs,¹⁰ while al-Makkī shows great respect for Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241/855) and quotes

⁷ *Ta’rīkh*, vol. 3, p. 89.

⁸ June/July 996 CE.

⁹ *Tawhīd* is a key notion of Islam, which designates pure monotheistic belief, namely, ‘an absolute denial of anything being associated with God’ (*Theology*, p. 67); cf. *El²*, s.v. ‘tawhīd’ (D. Gimaret). In Sufi tradition, the active part of this concept, being the verbal noun *wahhada*, is also emphasised, i.e. ‘unification’ and ‘making into one’, as well as the declaration of Divine unity. A well-known definition is given by al-Junayd who states that *tawhīd* consists in ‘the separation of the Eternal from that which was originated in time’ (*Sufism (A)*, p. 57). He is also reported by Ibn Taymiyya to have said that *tawhīd* is a ‘saying of the heart’, while *tawakkul* (total reliance on God) is a ‘doing of the heart’ (*Theology*, p. 173). Hujwīrī explains three sorts of *tawhīd*: ‘God’s unification of God’, ‘God’s unification of His creatures’ and ‘men’s unification of God’ (*Kashf*, p. 278; see the whole chapter on *tawhīd*, pp. 278–85). Since I cannot find any English term which embraces all the implications of *tawhīd*, the Arabic word is used throughout this book in order to avoid giving a misleading idea of the role of this essential notion in Sufism and Islam.

¹⁰ Despite originally being Ḥanbalī, al-Khaṭīb became associated himself with the Shāfi‘ī school, which seems to have aroused the hatred of the Ḥanbalīs. Cf. *El²*, s.v. ‘al-Khaṭīb’ (R. Sellheim).

him approximately a hundred times in the *Qūṭ*.¹¹ This might have attracted to al-Makkī the disfavour of al-Khaṭīb. Nonetheless, al-Khaṭīb selected al-Makkī in his Ḥadīth reference work. This might suggest al-Makkī's deep commitment to Ḥadīth, which has to be acknowledged in the *Ta'rikh* even though the author does not appear to approve al-Makkī's writing.

Another important account of al-Makkī can be seen in the *Muntaẓam*, written by the famous Ḥanbalī scholar Ibn al-Jawzī. This history book contains obituaries at the end of each year, which offer a useful source of biographical information. At the end of the year 386/996, Ibn al-Jawzī lists six grandes (akābir) who died in this year, including al-Makkī, whose account is the longest among them:¹²

Muhammad b. 'Alī b. 'Atīyya Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī learned Ḥadīth from 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Maṣīḥī, Abū Bakr al-Mufid and others. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Alī al-Ajzī and others reported on his authority. He was among the pious ascetics, and al-'Atīqī said: He was a virtuous and diligent man, and composed a book [which] he entitled *The Nourishment of Hearts*. In it he quoted Ḥadīth [which] have no origin. He used to preach the people in the Friday mosque in Baghdad. 'Alī b. 'Abīd Allāh related to us from Abū Muḥammad al-Tamīmī [who] said: 'Abd al-Ṣamad came to see Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī and blamed him for heterodox *samā'* practice. Abū Ṭālib then recited:

O Night, how delightful you are!
O Morning, if only you did not approach!

'Abd al-Ṣamad left in anger.

...¹³ I heard our Shaykh Abu'l-Qāsim Ismā'īl b. Aḥmad al-Samarqandī saying: I heard our Shaykh Abū 'Alī Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Maslama saying: (I heard our Shaykh Abu'l-Qāsim b. Bishrān saying:) I came to see our Shaykh Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī at the time of his death and told him: Please give me [your final words of] advice. He said: If you find out that He has made my end to be good, when my bier is taken out,¹⁴ scatter sugar and almonds over me, and say 'This is for the master'. I said: How do I find out [whether God has given you a good end]? He said: Take my hand at the time of my death, and if I grip your hand with my hand, then know that He has made my end to be good, whereas if I do not grip your hand and release your hand from my hand, then know that He did not make my end to be good. Our Shaykh Abu'l-Qāsim said: I sat beside him, and, at the moment of his death, he gripped my hand strongly.

¹¹ *Nahrung*, vol. 4, pp. 71–2 [index]. See Ch. 2 for further detail.

¹² *Muntaẓam*, vol. 7, pp. 189–90.

¹³ Ibn al-Jawzī here copies the statement of al-'Allāf in the *Ta'rikh* until al-Makkī stopped preaching.

¹⁴ Or: when you take out my body [for the funeral procession].

When I took out his body,¹⁵ I scattered sugar and almonds over him, and said ‘This is for the master’ as he instructed me. Abū Ṭālib died in Jumādā II of this year.

This account includes valuable anecdotes about al-Makkī. His response to the reproach for the *samā'* practice and his deathbed story could be said to accord with the typical image of Sufi masters.¹⁶ The reader therefore may assume that he was a Sufi Shaykh, although Ibn al-Jawzī does not use the term ‘Sufi’ in the description of al-Makkī. From the first paragraph of this narrative, however, the *Qūṭ* could be considered as a book of Ḥadīth, or at least Ibn al-Jawzī gives the impression that this is a Tradition-based work. In the *Qūṭ*, al-Makkī quotes Ibn Ḥanbal and agrees with his approach to Ḥadīth that the contents of the report are more important than having accurate phrasing or accurate information of its chain of authorities.¹⁷ Although being Ḥanbālī himself, al-Makkī’s attitude towards Tradition does not seem to match that of Ibn al-Jawzī, whose criticism against al-Makkī’s use of weak Ḥadīth appears in his other work.¹⁸ (This issue is treated later in *Chapter 7*.)

Another key source of al-Makkī’s life can be found in the famous comprehensive *tabaqāt* work, the *Wafayāt*, compiled by the chief judge of Syria Ibn Khallikān. This Shāfi‘ī scholar collects reports of numerous Muslims for this voluminous biographical dictionary. In a narrative of al-Makkī, Ibn Khallikān relates:¹⁹

Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Atīyya, al-Ḥārithī al-Wā‘iz al-Makkī is the author of the book, *The Nourishment of Hearts*. He was a pious man and diligent in worship. He used to speak in the Friday mosque and he has literary works on *tawhīd*. He was not one of the people of Mecca. He was one of the people of Jabal but lived in Mecca, and he was called [al-Makkī] after it. He used to perform devotional practices²⁰ to a large extent. In the end, it was said that he abandoned food for a while and restricted himself to eating permitted herbs; then his skin became green from taking a large portion of them.

He met a group of masters of the Ḥadīth and knowledge of the Way,²¹ and he learned from them. He entered Basra after the death of Abu'l-Hasan Ibn Sālim

¹⁵ Or: when his bier was taken out.

¹⁶ Ibn Kathīr reports a very similar account concerning the *samā'* practice and the deathbed (*al-Bidāya wa'l-nihāya*, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1988, vol. 11, p. 341). Al-Dhahabī also tells an almost same story about al-Makkī’s death (*Ta’rīkh* (381), pp. 127–8).

¹⁷ *Qūṭ*, vol. 1, pp. 486–8.

¹⁸ *Talbīs*, pp. 164–5. In his other writing, however, Ibn al-Jawzī uses the Tradition transmitted by al-Makkī (*Talqīh*, pp. 714–17).

¹⁹ *Wafayāt*, vol. 4, pp. 303–4.

²⁰ *Riyāḍa*: bodily exercise, practice of good works and prayer (Hava, p. 278); exercice continual, efforts continuels que l’on fait pour se maîtriser, pour dompter ses passions, mortifications, vie ascétique, pratiques de dévotion (Kazimirski, vol. 1, p. 952).

²¹ *‘Ilm al-tarīqa*: ‘Sufism’ (de Slane, vol. 3, p. 20).

and became associated with his doctrine. He arrived in Baghdad and preached to the people. Then he talked so confusedly that they left and renounced him....²² He died after six days of Jumādā II had passed of the year 386²³ in Baghdad and was buried in the Mālikiyya cemetery. His grave is on the eastern side²⁴ and a famous place to be visited. May God Most High have mercy upon him.

Al-Ḥārithī: beginning with unpointed *hā'* then *alif, rā'* with *kasra* and *thā'* with three diacritical dots. This *nisba* refers to a number of tribes; one of them is al-Ḥārith and the other is al-Ḥāritha. I do not know from which of these tribes the above-mentioned Abū Ṭālib received his *nisba*.

Al-Makkī: *nisba* related to Mecca, may God Most High protect her.

In this narrative, Ibn Khallikān adds a piece of significant information about al-Makkī's ascetic practices.²⁵ Unlike the previous accounts in the *Ta'rīkh* and *al-Muntaẓam*, the *Wafayāt* does not list the names of people who taught Ḥadīth to al-Makkī and related a story about him. It should be mentioned that although Ibn Khallikān cites from a report in Ibn al-Qaysarānī's *Ansāb* regarding al-Makkī's problematic saying, he does not include al-Khaṭīb's disapproving comments on the *Qūt*, which can be seen in the *Ansāb*. He gives a more detailed description about the death date of al-Makkī, his *nisba* and his grave. Apart from al-Makkī's statement about the Creator, on which none of those compilers makes any comment, Ibn Khallikān's report seems to be generally approving from the way of his describing al-Makkī.

Based on these narratives of al-Makkī, let us reconstruct his life story. Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Atīyya al-Ḥārithī al-Wā’iẓ al-Makkī was born in Jabal. The exact birthplace and date are unknown. Jabal, or Jibāl, is a large area between Iraq and Khurasan and is also called *Irāq al-‘ajam*, or *Irāq ‘ajamī*, i.e., Persian or non-Arab Iraq.²⁶ Apart from al-Ḥārithī and al-Wā’iẓ, he has another *nisba*, al-‘Ajamī,²⁷ which is

²² Ibn Khallikān here quotes from an account of al-Makkī in *al-Ansāb al-muttafiqa*. This is about al-Makkī's apparent problematic saying, which Ibn al-Qaysarānī cites from the *Ta'rīkh*.

²³ 27 June 996 CE.

²⁴ According to de Slane, it is the eastern side of the Tigris (vol. 3, p. 21).

²⁵ Khalil argues a great influence of Sahl al-Tustarī on al-Makkī's diet exercise (Khalil, pp. 13–15). This story is also somewhat similar to a description in a letter of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī to the caliph ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz: ‘the skin of [Moses'] belly shewed as green as grass because of it all’ (cited in *Sufism* (A), p. 34).

²⁶ This region has a number of large cities, such as Hamadhan, Isfahan and so on; Yāqūt, *Kitāb mu‘jam al-buldān*, Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1866–73, vol. 3, pp. 50–1; *Wafayāt*, vol. 4, p. 79; cf. *El²*, s.v. ‘Djibāl’ (L. Lockhart).

²⁷ *Qūt*, vol. 1, p. 6; *Nahrung*, vol. 1, p. 11. Cf. the *Qūt* (1892–3) and (*Damascus*, n.d.), where the author's name appears as ‘al-Shaykh al-Imām (al-‘Ālim al-Muhaqqaq [in the 1892–3 edition]) Abī Ṭālib Muḥammad b. Abī l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. ‘Abbās al-Makkī’. These seem to be the only editions where al-Makkī is called *imām*, not only *shaykh*, and has different names after *ibn*.

in accord with the description of Jabal. Al-Makkī is commonly known by this last *nisba*, or his *kunya*, Abū Tālib.

Many sources indicate that al-Makkī grew up in Mecca, where he received his early education. He then left for Basra, one of the greatest intellectual and commercial centres at that time. None of the biographical dictionaries suggests the possible date when he departed from Mecca. According to al-Khaṭīb, Ibn al-Jawzī and Ibn Khallikān, al-Makkī entered Basra after the death of Abu'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad Ibn Sālim (d. ca. 356/967), a leader of the Sālimiyya school.²⁸ This report, however, contradicts other biographical accounts,²⁹ as well as the testimony of al-Makkī himself, who mentions his personal meetings with Ibn Sālim.³⁰ Although it is not clear whether al-Makkī entered before or after the death of Ibn Sālim,³¹ or they met when al-Makkī was in Mecca,³² it seems certain that al-Makkī affiliated himself with the Sālimites.

Al-Sālimiyya is a mystico-theological school at Basra. Its doctrine is based on the teachings of Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 283/896), and its name is drawn from his disciples, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Sālim (d. 297/909) and his son Aḥmad Ibn Sālim. No writing of the father or the son is known and this school has been mainly represented by their opponents' views. The most famous example is the Ḥanbalī scholar Ibn al-Farrā', who lists eighteen propositions against al-Sālimiyya.³³ As Massignon argues, the Sālimī teachings may be sought in al-Makkī's writing, as the *Qūṭ* is filled with the sayings of Sahl al-Tustarī, who is often referred to with an honorific title.³⁴ Although al-Makkī's relationship with this school seems to be close, the extent of representation of the Sālimī teachings in the *Qūṭ* remains unclear.³⁵ His role in the group is not clear either. Al-Makkī might have been the head of the school.³⁶ In medieval sources, the famous Shāfi'i

²⁸ *Ta'rikh*, vol. 3, p. 89; *Muntaẓam*, vol. 7, p. 189; *Talbīs*, p. 165; *Wafāyāt*, vol. 4, p. 303.

²⁹ *Ibar*, vol. 2, p. 320; al-Yāfi'i, *Mir'āt al-janān wa-'ibrat al-yaqzān*, Hyderabad: Maṭba'a 'at al-Ma'ārif, 1918–19, vol. 2, p. 430.

³⁰ *Qūṭ*, vol. 3, pp. 1202, 1318.

³¹ This issue is mentioned by Gramlich (*Nahrung*, vol. 1, p. 11) and Böwering (*Vision*, p. 26). Amin accepts al-Makkī's words and claims that the accounts of al-Khaṭīb and Ibn Khallikān are 'incorrect' on this matter (Amin, p. 5).

³² Bin Ramli argues that al-Makkī probably met members of the Sālimiyya and possibly Ibn Sālim himself in Mecca (Bin Ramli, pp. 37–9).

³³ *Mu'tamad*, pp. 217–21. Hujwīrī also accuses this group of being 'anthropomorphists' (*Kashf*, p. 131).

³⁴ *EI*¹ & *EI*², s.vv. 'Sālimiyya' (L. Massignon); cf. Ohlander, pp. 27–8. For the study of al-Sālimiyya, see e.g. Goldziher, 'Die dogmatische Partei der Sālimijja', *Gesammelte Schriften* 5, Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1970; Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, Paris: Librairie philosophique J. Vrin, 1968, pp. 294–300; *EI*³, s.v. 'Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Sālim' (E.S. Ohlander); *Vision*, esp. pp. 89–99.

³⁵ See Bin Ramli's discussion regarding Sālimī theology in the *Qūṭ*, examining the tenets which Ibn al-Farrā' enumerates against al-Sālimiyya (Bin Ramli, pp. 261–303, cf. p. 39). Although relevant passages can be found in the *Qūṭ* to each tenet, Bin Ramli argues that al-Makkī differs from Ibn Sālim on various issues. See Ch. 7 of the present study for al-Makkī's influence on Ibn al-Farrā'.

³⁶ *EI*¹ & *EI*², s.vv. 'al-Makkī' (L. Massignon); *EI*¹, s.v. 'Sālimiyya' (idem).

historian Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348 or 753/1352–3) once describes al-Makkī as the Shaykh of al-Sālimiyya,³⁷ while other accounts just mention his affiliation with this school as seen in this section. In addition to his commitment to the group, al-Makkī's wider activities in Basra are not known to us.

Al-Makkī, then, went to Baghdad, which was under Shī'ite Buwayhid control at the time. The year of his move cannot be fixed with precision. He started to preach there and is reported to have said something apparently so heretical that people left him. His exact words are recorded as follows: 'Nothing is more harmful to the created beings than the Creator'.³⁸ De Slane, commenting on this, suggests the possibility that al-Makkī meant 'the world (*khalq*)' but mispronounced it as 'the Creator (*khāliq*)'.³⁹

Gramlich argues that if this is really a saying of al-Makkī, he was probably referring to God's omnipotence, i.e., that God alone is the Doer and that ultimately no created beings can carry out any action which has an actual effect or causes damage. According to Gramlich, al-Makkī ignored the basic rule that one must not speak truth in front of the masses.⁴⁰ Atā, the editor of al-Makkī's alleged work *'Ilm al-qulūb* ('The Knowledge of Hearts'), seems to agree with al-Makkī's saying, though slightly stretches its meaning to the effect that it is the lack of morals in the knowledge of the Creator that is most harmful to the created beings.⁴¹ Al-Raḍwānī also makes a comment on this statement and stresses that ignorance about Divine knowledge has serious consequences for the believer.⁴² This apparently problematic saying seems to have been originally reported by al-Khaṭīb, who was not entirely in favour of al-Makkī.⁴³ Later authors simply repeat this account without adding any comments. None of these biographers provides the context of this statement and it appears to be impossible to examine this issue further.

After his 'confused' utterance, it is reported that al-Makkī stopped preaching and died in 386/996.⁴⁴ His deathbed story is similar to an anecdote in the *Qūṭ*.⁴⁵ Al-Makkī's body was interred in the Mālikī cemetery in Baghdad, and Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373) reports that his tomb was outside Jāmi' al-Ruṣāfa.⁴⁶ According to Le Strange, the second 'Abbāsid caliph, al-Manṣūr (r. 136–58/754–75), built a quarter on the eastern bank of the Tigris, opposite the Round City, in 151/768, which

³⁷ *Ibar*, vol. 3, p. 34.

³⁸ ليس على المخلوقين أضر من الخالق ; *Ta'rīkh*, vol. 3, p. 89 (and others).

³⁹ De Slane, vol. 3, p. 21.

⁴⁰ *Nahrung*, vol. 1, p. 12. Shukri adopts a similar line of argument (Shukri, p. 25). Ohlander makes a brief comment on this report that it is probably from the 'early anathematisation of the Sālimiyya' (Ohlander, p. 28). See also Bin Ramli, pp. 51–4; Khalil, p. 13.

⁴¹ *'Ilm*, p. 11.

⁴² *Qūṭ*, vol. 1, p. 12.

⁴³ *Ta'rīkh*, vol. 3, p. 89.

⁴⁴ It is recorded that al-Makkī had two sons, called Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar (d. 445/1053) and Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī (d. 458/1066); see Bin Ramli, pp. 55–6 for further details.

⁴⁵ *Qūṭ*, vol. 2, pp. 637–8.

⁴⁶ Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, vol. 11, p. 341.

later became known as the Causeway (*al-Ruṣāfa*).⁴⁷ Although the exact location of the Mālikī cemetery is not certain, there seem to be graveyards called Khayzurān near the great mosque of al-Ruṣāfa, which were damaged when the Mongols conquered Baghdad in 656/1258.⁴⁸ However, Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1282) describes al-Makkī's grave as a famous and much-visited place,⁴⁹ and Ibn Battūṭa (d. 770/1368–9 or 779/1377) mentions his visit to the mosque and the cemetery in 727/1327.⁵⁰ It is not certain how long al-Makkī's grave remained visible, though it seems to be certain that no trace is left in this area in present-day Baghdad.⁵¹

The teachers of al-Makkī

Apart from Ibn Sālim (the son), three scholars' names should be listed as his teachers based on internal evidence in the *Qūt*. These are Abū Sa‘īd Ibn al-A‘rābī (d. 341/952),⁵² Abū ‘Alī Kirmānī⁵³ and Muẓaffar b. Sahl,⁵⁴ each of whom al-Makkī calls Shaykh. The latter two figures are not well known,⁵⁵ while Ibn al-A‘rābī is a renowned Ḥadīth scholar, jurist and mystic in tenth-century Mecca. During his stay in Baghdad, Ibn al-A‘rābī became affiliated with prominent Sufis, including al-Junayd (d. 298/910) and ‘Amr al-Makkī (d. 291/903 or 297/909). Originally from Basra, Ibn al-A‘rābī became one of the most influential teachers in Mecca and left many books and disciples.⁵⁶ Al-Makkī mentions Ibn al-A‘rābī's book, *Kitāb ṭabaqāt al-nussāk*, in the *Qūt*, and quotes his praise for al-Junayd.⁵⁷ It is not certain whether al-Makkī received guidance from the above-listed figures

⁴⁷ Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, London: OUP, 1924, pp. 187–9.

⁴⁸ The Khayzurān became the first Muslim cemetery in the eastern city, which housed the tombs of Abū Hanīfa and the later ‘Abbāsid Caliphs. The tombstones of the Caliphs are reported to have been destroyed by the Mongol army (*ibid.*, pp. 190, 192–3).

⁴⁹ *Wafayāt*, vol. 4, p. 304.

⁵⁰ Le Strange, *Baghdad*, p. 193.

⁵¹ See maps of al-Ruṣāfa in *ibid.*, Map III (to face p. 47), Map V (to face p. 107), and Map VII (to face p. 231). For further detail of this quarter see e.g. *ibid.*, *passim*, esp. pp. 187–98; Lassner, *The Topography of Baghdad in the Early Middle Ages*, Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1970, *passim*, esp. pp. 149–54; *El²*, s.v. ‘al-Ruṣāfa’ (C.E. Bosworth).

⁵² E.g. *Qūt*, vol. 1, p. 448 *et passim*.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 1266, where al-Makkī describes him as ‘our Shaykh at Mecca’.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 1665. Shukri mentions one more name, Fādil, as one of al-Makkī's teachers in Mecca (Shukri, p. 13); however, it seems that *shaykh fādil* means ‘an outstanding Shaykh’, rather than a person's name (*Qūt*, vol. 1, p. 179).

⁵⁵ Shukri, Amin, Renard and Ohlander also mention their names but do not provide any further information (Shukri, pp. 13–14; Amin, p. 2; *Knowledge*, p. 33; Ohlander, p. 27).

⁵⁶ For his life and teaching, see e.g. Abū Nu‘aym, *Hilyat al-awliyā’ wa ṭabaqāt al-asfiyā’*, Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānijī, 1932–8, vol. 10, pp. 375–6; Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, Cairo: Maktabat al-Tijāriyya al-Kubrā, 1929–30, pp. 102–3. See also Melchert, ‘The Hanābila and the early Sufis’, *Arabica* 48, 2001, pp. 356–8; Abdel-Kader, introduction to al-Junayd, *The Life, Personality and Writings of al-Junayd*, London: Luzac, 1962, pp. x–xi; Shukri, pp. 27–8; Amin, pp. 2–3; *Qūt*, vol. 1, pp. 9–10.

⁵⁷ *Qūt*, vol. 1, p. 448.

directly. If he met them personally, the meeting with Ibn al-Ārābī and Abū 'Alī Kirmānī probably happened in Mecca, and that with Ibn Sālim in Basra (or in Mecca), while nothing seems to be left for us regarding Muẓaffar b. Sahl.

According to Ibn Ḥajar (d. 852/1449), al-Makkī studied *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* under a person called Ibn Zayd al-Marwazī. As Amin argues, this figure seems to be Abū Zayd al-Marwazī (d. 371/982), who was a Shāfi'i scholar and taught Tradition, especially al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* collection, in Baghdad and Mecca.⁵⁸ Al-Dhahabī also mentions him in an account of al-Makkī (see below a section on works of al-Makkī).⁵⁹ Ibn Ḥajar and al-Khaṭīb report that al-Makkī narrated Ḥadīth with the permission of 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far Ibn Fāris (d. 346/957), 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Maṣīṣī (d. 364/975), Abū Bakr al-Mufid al-Jarjarāyī (d. 378/988–9) and others.⁶⁰ Al-Makkī refers to none of their names in the *Qūṭ*;⁶¹ however, al-Dhahabī reports that al-Makkī mentions Ibn Fāris in his collection of Ḥadīth as the authority on whom al-Makkī transmitted them.⁶² Al-Raḍwānī states that Ibn Fāris is a *muḥaddith* from Isfahan, but very little information seems to be left on this.⁶³ Regarding the latter two figures, al-Dhahabī describes al-Maṣīṣī as being careless (*tasāḥul*),⁶⁴ al-Khaṭīb speaks of al-Mufid's use of weak Tradition,⁶⁵ and other biographical accounts follow the same line.⁶⁶ It is not clear when and where al-Makkī met them.

Al-Makkī appears to have received a thorough education in Ḥadīth, although his teachers tend to be criticised for their usage of untrustworthy Tradition by the later authors. No historical sources indicate al-Makkī's possible school of law. One of his teachers, Abū Zayd al-Marwazī, is a Shāfi'i scholar, while another teacher, al-Mufid, is reported to have dictated *al-Muwaṭṭā'* of Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795).⁶⁷ Shukri concludes that al-Makkī's argument in the *Qūṭ* demonstrates his inclination towards

⁵⁸ De Slane, vol. 2, pp. 613–14; Amin, pp. 3, 45 n. 10; cf. *Qūṭ*, vol. 1, p. 8. Amin also claims that al-Makkī mentions in the *Qūṭ* that he learned from Abū Bakr al-Marwazī (d. 298/910), who was, according to Amin, a disciple of Ibn Ḥanbal (Amin, p. 3). Al-Makkī refers to this figure several times in connection with Ibn Ḥanbal; however, al-Marwazī seems to have died in 275/888 (not 298/910) and al-Makkī does not seem to call him Shaykh (*Nahrung*, vol. 4, p. 62 [index]). It is not certain whether this al-Marwazī was really a teacher of al-Makkī. Considering the fact that Ibn Ḥanbal died in 241/855, 275/888 might be more plausible for the death year of al-Marwazī.

⁵⁹ *Ta'rīkh* (381), p. 128.

⁶⁰ Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī, *Lisān al-mīzān*, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-`Ilmiyya, 1996, vol. 5, p. 298; *Ta'rīkh*, vol. 3, p. 89.

⁶¹ *Nahrung*, vol. 4 [index].

⁶² *Ta'rīkh* (381), p. 128.

⁶³ *Qūṭ*, vol. 1, p. 6 (the editor does not mention the source of this information). Shukri and Amin also mention this figure as a Ḥadīth teacher of al-Makkī, but little seems to be known about him (Shukri, p. 33; Amin, p. 3).

⁶⁴ *Mīzān*, vol. 3, p. 112. Cf. *Ta'rīkh*, vol. 11, pp. 324–5; *Ta'rīkh* (351), p. 327; *Ibar*, vol. 2, p. 334.

⁶⁵ *Ta'rīkh*, vol. 1, pp. 346–8. Cf. *Muntaẓam*, vol. 7, p. 144; *Ta'rīkh* (351), pp. 630–1; *Ibar*, vol. 3, p. 8; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fi l-ta'rīkh*, Cairo: Idārat al-Tibā' at al-Muniriyya, 1929, vol. 7, p. 139.

⁶⁶ See also Shukri, pp. 32–3; Amin, pp. 3, 16; *Qūṭ*, vol. 1, p. 8. Al-Raḍwānī also lists Abū Bakr al-Ājurī and Abū Bakr b. Khallād al-Nuṣībī as teachers of al-Makkī (*ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 8–9).

⁶⁷ Although his *Muwaṭṭā'* is reported to have been untrustworthy by Ibn al-Jawzī (*Muntaẓam*, vol. 7, pp. 144–5).

Shāfi‘ī thought, because of his view of Sunna, independent reasoning and marriage.⁶⁸ Amin, on the other hand, assesses al-Makkī’s possible *madhab* as Ḥanbalī from his preference for Ibn Ḥanbal’s views of Ḥadīth.⁶⁹

Among the four imāms of the Sunni law schools, al-Makkī quotes Ibn Ḥanbal the most frequently. This seems to support Amin’s argument. However, al-Dhahabī, who adhered to the Shāfi‘ī school, consulted al-Makkī’s Ḥadīth collection, and this might indicate the possible *madhab* of al-Makkī as Shāfi‘ī. Bin Ramli argues that al-Makkī can be considered to have been ‘somewhere between’ the Shāfi‘ī and Ḥanbalī schools, as one of the leading jurists with whom al-Makkī had a contact in Mecca, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn al-Ājurī (d. 360–970), is claimed by both schools.⁷⁰ Massignon argues, on the other hand, that the Sālimīs are followers of Mālikī thought in matters of jurisprudence.⁷¹ On the whole, it is not certain which school of law al-Makkī follows. It is not clear either to what extent allegiance to a *madhab* was important to al-Makkī, since in the history of Islamic jurisprudence, the fourth/tenth century is generally considered as the beginning of the development of legal schools.⁷² (See the end of [Chapter 2](#) for further discussion.)

As Ibn Khallikān reports,⁷³ al-Makkī probably also learned the mystical way of life while he was in Mecca and Basra from, directly or indirectly, Ibn al-A‘rābī and Ibn Sālim, the son. Thus, it may be deduced that al-Makkī studied the Baghdadi tradition of Sufism, represented by al-Junayd, and the teachings of Sahl al-Tustarī.

Melchert argues that most of the early Sufis are also transmitters of Ḥadīth and recognised as such until around the end of the second–third/ninth century when Sufism and Ḥadīth started to separate from each other, and fewer and fewer Sufis were remembered as Ḥadīth transmitters afterwards.⁷⁴ However, al-Makkī, who died in 386/996, still appears in Ḥadīth literature. In line with what has been set out in this section, it should be pointed out that although he is generally regarded as a Sufi writer, attention ought also to be paid to his expertise on Ḥadīth. (In this context, it makes sense that Karamustafa classifies al-Makkī under the sub-title, ‘Sufism among traditionalists’.⁷⁵)

⁶⁸ Shukri, p. 52.

⁶⁹ Amin, pp. 20–1.

⁷⁰ Bin Ramli, pp. 27–31, the quotation is from p. 31.

⁷¹ *EL*¹, s.v. ‘Sālimīya’, where Massignon cites the geographer al-Muqaddasī (d. 390/1000) who reports that the Sālimīs were Mālikīs in his time, while their founder was a Hanafi.

⁷² Calder, *Studies in Early Muslim Jurisprudence*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1993, p. 244; cf. Melchert, *The Formation of the Sunni Schools of Law, 9th–10th Centuries C.E.*, Leiden: Brill, 1997, pp. 32, 198.

⁷³ *Wafāyāt*, vol. 4, pp. 303–4.

⁷⁴ Melchert, ‘Early renunciants as Ḥadīth transmitters’, *The Muslim World* 92, Fall 2002, pp. 407–8, 410.

⁷⁵ *Sufism (K)*, p. 84.

Works of al-Makkī

Al-Makkī does not appear to have been a prolific writer by the standard of his age. There are at least eight works which have been attributed to him; these are alphabetically:⁷⁶

- *al-Bayān al-shāfi* ('The Healing Explanation');
- a collection of forty Ḥadīth;
- *'Ilm al-qulūb* ('The Knowledge of Hearts');
- *Kitāb manāsik al-hajj* ('The Book on Rituals during the Pilgrimage');
- *Nuzul al-abrār* ('The Food⁷⁷ of Holy People');
- *Qūt al-qulūb fī mu'amalat al-mahbūb wa waṣf ṭarīq al-murīd ilā maqām al-tawḥīd* ('The Nourishment of Hearts in Relation to the Beloved and the Description of the Path of the Novice to the Station of *tawḥīd*');⁷⁸
- *tafsīr* (interpretation) of the Qur'ān;
- works on *tawḥīd*.

Al-Bayān al-shāfi

Brockelmann originally described *al-Bayān al-shāfi* as a lost work of al-Makkī, claimed that al-Rundī made a commentary on the difficult parts of this book and the *Qūt*, and Brockelmann listed a certain Escorial manuscript as this commentary work of al-Rundī.⁷⁹ Later on, however, Brockelmann removed this manuscript from al-Makkī's section and categorised it under the name of al-Rundī as one of his letters about the *Qūt*.⁸⁰ Here, Brockelmann does not refer to *al-Bayān* at all. Sezgin, on the other hand, explains the same manuscript as an anonymous commentary⁸¹ under the section of al-Makkī and does not mention al-Rundī or *al-Bayān*.

The Escorial manuscript at issue contains sixteen sections (lit. books, sing. *kitāb*) and the title of the first section indicates that this includes answers to some questions about a chapter on fear in the *Qūt* (presumably, a section on the religious station of fear)⁸² and useful matters for the novice.⁸³ Nwyia explains that this manuscript consists of letters of al-Rundī and edits it in his collection of al-Rundī's letters, which was published in 1974.⁸³

⁷⁶ Some of them appear in e.g. Shukri, pp. 39, 46, 49–50; *Ta'rikh* (381), p. 128; *Qūt*, vol. 1, p. 13; *Ta'rikh*, vol. 3, p. 89.

⁷⁷ According to Lane, *nuzul* means food prepared for the guest (vol. 2, p. 3031).

⁷⁸ *GAL*, vol. 1, p. 217.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, SII, p. 358.

⁸⁰ On the *Qūt* presumably, since it appears at the end of the list of manuscripts of the *Qūt* and its extracts (*GAS*, vol. 1, p. 667).

⁸¹ *Qūt*, vol. 2, pp. 616–79.

⁸² Al-Rundī, *Kitāb fī-hi jawāb su'āl awradahu ba'd al-nās 'alā mas'ilā fi kitāb Qūt al-qulūb fī bāb al-khawf min-hu*, Escorial Library, ms. árabe 740, fol. 183v.

⁸³ *Rasā'il*; for the detailed discussion of this manuscript, see pp. 12–13.

Shukri and al-Kayyālī, an editor of the *Qūt*, accept Brockelmann's original statement that *al-Bayān* is a lost work of al-Makkī, and so does Amin, who supports his argument with a passage from al-Rundī's letter.⁸⁴ Using the same letter, however, Gramlich claims that this work is erroneously produced by Derenbourg who misread al-Rundī's letter and believed that al-Rundī was asked to clarify questions arising from al-Makkī's book, *al-Bayān al-shāfi*.⁸⁵ Gramlich interprets the same text differently and concludes that this work does not exist.

86 انت طلبون فيه بيان المسألة الواقعية في كتاب أبي طالب البیان الشافی. The original text is: Gramlich takes the last two words as accusative, namely apposition to *bayān al-mas' alat al-wāqi'a*, and reads it as 'eine klärende Eröterung (a clarifying discussion)'; while he states that Derenbourg must have taken them as genitive, namely apposition to *kitāb Abī Ṭālib*.⁸⁷ Renard, who translated al-Rundī's letters into English, took these mysterious words, *al-bayān al-shāfi*, as the description of the *Qūt*, i.e. praising it as the healing explanation. Renard translates the whole sentence as 'you sought a clarification of a question posed for you by the book of Abū Ṭālib, that healing treatise'.⁸⁸ Renard takes *al-bayān al-shāfi* as apposition to *kitāb Abī Ṭālib* as Derenbourg does but with the latter meaning the *Qūt*, not another book of al-Makkī. This interpretation seems to make the most sense, considering the grammar, the contents of the letter and the fact that al-Rundī values the *Qūt* so much that he would describe it as healing. (Although different wording, al-Rundī, for example, states that the *Qūt* removes 'maladies ('ilal)' and 'heals illness (yubri' maraq)').⁸⁹ No *tabaqāt* literature seems to mention this alleged work, and until further evidence appears, it would not be so absurd to conclude now that *al-Bayān al-shāfi* does not exist.

A collection of forty Ḥadīth

With regard to the second possible writing, a collection of Ḥadīth, al-Dhahabī states in an account of al-Makkī in *Ta'rikh al-Islām* ('The History of Islam') as follows:⁹⁰

I have seen [a collection of] forty Ḥadīth by Abū Ṭālib in his hand writing. He selected them according to their *isnāds*. He transmitted them on the authority of 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far Ibn Fāris and reported at the beginning of them, <One who memorises forty Ḥadīth in my community>, in five ways. He finished [the collection] with [the Ḥadīth of] Abū Zayd al-Marwazī from

⁸⁴ Shukri, p. 49; *Qūt* (1997) [1st ed.], vol. 1, p. 4; *Qūt* (2005) [2nd ed.], vol. 1, p. 4; Amin, pp. 34, 52 n. 126.

⁸⁵ H. Derenbourg, *Les manuscrits arabes de l'Escurial*, tome 2, fascicule I, Paris, 1903, 1, 30, Nr. 740,2 (cited in *Nahrung*, vol. 1, p. 20).

⁸⁶ *Rasā'il*, p. 19.

⁸⁷ *Nahrung*, vol. 1, p. 20.

⁸⁸ Al-Rundī, *Ibn 'Abbād of Ronda*, New York: Paulist Press, 1986, p. 59.

⁸⁹ *Rasā'il*, p. 41; cf. p. 78. Regarding al-Rundī and al-Makkī, see Ch. 6.

⁹⁰ *Ta'rikh* (381), p. 128. Al-Makkī appears in al-Dhahabī's other works; however, no discussion about Ḥadīth can be seen there (*Ibar*, vol. 3, pp. 33–4; *Mizān*, vol. 3, p. 655).

al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* – may God have mercy upon him –, <The utmost degree of praise to Him is to be through praise to Him>.

Al-Dhahabī, however, seems to be the only biographical compiler who mentions this alleged collection. Apart from al-Rāḍwānī's introduction to the 2001 edition of the *Qūṭ*,⁹¹ the Ḥadīth collection does not seem to have been discussed, and no evidence indicates that this compilation has survived until today.

'Ilm al-qulūb

With regard to the third book, *'Ilm al-qulūb*, this work discusses spiritual aspects of belief, namely wisdom (*hikma*), knowledge (*'ilm*) and gnosis (*ma'rifa*). It also stresses the importance of having right intention (*niyya*) and provides detailed examples on this matter. As can be seen in the *Qūṭ*, the *'Ilm* covers both internal and external aspects of religion, and discusses several essential concepts of the Qur'ān, such as *tawḥīd* and purification of faith (*ikhlāṣ*), but its coverage is not as extensive as the *Qūṭ*.

The treatment of the *'Ilm* varies according to scholars. Brockelmann and Sezgin enumerate the manuscripts of both the *Qūṭ* and the *'Ilm* under the name of al-Makkī⁹² and some scholars follow their view,⁹³ while others argue that the *'Ilm* is not a work of al-Makkī.⁹⁴ Some scholars mention only the *Qūṭ* as al-Makkī's work and do not refer to the *'Ilm* at all.⁹⁵ This is probably because the *'Ilm* is not as well known a work as the *Qūṭ* is, and also a modern edition of the *'Ilm* was not available until 1964. (The first modern edition of the *Qūṭ* was published in 1892–3. It should also be mentioned that only two manuscripts of the *'Ilm* have been found so far, while around forty manuscripts are available for the *Qūṭ*.)

The *'Ilm* has not been explored extensively and its authenticity has been sometimes questioned. Although the definite evidence cannot be provided due to a paucity of sources, it appears that the *'Ilm* was not originally written by al-Makkī's own pen, judging from the different pattern in citation of religious authorities and writing style between the *Qūṭ* and the *'Ilm*. Considering the contents, the *'Ilm* seems to have been complete by a few decades after al-Makkī's death. The work greatly reflects al-Makkī's thought and other religious authorities until the time of writing, and it still offers interesting materials in the study of Islamic spirituality in the fourth/tenth and fifth/eleventh centuries.⁹⁶

⁹¹ Al-Rāḍwānī mentions a collection of forty Ḥadīth in his list of al-Makkī's work, with reference to al-Dhahabī. Although al-Rāḍwānī does not provide any bibliographical information here, the above-translated report appears to be the only narrative where al-Dhahabī mentions al-Makkī's Ḥadīth collection, and it is probable that this is the source of al-Rāḍwānī's statement (*Qūṭ*, vol. 1, p. 13).

⁹² *GAL*, vol. 1, p. 217 and *SI*, pp. 359–60; *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 666–7.

⁹³ E.g. *Mysticism*, p. 122; *Vision*, p. 27.

⁹⁴ E.g. *Sufism (K)*, pp. 87–8; *Pūrjavādī*.

⁹⁵ E.g. *Luma'*, p. ii [introduction by Nicholson]; *Dimensions*, p. 85 *et passim*.

⁹⁶ For detailed analysis of the authenticity of the *'Ilm*, see an article of the present author 'A pseudo-Abū Tālib al-Makkī?: the authenticity of *'Ilm al-qulūb*', *Arabica* 59, 2012, pp. 1–35.

Kitāb manāsik al-ḥajj

With regard to the fourth work, the *Manāsik*, this book is mentioned in an account of the *ḥajj* in the *Qūt*, where al-Makkī states that he has already spoken in great detail about the principles (*ahkām*) of the pilgrimage and its ritual sites (*mashā’ir*) in the *Manāsik*.⁹⁷ Shukri, Amin, Gramlich and al-Raḍwānī briefly mention that this work appears to have been lost, and neither Brockelmann nor Sezgin lists it.⁹⁸ According to Ohlander, the *Manāsik* may be the source for one of the works of Abū Ḥafṣ ‘Umar al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234).⁹⁹ This seems plausible, considering his heavy reliance on the *Qūt* in his major work, *‘Awārif al-ma’ārif* (‘The Gifts of Gnoeses’) (for further analysis on al-Makkī and al-Suhrawardī, see Ch. 6). Apart from this, the *Manāsik* does not seem to have been mentioned in later writings.

Nuzul al-abrār

With regard to the fifth possible work of al-Makkī, *Nuzul al-abrār*, Shukri affirms that this book is erroneously attributed to al-Makkī, probably by a Shī‘ite author.¹⁰⁰ According to Storey, Mīr ‘Alī b. Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad ‘Alī Riḍawī Dihlawī made a translation of this alleged work of al-Makkī in 1252/1836–7, entitled *Mā’idat-i pur-thimār tarjamat-i Nuzul al-abrār* (‘The Table Full of Fruits: a translation of *The Food of Holy People*’). This book includes biographical accounts of the Prophet and the Shī‘ite Imāms with an additional chapter on the twelve Imāms by the translator.¹⁰¹ Shukri does not explain the reason for his refutation of Storey’s statement; however, given the fact that al-Makkī does not specifically refer to Shī‘ite Imāms in the *Qūt*, it seems unlikely that he compiled a book on Shī‘ite Imāms.¹⁰² Apart from Storey and Shukri, nobody (including *tabaqāt* compilers) appears to discuss this alleged work of al-Makkī.

Qūt al-qulūb

It is safe to say that al-Makkī’s fame lies solely in this sixth work, the *Qūt*. It is this book which appears in the major *tabaqāt* works and the writings of later Islamic thinkers. The *Qūt* has been extracted and commented on, and often read especially among Sufis.

⁹⁷ *Qūt*, vol. 3, p. 1249.

⁹⁸ Shukri, p. 49; Amin, pp. 34–5; *Nahrung*, vol. 1, p. 20; *Qūt*, vol. 1, p. 13.

⁹⁹ Ohlander, p. 29 (the work at issue is entitled *Ḥilyat al-nāsik fi l-manāsik*). Cf. *Transition*, p. 133.

¹⁰⁰ Shukri, p. 50. (Although Shukri repeatedly refers to this alleged work as *Nuzūl al-Abrār* rather than *Nuzul*, the original text, which he cites (see below), says *Nuzul*.)

¹⁰¹ Storey, *Persian Literature*, London: Luzac, 1939–97, vol. 1, pt 2, p. 1258.

¹⁰² In the *Qūt*, the first six Shī‘ite Imāms appear (I. ‘Alī: 159 times; II. al-Ḥasan: 18; III. al-Husayn: 5; IV. ‘Alī: 6; V. Muḥammad: 7; VI. Ja‘far: 14) and none after Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq among the Twelver Imāms. In the line of Zaydīs, Zayd b. ‘Alī is mentioned three times, while none from the Ismā‘īlīs is cited. Fāṭima bt. Muḥammad is cited five times (*Nahrung*, vol. 4 [index]). (Cf. On a smaller scale, but a similar tendency, can also be seen in the *‘Ilm*: four Imāms from the first six appear (I. ‘Alī: 22; II. al-Ḥasan: 3; IV. ‘Alī (Zayn al-‘Ābidīn): 2; VI. Ja‘far: 12) and Fāṭima once (*‘Ilm* (1964), pp. 295–303 [index]).)

Brockelmann lists several manuscripts of an extract of the *Qūt* by Ḥusayn b. Ma‘an (d. 870/1466).¹⁰³ Sezgin adds to this an extract of Muḥammad b. Khalaf al-Andalusī (d. 485/1092), and another one by Darwīsh ‘Abd al-Karīm (10th C/15–16th Cs).¹⁰⁴ The *Qūt* has been commented by al-Rundī (see [Chapter 6](#) for further details), and, in a more contemporary period, a commentary of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Qāsimī (d. 1914) on the *Qūt* has been published.¹⁰⁵ Al-Qāsimī is a Salafi reformer of Damascus in the late Ottoman period. Together with al-Makkī’s influence on Ḥanbalī scholars (see [Chapter 7](#)), his link with the Salafiyya can be examined more in the future in order to evaluate the general image of Salafi thinkers being hostile towards Sufism,¹⁰⁶ as well as the ways in which we could study the *Qūt* – as a Sufi manual or something wider.

The *Qūt* is a detailed exposition of morals and ethics in Islam, and extensive guidance on religious duties and various forms of pious actions in this world. The emphasis is placed on God-fearing ways of thinking, which ought to be the basis of external conduct, and the importance of the internal aspects of religion (i.e. pious activities in the heart), not only bodily outward actions. Al-Makkī’s main (and possibly only) concern in his writing seems to be the ways in which a Muslim becomes a better believer. This involves various levels of human life, since a true believer requires a proper disposition both inwardly and outwardly. As the title suggests, the *Qūt* is written for novices and arranged accordingly. The *Qūt* may be described as a spiritual manual for a code of behaviour based on Ḥadīth and canonisation, as Renard puts it, of the way of pious ancestors as the model for believers.¹⁰⁷ (For the contents of the *Qūt*, see [Chapter 2](#).)

Tafsīr (interpretation) of the Qur’ān

With regard to the seventh work of al-Makkī, the *tafsīr*, Shihāb al-Dīn al-Khafājī (d. 1069/1659)¹⁰⁸ apparently mentions al-Makkī’s thorough knowledge of the Qur’ān and his voluminous work on *tafsīr*.¹⁰⁹ According to a footnote of the

¹⁰³ *GAL*, vol. 1, p. 217.

¹⁰⁴ *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 667.

¹⁰⁵ Al-Qāsimī, *al-Wa‘d al-matlūb min Qūt al-qulūb*, Beirut: Dār al-Bashā’ir al-Islāmiyya, 2000.

¹⁰⁶ According to Weismann, for instance, a root of Salafism lies in ‘the revivalist Sufi tradition of the previous centuries’ (‘The politics of popular religion: Sufis, Salafis, and Muslim Brothers in 20th-century Hamah’, *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 37, no. 1, Feb. 2005, p. 39).

¹⁰⁷ *Knowledge*, p. 112; Renard states that al-Makkī ‘prominently canonises’ the way of past masters, but ‘consistently argues for a flexibility and vitality in that traditionalist paradigm that will surprise many twenty-first century readers’.

¹⁰⁸ Amin explains that al-Khafājī is one of the ‘first historians to mention al-Makkī’, as he believes that al-Khafājī died in 451/1059, and claims that al-Khafājī’s work (see below) is no longer extant (Amin, p. 21); however, this is a wrong statement. He repeated the same statement in his article (‘al-Makkī’, p. 75). Both Brockelmann and Krenkow state the death year as 1069/1659 (*GAL*, vol. 2, p. 368 and *SII*, p. 396; *EI*², s.v. ‘al-Khafādhi’ (F. Krenkow)).

¹⁰⁹ Al-Khafājī, *Nasīm al-riyād fī sharḥ shifā’ al-Qādī ‘Iyād*, 4 vols, Cairo: s.n., 1907–9; *ibid.*, 6 vols, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2001. This book is a commentary on the biography of the Prophet, *al-Shifā’*, written by the renowned Mālikī *faqīh* in Islamic Spain, ‘Iyād b. Mūsā al-Qādī (d. 544/1149) (*EI*², s.vv. ‘al-Khafādhi’ (F. Krenkow), ‘Iyād b. Mūsā’ (M. Talbi)).

1932 edition of the *Qūt*, al-Khafājī introduces al-Makkī in the *Sharḥ* as a Sufi Shaykh with a thorough familiarity with Sunna, the Qur’ān and other branches of knowledge, and he states that he left a ‘voluminous *tafsīr*’, and that his work, the *Qūt*, is a ‘momentous book’.¹¹⁰ Since the editor of the 1932 edition of the *Qūt*, whose name is unknown, does not specify the precise volume and page numbers of the *Sharḥ*, it is hard to trace this statement, when its available copies do not contain an index. It is especially unfortunate because this seems to be the only work which mentions al-Makkī’s alleged *tafsīr*.

Apart from this, and Shukri and Amin, who discuss it on the basis of this footnote, no other scholars or *tabaqāt* compilers seem to have mentioned al-Makkī’s possible writing of a Qur’anic interpretation.¹¹¹ As a supporting argument for the existence of this work, Amin refers to the famous Ḥadīth scholar and Qur’anic exegete Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), who uses al-Makkī’s argument on *ijtihād* in his work.¹¹² Amin does not state, however, whether al-Suyūṭī mentions al-Makkī’s alleged work on *tafsīr*, and it cannot be assumed from this argument that this writing exists. Neither Gramlich nor any other editors of the *Qūt* mention this alleged work and it remains unclear at this point whether al-Makkī compiled this voluminous book. Even if it did exist, it appears to have been lost to us.

Works on *tawhīd*

The last possible writing of al-Makkī is on *tawhīd*. According to al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, al-Makkī compiled books on *tawhīd*.¹¹³ Shukri and Amin claim that one of these works should designate the *Ilm*, since *tawhīd* is an important topic of this book, and they use this statement as a supporting argument for al-Makkī’s authorship of the *Ilm*.¹¹⁴ On the other hand, Gramlich briefly states that those works on *tawhīd* have probably been lost.¹¹⁵ In the *Ilm*, although there is a chapter on *tawhīd*,¹¹⁶ the main themes of this book are knowledge, as can be seen in the title, gnosis, wisdom and intention. Consequently, it does not seem to be entirely convincing to categorise the *Ilm* as a book on *tawhīd*, regardless of whether this is al-Makkī’s writing or not. All the other above-mentioned possible works of al-Makkī do not appear to discuss *tawhīd* in an extensive way, and, as there is no other material to examine on this matter, we have to wait for the appearance of further evidence to expand on it.

On the whole, among the eight writings attributed to al-Makkī, a book on *hajj*, the *tafsīr*, the Ḥadīth collection and some works on *tawhīd* seem to have been lost to us.

¹¹⁰ *Qūt* (1932), vol. 1, p. 3 n. 1.

¹¹¹ Shukri, pp. 49–50; Amin, p. 35.

¹¹² Al-Suyūṭī, *Taqrīr al-istiṇād fī tafsīr al-ijtihād*, introduction and annotation by Fu’ād ‘Abd al-Mun’im Ahmād, Alexandria, 1983, pp. 36–37 (cited in Amin, p. 52 n. 128).

¹¹³ *Ta’rīkh*, vol. 3, p. 89. This statement is repeated in later literature; e.g. *Wafāyāt*, vol. 4, p. 303.

¹¹⁴ Shukri, pp. 47–8; Amin, p. 179.

¹¹⁵ *Nahrung*, vol. 1, p. 19.

¹¹⁶ Ch. 4 (*Ilm*, pp. 84–112).

It is unlikely that *al-Bayān* existed; and the *Nuzul* does not appear to be a work of al-Makkī. The authenticity of the *Ilm* is highly questionable, although it still reflects al-Makkī's teachings. This makes the *Qūt* the only major book which can be the subject of the study of al-Makkī today. Apart from a Shī'ite compilation, the *Nuzul*, the topics which have been associated with al-Makkī are religious matters (especially *tawḥīd*) and rituals. The list of his works also shows his (possible) great knowledge of the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth. This would help understand the directions in which his intellectual curiosity took him, or at least indicate the kind of image which has been projected on him by later authors.

Having set the scene for the present study, I would like to emphasise two points which underlie this book. Firstly, the study of al-Makkī and his relation with Sufis and with Ibn Ḥanbal and Ḥanbalī scholars would illuminate the change of intellectual currents in the early history of Islam. It is quite possible that the basic components of Islam were perceived differently at the time of al-Makkī from what we would expect nowadays, particularly regarding such matters as the four Sunni *madhhab*s, Sunni–Shī'a relations and the Sufi orders, which had not yet been rigidly established in the fourth/tenth century. Before the classification of religious sciences and the formalisation of mystical paths, leading an austere lifestyle and the narration of Ḥadīth may have been enough for the sign of a pious believer. However, the idea of 'piety' seems to have kept changing in the course of history. Al-Makkī's core idea ([Chapters 3–4](#)), the characteristics of the *Qūt* in comparison with two contemporary Sufi treatises ([Chapter 5](#)) and the treatment of his writing in various later works ([Chapters 6–7](#)) will demonstrate diverse opinions on devoutness in Islam among leading Muslim thinkers.

Secondly – what did Sufism mean to al-Makkī? Whatever the author's intention was, the *Qūt* has been widely read among Sufis. Mystics may sound like those who completely dismiss worldly affairs in their role as seekers after the Truth. However, this does not seem to be the case in relation to mystics in Islam, or in the *Qūt* at least. Religion is multi-dimensional. Islam exists not only in the mind of the believer or in the texts, but also in the social environment. Only believing is not enough in faith. It has to come with doing. The *Qūt* teaches how a believer ought to live, as this world is a test from God and believers cannot and should not disregard it. This observance of religion as a way of life is certainly a general concern beyond Sufism, and beyond Islam. This issue will be explored in the last two chapters.

2 *Qūt al-qulūb*: its religious context, contents and sources

The heart is frequently featured as a salient spiritual symbol in various cultures. In *Qūt al-qulūb*, al-Makkī employs the heart as a moral judge and the linkage between the human and the Divine. In order to situate this work in its wider context, this chapter first discusses the symbolism of the heart in various religious traditions, especially in Judaism and Christianity. It goes on to analyse the mystical idea of the heart in the early history of Sufism. After exploring the religious and historical context of the *Qūt*, this chapter provides a detailed outline of the whole work and discusses the pattern of the citation of the religious authorities in the *Qūt* in order to analyse its characteristics with its strong moral focus.

The heart as a metaphysical entity

Many cultures attach at least twofold roles to the heart: a physiological entity as the sole organ pumping blood around the body and a metaphorical capacity as the seat of emotion. Even after modern science proved the potency of the brain, the symbolic values attached to the heart remain deeply rooted in our everyday language. In English it is the heart, not the brain, which can be cold or warm, lost and broken. The heart can be made of gold or stone, and it even has a string which can be touched. The heart is still usually considered to be representative of one's true character, despite thousands of cardiac transplantations performed each year. Until the introduction of the idea of brain death, and probably even after this, the heartbeat has been the decisive measure of life. Social and cultural roles of a bodily member often correspond to the understanding of its corporeal function. The heart is sometimes considered to be a bridge between this world and the hereafter, and the physical realm and the spiritual sphere, with a wide range of emotional, intellectual, ethical, religious and mystical meanings.

For example, as the source of life, the heart was famously sacrificed by the Aztec and the Maya. The ancient Egyptians believed that the heart had to be kept in the mummified corpse, so that the goddess Maat could weigh it against the feather of truth to make a judgement on the suitability of afterlife of the dead. The justified and

purified heart would then be united with a god, as in Books of Breathing: ‘Your heart is the heart of Re’.¹

The importance of the heart can also be found in Daoism and Buddhism, whose central teachings do not include the idea of the divine being a completely different entity from the human. According to Daoism, the heart of the human, *rénxīn*, and the heart of Dao, *dàoxīn*, can be rejoined after achieving internal and external harmony. The heart, as the centre of a human and the master of the body, is to be emptied by finding Real Emptiness in every existence in order to harmonise with the body and the surroundings.² Buddhist texts also emphasise strong connection between the inward and outward states. The heart is treated as both the physical organ and the mental basis of consciousness and thought. It is also the seat of emotion which should be controlled. Purifying the heart is like untying knots in the heart which are made by unrestrained emotions. The genuine purity of external actions is the result of this internal purification process.³

Hinduism, too, treats the heart as not only representative of various aspects of human life, but also the link with the divine. According to *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, Supreme Soul, who always abides in the heart, is revealed only by the heart, discernment and meditation.⁴ The heart is the place of all beings, hence, as in *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, those who know the heart, have the true knowledge (*satya*), which can see the real through the veil of the illusory.⁵ The heart is thus considered to be the path from the unreal to the real, the present to the future, and, according to *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, the mortal to the immortal. This unification happens when all desires in the heart have been emptied, and all differences have been vanished. Within the heart, lives the soul. Through ascetic practices, the soul illuminates the heart, which is the site of faith and truth.⁶

Despite this variety of metaphorical images of the heart in the *Upaniṣads*,⁷ the heart is also treated as a corporeal entity in Hinduism. It is in nowhere other than the body. As the tongue is the organ of taste, the heart is the organ of knowledge. Being corporeal, the heart is needed to be nourished to feed the material soul from which the higher soul can be nourished. The heart in Hinduism is like a mirror. By keeping it shining, it can reflect True Being which is already in the heart. The heart is also

¹ Ritner, “‘The breathing permit of Hōr’ among the Joseph Smith Papyri”, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 62, no. 3, Jul. 2003, paragraph V (p. 172), cf. paragraph II (p. 171).

² Cf. *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, s.v. ‘xin’ (I. Robinet).

³ Cf. *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, s.v. ‘hadayavatthu’ (A.G.S. Karlyawasam).

⁴ *The Twelve Principal Upaniṣads*, New Delhi: D.K. Printworld, 2000, vol. 1, see esp. Ch. 4, nos. 17–20 (pp. 98–9).

⁵ Ibid., vol. 3, see esp. Ch. 8, Sec. 1 (p. 251) and Sec. 3 (pp. 255–7).

⁶ Ibid., vol. 2, see esp. Ch. 3 (pp. 304–6), Ch. 4 (pp. 330, 354–5, 359, 367).

⁷ Olivelle, for instance, divides the role of the heart in the *Upaniṣads* into: ‘selfhood, knowledge, emotion, cosmos, sleep/dream/death, and soteriology’ (‘Heart in the *Upaniṣads*’, *Rivista di Studi Sudasiatici* 1, 2006, p. 53).

like a bridge which can remove differences among all beings by filling the gap between the human and the divine, the physical and the spiritual.⁸

Heart in the Hebrew Bible and New Testament

The above-mentioned values attached to the heart show a striking resemblance to the religious image of the heart in the monotheistic traditions. In the Bible, the word ‘heart (Heb. *lev*, Gk *kardia*)’ appears approximately a thousand times.⁹ Among them, according to Špidlík, only around ten times is it used as a corporeal organ.¹⁰ It appears to be, however, difficult to have precise numbers, since in some cases what is implied in the English term ‘heart’ is different from what *lev* designates in the Bible. For example, as a physiological sense, *lev* in Biblical Hebrew can also mean breast, throat, and something inside the body in modern English.¹¹ In a metaphorical sense in the Hebrew Bible, emotions and thought happen in the interior of the body – most often in *lev*, but also in the kidneys and the bowels.¹² Considering these semantic varieties, *lev* cannot be always translated as the ‘heart’ straightforwardly. However, in the figurative meaning at least, the ‘heart’ and *lev* both imply the principal seat of emotion and intellect in the Hebrew Bible. Both are regarded as the centre of religious and moral life.

In the New Testament, the Greek term *kardia* replaces *lev*. *Kardia* (or *stēthos* and *thumos*) in the ancient Greek world is the place of feelings and knowledge. Whether intelligence (*nous*) belongs to the heart depends on philosophers; for instance, the Epicureans and Stoics think it does, while Aristotle in *The Nicomachean Ethics* thinks not.¹³ In the New Testament writings, the term *kardia* takes on the Semitic meaning of *lev*, designating the inner self. *Kardia* is now responsible for what is happening both spiritually and intellectually.¹⁴

Being the seat of will and religious life, the heart in the Bible can be hardened as the result of disobedience to God. As in Psalms ‘Harden not your heart, as in the provocation, and as in the day of temptation in the wilderness’ (95:8; cf. Heb 3:8), humans are responsible for resistance to obeying God’s will (e.g. 2 Chr 36:13; Prv 28:14).¹⁵ Jesus disapproves of his disciples who fail to ‘perceive’ or ‘understand’

⁸ *Upaniṣads*, vol. 2, see esp. Ch. 2 (p. 241), Ch. 4 (pp. 320–3, 378).

⁹ *ER*, s.v. ‘heart’ (M. Meslin).

¹⁰ Špidlík, *La spiritualité de l’Orient Chrétien II*, 1988, p. 262.

¹¹ Cf. *EJ*, s.v. ‘heart’ (H.L. Ginsberg); idem, ‘Lexicographical notes’, *Supplements to Vetus Testamentum* 16, 1967, p. 80.

¹² E.g. ‘my bowels were moved for him’ (Sg 5:4). While the King James Bible tended to translate those emotional viscera in Biblical Hebrew faithfully into English, in modern English translations they are often rendered as the ‘heart’ (e.g. ‘my heart began to pound for him’ [New International Version UK] or alternative words (e.g. ‘my inmost being yearned for him’ [NRSV]; ‘my feelings were aroused for him’ [NASB]). Arabic translations also vary: e.g. ‘*ahshā’i* (my bowels)’ [Bible Societies in the Near East] and ‘*mashā’irī* (my feelings)’ [Arabic Life Application Bible].

¹³ *ER*, s.v. ‘heart’ (M. Meslin).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Although God sometimes causes hardening of the heart as in Exodus 4, 7–11, 14.

God's power by hardening their hearts (Mk 8:17). This idea of hardened heart covered with a shell which resists accepting the Truth resonates with al-Makkī's description of the heart of the hypocrite in the *Qūt*.¹⁶ The heart can thus be stubborn, always struggling between right and evil.¹⁷ However, its nature and potentialities should not be underestimated. It is the heart where God poured love into (Rom 5:5) and it is the place where believers should seek to see the Divine quality (Ps 27:8).

Judaism

In the Talmud, the heart often appears in ethical teachings. Following the Biblical view, the rabbis regard the heart as the seat of all emotions, including good and bad. God created both good impulse (or inclination, *yezer*) and evil impulse in humans.¹⁸ Both are God's creation. Accordingly the verse 'thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart' (Dt 6:5) is interpreted as with both good and evil impulses. The heart is often used as a synonym of *yezer*, which has the power to will. In the Bible, humans are composite of body and soul, and both are equally breathed into by the spirit of God. The rabbis do not take a position that one of them is sinfully earthy and the other is purely celestial. When humans commit sin, it is a joint responsibility, since both have to be controlled and improved. The nature of the heart should be also understood as a whole.¹⁹

The great philosopher Sa'adya Gaon (d. 942) regards the heart as the core of both the spiritual and corporeal nature of the human.²⁰ The heart is where wisdom is located, although it can be distracted by too much sexual intercourse.²¹ In his famous *Dalālat al-ḥā'irīn* ('The Guide of the Perplexed'), Maimonides (d. 1204) explains the heart, *lev*, as the basis which also signifies thought (*fikra*), conception (*ra'y*), will (*irāda*) and reason ('*aql*).²² All physical and mental powers originate from the heart and it is crucial for worshippers to aim at God as the sole objective of both internal and external conduct.²³ The Kabbalists also believe that the heart has to be contemplating God all the time whatever actions the body engages. Mystical cleaving to God, *devekut* (cf. Dt 13:4), can be achieved through uniting the individual will with the Divine will in the purified heart. The Kabbalists are

¹⁶ *Dictionary of Judaism in the Biblical Period*, s.v. 'heart, hardness of'; *Qūt*, vol. 1, p. 323 (see Ch. 3 [14]).

¹⁷ Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, New York: Gramercy, 1986, pp. 371, 376.

¹⁸ Cf. al-Makkī who introduces six impulses in the heart (*Qūt*, vol. 1, p. 324; cf. Ch. 3 f.n. to the title, and [19]–[28]).

¹⁹ Kohler, *Jewish Theology*, New York: KTAV, 1968, pp. 212–17; Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1927, vol. 1, pp. 483–7. Cf. *EJ*, s.vv. 'heart' (L.I. Rabinowitz), 'soul' and 'body and soul' (A.L. Ivry).

²⁰ Sa'adya Gaon, *The Book of Beliefs and Opinions*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1948, p. 180.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 239, 372.

²² Maimonides, *Dalālat al-ḥā'irīn*, Cairo: Maktabat al-Thaqāfat al-Dīniyya, 1980, pp. 90–1.

²³ *Ibid.*

sometimes called ‘the wise-hearted, *hakhmei lev* (cf. Ex 28:3)’ and ‘those who know, *ha-yode’im*’.²⁴

The heart in Judaism is thus the meeting point of the Divine and the human, the spiritual and the corporeal, and a microcosm of the whole personality which has both wicked and righteous sides. In order to serve God right with ‘all your heart’ (Dt 11:13), prayer is referred to as the service of the heart (Berakoth, Talmud Jerusalemi 4:1). Believers are to improve the quality of their faith by controlling body and mind. In doing so, having proper intention (*kavvanah*) is crucial, since a religious obligation can be fulfilled when the heart is directed appropriately (Berakoth 2:1). Ibn Bāqūdā’s choice of the title, *The Right Guidance to the Religious Duties of Hearts*, cannot fit better in this context.

Christianity

Following Hebrew Biblical teachings, Christianity also regards the heart as the centre of one’s whole being and the core of faith. Sayings of the Desert Fathers in fourth-century Egypt reflect this image. For example Abba Poemen said, ‘Teach your mouth to say what is in your heart’ and ‘Do not give your heart to that which does not satisfy your heart’.²⁵ The attention of the heart should be always towards God. Referring to Satan’s challenges to Job’s integrity, John the Dwarf (d. ca. 339) explained the source of his strength coming from the heart which has what is ‘of God’.²⁶ Abba Pambo (d. ca. 373) further confirms it by saying, ‘If you have a heart, you can be saved’.²⁷

Various methods emerged to improve the quality of the heart, most notably, among the Desert Fathers, prayer. Methods of prayer developed between the fifth and eighth centuries deeply influenced Eastern Christianity. The central concern of prayer is the achievement of stillness (*hēsucha*) in the heart by putting away all thoughts, so that the intellect becomes free from shackles of form and division, and the difference between the object of thought and the subject will be transcended.²⁸

‘Pray without ceasing’ is a command which St Paul gave to the Thessalonians (1 Th 5:17). Prayer here is not usually interpreted as vocal prayer.²⁹ It is not only because it is physically impossible to pursue. In Orthodox Christianity, prayer is usually understood to have three stages: of the lips, of the mind and of the heart.³⁰ Jesus prayer is a means to achieve the inner tranquillity of the heart. This unbroken *hēsucha* is unceasing worship of God who must be remembered even while asleep.

²⁴ *EJ*, s.v. ‘kabbalah’ (M. Idel).

²⁵ *The Sayings of the Desert Fathers*, Oxford: A.R. Mowbray, 1975, pp. 159 (cf. p. 147), 150.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

²⁸ Ware, ‘The origins of the Jesus prayer: Diadochus, Gaza, Sinai’, in *The Study of Spirituality*, London: SPCK, 1986, p. 177.

²⁹ With an exception of the Messalians, ascetics in the Middle East in the late fourth and fifth centuries, who considered this prayer literally vocal prayer; *idem*, “Pray without ceasing”: the ideal of continual prayer in Eastern monasticism’, *Eastern Churches Review* 2, 1968–9, pp. 253–4.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 258.

The invocation of the Holy Name is therefore sometimes linked with breathing technique: ‘We must always breathe God.’³¹ This true prayer of the heart is a gift from God. When the heart is cleared from all thoughts and reaches the state of complete quiet, Jesus fills the heart with light as the inner mirror reflects Divine quality.³² Syriac Christians are also known to have used the image of the polished mirror of the heart as clearly reflecting God’s beauty. They lay stress on Divine light and love, and practise fasting and recollection of the Divine name.³³

In Christianity, the heart is not only the central concern of moral life for believers, but became also the target of their devotion. The Sacred Heart of Jesus started to be venerated in the early medieval time especially in Catholicism. (This devotion can also be found in Celtic Christianity.) The object of this devotion is first of all the corporeal heart of Jesus during his mortal life. This heart of flesh is also strongly linked to the eternal love of crucified God. It seems to be Anselm (d. 1109) who first claimed to have seen the pierced heart of Jesus as proof of His suffering and love.³⁴ Jesus’ heart has been shown to various worshippers whose wish gradually formed into a passionate and mystical desire of losing themselves into His heart. For instance, the famous nun of the Visitandine order, St Margaret Mary Alacoque (d. 1690), states her experience during the first of the four great apparitions of Jesus: ‘He disclosed to me the marvels of His love and the unutterable secrets of His Sacred Heart … He demanded my heart … He took it from my breast and plunged it into His own adorable Heart.’³⁵ Later on, devotions to the Sacred Heart of Mary (Immaculate Heart of Mary) came to be observed as the model of love for God.

Concerning the potential connection with God, Blaise Pascal (d. 1662) also famously declares that it is the heart which ‘feels God’, not reason.³⁶ Reason is useful until a certain point but in the end, according to Pascal, it is God who makes the heart feel Him and inclines it to believe, as in Psalms, ‘Incline my heart unto thy testimonies’ (119:36).³⁷ The heart is thus to be looked after, as a recipient of Divine grace and a representative of one’s true character. As can be seen in other traditions, the heart in Christianity is treated as a sensible, physical part of the body and yet a highly spiritual entity. It seems to be the only part which can be truly pure to receive the boundless love of God.

As a corporeal organ, the heart is a sole entity. Its symbolic meaning, however, is multifarious. While different shades of emphasis exist, a number of common features can be seen in the metaphorical images of the heart in various traditions;

³¹ Idem, ‘Jesus prayer’, p. 183.

³² Ibid., pp. 182–3; idem, “‘Pray without ceasing’”, pp. 258–9. Cf. *Religion Past and Present*, s.v. ‘heart, prayer of the’.

³³ *The Syriac Fathers on Prayer and the Spiritual Life*, trans. Brock, Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian, 1987, see esp. pp. xxix–xxx, 192, 203.

³⁴ *ER*, s.v. ‘heart’ (M. Meslin).

³⁵ Verheyelzoon, *Devotion to the Sacred Heart*, London: Sands, 1955, p. xxiv.

³⁶ Pascal, *Pensée*, Paris: BORDAS, 1991, p. 473.

³⁷ Ibid., pp. 318–19.

for instance, importance of the improvement of its quality (e.g. purification, nourishment), its link between the internal and the external, and the physical and the spiritual. The heart is considered to be the path from the mortal to the immortal, and the unreal to the real. As the core of a whole existence, the heart is generally used as opposed to physicality (e.g. bodily conduct, earthly desires, mortality); however, not completely opposed to divinity. Divine vision is reflected only in the mirror of the heart, which can be polished through various practices, such as prayer and self-renunciation.

Smith points out that the teaching of purification of the heart in Islam has its trace in the New Testament.³⁸ Religious movements, as social phenomena, have influenced each other in the course of history as any human activities do. It would not be therefore surprising if al-Makkī was inspired by believers of other faiths in writing of the *Qūt*. However, many other religious traditions also use strikingly similar images of the heart. This sense of commonality deepened when I saw a series of three etchings by Anton Wierix (d. 1624) who depicted the heart of a believer as a place where God dwells after personal improvement by Divine grace.³⁹ As we will see, this is the core teaching of al-Makkī, and Wierix, most likely unknown to him, beautifully drew it for Christian followers. This does not necessarily prove that al-Makkī was heavily influenced by Christianity, or Wierix was inspired by the *Qūt*. It may mean, however, that spiritual images of the heart exist beyond the border of a particular creed.

While religion seems to add authority to the spiritual importance of the heart, its essence may have stemmed simply from our ordinary experience of the connection between psychological activity and physical reaction in the heart. For instance, when we become nervous, we can feel the heart beating very fast and hear it pounding so loudly that we are afraid others also might hear it. In addition to the physiological importance of the heart, this sort of everyday experience should make us readily accept its spiritual images in different cultures. The metaphorical functions attached to the heart do not require a leap of imagination even though we are not familiar with a certain culture in question. When we hear the title *The Nourishment of Hearts*, we may assume that the book concerns spiritual dimensions of life, even though it could be a book on anatomy. The heart has thus such a strong image of spiritual capacity.

The mystical idea of the heart in the early history of Sufism

Sufis, therefore, are not the only people who attach a spiritual role to the heart. With this in mind, this section offers an overview of the image of the heart in the early

³⁸ Smith, *Studies in Early Mysticism in the Near and Middle East*, London: Sheldon Press, 1931, pp. 150–2.

³⁹ E.J. Sargent, ‘The Sacred Heart: Christian symbolism’, in Peto (ed.) *The Heart*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007, p. 113.

history of Islamic mysticism. Al-Makkī's *Qūt* gained great popularity in Sufi circles and the extract in the following chapters is often used by later prominent mystics.⁴⁰ The significance of this excerpt is not just that it summarises the core idea of the *Qūt*, upon which al-Makkī's argument is based; it is also that it reflects the spiritual images of the heart in Islam, which al-Makkī illustrates in detail with numerous citations from the Qur'ān, Ḥadīth and the sayings of pious ancestors.

Images of the heart in the early history of Sufism

In the Qur'ān, the term *qalb* (heart) and its plural *qulūb* appear approximately 130 times.⁴¹ Its root, *qalaba*, signifies 'to alter, turn, invert', and an expression from its derivative, *muqallib al-qulūb* (the turner of hearts), designates God.⁴² Among Sufis, the heart is also treated as the only organ that can reflect Divine light. As can be seen in the so-called Light verse (24:35), God is often illustrated as light which beams down into the heart of the believer who has reached the stage of absolute religious certainty (*yaqīn*). The light of certainty is a beam from God, cast by God Himself by Divine grace. By this light the heart sees God.⁴³ The heart is therefore to be polished as a mirror and kept cleansed from sin.

The famous ascetic in the Umayyad period, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728), is reported to have said: 'Cleanse ye these hearts (by meditation and remembrance of God), for they are quick to rust.'⁴⁴ Whether al-Ḥasan considered himself a mystic is unknown. It is certain, however, that he is frequently referred to by later Sufis. One of the reasons for this may lie in his emphasis on works (*a'māl*), both internally and externally. Al-Ḥasan views each action as being based on the work of the heart, which should contemplate nothing else but the Hereafter. The believer's task in this world is to cultivate such a heart in a God-fearing (*taqwā*) state.⁴⁵

Rābi'a al-‘Adawiyya (d. 185/801), the famous female mystic, presents a more allegorical image of the heart.⁴⁶ According to Abū Bakr al-Shiblī (d. 334/945), she stresses that it is not only her heart that is directed towards God, but that all her limbs are hearts which are also aiming at Him.⁴⁷

This idea of the heart as an essential esoteric organ is frequently repeated by later Sufis who stress the importance of having a close link with the Truth. Among

⁴⁰ E.g. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, al-Suhrawardī; see Chs. 6 and 7 for detail.

⁴¹ *Mawsū'a*, p. 918.

⁴² Lane, vol. 2, pp. 2552–5. This expression does not appear in the Qur'ān.

⁴³ Without God's light, it is impossible to see Him. Nicholson quotes a saying which explains this well: 'Tis the sun's self that lets the sun be seen' (*The Mystics of Islam*, Bloomington, IN: World Wisdom, 2002, p. 37).

⁴⁴ Idem, 'A historical enquiry concerning the origin and development of Sufism', *JRAS*, part 2, 1996, p. 305. This statement may be from the Qur'ān (83:14); see Ch. 3 [12].

⁴⁵ *Theology*, pp. 51–2.

⁴⁶ For a detailed discussion of al-Makkī's comments on her sayings, see Smith, *Rābi'a the Mystic and her Fellow Saints in Islam*, Cambridge: CUP, 1928, *passim*.

⁴⁷ *Luma'*, p. 91; cf. *Dimensions*, p. 78.

them is al-Ḥārith al-Muḥāsibī (d. 243/857), who is often regarded as a notable ‘religious psychologist’ among early Sufis, and has inspired numerous religious figures.⁴⁸ The core idea of al-Muḥāsibī’s teachings is the separation of the inner (*bāṭin*) sphere from the outer (*zāhir*) realm.⁴⁹ Based upon the Qur’ān, he regards the heart as the essential internal entity of the believer. It is the heart, according to al-Muḥāsibī, that God ‘wants from His servants’, and ‘their members are to follow their hearts’.⁵⁰ The heart can hear both the voice of God and the whisperings of Satan. It is therefore the heart that has power to decide between the two voices. The actions of the members (*a’māl al-jawāriḥ*) are external conduct, while the actions of the heart (*a’māl al-qalb*) are the origins of the external actions of the body.⁵¹

The heart also has sight. ‘The Hidden is not seen by the eye’, writes al-Muḥāsibī, ‘He is seen by the heart through the true states of religious certainty (*haqā’iq al-yaqīn*).’⁵² If knowledge of the heart and its actions is righteous, this will lead the believer to God. On the other hand, if the heart of a believer becomes defiled, external actions will be sullied: the believer will then not attain salvation but experience perdition, as God has let the heart know fear (*khawf*).⁵³

Al-Muḥāsibī emphasises the importance of following the Qur’ān, Sunna and the moral examples of venerable ancestors,⁵⁴ and recommends the readers not to adhere to reason (*‘aql*), but ‘make knowledge (*ilm*) a guide’.⁵⁵ Knowledge is light, and gnosis (*ma’rifah*) is the greatest gift from God, that which makes believers come close to Him. Gnosis can be achieved by their pious activities and God’s mercy. Only with His grace can the heart of the believers come near to Him.⁵⁶ This is why it is important, insists al-Muḥāsibī, to keep the heart pure and capable so that God leads it to Him if He wills.⁵⁷ Al-Muḥāsibī states that if a believer ‘gives preference to God’ other than anything else, ‘God will be fond of him’.⁵⁸

Apart from al-Muḥāsibī, among the Baghdadi Sufis Abu’l-Ḥusayn al-Nūrī (d. 295/907–8) should not be forgotten. He wrote a treatise entitled *Maqāmāt al-qulūb* (‘The Religious Stations of Hearts’), where he states, ‘Know that God Most High created a house inside the believer, [which is] called the heart’; He then

⁴⁸ *Mysticism*, p. 43.

⁴⁹ E.g. al-Muḥāsibī, *Kitāb al-ilm*, Tunis: al-Dār al-Tūnisiyya, 1975, p. 83.

⁵⁰ *Ri’āya*, p. 243.

⁵¹ *Gedankenwelt*, p. 36; *Early Mystic*, p. 87. Al-Muḥāsibī composed a treatise on this issue: *Kitāb al-masā’il fi a’māl al-qulūb wa’l-jawāriḥ* (see Picken, *Spiritual Purification in Islam*, London: Routledge, 2011, p. 77).

⁵² *Ri’āya*, p. 24.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 25; cf. *Early Mystic*, p. 88.

⁵⁴ *Mustarshid*, p. 31; cf. *Ri’āya*, pp. 45–6.

⁵⁵ *Ri’āya*, p. 45.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 64; *Mustarshid*, pp. 29, 32.

⁵⁷ *Mustarshid*, p. 29; *Ri’āya*, p. 3.

⁵⁸ *Mustarshid*, p. 32. For al-Muḥāsibī’s views of the heart, see *Gedankenwelt*, pp. 35–6; *Early Mystic*, pp. 86–110.

cleans the house, protects it from evil and takes up residence there.⁵⁹ This statement also echoes Wierix's etchings. This spiritual idea of the heart was not taught only in Baghdad, where al-Muḥāsibī and al-Nūrī established the Baghdadi Sufi tradition, nor only in Basra, where al-Ḥasan and Rābi'a were active. These symbolic images are, as underlined by al-Muḥāsibī, supported by the Qur'an, Ḥadīth and pious sayings, and were also used by various personalities outside these two intellectual centres.

Karamustafa, for example, points out the common elements, including the role of the image of the heart, in the teachings of the Baghdadi Sufis and those of Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 283/896) who was from south-west Iraq.⁶⁰ In a completely separate community from Iraq, present-day Uzbekistan, al-Ḥākim al-Tirmidhī (d. ca. 300/912) also states that the heart is the place which can receive gnosis, after carnal desires have disappeared.⁶¹ The importance of the heart can also be seen in the discourse of the so-called 'intoxicated' type of mystics, not only in the argumentation of the spiritually 'sober' Sufis, like al-Muḥāsibī.

Al-Ḥasan b. Mansūr al-Hallāj (d. 309/922), for example, points out that the heart is 'the essential part of man'⁶² and states that 'every heart [which] abandons [all] but God sees the Invisible and His hidden meanings'.⁶³ According to the Qur'an, writes al-Hallāj, the heart is 'the seat of knowledge and of consciousness' and 'the place of sacramental union between the body and the soul'.⁶⁴

Some personalities in this section influenced al-Makkī more deeply than the others. In the *Qūt*, al-Makkī refers to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī nearly 200 times, Rābi'a fourteen times, al-Muḥāsibī seven times, al-Nūrī twice, Sahl al-Tustarī around 200 times, al-Hallāj only once.⁶⁵ Looking at the metaphorical use of the heart in various cultures, despite the difference in supporting documents, there are clear resemblances between the image of the heart in other religious traditions and that of early Sufis. These teachings are well reflected in the *Qūt*, and the value of this work lies in the systematisation of the spiritual importance of the heart in early Islam, rather than introduction to a completely new set of ideas.

Qūt al-qulūb: righteous conduct in this world and true belief in God

The *Qūt* does not contain an introduction by the author himself. Although the modern editions of the *Qūt* have an introduction which briefly describes the

⁵⁹ Al-Nūrī, 'Textes mystiques inédits d'Abū-l-Ḥasan al-Nūrī (m. 295/907)', *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 44, 1968, pp. 131–2.

⁶⁰ *Sufism (K)*, p. 42.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

⁶² Massignon, *La passion de Husayn Ibn Mansūr Hallāj*, Paris: Gallimard, 1975, vol. 3, p. 19.

⁶³ Al-Hallāj, *Akhbar al-Hallaj*, Paris: Librairie philosophique Vrin, 1975, p. 71 [Arabic].

⁶⁴ Massignon, *Passion*, vol. 3, p. 28.

⁶⁵ *Nahrung*, vol. 4 [index]. The religious authorities in the *Qūt* will be discussed soon in this chapter.

contents of the book, al-Raḍwānī claims that this is ‘clearly’ not al-Makkī’s writing and guesses that it was probably added by one of his disciples.⁶⁶ As al-Raḍwānī states, the contents of the introductory part of the *Qūt* vary according to the manuscripts, and this does not include objectives of the work.⁶⁷ The aim and intended audience of this book should be therefore conjectured from the title: *Qūt al-qulūb fī mu’āmalat al-maḥbūb wa wasf tarīq al-murīd ilā maqām al-tawhīd* (‘The Nourishment of Hearts in Relation to the Beloved and the Description of the Path of the Novice to the Station of *tawhīd*’). Two main aims can be seen here. One is to provide an account of the way in which believers should nurture the heart in dealing with God. The other is a guide for novices to attain the station of *tawhīd*. From the title, then, the main target audiences of this book can be assumed to be believers who attempt to learn proper behaviour towards God, and novices who are embarking on a path leading to *tawhīd*.

The *Qūt* is divided into forty-eight sections (*fuṣūl*, sing. *faṣl*). The length of each section varies considerably, from one page to more than one thousand pages in al-Raḍwānī’s edition. The *Qūt* is full of Qur’anic verses, Ḥadīth quotations and sayings of Sufis and pious ancestors. They are selected according to themes and many sections start either with Qur’anic verses or words of the Prophet Muḥammad, which are followed by various other pious sayings to expand the theme. Alternatively, al-Makkī starts a section with a brief explanation of a topic which is immediately followed by citations from the Qur’ān and Ḥadīth for support. As can also be seen in the books of his contemporaries, al-Sarrāj and al-Kalābādhī, the arguments advanced by al-Makkī are not always necessarily stated in his own words. It is therefore important to examine the structure and contents of the book in order to grasp al-Makkī’s objectives and intentions,⁶⁸ as well as to locate the thirtieth section, a summarised translation of which will be provided shortly, within the whole picture.

Al-Makkī starts the *Qūt* with a section concerning right deeds in this world (vol. 1, p. 9 [henceforth 1, 9]). This section consists of thirteen Qur’anic verses, beginning with a verse from Sūra 17 regarding the hereafter:

«And whoso desireth the Hereafter and striveth for it with the effort necessary, being a believer; for such, their effort findeth favour (with their Lord)» (17:19).

The following verses concern various ways to enter Paradise; for instance, striving for God and good deeds in this world.⁶⁹ They emphasise that true belief in God and

⁶⁶ *Qūt*, vol. 1, p. 8 n. 1.

⁶⁷ See e.g. Escorial ms. árabe 729, 2v and Chester Beatty ms. 3698, 1v.

⁶⁸ Cf. Nakamura briefly discussed the contents of the *Qūt* in comparison with those of the *Iḥyā* (‘Makkī and Ghazālī on mystical practices’, *Orient* 20, 1984, pp. 84–5). The present author made comparison between the contents of the *Qūt* and those of al-Makkī’s alleged work, the *‘Ilm*, with tables to outline the structures of the respective books (‘A pseudo-al-Makkī?’).

⁶⁹ 42:20, 53:39–41, 69:24, 6:132, 34:37, 7:43, 32:17, 29:58–9.

right conduct are the key to being close to God, and that Paradise is a reward for righteous deeds in this world. Al-Makkī closes the first section with a verse accentuating the significance and consequences of conduct:

«*For them is the abode of peace with their Lord. He will be their Protecting Friend because of what they used to do*» (6:127).

The second section of the *Qūt* (1, 10) also consists of Qur'anic verses only. The twenty-one quoted verses concern the benefit of private worship day and night.⁷⁰ They underline the importance of the remembrance of God and praise for Him throughout the day, and also concern the importance of knowledge and awareness of the hereafter, and God's reward for good conduct.

In the sections from 3 to 16 (1, 11–156), al-Makkī explains for novices the virtue of voluntary prayers (*ad'iyat mukhtāra*) with support from the Qur'ān, Ḥadīth and the sayings of past masters. This practice is described in detail; for instance, al-Makkī mentions once again the virtue of private worship during the daytime and at night,⁷¹ as well as emphasising the virtue of prayer from Monday to Sunday, the merit of congregational prayer, the recommendation of particular Qur'anic verses for prayer and *dhikr*, a proper manner of prayer and recitation and the right attitude towards sleep and night prayer.

In the sections from 17 to 21 (1, 157–217), al-Makkī clarifies the difference between those who have knowledge and those who do not, and objects to the latter. The sections offer interpretations of various difficult Qur'anic verses, as well as elucidation of what is expressed openly in the Qur'ān and what is concealed. Al-Makkī also gives an account of the virtue of voluntary worship, especially the significance of Friday and recommended practices on that day for novices. The sections from 1 to 21 account for approximately a sixth of the *Qūt* in total. They concern mainly external deeds and demonstrate the ways in which believers can improve themselves. So far the *Qūt* focuses on ethics rather than an elucidation of mystical doctrines.

More spiritual practices start to be dealt with from Section 22. The sections from 22 to 26 (1, 218–72) again mention the merit of private worship, but this time in the form of a comparison between novices and those possessing gnosis. Al-Makkī also provides clarification of abstinence (*siyām*) and the way in which it would be special for those possessing religious certainty. *Şawm* and *siyām* are generally interpreted as 'fast' or 'fasting'; however, here al-Makkī focuses on its spiritual side rather than the control of one's diet. At the beginning of Section 22, he quotes a Qur'anic verse, «*Seek help in patience (şabr) and prayer*» (2:45), and explains *şabr* as *şawm*. He also states that the Prophet called 'Ramaḍān the month of *şabr*,

⁷⁰ 25:62, 73:7–8, 76:25–6, 50:39–40, 52:48–9, 73:6, 20:130, 39:9, 32:16, 25:64, 51:17–18, 17:78–9, 11:114, 30:17–18.

⁷¹ *Wird*, pl. *awlād*; see Nakamura, 'Makkī and Ghazālī', p. 85.

because *sabr* withholds the self from longing [for this world]'.⁷² In addition to a spiritual description of *sawm*, al-Makkī gives an account of the self and describes its different qualities for those possessing gnosis. The characteristics of those who examine themselves are also detailed. These sections seem to serve as an introduction to a discussion of internal exercise after exploring external aspects of religious observance for novices who are trying to step up the ladder of their spiritual journey.

In Section 27 (1, 273–86), al-Makkī provides novices with the groundwork. Seven qualities are to be followed: sincere will, obedience, knowledge of the condition of the self, true repentance, attendance at gatherings, taking only lawful food and having good companions.⁷³ Many Ḥadīth and sayings are quoted, and al-Makkī expounds the nature of the heart of a true believer, and the importance and challenges of achieving the religious certainty which is the basis of all righteous deeds. This section appears to be an introduction to the rest of the *Qūt*.

Sections 28 and 29 (1, 287–320) discuss the stations (*maqāmāt*, sing. *maqām*) of those possessing religious certainty. Al-Makkī separates heedless people who have been moved away from God from those brought close to Him. Section 30 (1, 321–62) treats the thoughts of Sufis, whom al-Makkī describes as the ‘people of hearts (*ahl al-qulūb*)’.⁷⁴ The characteristics of the heart are elucidated here and al-Makkī explains its meaning and significance for believers in several different ways. This section is the only place where the mystical image of the heart is clarified. As can be seen from its title, *The Nourishment of Hearts* (*Qūt al-qulūb*), the heart is the key term of this book. Although the word ‘the heart (*qalb*)’ appears throughout the *Qūt*, Section 30 is the only section which focuses on the heart exclusively.

Section 31 (1, 363–490) concerns knowledge. It begins with the elucidation of a famous Ḥadīth, <Seek for knowledge even [as far as] China, as the quest for knowledge is indeed a religious duty upon every Muslim>.⁷⁵ Al-Makkī illustrates various types of knowledge; for instance, the superiority of the knowledge of gnosis and religious certainty over other sorts of knowledge, the superiority of internal knowledge over external knowledge, the difference between those possessing knowledge of this world and that of the hereafter. He also advises caution against erroneous understanding of the knowledge of belief and certainty. The sections from 1 to 31 account for approximately one-third of the whole *Qūt*.

Section 32 (vol. 2), the longest in the *Qūt*, accounts for a third of the book itself. This section deals with the stations of religious certainty and the conditions of those

⁷² *Qūt*, vol. 1, p. 218. Izutsu also explains a close connection between *sabr* (patience, self-control or endurance) and *islām*, as well as *sabr* and *tagwā* (God-fearingness) in the Qur'ān (*Concepts*, pp. 101–4, cf. p. 109).

⁷³ *Qūt*, vol. 1, p. 273.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 321.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 363.

possessing certainty. At the outset, al-Makkī states that the roots (*uṣūl*) of the stations of certainty can be divided into nine subdivisions: repentance (*tawba*), patience (*sabr*), gratitude (*shukr*), hope (*rajā'*), fear (*khawf*), renunciation (*zuhd*), trust (*tawakkul*), contentment (*ridā'*) and love (*maḥabba*).⁷⁶ He explains that this love is a special love, ‘love of the Beloved’.⁷⁷ This section clarifies these stations in detail, quoting Qur’anic verses, Ḥadīth and many sayings, as in other parts of the work.

Al-Makkī starts to explore spiritual aspects of belief mainly from Section 22. The sections until 26 can be considered to be the preliminary sections, where he makes a contrast between those who have improved their inward status and those who have not. Al-Makkī goes on to underline important inner features until Section 32, following the introductory statement in Section 27. The sections from 22 to 32 constitute the main part of the *Qūt* in which spiritual doctrines are expounded. Al-Makkī, however, does not use the term ‘Sufi’ often.

The sections from 33 till the end of the *Qūt* concern both explicit and concealed aspects of belief. Section 33 (3, 1171–268) deals with the Five Pillars of Islam, following al-Makkī’s own statement in Section 31 that seeking for the knowledge of the Five Pillars is a religious obligation.⁷⁸ It starts with the elucidation of the first pillar: the testimony (*shahāda*) of *tawḥīd*, which al-Makkī explains as the ‘firm belief (*i’tiqād*) of the heart’ in the oneness of God, and the testimony of the Messenger.⁷⁹ It continues to the second pillar, prayer (*salāt*), on which he spends nearly half of this section.⁸⁰ Al-Makkī begins with an explanation of the duties of cleanliness and purity, and the virtues of ablution, followed by details of virtues and the duty of the prayer. Together with the sections from 3 to 16 on virtue of voluntary prayers, it is clear that al-Makkī attaches great importance to prayer in believers’ lives. Section 33 also clarifies the virtues and duties of the third pillar, almsgiving (*zakāt*), the fourth pillar, abstinence (*siyām*, *ṣawm*), and the fifth pillar, pilgrimage (*hajj*).⁸¹

Sections 34 and 35 (3, 1269–305) concern the principal elements of Islam and belief. Al-Makkī also discusses the conduct of the heart and external knowledge. Sections 36 to 38 (3, 1306–72) illustrate Sunna, Sharī‘a, heretical innovation and pious ancestors, and emphasise the significance of intention. They describe the way to be a true Muslim as well as Muslims’ duties towards other Muslims.

⁷⁶ Ibid., vol. 2, p. 499. Cf. Al-Sarrāj, who enumerates seven stations: repentance (*tawba*), piety (*wara'*), renunciation (*zuhd*), poverty (*fagr*), patience (*sabr*), trust (*tawakkul*) and contentment (*ridā'*) (*Luma'*, pp. 42–54 [Arabic]). Interestingly, al-Sarrāj includes love, fear, hope and religious certainty in his list of religious states (ibid., pp. 57–63, 70–2 [Arabic]). ‘Gratitude’ does not appear in the *Luma'*.

⁷⁷ *Qūt*, vol. 2, p. 499.

⁷⁸ Ibid., vol. 1, p. 367.

⁷⁹ Ibid., vol. 3, pp. 1171, 1173–6.

⁸⁰ Ibid., vol. 3, pp. 1189–227.

⁸¹ Ibid., vol. 3, pp. 1228–44, 1245–7 and 1248–68 respectively.

Sections 39 to 48 (3, 1373–740), the last section of the *Qūt*, treat manners, virtues and obligatory matters in the everyday life of Muslims.⁸² They range from food, travel, marriage, trade, bathing and brotherhood, to a description of the prayer leader and the virtues of poverty. Section 47 contains an account of Ibn Ḥanbal regarding proper behaviour.⁸³ The last section concerns what is allowed, what is forbidden, and what is dubious in between these. Al-Makkī provides clarification of what is lawful and unlawful among these vague matters, and finishes his book without any concluding remarks.

The *Qūt* is a detailed exposition of the manners and duties of Muslims, with guidance on outward conduct, spiritual doctrines, and visible and hidden aspects of belief. Concerning theoretical features of religion, al-Makkī generally uses terms such as ‘inner (*bāṭin*)’, ‘hidden (*ghaib*)’ or ‘of the heart (*al-qalb*)’, rather than the term ‘Sufi (*sūfī*)’. This is a significant difference from his contemporaries’ writings, the *Luma* by al-Sarrāj and *al-Ta’arruf* by al-Kalābādhī, as discussed in [Chapter 5](#).

The religious authorities cited in the *Qūt*

In the *Qūt*, al-Makkī mentions numerous figures. He also cites many sayings anonymously. This section first looks at the twelve authorities whose names appear most frequently in the book, and then attempts to discuss al-Makkī’s choice of quotations.⁸⁴

Three figures are mentioned most frequently in the *Qūt*, appearing approximately 200 times.⁸⁵ These are, chronologically, ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 40/661), al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728) and Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 283/896). ‘Alī is undoubtedly one of the most significant personalities in Islam, and the latter two are also influential, especially within the ascetic and mystical dimensions of Islam. ‘Alī and al-Ḥasan constantly appear throughout the *Qūt*, while al-Makkī refers to al-Tustarī mainly in Section 32, on the stations of religious certainty.

The second most cited authorities in the *Qūt* are ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (d. 23/644), ‘Abd Allāh Ibn (al-)‘Abbās (d. 68/687) and Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161/778), mentioned around 150–170 times. ‘Umar, the second caliph in Sunnism, and al-Thawrī, a legal scholar, are mentioned throughout the *Qūt* on various topics. Ibn ‘Abbās, the father of Qur’anic exegesis, also appears throughout the book, but particularly on the matter of Qur’anic interpretation.

⁸² Böwering mentions that in Sections 39 and 40, al-Makkī quotes largely from Ibn Qutayba’s *‘Uyūn al-akhbār* (Böwering (vols 3 & 4), p. 146), a famous work on *adab*. Gramlich mentions this work from time to time in Sec. 40 (e.g. *Nahrung*, vol. 3, pp. 349–50, 352–5). According to the index of the *Nahrung*, neither the name of Ibn Qutayba nor the title of his book appears in the *Qūt*.

⁸³ *Qūt*, vol. 3, pp. 1695–6. According to Gramlich, most quotations from Ibn Hanbal in Sec. 47 are from *Kitāb al-wara* (*Nahrung*, esp. vol. 3, pp. 654–75). Al-Makkī does not mention the title of this work in the *Qūt* (*ibid.*, vol. 4 [index]).

⁸⁴ Cf. A comparison between the religious authorities cited in the *Qūt* and those in the *‘Ilm* appears in my article with a table (‘A pseudo-al-Makkī?’).

⁸⁵ All the numbers in this section is based on *Nahrung*, vol. 4 [index].

The next group of figures, who appear in the *Qūt* around 100–130 times, are ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Mas‘ūd (d. 32/653), ‘Ā’isha bt. Abī Bakr (d. 58/678), ‘Abd Allāh Ibn ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (d. 74/693), Anas b. Mālik Abū Ḥamza (d. 91–3/709–11), Abū Naṣr Bishr al-Ḥāfi (d. 227/841) and Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241/855). Throughout the *Qūt*, al-Makkī cites Ibn Mas‘ūd, a famous Companion of the Prophet, ‘Ā’isha, the beloved wife of the Prophet, Ibn ‘Umar, a moral exemplar of the first generation of Muslims, and Anas b. Mālik, a prolific traditionalist. On the other hand, Bishr, a known Sufi, and Ibn Ḥanbal, a prominent scholar in Islam, hardly appear in the first twenty sections of the *Qūt* where al-Makkī discusses external behaviour.

These twelve most frequently cited authorities in the *Qūt* clearly indicate that this book is based on Tradition, the Qur’ān and moral anecdotes of pious ancestors. It should be mentioned that al-Thawrī, a ‘*hadīth*-oriented’ law scholar, differentiates himself from those who are in favour of personal opinion (*ra’y*) and speculative judgement, such as Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767).⁸⁶ Inclination towards Tradition and aversion to *ra’y* match al-Makkī’s views of the use of Ḥadīth in the *Qūt*. Al-Makkī quotes Ibn Ḥanbal and agrees that even if a certain Tradition is not supported by a perfect *isnād*, it is still better than personal opinion or reasoning (*qiyās*), if its contents are in accordance with the Qur’ān, Sunna and the consensus (*ijmā’*) of the *umma*.⁸⁷

It is interesting to note that among these religious figures, Bishr is said to have turned his back on Ḥadīth studies. He was disgusted by the hypocrisy of Ḥadīth scholars and emphasised the importance of actual deeds rather than mere intellectual knowledge in the pursuit of a pious way of life.⁸⁸ Presumably, this latter point also suits al-Makkī who, although he never turns away from Traditions, lays great stress on conduct. More than half of al-Makkī’s book concerns actual practices. Inner aspects of belief are dealt with in the middle of the work, including Section 32, where al-Makkī quotes al-Tustarī throughout.

Apart from al-Tustarī and Bishr, al-Makkī also refers to many mystics. Notable figures, who one would expect to be cited in Sufi writing, include ‘Abd al-Wāhid b. Zayd (d. ca. 150/767) and Rābi‘a al-‘Adawiyya (d. 185/801), who appear in the *Qūt* fourteen times each; Abū Sulaymān al-Dārānī (d. ca. 215/830), eighty times; al-Muḥāsibī (d. 243/857), seven times; Dhu’l-Nūn al-Miṣrī (d. 245/860), twenty-one times; Abū Yazīd al-Biṣṭāmī (d. ca. 261/875), twenty-six times; Abū Sa‘īd al-Kharrāz (d. 277/890), ten times; Abu’l-Husayn al-Nūrī (d. 295/907–8), three times; al-Junayd al-Baghdādī (d. 297/910), fifty-eight times; al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī (d. ca. 300/912)

⁸⁶ *EP*², s.v. ‘Sufyān al-Thawrī’ (H. P. Raddatz).

⁸⁷ *Qūt*, vol. 1, pp. 486–7. For al-Makkī’s attitudes towards Ḥadīth, see also Amin, pp. 16–20.

⁸⁸ Cf. *EP*², s.v. ‘Bishr al-Ḥāfi’ (F. Meier); Melchert, ‘Early renunciants’, p. 414; Massignon, *Essai*, pp. 230–1. Bishr’s relation with Ibn Ḥanbal is not clear. Meier states that Bishr was ‘greatly respected’ by Ibn Ḥanbal, while Massignon argues that the former ‘entered into conflict’ with the latter (*ibid.*, p. 231). Cooperson says that they are often compared as ‘rival’ heroes by scholars and mystics (‘Ibn Ḥanbal and Bishr al-Ḥāfi: a case study in biographical traditions’, *Studia Islamica* 2, no. 86, août 1997, p. 73). Cf. Melchert, ‘Ḥanābila’, p. 358.

and al-Ḥusayn b. Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj (d. 309/922), only once each; and Abū Bakr al-Shiblī (d. 334/945) is not mentioned at all.

It is said that al-Dārānī, who appears throughout the *Qūt*, does not seem to have considered himself as a Sufi. He is rather an adherent to *zuhd*,⁸⁹ and lays emphasis on fear of God and humility, and the importance of examining the actions of the heart and the body members.⁹⁰ Al-Junayd, famous for his sobriety, appears from time to time in the *Qūt*, and on the whole it seems that al-Makkī's inclination in citation is towards *zāhid* and sober sayings. He keeps highlighting the significance of righteous deeds based on righteous conduct of the heart. It is highly possible that al-Makkī favours moderate behaviour in society which is in accordance with the Sharī'a.⁹¹

Concerning al-Makkī's relationship with the Sālimiyya school, while al-Tustarī is referred to throughout Section 32, his disciple Muḥammad Ibn Sālim (d. 297/909) appears only once in the *Qūt* and his son Aḥmad Ibn Sālim (d. ca. 356/967) thirteen times. These numbers seem to be quite small, given the link with al-Sālimiyya.

Lastly, regarding the founders of the Sunni law schools, Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767) appears only four times in the *Qūt*,⁹² although Ibn Sālim, the son, seems to have followed the Ḥanafī school;⁹³ Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795) twenty-eight times and al-Shāfi'ī (d. 204/820) twenty-six times. Since Ibn Ḥanbal is cited approximately a hundred times, it seems that al-Makkī takes a Ḥanbalī position in jurisprudence. (Ibn Ḥanbal appears mainly in Section 31, which elucidates the nature of knowledge, and Section 47, which has a segment on him.) Melchert discusses the closeness between the early Ḥanbalīs and al-Tustarī, and points out the mystical elements in the personal life of Ibn Ḥanbal.⁹⁴ The *Qūt* is not a juridical work and it is not easy to know the extent of importance the *madhhab* division had on al-Makkī.

Al-Makkī's pattern of citations of the religious authorities in the *Qūt* indicate his inclination to Ḥadīth scholars and past masters, not necessarily Sufi masters. It appears that the sources of his inspiration in writing the *Qūt* are the Qur'ān, Sunna and sayings of pious ancestors, including the Companions of the Prophet, legal scholars, ascetics and Sufis. Faith has both revealed and hidden sides. Al-Makkī seems to try to cover all aspects of believers' religious duties, through explanation of the spiritual path to the stage of *tawhīd* as indicated in the full title. The *Qūt* is a book on devotion to God.

⁸⁹ Kinberg argues that *zuhd* should be understood as ethics for all Muslims, rather than 'asceticism' or 'abstinence', supporting his argument with the *Qūt* ('What is meant by *zuhd*', *Studia Islamica* 61, 1985, *passim*).

⁹⁰ *Mysticism*, pp. 37–8. Cf. *Kashf*, pp. 112–13.

⁹¹ E.g. *Qūt*, vol. 1, p. 341.

⁹² This might be because of the reason mentioned above.

⁹³ Melchert, 'Ḥanābilā', p. 367.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 353, 355.

3 Summary of Section 30 of the *Qūt* with commentary and selected passages in translation, part 1

Qūt al-qulūb is based on the metaphorical image of the heart. After discussing the spiritual and historical context of its image in the previous chapter, [Chapters 3 and 4](#) will examine the role of the heart in the belief of al-Makkī. Section 30 of the *Qūt* is the only part where al-Makkī explains the various kinds of function which he attaches to the heart. Using the critical edition of the *Qūt*, the main part of this section will be summarised by paragraph with an extensive amount of translated passages which aim to explain al-Makkī's ideas clearly. In this way these chapters will allow researchers to find easily relevant places in the text which they can explore in more detail if they wish. At the end of [Chapter 4](#), I will sum up al-Makkī's spiritual teachings as set out in Section 30 and compare his religious views on the heart with those of several other Muslim thinkers.

Al-Makkī's processes of argument work rather ponderously, since he feels obliged, as was the practice, to cite both extensive Qur'anic quotations and extensive extracts from the Ḥadīth literature in support of his argument. For instance, he often quotes several Ḥadīth with a slight difference in wording in order to explain a certain Qur'anic verse. As Gramlich painstakingly identifies Ḥadīth cited in the *Qūt* and compares it with the *Iḥyā'* (and some famous writings on Sufism) in his complete German translation, I have decided to be selective in translation with a focus on the annotation of difficult terms and the identification of religious authorities. (The major differences between his interpretation and mine are pointed out in the footnotes.)

In the *Qūt*, the sections from 30 to 32 treat exclusively of theoretical matters. A translation of the whole of Section 31, on knowledge, has been published by Renard and a segment on repentance from Section 32 has been translated by Amin in his thesis. These translations, together with the complete German version by Gramlich,¹ are making the study of al-Makkī more accessible, and it is hoped that my analytical abstracts will make a further contribution to this process.

Notes

This paraphrastic translation is based on al-Raḍwānī's edition of the *Qūt*. Its page numbers appear in parentheses throughout the text (**(page number)**) and the

¹ *Knowledge*, pp. 112–263; Amin, pp. 53–154; *Nahrung*, vols 1–3.

paragraph numbers in square brackets ([paragraph]). Direct quotations are indented or appear in inverted commas. In the translation, some words are added in square brackets ([translator's notes]) or omitted to make sense in English. Any quotations from the Qur'ān are cited in italics in guillemets («*Qur'ān*») and its verse numbers follow Pickthall's *The Glorious Qur'an*. The English translation of the Qur'ān also follows his interpretation, unless specified. Any quotations from the Ḥadīth are put in angle brackets (<Tradition>). The descriptions of the persons cited in the text are given in the footnotes. All the religious authorities and the Qur'anic citations in the text are listed at the end of the summary of Section 30 of the *Qūt* in Chapter 4.

The Nourishment of Hearts in Relation to the Beloved and the Description of the Path of the Novice to the Station of *tawhīd*: the thirtieth section in which is the detailed account² of the impulses³ experienced by the true believers⁴, and the characteristic of the heart and its similarity to lights and jewels [1]–[78]

(p. 321) [1] Al-Makkī quotes ten Qur'anic verses.⁵ It is emphasised that when God created humans, He inspired⁶ the self (*nafs*) and shed light⁷ into it, so that humans

² Literally: the book of the account of the detailed statement.

³ *Khawātir*: these are thoughts and visions which come to mind. They are not praiseworthy or blameworthy *per se*, but the believer's reaction to them is a subject for reward or punishment (*Satan*, p. 66; Sells (trans. and ed.), *Early Islamic Mysticism*, New York: Paulist Press, 1996, pp. 142–3). Al-Kalābādhī summarises the nature of the *khawātir* and divides them into four kinds: the *khāṭir* from God, which is 'a warning', the *khāṭir* from the angel, which 'prompts obedience', the *khāṭir* from the self, which 'asks for desire', and the *khāṭir* from the enemy, which is 'the costume of disobedience' (*Ta'arruf*, p. 90). Al-Qushayrī also presents a similar argument (*Risāla*, pp. 83–5), while al-Sarrāj's definition is rather short (*Luma'*, p. 342 [Arabic]), a pattern which is followed by Hujwīrī (*Kashf*, p. 387). Renard renders this term as 'spiritual discernment' (*Knowledge*, p. 36); however, discernment seems to come after the *khāṭir* occurs in the heart. Awn translates it as 'impulse' (*Satan*, p. 66; but mainly he uses the Arabic term in transliteration), Sells 'inclination' (*Islamic Mysticism*, p. 142), Aïnī 'suggestion' (*Un grand saint de l'Islam*, Paris: P. Geuthner, 1938, p. 163), Nicholson 'passing thought' (*Kashf*, p. 387), Arberry 'thought' (*Doctrine*, p. 80), Knysl 'thought' (*Epistle*, p. 106), Bin Ramli 'inner promptings' (Bin Ramli, p. 85), and Gramlich 'Einfall' (*Nahrung*, vol. 1, p. 375). Here, it is rendered as 'impulse'. The *khawātir* seem to be more than passing thoughts, since they influence the believer's mind and action; however, they might be less than inclinations, since they chance upon a believer and do not stay in the mind, unlike *wāqi'a* (see *Luma'*, pp. 342–3 [Arabic]; *Kashf*, pp. 387–8). See Bin Ramli for a detailed discussion about *khawātir* in the *Qūt* and its development in early Muslim tradition (Bin Ramli, pp. 85–158). Cf. Ch. 2 of the present study for the idea of good and evil impulses in the Talmud.

⁴ Literally: belonging to the people of hearts.

⁵ 91:7–8, 50:16, 5:30, 114:4, 35:6, 58:19, 2:268, 7:16–17.

⁶ *Alqā*: to inspire (of God) (Hava, p. 694); its verbal noun *ilqā* is used as a suggestion of God, while that of the devil is *waswasa* (Lane, vol. 2, p. 2472). Cf. 'hineinwerfen' (*Nahrung*, vol. 1, p. 375).

⁷ *Qadhafa*: (said of God) to shed light into the heart (Lane, vol. 2, p. 2986). Cf. 'hineinstoßen' (*Nahrung*, vol. 1, p. 375).

can choose by themselves between right and evil. The Devil⁸ is an enemy of humans. Al-Makkī warns that humans must remain vigilant at all times, since the Devil is everywhere. The enemy is inside humans and can even prompt them to kill their brother.⁹ If humans forget about God, the enemy seizes them, misleads them and makes them believe that they will be destitute when their self does right. Al-Makkī underlines that these warnings against the enemy are clearly stated in the Qur’ān and [2] he quotes a Ḥadīth from the Prophet Muḥammad:

<The Devil lurked in ambush for a person on his paths and discouraged him from the path to Islam. [The Devil] asked: Are you becoming a Muslim and leaving behind your faith and the faith of your ancestors? But he resisted [the Devil] and became a Muslim. Then [the Devil] lurked in ambush for him on the path of emigration (*hijra*) and asked: Are you emigrating and leaving behind your earth and your sky? But he resisted [the Devil] and emigrated. Then [the Devil] lurked in ambush for him on the path of his *jihād* and asked: Are you struggling when it is a fight with your own self and money?¹⁰ [If] you struggle, you will be killed, your wives will be married off and your property will be divided. But he resisted [the Devil] and completed his *jihād*. The Messenger of God – may God bless him and grant him salvation – said: Anyone who does this and dies, God Most High will surely let him enter Paradise>.

[3] Al-Makkī quotes a Qur’ānic verse¹¹ and (p. 322) [4] narrates Traditions regarding various types of the Devil:

A Ḥadīth from ‘Uthmān b. Abi’l-‘Āṣ:¹² <O, the Messenger of God, the Devil came between me and my prayer and my recitation [of the Qur’ān]. [The

⁸ *Al-shayṭān*: in the Qur’ān, the proper noun *al-shayṭān* is equivalent to Iblīs but may be distinguished from its plural usage, *shayāṭīn*, which describes devils and the hosts of evil in general (both humans and *jinn*). In Sufism, the lower self (*nafs*) is often described as *shayṭān*, against which Sufis struggle. Cf. *EL*², s.v. ‘shayṭān, 2’ (A. Rippin); *EQ*, s.v. ‘devil’ (idem). Al-Makkī often uses the term ‘enemy (*‘adū*)’ interchangeably with *shayṭān*, as the adversary of God, in contrast to the angel (e.g. [7] in this section) and as a description of the devil’s close relation to the lower self (e.g. [24]). In the *Qūt*, the *shayṭān* sometimes has a proper name (e.g. Khinzab in [4]) and does not seem to be treated as a personal name, namely Satan, in a Biblical sense. Accordingly, this term is translated as ‘devil’ in general, rather than Satan or Iblīs. (See also [6]–[7] and their footnotes.) For a detailed explanation of *al-shayṭān*, see *Satan*, esp. Ch. 1 (pp. 18–56).

⁹ Al-Makkī quotes Q. 5:30 which refers to the famous Biblical story of Cain and Abel (cf. Gn 4:1–16).

¹⁰ Literally: a fight of the self and money; cf. ‘ein Einsatz von Gut und Blut’ (*Nahrung*, vol. 1, p. 375). The idea here seems to be that those who believe in God and His Messenger do not doubt but strive with their property and their persons in God’s path.

¹¹ 4:119.

¹² ‘Uthmān b. Abi’l-‘Āṣ b. Bishr b. ‘Abd Duḥmān b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Hammām al-Thaqafī (d. 51/671). I could not identify this figure. The death date and the full name follow the index of the *Nahrung*, vol. 4, p. 243. (The description of the religious figures cannot be seen in Gramlich’s translation.)

Messenger] said: That Devil is called Khinzab.¹³ If you sense him, seek the protection of God from him and spit on your left side three times. ['Uthmān] said: I did this and God Most High took him away from me>.

[5] Three more Traditions:

<At the time of ritual ablution before prayer (*wudū'*), if [you find] a devil called al-Walhān,¹⁴ seek the protection of God from him>; <Truly the Devil flows in mankind like blood>;¹⁵ [6] <Every one of you has a devil. They asked: And you, too, the Messenger of God? He said: Yes, me too. However, God Most High helped me in [dealing with] him and then he became Muslim¹⁶>.

[7] Al-Makkī gives an explanation of two companions¹⁷ in the heart quoting Ibn Mas'ūd:¹⁸ a companion of the angel and a companion of the enemy. [8] In this

¹³ *Khinzab*: Khanzab, Khunzub (or Khunzab) and Khinzab are other ways of referring to *shayṭān*, either directly, or via his title 'he [who] is bold in immorality'; the word can also mean 'a piece of stinking meat' (Muhammad Murtaḍā, *Tāj al-‘arūs min jawāhir al-qāmūs*, Kuwait: Wizārat al-Irshād wa'l-Anbā', 1965, vol. 2, p. 386). For an explanation of the devils who have specific names and occupations, see *Satan*, pp. 58–60, where Awn refers to the *Qūt* and the *'Ilm*.

¹⁴ *Al-Walhān*: Satan qui trouble les sens et est cause des distractions, par example, dans l'accomplissement de la prière, des ablutions. On dit استَعْذَبَ اللَّهَ مِنِ الْوَلَهَانَ Cherche auprès de Dieu un refuge contre Satan, cause des distractions (Kazimirski, vol. 2, p. 1606). Cf. *Satan*, pp. 58–60.

¹⁵ Awn interprets this famous Tradition as 'to be alive means to know Satan in one's very core' (*Satan*, p. 47), since the Devil exists inside a human, flowing around the body as blood.

¹⁶ أَسْلَمَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى عَلَيْهِ فَأَسْلَمَ : as Gramlich also mentions, there seem to be two ways of interpretation: أَسْلَمَ (he [= the devil] became Muslim) or أَسْلَمَ (I am secure). Al-Radwānī suggests reading it as the former and Gramlich renders it as 'ich heil davonkomme' (*Nahrung*, vol. 1, p. 376). Schimmel quotes a saying of the Prophet, 'When asked how his *shayṭān* behaved, he answered: ... my *shayṭān* has become a Muslim and does whatever I order him', and explains that this *shayṭān* describes 'lower qualities, instincts', which are 'not to be killed, but trained so that even they may serve on the way to God' (*Dimensions*, p. 113). Awn discusses this internal *shayṭān*, who converted to Islam in the case of Muhammad and prompts him to do good, with some other similar Ḥadīth (*Satan*, pp. 48, 60).

¹⁷ *Lumma*: compagnon (de voyage) (Kazimirski, vol. 2, p. 1022); fellow-traveller (Hava, p. 695). Cf. 'Einsprechungen' (*Nahrung*, vol. 1, p. 376). It is not entirely clear what al-Makkī means by *lumma*; however, the underlying idea might come from a story of the Day of Judgement in the Qur'ān (50:21–7; although this term does not appear as it is in the Qur'ān) about a comrade (*qarīn*), who is a second witness of man in contrast with his guardian angel. Fahd explains the *qarīn* as an 'inseparable companion', who, according to the ancient Arab traditions, conditions man's activity, as can be seen in the Ḥadīth, 'There is not one of you who does not have a *karīn* derived from the *djinīn*' and 'There is no descendant of Adam who does not have a *shayṭān* attached to him' (*EF*², s.v. 'shayṭān' 1' (T. Fahd)). Neither al-Sarrāj, al-Kalābādhī, al-Qushayrī or Hujwīrī seems to explain this term. See Bin Ramlī, p. 87 n. 255, where he interprets this word as 'visitation'.

¹⁸ 'Abd Allāh Ibn Mas'ūd (d. 32/653): a famous Companion of the Prophet and one of the earliest converts to Islam. He is said to have received the Qur'ān directly from the Prophet. Hujwīrī lists him as one of the people of the veranda (*ahl-i suffa*) (*Kashf*, p. 81). The people of the veranda are those who, among the Companions, renounced the world and lived in a mosque to devote themselves to the worship of God. Al-Muḥāsibī also includes Ibn Mas'ūd in his list of the people of the veranda (*Early Mystic*, p. 63). He is one of the ten figures to whom al-Makkī refers most frequently in the *Qūt* (see Ch. 2).

regard, the author refers to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī¹⁹ who teaches that God rewards a believer for carrying out what is related to Him and struggling with what is related to the enemy.

[9] Descriptions of the characteristics of ‘the sneaking whisperer (*al-waswās al-khannās*)’.²⁰ According to Mujāhid,²¹ the Devil will shrink (*khanasa*), if a believer remembers God. If he forgets, the Devil will spread over his heart. [10] According to ‘Ikrima,²² in a man, the whisperer resides in his heart and his eyes; in a woman, the Devil resides in her eyes and her buttocks. [11] Al-Makkī quotes Jarīr b. ‘Abdat al-‘Adawī²³ who complained to al-‘Alā’ b. Ziyād²⁴ regarding temptation which Jarīr found in his heart.

[12] Several characteristics of the heart are illustrated. The author quotes a Ḥadīth of the Prophet from Abū Ṣalīḥ²⁵ who related from Abū Hurayra²⁶ that:

<If a servant makes a mistake, a dot appears on his heart. If he removes [it], begs pardon [from God] and repents, [the heart] will be polished. If he repeats [making a mistake], [the dot] becomes bigger²⁷ until it covers his heart. This is the rust which God Most High mentioned, «*Nay, but that which they have earned is rust upon their hearts*» (83:14)>.

¹⁹ Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728): a well-known preacher in Basra, who appears in many Sufi *silsilas*. He is one of the three religious authorities whom al-Makkī quotes most frequently throughout the *Qūt* (see Ch. 2).

²⁰ Q.114:4, cf. [1]. *Al-Khannās*: an epithet applied to the devil, since he retires or shrinks or hides himself at the mention of God (Lane, vol. 1, p. 816).

²¹ Mujāhid b. Jabr al-Makkī (d. 104/722): a famous Qur’ān commentator. He studied under Ibn ‘Abbās (see f.n. to [52]) and compiled one of the first written exegeses of the Qur’ān.

²² ‘Ikrima b. ‘Abd Allāh (d. 105/723–4): a well-known Ḥadīth transmitter and a disciple of Ibn ‘Abbās (see f.n. to [52]). He often transmits traditions from his master and ‘Ā’isha. His traditions frequently appear in the classical collections of Ḥadīth, especially in *Sahīḥ al-Bukhārī*.

²³ I could not identify this figure. Gramlich does not seem to have succeeded either. He mentions that the name appears as Jarīr b. ‘Ubayda in some manuscripts and Jarīr b. ‘Abd Allāh in the others (*Nahrung*, vol. 1, p. 377 n. 8). A ‘Jarīr’ appears as one of the transmitters of a Tradition cited in Awn’s *Satan*, which is the one concerning the Ḥadīth in [6] (*Satan*, p. 48). This might be the same Jarīr, but it is not certain.

²⁴ Abū Naṣr al-‘Alā’ b. Ziyād b. Maṭar b. Shurayh al-‘Adawī al-Baṣrī (d. 94/712–13): I could not identify this figure. The death date and the full name follow the index of the *Nahrung*, vol. 4, p. 73.

²⁵ Abū Ṣalīḥ Dhakwān al-Sammān al-Zayyāt al-Madanī (d. 101/719–20): I could not identify this figure (see *Nahrung*, vol. 4, p. 67). Abū Ṣalīḥ appears as a transmitter, who relates a Tradition from Abū Hurayra, in the Ḥadīth cited by Awn (*Satan*, p. 55); and al-Sarrāj refers to the Qur’ānic interpretation of a certain Abū Ṣalīḥ (*Luma’*, p. 334 [Arabic]). These might be the same Abū Ṣalīḥ, but it is not certain.

²⁶ Abū Hurayra (d. 598/678–9): a Companion of the Prophet. Although he was a late convert, a large number of his Traditions are recorded especially in the *Sahīhs* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim, and the *Musnād* of Ibn Ḥanbal.

²⁷ Literally: it was increased in [the dot].

(p. 323) [13] A similar saying of Maymūn b. Mahrān²⁸ is referred to on the authority of Ja'far b. Burqān.²⁹ The importance of repentance is emphasised, as the Devil cannot approach the heart if it shines like a mirror by removing a dot every time a mistake is made.³⁰

[14] Al-Makkī states that the Messenger of God already informed us that the heart of the believer is free from evil.³¹ A Ḥadīth of the Prophet is cited from Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī,³² Abū Kabshat al-Anmārī³³ and Hudhayfa.³⁴

<There are four [types] of hearts: a heart with a shining light, this is the heart of the believer. A dark, reverse heart, this is the heart of the unbeliever. A covered³⁵ heart, [which] is enclosed in its cover, this is the heart of the hypocrite. An armoured³⁶ heart, it has [both] belief and hypocrisy. The belief in there is likened to the herb [which] good water supplies, while the hypocrisy in there is likened to an ulcer [which] pus and matter supply. [The believer] will be judged [on the Last Day] by which kind of supply has dominated [his heart]>.

28 Maymūn b. Mahrān (d. 118/735–6): an early *faqīh* and Umayyad administrator, who is recorded as having met al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī in Basra. His Ḥadīth often deal with ritual law.

29 Abū 'Abd Allāh Ja'far b. Burqān al-Kilābī al-Jazarī al-Raqqī (d. ca. 165/782): I could not identify this figure, who seems to be another Ḥadīth transmitter (see *Nahrung*, vol. 4, p. 121).

30 This Tradition about the heart and a dot of sin is famous and appears in various Ḥadīth collections and works on Sufism (ibid., vol. 1, p. 377); for instance, al-Muḥāsibī also relates this Tradition (*Early Mystic*, p. 89).

31 *Ajrad*: naked, bare, (of heart) free from hatred (Hava, p. 85); a heart free from concealed hatred, free from deceit, dishonesty or dissimulation (Lane, vol. 1, p. 407).

32 Abū Sa'īd Sa'īd b. Mālik b. Sinān al-Anṣārī al-Khazrajī al-Khudrī (d. 74/693): one of the Companions of the Prophet Muḥammad. More than a thousand Ḥadīth are attributed to him (*Risāla*, p. 97 n. 5). Al-Qushayrī refers to him five times (ibid., pp. 97, 104, 138, 147, 197); Hujwīrī also relates a story from Abū Sa'īd (*Kashf*, p. 396 n. 1).

33 Abū Kabshat al-Anmārī al-Madhījī: I could not identify this figure. Gramlich does not seem to have succeeded either. An 'Abū Kabsha' appears in the list of the people of the veranda in the *Kashf*, where Hujwīrī describes him as 'the Apostle's client' (ibid., p. 81). This Abū Kansha might be the same Abū Kabshat al-Anmārī in the *Qūt*, but it cannot be certain.

34 Hudhayfa b. Ḥusayl al-Yamān (d. 36/657): a native of Basra, an early ascetic and one of the people of the veranda (ibid.), who is often regarded as a Sufi prototype (cf. *Early Mystic*, p. 64; *Mysticism*, p. 5). His Traditions often deal with eschatological issues and hypocrites (*Knowledge*, p. 383 n. 15). Al-Sarrāj refers to him three times (*Luma'*, pp. 19, 137, 378 [Arabic]), and al-Kalābādhī once (*Tu arruf*, p. 87). Massignon describes Ḥudayfa as a 'precursor' of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and states that his science of the four types of the heart, which can be seen in this paragraph, is often used among the later Sufis (*Essai*, pp. 161, 160; see also p. 235).

35 *Aghlafa*: covered from hearing and accepting the truth (Lane, vol. 2, p. 2284); hardened heart (Hava, p. 532). See Ch. 2 for the idea of a 'hardened heart' in the Hebrew Bible.

36 *Muṣfah*: (of a heart) turned away from the truth, in which are combined faith and hypocrisy, double-faced, one who meets the unbelievers with one face and the believers with another face (Lane, vol. 2, p. 1696).

[15] Al-Makkī goes on to discuss the importance of remembrance (*dhikr*) and God-fearingness (*taqwā*).³⁷ Two Qur’anic verses are quoted.³⁸ [16] According to the author, God has already informed us that remembrance of Him cleanses the heart and saves humans from evil. The first step to remembrance is God-fearingness. Al-Makkī understands pious fear of God as the gate to the hereafter, while desire (*hawā*)³⁹ as the gate to this world. [17] Two more Qur’anic verses are cited concerning this subject.⁴⁰ It is stressed that those who believe in God and act in accordance with His revealed law are made inaccessible to the Devil.

Al-Makkī refers to four Qur’anic verses.⁴¹ (p. 324) He differentiates the body, the external tool, from the heart, the internal tool. [18] According to the author, God created everything in pairs to have better understanding of the other. Three pairing instruments are introduced. The first pair is the self (*nafs*) and the soul (*rūh*). These are places to encounter the enemy and the angel, immorality and God-fearingness. The second is reason (*‘aql*) and desire (*hawā*). They act as assistance⁴² and temptation in accordance with the will of God. The third is knowledge (*‘ilm*) and belief (*īmān*), which are apportioned by Divine mercy. These are the instruments of the heart and its hidden commended qualities.⁴³ God created humans with His wisdom.

³⁷ *Taqwā; ittaqā*: to guard oneself from sin, to be pious, careful of one’s religious duties (ibid., vol. 2, p. 3059). Pickthall translates *taqwā* in various ways in his translation of the Qur’ān, such as ‘to ward off evil’ (2:197), ‘restraint from evil’ (7:26), ‘duty to God’ (9:108), and *muttaqūn* as ‘the God fearing’ (2:177), ‘those who keep their duty to God’ (8:34; 13:35; 47:15) and so on. In the above-quoted Qur’anic verse, he renders *alladhīna ittaqū* as ‘those who ward off (evil)’, while Jones has ‘those who protect themselves’. Cf. ‘Gottesfürchtigkeit’ (*Nahrung*, vol. 1, p. 378). *Taqwā* is one of the key notions in the Qur’ān and could be rendered as simply ‘piety’. However, because of its strong eschatological connotation, which is shared in the Hebrew Bible, and in order to differentiate this term from *wara*’ or *birr*, *taqwā* is translated here as ‘pious fear of God’ or ‘God-fearingness’ in general. For a detailed, semantic discussion on this concept, see *God and Man*, pp. 233–9; cf. Ohlander, ‘Fear of God (*taqwā*) in the Qur’ān: some notes on semantic shift and thematic context’, *Journal of Semitic Studies* 50, no. 1, Spring 2005, pp. 137–52.

³⁸ 4:122 (al-Rādhwānī does not indicate this as a Qur’anic verse), 7:201.

³⁹ *Hawā*: another key concept in the Qur’ān, which immediately causes the believers to go astray. Izutsu explains its rough meaning as ‘the natural inclination of the human soul, born of lusts and animal appetites’. He argues that in the Qur’ān, the opposite of *hawā* is *‘ilm*, ‘the revealed knowledge of the Truth’, and later, in Kalām, the ‘people of *ahwā*’ designates heretics (*Concepts*, pp. 139–41; citations from pp. 140 and 141 respectively). Hujwīrī presents a similar argument and elucidates the close connection between *hawā* and the lower self (*Kashf*, pp. 196–200, 207–8). Nicholson translates *hawā* as ‘passion’ (ibid.), Pickthall ‘desire’ (e.g. 45:23), Arberry ‘caprice’ (the same verse), Jones ‘lust’ (the same), Gramlich ‘Lustverlangen’ (*Nahrung*, vol. 1, p. 378). Knysh explains the term as ‘urges and drives of one’s lower soul (*nafs*)’ (*Epistle*, p. 419). Here it is rendered as ‘desire’.

⁴⁰ 2:63/7:171, 2:187.

⁴¹ 82:6–7, 95:4, 51:49.

⁴² *Tawfiq*: assistance, concours que Dieu accorde à l’homme (Kazimirski, vol. 2, p. 1578); divine guidance, the completion of one’s wishes (Steingass, p. 336). Hujwīrī refers to this idea, where Nicholson translates it as ‘Divine aid’ (*Kashf*, pp. 6, 288). See also *Theology*, p. 210, where Izutsu renders the term as ‘God’s assistance’. Cf. ‘Bereitung zur Willfahrtung’ (*Nahrung*, vol. 1, p. 378).

⁴³ *Al-ma ‘ānā*: the qualities that are commended, approved (the charms, graces), such as knowledge, science, piety and generosity (Lane, vol. 2, p. 2181). Cf. ‘Wesenheiten’ (*Nahrung*, vol. 1, p. 379).

Al-Makkī gives special importance to the point that humankind has the capacity to distinguish evil from good and choosing the right one. Of the external and internal instruments, according to the author, the heart takes its position in the centre of them like the king. The other instruments are its soldiers who should render a service to it.

[19] Al-Makkī introduces six impulses (*khawātir*) which expound the function of the heart. Praise to God. [20] The close relation between the heart and God is emphasised.

The Turner [of the heart]⁴⁴ laid down the fine sensations⁴⁵ of yearning and fear⁴⁶ on it, wherein He shines with the lights of majesty and omnipotence. [This is] what He wished for the people of the highest companions⁴⁷ and of the lowest kingdom.⁴⁸

It is stressed that the six impulses are the instruments which God created in order to test all humans.

[21] The first group of the six is the impulse of the self (*nafs*) and the impulse of the enemy (*'adū*). These are to be blamed. They appear by desire and ignorance.

[22] The next group is the impulse of the soul (*rūh*) and the impulse of the angel (*malak*). These are to be praised. They appear by truth and knowledge.

[23] The fifth is the impulse of reason (*'aql*). This is a double-edged sword. It can be used for both the first two blameworthy impulses and the latter two praiseworthy impulses. Al-Makkī highlights the significance of the proper use of reason and intellect. According to him, desire arises through lust (*shahwa*),⁴⁹ (p. 325) when

⁴⁴ *Muqallib*: the converter of hearts (God) (Steingass, p. 1295); *muqallib al-qulūb*: the turner of hearts (an epithet applied to God) (Lane, vol. 2, p. 2555).

⁴⁵ *Laṭā'if*: bon mot, mot spirituel ou piquant, expression élégante, finesse (du language ou d'une science), bienfait, faveur, tout ce qui est fin et exquis (Kazimirski, vol. 2, p. 997). Cf. 'feine Wirklichkeiten' (*Nahrung*, vol. 1, p. 379).

⁴⁶ *Al-raghabūt wa'l-rahabūt*; *raghabūt*: an epithet applied to a man; one who makes a petition, who asks, seeks, or who prays with humility and sincerity. Some proverbs: رَهْبَكَ خَيْرٌ مِّنْ رَغْبَكَ fear should be of God (not of humankind) and petition should be to Him (Lane, vol. 1, p. 1111). Al-Muḥāsibī states that this desire (*rāghiba*) is from the lower self (*Early Mystic*, p. 91). Knysh translates *raghaba* as 'desire, aspiration' and *rahba* as 'horror before God' (*Epistle*, p. 422). Cf. '(feine Wirklichkeiten) des Reichen des Verlangens und Fürchtens' (*Nahrung*, vol. 1, p. 379).

⁴⁷ *Ahl al-rafiq al-a'lā*: according to the Tradition: Nay, rather, the highest companions of Paradise (وَحْسَنَ أُولَئِكَ رَفِيقًا) (Lane, vol. 1, p. 1126); cf. «*The best of company are they!*» (أَعْرَضْ هَذَا الْأَدْنِي) 4:69). Cf. 'die zu den höchsten Gefährten (im Paradies) gehören' (*Nahrung*, vol. 1, p. 379).

⁴⁸ *Dhawū 'l-malakāt al-adnā*: cf. «*They grasp the goods of this low life (as the price of evil doing)*» (أَعْرَضْ هَذَا الْأَدْنِي) (7:169). Cf. 'die das unterste Himmelreich besitzen' (*Nahrung*, vol. 1, p. 379).

⁴⁹ According to Hujwīrī, *shahwa* is the 'most manifest attribute of the lower soul' and is 'dispersed in different parts of the human body', so that the human being is 'bound to guard all his members' from *shahwa* (*Kashf*, pp. 208–9).

reason is not used appropriately. In order to employ reason correctly, humans must have right intention in the heart. Reason can then serve as ‘a witness (*shāhid*)⁵⁰ of the angel and a supporter of the impulse of the soul’. It is emphasised that there is no compulsion on humans to use reason in either a good or a bad way.

[24] Al-Makkī illustrates the similarity between reason and body. According to him, both lead humans to either good or evil, as reason and body are ‘at times with the self and the enemy, and at other times with the soul and the angel’. The importance of discernment is emphasised. The way in which reason is used leads humans to either reward or punishment. [25] Al-Makkī goes on to describe how humans have choice. It is stressed that reason is not hidden. Humans ignore it and then lust arises. This is a test from God and its consequence is either ‘the joy of happiness or the pain of grief’.

[26] The significance of intention in the heart is highlighted as a criterion of the Supreme Authority⁵¹ on the Last Day. The double-edged quality of reason is repeated. Al-Makkī lays stress on the close link between reason and judgement, and the close relationship between the self, lust and desire. Each concept has its own share from God. [27] Three Qur’anic verses are quoted⁵² to support this argument. All Divine principles are stated in the Qur’ān. It is emphasised that His guidance leads humans to His right way and leads them astray.

[28] The sixth impulse is the impulse of religious certainty (*yaqīn*).⁵³ This is ‘the essence of belief and the highest knowledge’. (p. 326) This impulse is special and appears only by truth. It arrives at the heart when humans reach the stage where they are completely content with God’s choice.⁵⁴ The signs of religious certainty are subtle. However, this impulse is not hidden, emphasises al-Makkī, when it is aimed and intended. It is therefore important to remember God. According to the author, those possessing religious certainty are those whom God praised for their remembrance of Him.

Descriptions of characteristics of the heart. A Qur’anic verse is quoted.⁵⁵ Al-Makkī cites a Ḥadīth of the Prophet: <Anything which becomes ingrained in your mind,⁵⁶

⁵⁰ *Shāhid*: al-Qushayrī explains the essential meaning of this term as ‘presence (*hādir*)’, i.e. something present in the heart. If, for instance, a person’s mind is preoccupied with a certain thing, this thing is called his/her witness, because this is constantly present in the heart (*Risāla*, p. 86). Cf. Knysh, who translates the term as ‘a sign of divine grace or presence’ (*Epistle*, p. 423).

⁵¹ *Al-amr wa ’l-nahy*: ordre et défense, c-à-d. commandement, autorité (Kazimirski, vol. 2, p. 1360). Cf. ‘das Gebotene und Verbotene’ (*Nahrung*, vol. 1, p. 380).

⁵² 20:50, 7:37, 22:4.

⁵³ Absolute certainty in belief should be the aim of any believer. This is one of the central notions often discussed in Sufism; see e.g. *Tā’arruf*, p. 103; *Kashf*, pp. 381–2; *Risāla*, pp. 85, 178–82. Izutsu discusses the inseparable relation between certainty and belief in the discourse of al-Ghazālī (*Theology*, p. 184).

⁵⁴ *Ikhtiyār*: one of the terminologies of Sufis, explains Hujwīrī, signifying ‘their preference of God’s choice to their own’ (*Kashf*, p. 388).

⁵⁵ 50:37.

⁵⁶ *Hāka*: حاک الشیء فی صدری the thing became fixed in my mind (Lane, vol. 1, p. 673); être fortement établi, enraciné (se dit d’une chose qui l’est dans l’esprit, dans le cœur) (Kazimirski, vol. 1, p. 516).

leave it. Sin is the pain⁵⁷ of hearts>. Another saying of the Prophet regarding piety and sin: <Consult your heart even though *muftīs* have given you a legal opinion>. According to al-Makkī, this quotation shows that *muftīs*⁵⁸ know how to interpret revealed knowledge, but not concealed knowledge. It is stressed that believers should seek internal knowledge.

[29] The author makes a comparison between the people possessing external knowledge (*ahl al-ilm al-żāhir*) and the people possessing internal knowledge (*ahl al-ilm al-bāṭin*). The former group understand the revealed principle of God according to their knowledge of external language. The hidden principle of God, however, can be understood only through internal knowledge of the heart. Al-Makkī calls special attention to the fact that the heart is a *faqīh*, lighted by belief. [30] It is emphasised that knowledge of the heart is ‘the greatest knowledge’. The Prophet describes the heart as a *qādī*, greater than *muftīs* in terms of judgement. Al-Makkī disapproves of those who follow scholars’ opinion blindly (*taqlīd*), not the heart. A Ḥadīth is quoted:

<Piety is that by which the heart feels secure and by which the self feels assured, even though [*muftīs*] furnish you with legal information and give you legal opinion>.

[31] The author highlights the significance of remembrance (*dhikr*) of God and control of the self, both of which lead to the utmost peace of reassurance⁵⁹ and piety in the heart. Two Qur’anic verses are quoted⁶⁰ regarding characteristics of the heart. (p. 327) [32] Al-Makkī quotes two Qur’anic verses⁶¹ concerning God’s ‘hidden enemies’ and praises His close associates (*awliyā*)⁶² as they ‘listen to Him, manifest His reminder and observe His unseen’. [33] The author gives an explanation of two opposite groups: those who go astray from the straight path and those who are rightly guided. Four Qur’anic verses are quoted concerning this.⁶³

[34] Al-Makkī quotes a Ḥadīth which summarises the quality of the heart. The Prophet said: <Pious fear of God is here>, and pointed out the heart. The author goes on to discuss characteristics of the heart. Three Qur’anic verses are quoted.⁶⁴

⁵⁷ *Hazzāz*: pain in the heart, arising from wrath, in Tradition: Sin is that which makes an impression upon thy heart (الإِيمَنْ مَا حَزَ فِي قَلْبِكَ), causing thee to waver lest it be an act of disobedience because of thy not being easy respecting it (Lane, vol. 1, p. 558).

⁵⁸ Read as *al-muftīn* instead of *al-muttaqīn*. According to Gramlich, who also reads it as ‘Gutachter’, the former term appears in some manuscripts (*Nahrung*, vol. 1, p. 381).

⁵⁹ *Sakīna*: tranquillité, quiétude (de corps, d’esprit), surtout cet état de quiétude intérieure qui dispose l’homme à recevoir les révélations divines (Kazimirski, vol. 1, p. 1116).

⁶⁰ 13:28, 48:4.

⁶¹ 18:101, 53:35.

⁶² *Awliyā*; *walī Allāh*: the friend of God, the constant obeyer of God, a saint (Lane, vol. 2, p. 3060).

⁶³ 11:24, 11:20, 50:37, 11:34.

⁶⁴ 7:100, 5:108, 2:282.

56 Summary of Section 30 of the Qūt, part 1

It is stressed that the heart becomes closed by sins, but God-fearingness can undo the seal. Al-Makkī refers to a Tradition: <As God wished a servant well, God made a restrainer⁶⁵ such as his self, and a preacher such as his heart>. Another Tradition is quoted. The importance of following the heart is emphasised. If humans listen to the heart, God will protect them.

[35] Two Qur'anic verses are cited.⁶⁶ The close relationship between the heart and God is emphasised. [36] (p. 328) Al-Makkī quotes two Qur'anic verses⁶⁷ and highlights the importance of repentance (*tawba*) from desire. [37] The author gives special importance to the danger of blindness of the heart: «*For indeed it is not the eyes that grow blind, but it is the hearts, which are within the bosoms, that grow blind*» (22:46). Al-Makkī describes true believers as 'the people of hearts', who can 'take a warning without a warning from the created beings and restrict [themselves] without a restriction of the external'. It is important for all believers, according to the author, to be aware of the aforementioned six impulses and to follow internal knowledge of the heart. [38] Almighty of God is emphasised. God delights the heart and depresses it according to His will.

[39] Al-Makkī illustrates the heart and impulse of religious certainty, using a metaphor of three qualities which affect the level of certainty.

One of them is belief; its position in religious certainty is a place of fire stone. The second is knowledge; its place is a position of a fire steel. The third is reason and it is the seat of flame. When these causes come together, impulse of certainty is lighted in the heart.

[40] Another analogy of the heart with a lamp. Reason is likened to its light; knowledge is the oil; and belief is the wick. In accordance with these three qualities, the level of brightness of religious certainty which shines in the heart changes. This is similar to belief, whose strength accords with piety and fear.

Al-Makkī moves on to discuss the importance of the knowledge of *tawhīd* which appears through the loss of desire. Two Qur'anic verses are quoted concerning knowledge of God.⁶⁸ [41] Al-Makkī reiterates the significance of the knowledge of *tawhīd* and renunciation from this world, since this increases belief in the heart. (p. 329) Knowledge is important, because believers should

⁶⁵ *Zājir*: voix intérieure, lumière intérieure, conscience établie par Dieu dans le coeur de l'homme qui l'éloigne des mauvaises actions et l'invite au bien (Kazimirski, vol. 1, p. 974); a diviner; because, when he sees that which he thinks to be of evil omen, he cries out with a high ... voice, forbidding to undertake the thing in question (Lane, vol. 1, pp. 1216–17). Cf. 'Tadler' (*Nahrung*, vol. 1, p. 382).

⁶⁶ 3:193, 41:44.

⁶⁷ 66:4, 9:74.

⁶⁸ 47:19, 11:14.

confirm, according to the author, what they believe using their spiritual vision (*mushāhada*).⁶⁹

The less adequate the knowledge of the heart through God Most High, the qualities of His attributes and the principles of His kingdom become, the less the belief of this servant becomes. He then confirms what he believes from behind a veil, since what he has taken possession of is the attachment to [worldly] connections.⁷⁰ He listens to words from behind a covering, since he cannot increase his piety immediately.⁷¹ Corresponding to this, his belief becomes weak. He imagines his vision and [becomes] incapable of verifying the truth.

[42] Al-Makkī starts discussing different levels of knowledge, giving four examples. First, the author emphasises a great difference between those who confirm the knowledge of God ‘in close proximity without covering’ and those who confirm it ‘from a distance with a veil’.

Although both of them are [called] believers together, [what is] between their belief, in proximity, greatness, growth and deficiency, is like [what is] between ten and a hundred thousand. The belief of the heart of the Muslim is one hundredth (*mi'shār*) of one hundredth of one tenth [as small as] the belief of the heart of the one with religious certainty.

[43] The second example is about various ways in which a piece of information is received and accepted. Al-Makkī highlights the danger of reasoning and shows a stark contrast between second-hand knowledge and first-hand knowledge. The importance of verification is emphasised. [44] The author insists that no comparison can be made between the belief of ordinary believers and that of those possessing gnosis (*ārifūn*). The belief of the former is based on knowledge of information, which should be rejected unless it is confirmed. (p. 330) The belief of the latter, on the other hand, is based on direct information which has been verified by themselves. Gnosis (*ma'rifa*) and religious certainty appear only when the information of knowledge is properly confirmed and every doubt is banished.

⁶⁹ Al-Sarrāj has a section on the state of *mushāhada* and explains it as witnessing God through the heart (*Luma'*, p. 68 [Arabic]). Hujwīrī also has a section on this term and states that *mushāhada* is ‘spiritual vision of God in public and private’ (*Kashf*, pp. 329–30; Nicholson renders the term as ‘contemplation’). Al-Qushayrī explains that *mushāhada* comes after unveiling (*mukāshafa*), which follows the presence (*muḥādara*) of the heart with God (*Risāla*, p. 75). Renard renders the term as ‘witnessing/vision’ (*Knowledge*, p. 36); Böwering as ‘contemplative witnessing’ (*Vision, passim*); Knysh explains it as ‘direct witnessing of God and/or the true realities of existence’ (*Epistle*, p. 422). Cf. ‘Schauen’ (*Nahrung*, vol. 1, p. 383).

⁷⁰ *Aṣbāb*: a connexion, or tie, of relationship by marriage (Lane, vol. 1, p. 1285). Cf. ‘Zweitursachen’ (*Nahrung*, vol. 1, p. 383).

⁷¹ Literally: due to his incapacity to rush to piety.

[45] This is an example of the knowledge of belief of those possessing religious certainty. [Their belief] is among the belief of the ordinary believers [which comes] from the knowledge of probable information and hearing dubious words from behind a veil. The name, belief, is applied to all of them.⁷² However, the first one knew that I had it through what had been told to him, and then he accepted [it] as true. The second one knew through what he had heard and inferred without having seen with his own eyes, and then he asserted [it] positively. The third one is the one who examined with his own eyes, and then affirmed [it].

Al-Makkī refers to two similar Ḥadīth of the Prophet regarding this: <Information (*khabar*) is not the same as examination with one's own eyes (*mu'āyana*)>; <The one who is informed is not the same as the one who examines with his own eyes>.

[46] In the third example, al-Makkī compares visual perception in the daytime and that at night. The danger of inference, expectation and assumption is emphasised.

It is likened to seeing a thing in the moonlight. It insinuates⁷³ and suggests difficulties. On the other hand, seeing in the sunlight indeed reveals the matter as it [really] is. This is similar to the light of religious certainty [and] the light of belief.

[47] In the fourth example, the author differentiates superficial conduct from actual conduct in its full sense. When, for instance, a quadruple prayer, which consists of four *rak'as*, is performed, there is a difference in terms of the benefit between the one who performs the prayer from the beginning, and the one who joins the prayer late and performs only from the last *rak'a*. It is stated that both are called believers and both receive benefit from performing *rak'a*, as a Ḥadīth of the Prophet says: <One [who] performed *rak'a* in the prayer, indeed, performed the prayer>.

However, (p. 331) al-Makkī stresses that those worshippers are not equal in the sense of completion of the prayer and its real sense. Hence, they receive different amounts of benefit from performing the prayer in a group.

[48] Likewise, the believers are not equal in terms of the completion of belief and its realities, even though they are equal in name and sense. Their difference [will appear] in the hereafter.

⁷² Literally: the designation of belief befalls all of them.

⁷³ *Sanaḥa*: insinuer (Kazimirski, vol. 1, p. 1149); to mention indirectly (Lane, vol. 1, p. 1441). Cf. 'es macht zweifelhafte Erscheinungen undeutlich' (*Nahrung*, vol. 1, p. 385).

Al-Makkī highlights the significance of the degree and the quality of belief, both of which affect the afterlife. A Ḥadīth is quoted:

<Eliminate one whose heart has the weight of a speck of belief, half of [its] weight, a quarter of [its] weight and a grain of barleycorn and a speck of belief>⁷⁴

It is stated that the ranking of believers in the hereafter results from the different amounts of belief in their hearts.

[49] Al-Makkī draws a lesson from this Ḥadīth. It is explained that even though a person has the ‘weight of a *dīnār* of belief’ in the heart, it is possible for him to go to Hell, depending on the gravity of sins which he committed. If the amount of belief increases in his heart, he might not abide in the ‘House of Shame’ forever. However, al-Makkī stresses that:

[If] a person’s belief decreases from [the weight of] a speck, he would not leave Hell, even though his appellation and his name are superficially among the believers. It is because he is, in the knowledge of God, one of the hypocrites and the wicked. God Most High indeed narrated their characteristic: «*And lo! the wicked verily will be in hell*» (82:14), then He said: «*And will not be absent thence*» (82:16).⁷⁵

As in the case of Hell, a grade of Heaven accords with the amount of belief in the heart. It is emphasised that even those in Heaven should make a constant effort to strengthen their belief, as al-Makkī says:

The increase of belief in weight happens to those in the uppermost places in the seventh Heaven.⁷⁶ Those [whose] grades are higher⁷⁷ than those in the seventh Heaven ascend [like] the stars twinkling on the horizon of the sky.

Different grades of Heaven are underlined and a Ḥadīth of the Prophet is quoted in this regard.

⁷⁴ This analogy and a story in [49] are similar to a saying of Hudayfa b. al-Yamān, who is recorded as having said that ‘what was most excellent was that which was best understood, combined with the weight of a grain of faith in the heart’ (*Early Mystic*, p. 64).

⁷⁵ Cf. 82:15 «*They will burn therein on the Day of Judgments*».

⁷⁶ *Illiyūn*: a place in the seventh heaven, to which ascend the souls of the believers (Lane, vol. 2, p. 2147). Cf. ‘*Illiyūn*’ (*Nahrung*, vol. 1, p. 386).

⁷⁷ *Ahl al-darajāt al-‘ulā*: cf. 20:75–6 «*But whoso cometh unto Him a believer, having done good works, for such are the high stations (العلی) (أولئک لهم الدرجات العلی)؛ Gardens of Eden underneath which rivers flow, wherein they will abide for ever. That is the reward of him who groweth*».

[50] Al-Makkī highlights the superiority of the belief of those possessing religious certainty over that of ordinary believers in various ways. A Ḥadīth of the Prophet is quoted:

<A thing is never better than a thousand of its similar images, save humans. Upon my life! The heart of the one with religious certainty is better than a thousand hearts of Muslims, because his belief is above a hundred beliefs (p. 332) of believers, and his knowledge of God Most High is many times as much as the knowledge of a hundred Muslims>.

[51] A saying of Abū Muḥammad⁷⁸ is cited: ‘God Most High gives part of belief with the weight of Mt. Uhud to some believers, while He gives that of a speck to the others.’

[52] A Qur’anic verse is quoted.⁷⁹ Al-Makkī reiterates that ‘elevation of every heart occurs according to one’s belief’. Hence, this verse: «*God will raise up in rank those of you who believe and have been given knowledge*» (58:11 [Arberry]). An interpretation of Ibn ‘Abbās⁸⁰ is referred to:

‘Those who have been given knowledge’ are above the believers by seven hundred ranks, and between every two ranks is like what is between the sky and the earth.

Al-Makkī cites a Tradition, which states that the seventh Heaven is only for those whose heart is in the first rank. A Ḥadīth of the Prophet is quoted:

<The superiority of the one with knowledge over the worshipper is likened to the superiority of the moon over the moving stars>.

Another Ḥadīth is cited concerning this.

[53] The importance of having the knowledge of God and religious certainty is highlighted. The image of the heart as a lamp is referred to.⁸¹ [54] Al-Makkī repeats the close relationship between reason (light), knowledge (oil) and belief (wick) in a lamp of the heart. The quality of each component affects the others. In conjunction with the purity and strength of each element, the knowledge of God and religious certainty appear in the heart. A Qur’anic verse is quoted.⁸²

[55] As the impulse of religious certainty appears in the heart corresponding to the above-mentioned three elements,⁸³ the impulse of desire appears in the heart corresponding to three different qualities.

⁷⁸ Abū Muḥammad Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 283/896): a famous mystic and one of the three religious authorities to whom al-Makkī refers most frequently in the *Qūt* (see Ch. 2).

⁷⁹ 3:139.

⁸⁰ ‘Abd Allāh Ibn (al-)‘Abbās (d. 68/687): a cousin of the Prophet and an expert on Qur’anic exegesis. He is one of the ten major figures whom al-Makkī mentions in the *Qūt* (see Ch. 2).

⁸¹ See [40].

⁸² 6:96/36:37/41:12 (al-Raḍwānī does not indicate this as a Qur’anic verse).

⁸³ See also [39].

[These are] ignorance (*jahl*), greed (*tama*) (p. 333) and love of this world (*hubb al-dunyā*). The impulse of desire becomes weak and strong according to the control of these three [qualities] in the self, and [according to] their strength.

The causality between desire and these three, and that between religious certainty and knowledge, belief and reason are emphasised. Al-Makkī quotes a saying of 'Alī.⁸⁴

<Indeed God has vessels on His earth. They are hearts. The more delicate, purer and firmer they are, the more preferable they will be to God>. ['Alī] then explained it and said: Their firmness is in faith, their pureness is in religious certainty and their delicacy is for brothers.

[56] Al-Makkī expands this statement and stresses that the quality of a vessel of the heart varies according to the quality of the inside.

The more delicate, purer and higher [the vessels] are, [the more] appropriate they become for the king, notables⁸⁵ and the good. The thicker and worse they are, [the more] appropriate they become for filth. What is between those is appropriate for what is between them.

[57] Another metaphor of the heart as scales:

The delicate assay-balance⁸⁶ is suitable for measuring gold precisely, while the simple⁸⁷ and rough measure is suitable for plants⁸⁸ and livestock.

The close connection between the exterior and the interior is emphasised. Al-Makkī gives special importance to how directly the change of the one affects the other.

[58] Two types of the heart are described. Concerning the first type, a Qur'anic verse is quoted: «*The similitude of His light is as a niche wherein is a lamp. The lamp is in a glass*» (24:35).⁸⁹ Al-Makkī introduces an interpretation of Ubayy b. Ka'b:⁹⁰

The similitude [of His light] is as the light of the believer. ... The heart of the believer is the niche wherein is a lamp; his word is light, his deed is light and he lives in the light.

⁸⁴ He is one of the three authorities to whom al-Makkī refers most frequently (see Ch. 2).

⁸⁵ *Wajh*: chief man, leading man (Hava, p. 854); nobility, high rank, a prince (Steingass, p. 1458). Cf. 'Vornehmen' (*Nahrung*, vol. 1, p. 388).

⁸⁶ *Tayyār*: an assay-balance for gold (Lane, vol. 2, p. 1904).

⁸⁷ Literally: thick, dense.

⁸⁸ *Qatt*: sorte de plante très répandue dans l'Yémen et en Abyssinie (Kazimirski, vol. 2, p. 671).

⁸⁹ This is one of the most beloved verses for Sufis, called the Light verse. See Ch. 2.

⁹⁰ Ubayy b. Ka'b b. Qays al-Anṣārī al-Madanī (d. between 19/640 and 35/656): a secretary of the Prophet Muḥammad at Medina. He is known for his memory of the Qur'ān.

Regarding the second type, the author quotes another Qur'anic verse, «*or as darkness on a vast, abysmal sea*» (24:40), and refers to an interpretation of Ubayy who said: '[This is] the heart (p. 334) of the hypocrite; his word is dark, his deed is dark and he lives in darkness'.⁹¹

[59] Al-Makkī emphasises the close connection between the heart and God, referring to various sayings. According to the author, Zayd b. Aslam⁹² interpreted His word, «*on a guarded tablet*» (85:22),⁹³ and said that this designates 'the heart of the believer'. A saying of Abū Muhammad Sahl: 'The similitude of the heart and the chest is as the throne and the seat [of God]'. [60] A Ḥadīth of the Prophet is cited on the authority of Ibn 'Umar:⁹⁴ <He was asked: O, the Messenger of God, where is God on the earth? He said: In the hearts of His servants, the believers>. Al-Makkī quotes a Tradition handed down from God: <My sky is not wide enough for me, and neither is My earth. The heart of My servant, the believer, is wide enough for me>. Another Tradition is referred to concerning this.

[61] Al-Makkī goes on to discuss the qualities of the heart of true believers. According to a Tradition: <The most excellent dress [in which] the servant clothes [himself] is submission in reassurance (*sakīna*)>. It is stated that those possessing religious certainty and gnosis take the 'colour of God'⁹⁵ for their dress.⁹⁶ Another Ḥadīth:

<He was asked: O, the Messenger of God, who is the best among the people? He replied: Every believer [who has] the determined⁹⁷ heart>. Then the Messenger of God – may God bless him and grant him salvation – explained it and said: <This is God-fearing devotion which has no disloyalty in it, nor injustice, nor hatred, nor envy>.

⁹¹ In the Qur'ān, this verse concerns «*those who disbelieve*» (الذين كفروا) (24:39). Regarding *kufr* and *munāfiq*, see the footnote to [62].

⁹² Abū Usāma Zayd b. Aslam al-'Adawī (d. ca. 130/747): I could not identify this figure. The death date follows Gramlich's index (*Nahrung*, vol. 4, p. 262).

⁹³ 'A guarded tablet (*lawh mahfūz*)' is often considered to designate *Umm al-Kitāb*, the essence of the Qur'ān (3:7); cf. *Mawsū'a*, p. 592.

⁹⁴ 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (d. 73/693): one of the prominent figures most frequently appearing in Ḥadīth. He is a son of the second caliph, but his fame was earned from his ethical personality. Together with his father, Ibn 'Umar is one of the ten authorities in the *Qūt* (see Ch. 2).

⁹⁵ *Şibghat Allāh*: according to Kazimirski, this means 'religion mahométane' (vol. 1, p. 1308); however, in this context, it seems that this phrase comes from a Qur'anic verse: «*(We take our) colour from God (şibghat Allāh), and who is better than God at colouring*» (2:138). Cf. 'Religionsgewandung Gottes' (*Nahrung*, vol. 1, p. 389).

⁹⁶ This seems to correspond to the description of a state of those possessing religious certainty, where they prefer God's choice to their own. See [28].

⁹⁷ *Mahmūm*: decree, appointed (Lane, vol. 1, p. 638); definite, determined (Steingass, p. 1190). Cf. 'gefegt' (*Nahrung*, vol. 1, p. 389).

[62] Al-Makkī introduces an interpretation of God's word, «*except for him who comes to God with a pure heart*» (26:89 [Arberry]), and states that 'a pure heart' means that 'there is nothing in it save God'. According to another interpretation, 'pure' here means 'pure from disbelief (*shirk*)⁹⁸ and hypocrisy (*nifāq*)'.

[63] Al-Makkī expands these two blameworthy concepts and quotes two Ḥadīth of the Prophet: <Unbelief in my *umma* is more hidden than a creeping ant>; <The majority of hypocrites⁹⁹ in my *umma* are its [Qur'ān] reciters>. The author emphasises that all worshippers have disbelief and hypocrisy apart from those possessing gnosis.

[64] Al-Makkī moves on to discuss the impulse of religious certainty. It is emphasised that certainty does not appear only through the understanding of the superficial meaning of what is revealed. The author stresses the importance of the understanding of hidden meaning and a constant effort to deepen internal knowledge of the heart.

The Messenger of God – may God bless him and grant him salvation – said to Ibn 'Abbās: <O God, teach him faith and instruct him [how to] interpret>. Likewise, 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib said: The Book of God Most High is our only thing that the Messenger of God – may God bless him and grant him salvation – confided to us. However, God Most High bestows understanding of His Book on a servant. Likewise, it is said in the interpretation of His word – the Most High –, «*He giveth wisdom unto whom He will*» (2:269), [that 'Alī] said: [It means] the understanding of the Book of God. (p. 335) The Most Truthful among the narrators said: «*And We made Solomon to understand (the case)*» (21:79). He bestowed understanding of Him unto him and, through it, raised him above judgement and knowledge, which he shared with his father. He then raised him above the legal opinion of his father.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ As can be seen in Gramlich's translation of *shirk* as 'Vielgötterei' (*Nahrung*, vol. 1, p. 389), etymologically, this term signifies ascription of partners to God. However, in the overall context of the *Qūt*, *shirk* seems to have a wider meaning than that. In this paragraph [62], 'idolatry' would sound fine, but al-Makkī seems to treat *shirk* and 'hypocrisy' as parallel concepts, and Lane renders the former as 'unbelief or disbelief' and describes it as a synonym of *kufr* (Lane, vol. 2, p. 1542). Izutsu argues that *shirk* and *kufr* are interchangeable in the Qur'ān, e.g. in the sense of 'not following Revelation', 'forging against God', 'going astray', because the two concepts are based on 'uncertain ... knowledge' (*Concepts*, pp. 130–9). He also discusses the fundamental relationship of *shirk* with e.g. arrogance (*takabbur*) and wrong doing (*zulm*) (*ibid.*, pp. 145, 171). On the whole, *shirk* should be understood as the state which is completely against the true, *hanīf* religion (*ibid.*, p. 192). In the light of this, *shirk* is rendered as 'unbelief' here.

⁹⁹ Literally: my hypocrites.

¹⁰⁰ This refers to a verse about Solomon and his father David, and their judgement concerning the field (21:78). As al-Makkī describes here, it continues as: «*And unto each of them We gave judgement and knowledge*». Cf. The Bible (1 Kgs 3:12), which tells a story about Solomon asking God for wisdom: 'Behold, I have done according to thy words: lo, I have given thee a wise and an understanding heart'. Cf. *Qūt*, vol. 1, p. 424.

[65] Al-Makkī quotes another Ḥadīth on the authority of ‘Alī:

Religious certainty is [based] on four parts: on the enlightenment of intelligence, the interpretation of wisdom, taking warning and [learning] the Sunna of those in the first rank. One [who] enlightens intelligence [can] interpret wisdom, one [who] interprets wisdom will be aware of the warning and one [who] is aware of the warning is in the first rank.

[66] Al-Makkī stresses that the people with religious certainty are those who are fully aware of the presence of God, and those who acquire gnosis by following His internal orders. They therefore realised the necessity of the impulses, which the author explained earlier in this section,¹⁰¹ in order to understand the knowledge of the Hidden. [67] Two Traditions are quoted. It is emphasised that the true believer is able to know what is behind the external through the ‘light of God Most High’, which is interpreted as religious certainty. Two Qura’nic verses are cited concerning this: «*Lo! therein verily are portents for those who read the signs*» (15:75); «*We have made clear the revelations for people who are sure*» (2:118).

[68] Al-Makkī has great regard for the sayings of true believers. According to him, Abu’l-Darda’¹⁰² used to say: ‘God Most High casts (*qadhaba*) [truth] into the hearts of [true believers]¹⁰³ and makes it happen on their tongues.’ [69] It is critical to differentiate true believers from ordinary believers. Thinking (*zann*)¹⁰⁴ of the former is trustworthy; however, that of the latter is not. [70] A saying is quoted:

The hand of God Most High is over the mouths of the wise. They utter only what God – may He be praised and glorified – made ready for them from the truth.

[71] Another saying is cited. It is stated that God revels some of His secrets to those whom He wills. [72] In this regard, a saying of ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb¹⁰⁵ is referred to: ‘Bear in mind what you are told by those who follow advice. They are the ones to whom truthful matters are revealed.’

¹⁰¹ See [21]–[28].

¹⁰² Abu’l-Darda’ ‘Uwaymir al-Anṣārī al-Khaṣrajī (d. ca. 32/652): an authority on the Qur’ān, and listed as one of the people of the veranda by Hujwīrī (*Kashf*, p. 80) and al-Muḥāsibī (*Early Mystic*, p. 63). Abu’l-Darda’ is one of the early ascetics, and so is his wife, Umm al-Darda’ (d. 81/700). She is described as one of the most famous female ascetics of Basra (*Mysticism*, p. 26). Al-Makkī mentions Umm al-Darda’ twice in the *Qūt* (*Nahrung*, vol. 4, p. 240). Cf. *Vision*, p. 251; Massignon, *Essai*, p. 158.

¹⁰³ This seems to correspond to what the author states at the beginning of this section, concerning God who ‘shed light (*qadhaba*)’ into the self (see [1] and its footnote).

¹⁰⁴ In the Qur’ānic sense, *zann* signifies unreliable ‘subjective thinking’ based on ‘something groundless’ (*God and Man*, pp. 59–62; the citation is from p. 59). According to Izutsu, this concept is opposed to *ilm*, which is connected with the truth (*haqq*), while *zann* is related to desire (*hawā*) (*ibid.*, p. 61). *Zann* is also linked with *shirk* and *kufr* (see [62] and its footnote), as the Qur’ān associates *shirk* with ‘the working of the mental faculty of *zann*’ (*Concepts*, p. 132).

¹⁰⁵ He is one of the figures most frequently cited in the *Qūt*, together with his son, Ibn ‘Umar (see Ch. 2).

[73] Two Qur'anic verses are cited.¹⁰⁶ (p. 336) The importance of sound judgement is highlighted. [74] Al-Makkī quotes two more Qur'anic verses.¹⁰⁷ It is emphasised that God bestows the gift of knowledge and discernment upon those who fear Him.

[75] Al-Makkī goes on to discuss the importance of righteous action based on proper knowledge. A Qur'anic verse is cited: «*As for those who strive in Us, We surely guide them to Our paths*» (29:69). It is stressed that first of all believers have to make an effort to be on the right path to God. God will then guide them and make them holders of true knowledge. Believers should also keep themselves away from worldly people. It is stated that God has sent various people to instruct and inspire humans.¹⁰⁸ [76] Al-Makkī quotes a Tradition in this regard:

<Upon the one who has acted in accordance with what he knows, bestows God Most High the knowledge of what he did not know, and gives him success in proportion to what he acts. He will then be entitled to [enter] Paradise. On the other hand, the one, who has not acted in accordance with what he knows, loses his way because of what he knows. [God] will not give [him] success in proportion to what he acts; then he will be entitled to [enter] Hell>.

[77] Al-Makkī interprets the meaning of 'the knowledge of what he did not know' as gnosis, which results from actions of the heart. True believers are given this special knowledge and are able to make sensible decisions through it. This is the knowledge of, for instance:

the difference between examination and selection, trial and choice, reward and punishment, realisation of deficiency and [that of] excess, receiving and offering, untying and tying, gathering and separating and so on.

[78] Al-Makkī stresses that if believers act in accordance with even one-tenth of what they know, God will give them what they did not know. According to the author, Hudhayfa said:

Today you are in a period [when] one neglects one-tenth of what he knows; then he will be damned. After you, [there comes] a period [when] one acts in accordance with one-tenth of what he knows; then he will be rescued.

Another saying:

Every time a servant intensifies [his] worship and endeavour, (p. 337) the heart heightens [its] ability and vigour. Every time a servant becomes weary and languid, the heart increases [its] weakness and feebleness.

¹⁰⁶ 4:122 (al-Rađwānī does not indicate this as a Qur'anic verse), 8:29.

¹⁰⁷ 65:2–3.

¹⁰⁸ I.e. Messengers, Prophets, saints and virtuous people.

4 Summary of Section 30 of the *Qūt* with commentary and selected passages in translation, part 2

The thirtieth section in which is the detailed account of the impulses experienced by the true believers, and the characteristic of the heart and its similarity to lights and jewels [79]–[136]

(p. 337 continued) [79] Al-Makkī moves on to discuss the limitations of reason. It is stated that ‘various kinds of rational knowledge are created beings’, and religious certainty does not appear directly from speculation. According to the author, rational thinking itself has its place and it is still recommended to believers. [80] Al-Makkī lays stress on the point that the impulse of religious certainty appears only through certain sight (‘ayn al-yaqīn),¹ which can verify hidden meanings. Religious certainty arrives after believers seek it persistently and achieve total realisation of Divine reality. According to al-Makkī, certainty comes rather ‘unexpectedly and surprisingly’. It does not come to those who seek for God merely by custom, who take only a rational approach, or who concern themselves in worldly matters.

[81] Al-Makkī goes on to discuss characteristics of those possessing gnosis. Hidden knowledge is revealed to them directly through certain sight. The importance of complete devotion to God and remembrance of Him is highlighted. The author also stresses the point that true believers are ‘guided and prompted’ by God. A Tradition is quoted:

<Follow the antecedent of those who have been withdrawn from mankind (*mufarradūn*) – with *fathā* –, as well as those who have withdrawn from mankind (*mufarridūn*) – with *kasr* –.² They are the ones who withdraw

¹ According to al-Sarrāj, the Qur’ān mentions three types of religious certainty: ‘ilm al-yaqīn, ‘ayn al-yaqīn and *haqq al-yaqīn* (*Luma*’, p. 70 [Arabic]). Hujwīrī explains these three concepts as follows: ‘ilm al-yaqīn is the knowledge of the ‘ulamā’, who observe religious practice in this world; ‘ayn al-yaqīn is the knowledge of gnostics, who have sure knowledge about departure from this world; *haqq al-yaqīn* is the knowledge of those who reject all created beings (*Kashf*, pp. 381–2). Cf. *Risāla*, p. 75. (See [84].)

² *Farrada*: to apply oneself to the study of practical religion and withdraw from mankind and attend only to the observance of the commands and prohibitions of religion (Lane, vol. 2, p. 2363). Cf. ‘Abgesonderten (*mufarradūn*)’ and ‘Absondernden (*mufarridūn*)’ (*Nahrung*, vol. 1, p. 393). The ‘Ilm has a chapter on *tawhīd* and *tafrīd* (Ch. 4, pp. 84–112). The editor, ‘Atā, explains the term *farrada* in the same way as Lane defines it, and states that it also signifies annihilation in the unity with God (*ibid.*, p. 84 n. 1).

themselves from the rest of mankind for God Most High, through what God Most High has set aside for them. It is just what He – may He be glorified – said [in] His saying: «Guarding in secret that which God hath guarded» (4:34). [The Messenger?] was asked: Who are those who withdraw from mankind? He said: Those who devote themselves to remembrance of God. The remembrance eases their heavy burdens, and they will come to the Last Judgment with lightened load>.

[82] Al-Makkī reiterates the point that it is God who decides. It is stated that when God wills to separate those who withdrew from humankind from the rest of humans, the knowledge of *tawhīd* appears in their heart.

[God] then remembered them and remembrance of Him overpowered them. His light – the Most High – obliterated their hearts, and then their remembrance became incorporated into His remembrance. He is indeed the Rememberer for them, while they are the place for the streams of His omnipotence – may He be praised and glorified –. The amount of this remembrance [can]not be weighed and the quality of this devoutness [can]not be calculated. If the skies and the earth were put in a scale of a balance, His remembrance – the Most High – for them would weigh more than [the skies and the earth].

[83] Al-Makkī narrates a saying of God concerning those who withdrew from humankind:

<Do you then see the one whom I met face to face, the one who knows anything I wished to bestow upon him? If the skies and the earth were under their rules, I would be truly proud of³ [the skies and the earth] for them. The moment when I cast (p. 338) My light⁴ into their hearts, they become fully acquainted with Me, as I was fully acquainted with them>.

[84] Al-Makkī stresses that ordinary humans cannot see the reality of the stage of true believers.

Their quest is not recognised; their share is not shaped; their aim is, in its utmost degree, not described; their gift is not created being; and their spiritual vision is the mark of verification through certain sight ('ayn al-yaqīn), [which leads them] to true religious certainty (*haqq al-yaqīn*). The prime share of their aim is the knowledge of absolute certainty ('ilm al-yaqīn). This is the pure gnosis through God Most High.⁵

³ *Istaqlala*: s'énorgueiller (Kazimirski, vol. 2, p. 794). Cf. 'ich würde sie für zu wenig ... erachten' (Nahrung, vol. 1, p. 393).

⁴ Literally: the moment when I bestowed upon them casting My light.

⁵ See the footnote to [80].

It is stated that religious certainty is the highest stage of belief. This is Divine bliss, which enables true believers to see the real nature of *tawhīd*.

[85] Al-Makkī gives an explanation of *tawhīd*. Omnipresence of God is underlined. According to the author, believers should recognise Divine *tawhīd* in everything. The knowledge of *tawhīd* has no end *per se*; however, there is a limit to the knowledge of believers.

What [lies] behind [their limits] is eternity, no other substitute, no end. A servant reaches the spiritual vision of the knowledge of *tawhīd* only through the knowledge of gnosis. And this is the light of religious certainty. The light of certainty is not given unless the limbs are moved (*tamkhuḍ*) with the right actions, as the skin of milk is churned (*yumkhaḍ*)⁶ until cream appears. [This cream] is religious certainty.

[86] Al-Makkī expands this metaphor. According to the author, religious certainty (cream) is ‘not the aim of seekers’, since this is still not in its purest state. Cream has to be melted away and when all fat is removed from it, this cream finally becomes the cream of cream. This is certain sight, which appears after seeing the ‘vision of the Face’ in a mirror of the heart in close proximity. As in the case of cream, the knowledge of the impulses has to be melted away. When the intention and presence of a believer become united with God, he ascends his stages and Divine light shines in the heart of the believer. This is the station of goodness (*iḥsān*).

«*God is with the good*» (29:69)⁷ after their striving against themselves in Him⁸ and [their selves’] sale of possessions (p. 339) to Him. He then does favours to them by buying [the possessions] from them. He is with them, as He said: «*He will reward them for their attribution*» (6:139). They are good, because the Good is with them. Likewise, they are the highest, as the Highest is with them. He indeed said: («*So do not falter and cry out for peace*» (47:35). It means: Do not be weak and ask for reconciliation from enemies), [as] «*ye (will be) the uppermost, and God is with you*» (47:35).⁹

[87] Another Ḥadīth of the Prophet is cited concerning devotional service to God.

[88] Al-Makkī gives an explanation of the procedure for striving for God. First believers should make an effort to have right conduct of the body. Through this external striving, they realise what they should be conscious of internally. [89] The author stresses the point that after sincere repentance, believers enter into the ‘states

⁶ *Makhada*: to churn milk, shake or agitate something vehemently (Lane, vol. 2, p. 2693).

⁷ Al-Raḍwānī does not indicate this as a Qur’anic verse.

⁸ Cf. the previous part of 29:69 is: «*As for those who strive in Us, We surely guide them to Our paths*». (See [89].)

⁹ This verse continues as: «*And He will not grudge (the reward of) your actions*».

of novices'. They should then strive against the self and the enemy, until they reach the impulse of religious certainty. According to al-Makkī,

«*As for those who strive in Us*» (29:69) means: [against] their selves and their possessions. They strive against their enemy, as he promises them poverty and bids them to be abominable.¹⁰

After conquering blameworthy impulses and freeing themselves from the shackles of worldly desires, God will lead them to Him.

«*We surely guide them to Our paths*» (29:69) means [that] 'We surely make a way for them to the revelations of various types of knowledge'; 'We surely let them hear the marvels of understandings'; 'We surely lead them to the closest ways to Us through their excellent strivings in Us'. Then He closed the order with His word – the Most High –: «*God is with the good*» (29:69).

[90] According to al-Makkī, this is the 'station of the spiritual vision' of Divine qualities. It is stated that in this station, God gives them guidance,¹¹ which leads to Him. The believers then endure affliction,¹² but God strengthens¹³ them to overcome it.

[91] Al-Makkī moves on to describe the characteristics of the heart. A Ḥadīth of the Prophet is cited on the authority of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī: <Knowledge has two types. Internal knowledge is in the heart, and this is the beneficial [one]>. [92] Concerning the close connection between God and the heart, al-Makkī quotes a Ḥadīth of the Prophet, who interpreted a Qur'anic verse¹⁴ and said: (p. 340) 'When the light [of God] is cast into the heart, the chest will be widened for Him and opened'. [93] Another saying is quoted in this regard: 'I have a heart. If I disobey it, I would disobey God Most High.' Al-Makkī states that the heart is the messenger who can reach God. Two Traditions are cited to highlight the quality of the heart:

<Belief is what stays in the heart and the action confirms it>;

<The believer sees through the light of God. One who sees through the light of God has insight into God Most High, and whose action is obedient to God Most High through His light>.

[94] Another saying is quoted: 'For twenty years, my heart did not have faith in my self for an instant, as I did not live together with [the heart] for one moment.'

¹⁰ يُعدهم الفقر ويأمرهم بالفحشاء : cf. 2:268 «*The devil promiseth you destitution and enjoineth on you lewdness (الشيطان يعدهم الفقر ويأمرهم بالفحشاء). But God promiseth you forgiveness from Himself with bounty. God is All-Embracing, All-Knowing*».

¹¹ *Tawfiq; waffaqā*: to direct to the right course by inspiration to that which is good (of God) (Lane, vol. 2, p. 3057).

¹² *Şabara*: to endure trial or affliction with good manners and maintain constancy with God (ibid., vol. 2, p. 1643).

¹³ *Ta'yid; ayyada*: to strengthen, render victorious (ibid., vol. 1, p. 136).

¹⁴ 6:125.

[95] Al-Makkī goes on to discuss internal knowledge. He refers to a saying of those possessing knowledge, who were asked about the nature of internal knowledge and replied as follows: ‘A secret from the secret of God Most High. He casts it into the hearts of His dearest ones. He has told neither angel nor mankind about it.’

[96] Al-Makkī quotes a Tradition of the Prophet concerning the marvels of knowledge, which are in gnosis of God. The significance of the Qur’ān is highlighted, as the Prophet says: <Read the Qur’ān and seek its marvels>. Al-Makkī interprets the ‘marvels’ as the innermost meanings of the Qur’ān, as God’s close associates (*awliyā’*) obtained His gnosis through His words. [97] The author confirms the value of the Qur’ān by quoting a saying of Ibn Mas’ūd: ‘One who wants the knowledge of the past and present¹⁵ should examine¹⁶ the Qur’ān.’

[98] Al-Makkī reiterates the significance of understanding of the Qur’ān and goes on to highlight the importance of carrying out duties in this world following the revealed law. An interpretation of a Qur’anic verse, «*Lo! God enjoineth justice and kindness*» (16:90), is introduced: “‘Justice (*‘adl*)’ is to contemplate the Qur’ān and to understand it. ‘Kindness (*iḥsān*)’ is to witness the understanding.” [99] Al-Makkī states that ‘Alī’s saying confirms this commentary. According to the author, ‘Alī says:

Belief is [based] upon four foundations: upon (p. 341) patience (*sabr*), religious certainty (*yaqīn*), justice (*‘adl*) and striving (*jihād*). He then said: Justice is [based] upon four divisions: diving into understanding, brilliant knowledge, trained discernment and the legal rule. [100] The one who understands [can] interpret the whole body of knowledge; the one who knows is aware of the legal rule; and the one who is discerning would not exaggerate his business and live among the people harmlessly.

[101] Al-Makkī keeps emphasising the importance of fulfilling religious duties. A saying is quoted in this regard. It is stated that even angels do not know what is revealed from the Hidden to those possessing ‘spiritual vision of *tawhīd*’. Al-Makkī stresses that completing duties according to the revealed law is the key to reaching this stage.

[102] Al-Makkī narrates a story concerning the superiority of the heart to recording angels in terms of religious knowledge.

I asked some of the righteous persons (*abdāl*)¹⁷ about a matter of the spiritual vision of certainty. He turned to his left and asked: What would you say, may

¹⁵ *Al-awwalūna wa l-ākharūna*: les anciens et les modernes (Kazimirski, vol. 1, p. 70).

¹⁶ *Thawwara*: scruter (un passage du Coran) (ibid., vol. 1, p. 241).

¹⁷ *Abdāl*: the substitutes and successors of the prophets, certain righteous persons of whom the world is never destitute; when one dies, God substituting another in his place (Lane, vol. 1, p. 168). Al-Sarrāj uses the term *budalā’* interchangeably with *awliyā’* (*Luma’*, p. 177 [Arabic]). See also *Kashf*, pp. 212–14; *Risāla*, p. 362 n. 2. Knysh explains the term as ‘members of the highest rank of the Sufi spiritual hierarchy; they were called so for their ability to maintain their presence in several different places at the same time’ (*Epistle*, p. 417). Cf. ‘Abdāl’ (*Nahrung*, vol. 1, p. 397).

God have mercy upon you? Then he turned to his right and asked: What would you say, may God have mercy upon you? Then he bowed his head to his chest and asked: What would you say, may God have mercy upon you? Then he replied to me with the strangest answer which I had ever heard. And I exalted him. [103] I said: I saw you turn from your left and your right, and then you approached your chest. What [is this about]? [104] He said: You asked me about a matter [of which] I did not have knowledge at hand. So I turned to the left recording angel and asked him about it, as I thought that he had knowledge of it. But he said: I do not know. I then asked the right recording angel, as he is more knowledgeable than [the left recording angel], but he said: I do not know. I then looked at my heart and asked it. It told me what I answered you. Hence, it is more knowledgeable than they are.

[105] According to al-Makkī, Abū Yazīd¹⁸ and others used to say that religious knowledge does not mean memorising the whole Qur’ān. Memory is unreliable, since ‘if one forgets what he has memorised, he will become ignorant’. On the contrary, stresses al-Makkī, the one possessing knowledge is the one who obtains his knowledge directly from God.

[106] Upon my life! This one does not forget his knowledge. He remembers [it] forever. He does not need a book, as he possesses his knowledge from being a faithful servant of the Lord (*al-‘ālim al-rabbānī*).¹⁹ This is the characteristic of the hearts of the righteous persons (*abdāl*), such as those possessing religious certainty.

¹⁸ Abū Yazīd al-Biṣṭāmī (d. 261/874 or 264/877–8): one of the most famous Persian mystics. Together with al-Ḥallāj, they are known for their spiritual intoxication. Al-Biṣṭāmī did not leave any writing himself; however, a large amount of his sayings have been handed down. One of his *shāfiḥāt* (ecstatic utterances), ‘Glory be to me; how great is My majesty (*subḥānī*; *mā a‘zama shā’nī*)’, is as famous as al-Ḥallāj’s ‘I am the Truth (*ana al-haqq*)’.

¹⁹ *Al-‘ālim al-rabbānī* seems to be one of the *rabbānīyūn* in the Qur’ān: «It is not (possible) for any human being unto whom God had given the Scripture and wisdom and the Prophethood that he should afterwards have said unto mankind: Be slaves of me instead of God; but (what he said was): Be ye faithful servants of the Lord (*rabbānīyūn*) by virtue of your constant teaching of the Scripture and of your constant study thereof» (3:79) (this verse refers to Christians who teach the Divine aspect of Jesus). Al-Qushayrī interprets *rabbānīyūn* as those who possess knowledge by God, reflect upon Him, eradicate themselves and acknowledge God alone, and are not affected by appearance and listen to their heart (*Tafsīr al-Qushayrī*, Cairo: al-Maktabat al-Tawfiqiyah, n.d., vol. 1, pp. 241–2). According to Lane, this term denotes: one who devotes himself to religious services, who possesses knowledge of God; a master of knowledge; a worshipper of the Lord (vol. 1, p. 1006). Izutsu explains that being a Muslim means standing ‘submissive as a “servant” (*‘abd*) before God who is his Lord (*rabb*) and Master’ (*God and Man*, p. 201). This stark contrast between God and His servants is emphasised elsewhere in the *Qūt* (e.g. [120]), which also highlights the importance of the examination of the Qur’ān (e.g. [96]–[98]). *Rabbānīyūn* also appears in the *‘Ilm* (*‘Ilm*, p. 47). On the whole, *al-‘ālim al-rabbānī* here appears to mean a faithful worshipper of the Lord who possesses the knowledge of servitude before God. Cf. ‘der göttliche Gelehrte’ (*Nahrung*, vol. 1, p. 397).

(p. 342) [107] Al-Makkī values direct knowledge from God. According to a Tradition of the Prophet: <In my *umma*, [there are] those who have been talked to²⁰ and spoken to [by God]. ‘Umar [b. Khaṭṭāb] is indeed one of them>. According to al-Makkī, Ibn ‘Abbās interprets a Qur’anic verse²¹ and states that apart from Messengers and Prophets, righteous believers are those who are spoken to by God. [108] Al-Makkī stresses that this was the ‘path of the predecessors among the Companions’, who were directed and inspired rightly. It is emphasised that direct knowledge of God appears through spiritual vision of the heart, which is prompted by the impulse of religious certainty. The author underlines the point that the arrival of internal sight is subtle and its significance is obscure to others.

[109] Al-Makkī reiterates the distinguished qualities of those possessing religious certainty, God-fearingness and true knowledge. Six Qur’anic verses are quoted in this regard.²² [110] According to the author, the knowledge that is inspired by God-fearingness and religious certainty is the ‘knowledge of special gnosis’. This knowledge appears to those who are close to God. A Qur’anic verse is cited in this regard.²³

Al-Makkī highlights the close connection between the heart and God. According to the author, the heart is the treasury of God, because the heart can understand His signs.

«*When God's are the treasures of the heavens and the earth; but the hypocrites comprehend (yafqahūna) not*» (63:7). [111] (p. 343) Comprehension (*fiqh*) is a quality for the heart, not for the tongue. The Arabs, you say ‘I comprehended (*faqihtu*)’, in the meaning of ‘I understood (*fahimtu*)’. Ibn ‘Abbās explains the words of God – may He be praised and glorified –, «*Having hearts wherewith they understand (yafqahūna) not*» (7:179),²⁴ and says: They do not understand (*yafshamūna*) with [hearts]. [Ibn ‘Abbās] thinks ‘comprehension (*fiqh*)’ to be ‘understanding (*fahm*)’.²⁵

[112] Al-Makkī refers to the six impulses²⁶ and their relationship with the heart.

The impulses of religious certainty, the soul and the angel belong to the treasures of God, while the impulses of reason, the self and the enemy belong to the treasures of the earth.

20 *Muhaddath*: a true, veracious man who talks conjecturally and with sagacity, as though he were told a thing, and said it (Lane, vol. 1, p. 529). Cf. ‘Angesprochene (*muhaddatūn*)’ (*Nahrung*, vol. 1, p. 397).

21 22:52 (al-Rāḍwānī does not indicate this as a Qur’anic verse).

22 2:118, 45:20, 10:7, 3:138, 29:49, 6:98.

23 5:44.

24 This verse continues as: «*And having eyes wherewith they see not, and having ears wherewith they hear not ...*».

25 Cf. *Qūt*, vol. 1, p. 424.

26 See [21]–[28].

A saying is quoted to support this statement:

The self is earthy. It is made from the earth, so it is inclined to the earth. The soul is holy. It is made from the Kingdom, so it is pleased with the Sublime.

[113] The heart is ‘a treasury of the treasures of the Kingdom’. It is ‘likened to the mirror’, which reflects treasures of the Hidden. Al-Makkī explains that these six impulses take place in the heart and he discusses four types of its perception. According to the author, the heart has hearing, which is understanding (*fahm*); the seeing of the heart is observation (*nazar*) and spiritual vision (*mushāhada*); the tongue of the heart is speaking (*kalām*) and taste (*dhawq*); and smelling of the heart is knowledge (*‘ilm*) and contemplation (*fikr*).

Al-Makkī stresses that all humans have to improve their inborn reason (*al-‘aql al-gharībī*). This enables them to operate the senses of the heart, so that Divine light ‘penetrates its pericardium and reaches its deepest folds’. This is the direct contact with God, which is called ‘ecstatic encounter (*wajd*)’.²⁷ This is a ‘state on the basis of the station of spiritual vision’. Concerning this, a Tradition of the Prophet is quoted: <I beg You for belief [which] touches my heart directly>. [114] Al-Makkī cites two sayings to support his statement:

If belief stays on the exterior of the heart, the servant is in love with the hereafter as well as this world; he is one time with God Most High and another time with his self. If belief enters to the interior of the heart, the servant hates this world and renounces his desire. [115] Our [master] who possesses knowledge, Abū Muḥammad Sahl – may God have mercy upon him –, said: The heart has two hollows. One of them is inside. It comprises hearing and seeing; and this could be called the heart of the heart. Another hollow is outside of the heart, and it comprises reason.

[116] Al-Makkī calls attention to the point that humans have the choice of how they operate each impulse. Among the six impulses, the author highlights the double-edged quality of reason.²⁸ [117] Al-Makkī reiterates that if these impulses are

²⁷ Various authors explain *wajd* in different ways; e.g. al-Kalābādhī states that it is ‘what the heart encounters’, which could be ‘fright’ or ‘grief’ or an ‘unveiling state between the servant and God’, and he quotes: ‘It is the hearing of hearts and their sight’ (*Ta’arruf*, p. 112). Al-Qushayrī explains the term in a similar way and emphasises the unintentional quality of this experience. He compares *wajd* with *tawājud*, which is deliberate ecstatic behaviour, and *wujūd*, which comes after the stage of *wajd*. According to him, *tawājud* comes first, then *wajd* and then *wujūd*, which is the true finding of God through direct contact with Him (*Risāla*, pp. 61–4). Hujwīrī also has a section on these three stages (*Kashf*, pp. 413–16), and al-Sarrāj has a chapter on *wajd*, where he explains them (*Luma’*, pp. 300–14 [Arabic]). Knysch translates *wajd* as ‘ecstatic rapture’ (*Epistle*, p. 83), Arberry ‘ecstasy’ (*Doctrine*, p. 106), and Böwering ‘ecstatic experience’ (*Vision*, p. 72). Cf. ‘ekstatisches Erleben’ (*Nahrung*, vol. 1, p. 398).

²⁸ See [23]–[27].

operated as a guide for the heart, they are with the angel and the soul, which lead to ‘God-fearingness, (p. 344) right guidance and right way’. They relate to the ‘treasures of the Excellent, and the keys to the Mercy’. These impulses cast light into the heart and the right recording angels acknowledge them as good deeds. [118] On the other hand, if the impulses are operated as a tempter, they are with the enemy and the self. They are ‘immoral and astray from the right path’, and they belong to the ‘treasures of evil and the locks²⁹ of honours’. These impulses blacken the heart and the left recording angels write them down as misdeeds.

[119] Al-Makkī emphasises the omnipotence of God. According to the author, all these impulses are ‘inspiration’,³⁰ cast from the ‘Fashioner³¹ of the self and the ‘Turner³² of the heart. This inspiration is cast by Him with His ‘justice to those whom He wills, and [His] grace and kindness to those whom He loves’. Al-Makkī quotes a Qur’anic verse³³ and states that God guides humans and gives them reward, but, at the same time, He causes them to stray and gives them punishment. A Qur’anic verse is cited: «*He will not be questioned as to that which He doeth, but they will be questioned*» (21:23). God controls everything. He is the ‘omnipotent, powerful and almighty King’, and He ‘stays away from direct [contact with] matters’.³⁴ When God wants a thing, He just simply says ‘Be’.³⁵ Then it exists.

[120] Al-Makkī continues to emphasise the point that God ‘possesses power over everything’ as stated in the Qur’ān.³⁶ On the contrary, ‘a servant is weak, feeble and ignorant; he has no power over anything’. Al-Makkī insists that the nature of this world is a test. It is stated that God ‘drops a veil’ on humans in order to assess them.

[121] The First – praise be to Him and the Most High –, He is [the one who] tests, wills, brings forth and brings back. He makes you what you do not know³⁷ and «*He might test the believers by a fair test from Him*» (8:17).

²⁹ *Maghāliq*: locks, bolts (Steingass, p. 1278). Cf. ‘Aufhänger’ (*Nahrung*, vol. 1, p. 399).

³⁰ *Ilhām wa-ilqā*: this statement corresponds to the beginning of this chapter, see [1], its notes and Q. 91:7–8.

³¹ *Musawwī*: cf. «*Who created thee, then fashioned (sawwā), then proportioned thee?*» (82:7). This verse appears in [17].

³² *Mugallib*: see [20] and its note.

³³ 6:115.

³⁴ This statement echoes an argument of Islamic philosophers as to whether God can know particulars, which al-Ghazālī famously rebuts in his *Tahāfut al-falāsifa*, Beirut: Imprimerie catholique, 1927, pp. 223–38 (8th problem); cf. e.g. Leaman, *An Introduction to Medieval Islamic Philosophy*, Cambridge: CUP, 1992, pp. 108–20. In [121], al-Makkī designates God as ‘the First’, which also echoes a terminology often used among Islamic philosophers. (Although I could not ascertain how often al-Makkī uses this term for God in the *Qūt*, [121] is the only place where ‘the First’ appears in this summarised translation.)

³⁵ *كَمَا أَرَادَ شَيْئًا قَالَ لَهُ كَنْ*: cf. Q. 36:81 «*But His command, when He intendeth a thing, is only that he saith unto it: Be! and it is*» (إِذَا أَرَادَ شَيْئًا أَنْ يَقُولَ لَهُ كَنْ فَيَكُونُ). (See [128].)

³⁶ 23:88 (al-Rāḍwānī does not indicate this as a Qur’anic verse).

³⁷ 56:61 : *نَنْشَكُمْ فِيهَا لَا تَعْلَمُونَ* (نَنْشَكُمْ فِيهَا لَا تَعْلَمُونَ).

Believers understand what God enables them to understand. Al-Makkī stresses differences in their understanding, according to the level of an individual's spiritual vision. [122] Believers also differ in the degree of realisation of the signs of God. It is emphasised that God always tests humans. According to al-Makkī, when God wills to reveal a thing from the hidden treasures, He prompts the self in order to put a test on humans. The self is then roused and acts as evil aspiration (*himmat su'*)³⁸ in the heart. Then the enemy notices the heart.

He is a watcher. He examines closely. Hearts are extended for him and selves are spread out in front of him, [so that] he sees what is in them.

According to al-Makkī, the enemy was 'put to a test' (p. 345) by God and given freedom in this regard.³⁹ If the enemy sees inner aspiration impairing the self and blackening the heart, his control becomes stronger.

[123] Every heart has the Devil. However, al-Makkī lays emphasis on the point that this enemy can be controlled by good or evil conduct of the heart. This is a test from God and humans have choice. There are two types of spiritual drive. The author first elucidates evil spiritual aspiration (*himma*). This is based on three qualities. One of them is desire (*hawā*), which is part of the self. The second is longing (*umniyya*), which results from inborn ignorance. The third is making false claims (*da'wā*),⁴⁰ which is caused by damaged reason and attachment to this world. [124] Al-Makkī states that any of these three factors impairs the heart, if believers yield to these temptations of the enemy. They stem from either 'ignorance (*jahl*),

³⁸ Sahl al-Tustarī explains the verse, «and eased thee of the burden» (94:2), as 'We withdrew from you the confident abandonment to other than Us ... which is due to the inner drive (*himma*) of the natural self' (*Vision*, p. 158). However, *himma* does not seem to be evil *per se*, as Hujwīrī states that 'conceit really springs from the suspiciousness ... of the intellect, which is produced by the insatiable desire ... of the lower soul; and holy aspiration (*himma*) has nothing in common with either of these qualities' (*Kashf*, p. 155). Danner translates this term as 'decisive force, spiritual aspiration; fervor' (Ibn 'Atā' Allāh, *Ibn 'Atā' Allāh's Sūfī Aphorisms*, Leiden: Brill, 1973, p. 74). As Böwering sometimes renders it as 'spiritual striving', 'spiritual drive', 'intention' (*Vision*, pp. 235, 238, 255), *himma* seems to designate inner power, which makes the believer aim at something. Al-Makkī discusses both evil *himma* ([123]–[125]) and good *himma* ([129]–[130]). Cf. 'Streben' (*Nahrung*, vol. 1, p. 400).

³⁹ Cf. *Satan*, p. 96.

⁴⁰ *Da'wā*: a claim, a demand (Lane, vol. 1, p. 884); prétention, assertion, réclamation (Kazimirski, vol. 1, p. 706). Al-Sarrāj explains *da'wā* as one of the Sufi terminologies, meaning something connected to the lower self, like a veil between the believer and God (*Luma'*, p. 352 [Arabic]). Hujwīrī quotes Dhu'l-Nūn and gives a warning against *da'wā* ('pretension' as translated by Nicholson): 'Beware lest thou make pretensions to gnosis' ... 'The gnostics pretend to knowledge, but I avow ignorance: that is my knowledge' (*Kashf*, p. 274). In a similar negative tone, Izutsu describes the link between *da'wā* and lack of rational thinking in Kalām. He quotes Ibn Hazm and states: 'any thesis that is not based upon ... a logical proof is merely a "claim" (*da'wā*), which cannot produce belief in the heart (*Theology*, p. 125). From al-Makkī's description of this concept as 'the damage of reason and the attachment of the heart', *da'wā* here seems to imply both Sufi and Kalām arguments. Cf. 'Forderung' (*Nahrung*, vol. 1, p. 400).

negligence (*ghafla*) or pursuit of subordinate matters of this world (*talab fudūl dunyā*)'. The author warns believers not to be concerned with them.

[125] In order to nullify the effect of evil aspiration, al-Makkī advocates 'striving against the self' and 'controlling the limbs'. If temptations appear as forbidden matters, according to al-Makkī, it is a believer's duty to resist them, as they are 'a veil between his heart and religious certainty'. If temptations appear as permissible matters, the author recommends the reader to 'banish them from his heart'. Al-Makkī stresses that the essential nature of the existence of temptations is a trial from God. It is stated that this is the reason God created 'the self, the soul, death and life'. God created difficulty in assessing human behaviour and caused temptation 'as an embellishment' in order to check whether humans can resist it.⁴¹ A Qur'anic verse is quoted: «*He may see how ye behave*» (7:129).⁴²

[126] Al-Makkī insists that, first of all, a believer has to make an effort to control the situation and not to let 'the enemy overpower him' or 'the self tempt him'. After this, if God wills, he will be able to 'see the heart at the time of [God's] trial' and 'guide the self with the light of his belief in God Most High'. Al-Makkī highlights the importance of total obedience to God. God-fearingness leads a believer to escape from the enemy. God will then save him.

God Most High gives the heart observation (*nazra*), [which] abates the self, effaces inner aspiration, shrinks the enemy by [making him] fall from his place, and eliminates the affliction, [which was under] his control, by removing him. The heart then becomes clear from the influence [of the enemy] through the light of the luminous lamp, (p. 346) and becomes active⁴³ by the release [from the control of the enemy] through power of the Subduer, the Almighty. The servant becomes afraid of standing before the Lord,⁴⁴ because of the clearness of the heart [which can] see the Lord – the Most High –, and becomes scared of sin. He then flees or asks pardon for [sin], and repents. The sign of his God-fearingness gains control over him.

[127] On the contrary, if believers let themselves fall into the hand of evil, and God wants them to be lost, the enemy takes over the heart. Reason then works with the self. According to al-Makkī, desire widens the chest, where the enemy expands his place with 'his pretence, his deception, his aspirations and his promise'.

⁴¹ Cf. «*Lo! We have placed all that is in the earth as an ornament thereof that we may try them: which of them is best in conduct*» (18:7).

⁴² Al-Raḍwānī does not indicate this as a Qur'anic verse.

⁴³ Or 'becomes polished'. *Malasa*: to go quickly, be light or active (Lane, vol. 2, p. 2735); être lisse, poli, satiné (Kazimirski, vol. 2, p. 1147). Cf. 'gereinigt' (*Nahrung*, vol. 1, p. 401).

⁴⁴ (خاف مقام ربِهِ مِنْ) *there are two gardens* (55:46); (من خاف مقام ربِهِ and restrained his soul from lust, *Lo! the Garden will be his home*) (79:40–1).

The power of belief then becomes weak because of the dominating power of the enemy and the concealed light of religious certainty. Desire triumphs because of the power of lust, and lust ruins⁴⁵ knowledge and clarity. Shame disappears and belief becomes hidden by lust. Disobedience then appears through the triumph of desire and disappearance of shame.

[128] Al-Makkī states that these two examples⁴⁶ show an image of the appearance of ‘good and evil’, and ‘obedience and disobedience’. According to the author, by aiming at God only, all different parts of a believer become one part.⁴⁷ As God said, «*Be! and he is*» (3:59),⁴⁸ this happens ‘as quick as lightning’, once a believer lets His ‘power triumph over [his] will’.

[129] If God wishes to reveal good, He prompts the soul through inspiration of God-fearingness. Light glows from the essence of the soul and ‘shines in the heart’.

[130] Al-Makkī now moves on to elucidate good spiritual aspiration (*himmat al-khayr*).⁴⁹ It comes from three major causes: rapidity (*musāri‘a*) of obedience to the order of God as duty, commitment (*nadb*) to His grace, and knowledge (‘ilm) or realisation of His reality. According to al-Makkī, true knowledge is revealed to believers through ‘manifestation of the Hidden’. Among permissible matters on the earth, it is emphasised that believers must think what is good for them by themselves. [131] (p. 347) The author stresses once more that humans have a choice of what they worship and whether they follow Divine command.

[132] From here al-Makkī starts summarising the main arguments of this section. First, the nature of testing in this world is highlighted. It is stated that there is always choice between good and evil, which is described as ‘the companion of the angel and the companion of the enemy’,⁵⁰ ‘the inspiration of God-fearingness and the inspiration of immorality’,⁵¹ and ‘will and temptation’. [133] The way in which believers see God accords with how much they realise the differences between good and evil. God bestows awareness upon believers through good and evil, and ‘opens the gate of intimacy (*uns*) and longing (*shawq*)’⁵² for them.

⁴⁵ Literally: burns, destroys by fire.

⁴⁶ [126] and [127].

⁴⁷ Rābi‘ī says: ‘God has to be the only goal for the lover who not only loves Him with his heart but all of whose limbs are hearts pointing to’ Him (*Dimensions*, p. 78). Similarly, al-Makkī here seems to emphasise that believers must devote themselves to God both externally and internally. Absolute submission to God can be achieved only after they coordinate the heart and the bodily members properly, and make all of them aim at Him only.

⁴⁸ The previous part of this verse is, «*He created him of dust, then He said unto him: Be! and he is*». Cf. ‘And God said, Let there be light: and there was light’ (Gn 1:3).

⁴⁹ See [123]–[125] for a description of evil inner aspiration.

⁵⁰ See [7].

⁵¹ Cf. Q. 91:8 which appears in [1].

⁵² These two concepts are discussed by many authors. See e.g. *Luma‘*, pp. 63–5 (on the state of *shawq*), 65–7 (on the state of *uns*) [Arabic]; *Risāla*, pp. 60–1 (on *hayba* and *uns*), 329–33 (on *shawq*).

[134] Al-Makkī emphasises that worshippers vary in their level of spiritual vision and religious certainty. This depends on the degree of their understanding of the meaning of good and evil, which the author summarises as follows:

The roots of the meanings of good and their centres are inspiration of the angel, casting into the soul and shedding lights into the books of belief and their sections of the hereafter. [This is] the knowledge of what was ordered by Him or [what] was designated for Him, and the permissible. The roots of the meanings of evil are their opposite. Their centres are the self and the enemy. Their causes are lust and desire. They appear from ignorance. They drop a veil and produce obstacles.

[135] Al-Makkī puts emphasis on the point that it is God who activates the soul. When the soul starts to shine in the heart, an angel will look at it and see ‘what God Most High founded in it’. It is stated that the case with the enemy is opposite to this. The connection between the enemy and the self is repeated.

[136] Al-Makkī finally shows a stark contrast between what believers should follow and what they should not follow.

The angel is moulded to guide and is disposed by nature for the love of obedience. Likewise, the enemy is moulded to seduce and is disposed by nature to love of disobedience.

The angel casts inspiration into the heart. This produces the six impulses,⁵³ which prompt believers in various ways. Al-Makkī insists that believers then have to improve their heart by God-fearingness and proper conduct. According to the author, ‘the angel looks at religious certainty as the enemy looks at the self’. When absolute certainty is confirmed by the angel, reason becomes finally inclined to the will of God. Believers can then, for the first time, trust the self, as the heart is relaxed now by achieving absolute certainty and the appearance of true knowledge. Al-Makkī ends this section as follows:

The power (p. 348) of absolute certainty will become strong through purity of faith. Darkness of desire will become included in the light of certainty, and the flame of lust will die down through the appearance of the light of belief. Belief is decorated with the embellishment of shame. Qualities of the self become weak because of the decline of lust, while the heart becomes strong through weakening of the self. Belief increases by the power of certainty and the appearance of the indication of knowledge. Then guidance overpowers through the utmost belief and the obscurity of shame. Obedience then appears due to the victory of the Truth, «*And God was predominant in his career, but most of mankind know not*» (12:21).

⁵³ See [21]–[28].

***List of the religious authorities and the Qur’anic verses in the extract
from Section 30 of the Qūt***

i. Religious authorities

| | |
|---|---------------------------------|
| Abu'l-Dardā' (d. ca. 32/652): | [68] (1 / 76) ⁵⁴ |
| Abū Hurayra (d. 598/678–9): | [12] (1 / 89) |
| Abū Kabshat al-Anmārī: | [14] (1 / 3) |
| Abū Muḥammad Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 283/896): | [51] [59] [115] (3 / 201) |
| Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī (d. 74/693): | [14] (1 / 29) |
| Abū Ṣāliḥ (d. 101/719–20): | [12] (1 / 8) |
| Abū Yazīd al-Bistāmī (d. 261/874 or 264/877–8): | [105] (1 / 26) |
| al-'Alā' b. Ziyād (d. 94/712–13): | [11] (1 / 3) |
| 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 40/661): | [55] [64] [65] [99] (4 / 192) |
| al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728): | [8] [91] (2 / 203) |
| Ḥudhayfa b. Ḥusayn al-Yamān (d. 36/657): | [14] [78] (2 / 39) |
| Ibn 'Abbās (d. 68/687): | [52] [64] [107] [111] (4 / 168) |
| Ibn Mas'ūd (d. 32/653): | [7] [97] (2 / 138) |
| Ibn 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (d. 73/693): | [60] (1 / 113) |
| 'Ikrima b. 'Abd Allāh (d. 105/723–4): | [10] (1 / 15) |
| Ja'far b. Burqān (d. ca. 165/782): | [13] (1 / 3) |
| Jarīr b. 'Abdat al-'Adwī: | [11] (1 / 1) |
| Maymūn b. Mahrān (d. 118/735–6): | [13] (1 / 7) |
| Mujāhid b. Jabr al-Makkī (d. 104/722): | [9] (1 / 47) |
| Ubayy b. Ka'b (d. between 19/640 and 35/656): | [58] (1 / 18) |
| 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (d. 23/644): | [72] [107] (2 / 173) |
| 'Uthmān b. Abi'l-'Āṣ (d. 51/671): | [4] (1 / 4) |
| Zayd b. Aslam (d. ca. 130/747): | [59] (1 / 10) |

ii. Qur’anic citations

| | | | |
|-------|------------|-------|-----------|
| 2:63 | [17] | 3:193 | [35] |
| 2:118 | [67] [109] | 4:34 | [81] |
| 2:187 | [17] | 4:119 | [3] |
| 2:268 | [1] | 4:122 | [15] [73] |
| 2:269 | [64] | 5:30 | [1] |
| 2:282 | [34] | 5:44 | [110] |
| 3:59 | [128] | 5:108 | [34] |
| 3:138 | [109] | 6:96 | [54] |
| 3:139 | [52] | 6:98 | [109] |

⁵⁴ The first number indicates the number of time(s) the name appears in this translation and the second number indicates the number of times in the whole *Qūt*, according to the index of the *Nahrung*.

| | | | |
|--------|-------|--------|----------------|
| 6:115 | [119] | 24:40 | [58] |
| 6:126 | [92] | 26:89 | [62] |
| 6:139 | [86] | 29:49 | [109] |
| 7:16–7 | [1] | 29:69 | [75] [86] [89] |
| 7:37 | [27] | 35:6 | [1] |
| 7:100 | [34] | 36:37 | [54] |
| 7:129 | [125] | 41:12 | [54] |
| 7:171 | [17] | 41:44 | [35] |
| 7:179 | [111] | 45:20 | [109] |
| 7:201 | [15] | 47:19 | [40] |
| 8:17 | [121] | 47:35 | [86] |
| 8:29 | [73] | 48:4 | [31] |
| 9:74 | [36] | 50:16 | [1] |
| 10:7 | [109] | 50:37 | [28] [33] |
| 11:14 | [40] | 51:49 | [17] |
| 11:20 | [33] | 53:35 | [32] |
| 11:24 | [33] | 58:11 | [52] |
| 11:34 | [33] | 58:19 | [1] |
| 12:21 | [136] | 63:7 | [110] |
| 13:28 | [31] | 65:2 | [74] |
| 15:75 | [67] | 65:3 | [74] |
| 16:90 | [98] | 66:4 | [36] |
| 18:102 | [32] | 82:6–7 | [17] |
| 20:50 | [27] | 82:14 | [49] |
| 21:23 | [119] | 82:16 | [49] |
| 21:79 | [64] | 83:14 | [12] |
| 22:4 | [27] | 85:22 | [59] |
| 22:46 | [37] | 91:7–8 | [1] |
| 22:52 | [107] | 95:4 | [17] |
| 23:88 | [120] | 114:4 | [1] [9] |
| 24:35 | [58] | | |

A summary of the rest of Section 30

The summarised translation above comprises the main part of Section 30 of the *Qūt*, and contains al-Makkī’s detailed discussion of the characteristics of the heart. In the rest of the section, al-Makkī repeats his argument in various different ways.

First, al-Makkī emphasises the relation between the angel, inspiration (*ilhām*) and goodness, and that between the enemy, temptation and evil. The former resides in the soul, while the latter in the self.⁵⁵ Al-Makkī then highlights the close

⁵⁵ *Qūt*, vol. 1, pp. 348–50.

connection of the heart with the treasures of the Hidden,⁵⁶ and condemns ignorance and desire.⁵⁷ The six impulses are elucidated once more,⁵⁸ and the distinctive differences between the angel and the enemy are stressed.⁵⁹

At the end of the section, al-Makkī gives special importance to the point that God tests the believer.⁶⁰ Al-Makkī then quotes several Qur'anic verses to finish Section 30, including: «... if God's will is to keep you astray. He is your Lord» (11:34);⁶¹ «And God's is the direction of the way, and some (roads) go not straight. And had He willed He would have led you all aright» (16:9). These verses summarise al-Makkī's argument that in the end it is God who decides. In the face of inescapable fate (*jabariyya*), stresses al-Makkī, God's servants must realise their own actual status. They will then be aware of their duties and strive to be obedient to God, because they now see the only way they can take is the complete surrender of themselves to the power of God.⁶²

The idea of the heart in Section 30 of the *Qūt*

Having exploring al-Makkī's spiritual teachings closely, this section first illustrates his idea of the heart as set out in Section 30 of the *Qūt*. A brief comparison is then made between his religious views on the heart and those of several other contemporary and later Muslim thinkers. After engaging with the symbolism of the heart in other religious traditions and in the early history of Sufism in [Chapter 2](#), this section attempts to contextualise the essential features of al-Makkī's doctrine on the heart.

The main arguments of Section 30 of the *Qūt*

In Section 30 of the *Qūt*, al-Makkī elucidates the major characteristics of the heart through describing six impulses (*khawāṭir*). Among these, the impulse of the self (*nafs*) and the impulse of the enemy ('*adū*) are to be blamed and avoided,⁶³ while the impulse of the soul (*rūh*) and the impulse of the angel (*malak*) are to be praised and sought.⁶⁴ The impulse of reason ('*aql*) can be either good or bad, depending on how the believer uses it.⁶⁵ The impulse of religious certainty (*yaqīn*) is the special impulse and the core of belief. It appears only by truth and is to be aspired to.⁶⁶

⁵⁶ Ibid., vol. 1, p. 351.

⁵⁷ Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 352–6.

⁵⁸ Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 356–8.

⁵⁹ Ibid., vol. 1, p. 358.

⁶⁰ Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 360–1.

⁶¹ From the previous verse: «Only God will bring it upon you if He will, and ye can by no means escape. My counsel will not profit you if I were minded to advise you, ...».

⁶² *Qūt*, vol. 1, p. 362.

⁶³ Ibid., vol. 1, p. 324 [21].

⁶⁴ Ibid., [22].

⁶⁵ Ibid., [23]–[27].

⁶⁶ Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 325–6 [28].

Concerning the use of reason, al-Makkī emphasises that it is the believer's choice to use it or not. Divine reward or punishment is in accordance with the level of the proper operation of intellect.⁶⁷ In other places, however, al-Makkī stresses that it is God's decision whose heart is to be guided to Him or led astray, highlighting the omnipotence of God.⁶⁸ From this particular argument, it might appear that al-Makkī downgrades human free will. However, he condemns unquestioned acceptance of belief⁶⁹ and keeps emphasising that this world is a test given by God. On the whole, al-Makkī seems to argue on the basis of the idea that believers always have choice and that they are always tested. Every heart has the Devil, warns al-Makkī, but the Devil's activity can be controlled by good deeds of the heart. It is therefore important not to weaken the heart by ignorance, inattention and attachment to trivial matters in this world.⁷⁰

First of all, believers have to make an effort to be on the right path to God, and then He decides whether He will lead them to true knowledge.⁷¹ In making this effort, believers should start by controlling their external actions.⁷² Al-Makkī, who never fails to emphasise the importance of outward conduct, states that one who possesses revealed knowledge of God should fully understand the meaning of the law. This person is discerning and can live in a praiseworthy way among people, without ostentation.⁷³ From this statement, it may be deduced that al-Makkī might have been in disfavour with some mystics who did not see much importance in conforming to society.

External deeds have to be in accordance with the internal activity of the heart, since the heart has a special connection with God. It is the place where God resides on earth.⁷⁴ As eyes see and ears hear, it is the heart which understands Divine quality. Belief is not words: it is what is firmly established in the heart. Al-Makkī stresses throughout Section 30 that external action is a sign which indicates soundness of the heart.⁷⁵

The root of good is connected with the angel, the soul, the Qur'ān and Sunna, and the knowledge of proper action in this world. The root of evil is, on the other hand, connected with the Devil, the self, lust, desire and ignorance of Divine guidance. These create a veil between the believer and God.⁷⁶ This is a test from God. The angel symbolises obedience and the right path to God, whereas the Devil represents disobedience and temptation. When religious certainty is achieved in the heart of the believer, lust and desire will disappear, and thus reason and the lower self will

⁶⁷ Ibid., vol. 1, p. 325 [25].

⁶⁸ Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 344 [121], 345–6 [126]–[127].

⁶⁹ Ibid., vol. 1, p. 326 [30].

⁷⁰ Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 344 [119]–[120], [122], 345 [124], 347 [132].

⁷¹ Ibid., vol. 1, p. 336 [75]; cf. p. 345 [126].

⁷² Ibid., vol. 1, p. 339 [88].

⁷³ Ibid., vol. 1, p. 341 [100].

⁷⁴ Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 333 [55], 334 [60].

⁷⁵ Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 340 [93], 343 [111].

⁷⁶ Ibid., vol. 1, p. 347 [134].

no longer be a hindrance. The utmost level of belief, stresses al-Makkī, is total obedience before the might of God. In order for the heart to point at God alone, believers simply have to let His power overcome them.⁷⁷ These are al-Makkī's main arguments in Section 30 of the *Qūt*.

Religious images of the heart

Based upon the Qur'ān, Ḥadīth and pious sayings, al-Makkī's views of the heart seem to be in the same line as those of the earlier figures in Islam seen in [Chapter 2](#), as well as those of the followers of other religious traditions. Section 30 appears to show that there has been a development of the spiritual image of the heart in Islam by the time of al-Makkī. However, most of those above-mentioned Sufis do not appear in the translated section. It should be mentioned that al-Makkī does not even refer to al-Muḥāsibī or al-Nūrī in this section, when one would assume that they are the authors most likely to be included on the matter of the heart.

For comparison, I would like to have a brief look at several religious authorities from al-Makkī's time and the following period. Among the writings on Sufism, for instance, al-Sarrāj states that religious law has both internal and external aspects: internal actions are the actions of hearts, and the science of interior actions (*'ilm a'māl al-bāṭin*), Sufism, is in accordance with the interior part of the body, namely, the heart.⁷⁸ The metaphor for the heart is also used by Hujwīrī, who asserts that his book is composed for 'polishers of hearts'.⁷⁹ Al-Qushayrī, in his explanation of Sufi terminologies, states that the heart and the soul (*rūh*) are the place for praiseworthy qualities, while the self (*nafs*) is for blameworthy ones.⁸⁰ He goes on to say, in a section on *sirr*,⁸¹ that, according to the Sufis, the *sirr* is more delicate (*aqlaf*) than the soul, and the soul is more exalted (*ashraf*) than the heart.⁸²

These authors do not have a separate section on the heart. From their overall argument, it seems that the spiritual image of the heart and its importance are already assumed and as a Sufi term it does not require further explanation. This might be because this metaphor is easily understood as discussed in [Chapter 2](#). In the light of this, it should be mentioned that al-Ghazālī included a section on the heart when he compiled the *Iḥyā'*. In Book 21, on the marvels of the heart (*'ajā'ib al-qalb*), al-Ghazālī states that he will elucidate internal knowledge (*al-'ilm al-bāṭin*) of the heart in this part of the book, after exploring external knowledge (*al-'ilm al-żāhir*), which consists of acts of devotion (*'ibādāt*) and the practices (*'ādāt*) of the bodily members, in the first half of his work.⁸³ In addition to the similarity between

⁷⁷ Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 346 [128], 347 [136], 362.

⁷⁸ *Luma'*, pp. 23–4 [Arabic].

⁷⁹ *Kashf*, p. 5.

⁸⁰ *Risāla*, p. 87.

⁸¹ Innermost part, a secret. According to Lane, *sirr* means a thing that is concealed, a secret action, the recesses of the mind, the secret thoughts (vol. 1, p. 1338).

⁸² *Risāla*, p. 88.

⁸³ *Iḥyā'*, vol. 2, p. 3.

the overall structure of the *Iḥyā*’ and the *Qūt*, Book 21 of the former indeed greatly reflects Section 30 of the latter.⁸⁴

Shukri states that al-Makkī’s idea of the heart has to be understood against the wider background of the Sufi concept of the heart.⁸⁵ Al-Makkī’s view on this matter, however, seems to be in accordance with the treatment of the heart in the Qur’ān in general. According to the Qur’ān, Divine revelation was sent down verbally and directly only to the Prophet. At the same time, it is also stated that all mankind has the capacity to interpret Divine signs. Living among His created beings, what humans have to do is to operate their spiritual organ, the heart, properly. The Qur’ān affirms that the heart is made to understand the hidden meanings of its verses.⁸⁶ This statement exactly echoes what we have seen in al-Makkī’s argument.

Due to this supreme position of the heart in the Qur’ān, various scholars in Islam highlight the significance of this organ. For instance, the Māturīdī school, which claimed that humans are capable of obtaining Divine knowledge as the Mu’tazilites did, emphasise that the heart is the locus (*mawḍi’*) of belief.⁸⁷ The prominent Islamic scholar Ibn Taymiyya also attaches great importance to the heart as being the root of belief. He divides the actions of the heart from those of the body, and asserts that it is the heart which loves and fears God.⁸⁸

As can be seen in the summarised translation, al-Makkī uses some terms which are claimed as Sufi terminology by, for instance, al-Sarrāj, al-Kalābādhī, Hujwīrī and al-Qushayrī. For example, the key term of Section 30, *khawāṭir* or sing. *khāṭir*, does not appear in the Qur’ān, and neither does the term *mushāhada*.⁸⁹ These terms should be understood as used among Sufis. At the same time, Section 30 does not demonstrate al-Makkī’s heavy reliance upon Sufi sayings. Considering the most esoteric topic treated in the *Qūt*, this section could have been more mystical. However, the term ‘Sufi’ does not even appear there. The annotated part confirms the suggestion that al-Makkī is a Qur’ān- and Ḥadīth-minded author, and that his book does not have to be understood exclusively within the framework of Sufism. The discussion about the symbolism of the heart in Chapter 2 further affirms the latter point.

⁸⁴ Near-verbatim passages can be seen in e.g. *Iḥyā*’, vol. 2, pp. 9–10 and *Qūt*, vol. 1, pp. 333–4 [55], [58]–[59]; *Iḥyā*’, vol. 2, pp. 22–3 where al-Ghazālī seems to rearrange some passages of the *Qūt* from vol. 1, pp. 339 [92], 334 [64], 335 [68], [67], 339 [91], 340 [95] and 342 [107] (in this order).

⁸⁵ Shukri, p. 149.

⁸⁶ *God and Man*, pp. 136–8.

⁸⁷ *EP*, s.vv. ‘al-Māturīdī’, ‘Māturīdīyya’ (W. Madelung); *Theology*, pp. 130–4.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 74–5, 170, 173–4.

⁸⁹ See the footnote of the title of Sec. 30 and the footnote of [41].

5 Contemporaries of al-Makkī

As contemporaries of al-Makkī, Shukri enumerates seven figures, and this seems to be the only study that attempts to locate al-Makkī within the context of the history of early Sufism.¹ These are Abu'l-Hasan al-Ḥuṣrī (d. 371/981–2), Muḥammad Ibn Khafīf al-Shīrāzī (d. 371/981–2), Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāj (d. 378/988), Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl (known as Ibn Sam'ūn) (d. 380/990), 'Alī b. 'Umar Dār Qutnī (d. 385/995), Abū Bakr al-Kalābādhī (d. ca. 385/995) and 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn Baṭṭā (d. 387/997). Although it is not entirely clear what criteria were used for selecting these figures, it appears that they were all prominent in the field of Sufism and Tradition over a span of sixteen years between 371/981–2 and 387/997, al-Makkī dying in 386/996. Not all of them were active in Mecca or present-day Iraq, where al-Makkī was, and there seems to be no evidence to indicate al-Makkī's possible encounter with these figures.²

This chapter will compare the *Qūṭ* with two contemporary treatises, *Kitāb luma' fi'l-taṣawwuf* ('The Book of Sparkling Lights in Sufism') by al-Sarrāj, and *Kitāb al-ta'arruf li-madhab ahl al-taṣawwuf* ('The Book of Acquaintance with the Path of Sufis') by al-Kalābādhī. Modern-day studies of Sufism often treat al-Sarrāj and al-Kalābādhī as contemporaries of al-Makkī and regard these three as the earliest authors of encyclopaedic Sufi treatises.³ In Karamustafa's list of 'major Sufi manuals and biographical compilations', for example, these three authors' works appear as the earliest extant treatises.⁴ Schimmel describes their 'theoretical books on the tenets and doctrines of Sufism' as the earliest writings in this genre,⁵ and, as discussed later, Nicholson often compares al-Sarrāj with al-Makkī in his edition of the former's work, as does Arberry in his translation of al-Kalābādhī's treatise.

There had been many Sufi writings before them, for instance by al-Ḥārith al-Muḥāsibī (d. 243/857), Abū Sa'īd al-Kharrāz (d. ca. 286/899), al-Ḥākim

¹ Shukri, pp. 34–8.

² These figures do not appear in the *Qūṭ* or the *'Ilm*, with a single exception of al-Husrī who is quoted in the latter once on the matter of *ikhlāṣ* (*'Ilm*, p. 158).

³ See e.g. Khalil, pp. 8–10.

⁴ *Sufism (K)*, p. 84.

⁵ *Dimensions*, pp. 84–5.

al-Tirmidhī (d. ca. 300/910), Ḥusayn b. Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj (d. 309/922) and so on. However, unlike these early writings, which often took the form of monologues, the Sufi literature produced between the late fourth/tenth and the early sixth/twelfth centuries generally shows an attempt to be as comprehensive as possible in the description of Sufism. This span of approximately one and half centuries is sometimes called a period of ‘the systematisation of the Sufi tradition’,⁶ when great efforts were expended to make Sufism accessible to those who were not familiar with mystical ways of thinking. During this time, many Sufi manuals and hagiographies were compiled,⁷ and the writings of al-Sarrāj, al-Kalābādhī and al-Makkī are often presented as the earliest mystical treatises to aim primarily at the theorisation of Sufi ideas. In the light of this, this chapter examines al-Sarrāj and al-Kalābādhī and sets out the characteristics and main arguments of their treatises in comparison with those in al-Makkī’s work.⁸

Al-Sarrāj and *Luma ‘fi’l-taṣawwuf*: the pseudo and the genuine Sufi

Al-Sarrāj, a native of Tūṣ in Khurāsān, is the author of *Kitāb al-luma ‘fi’l-taṣawwuf*, a modern edition of which was first published in 1914 by Nicholson with an abstract of its contents.⁹ The *Luma ‘fi’l-taṣawwuf* seems to be the only extant book of al-Sarrāj.¹⁰ The aim of this treatise, which is clearly stated at the outset, is to elucidate the nature of Sufism through a description of the main arguments of past Sufi masters, the basis of ‘their doctrine (*madhhab*), their traditions, their poems, their questions and answers’, and their unique use of symbols and expressions.¹¹ Al-Sarrāj urges his reader to be

⁶ *Mysticism*, p. 116. Knysh also describes this period as the ‘construction and consolidation of the Sufi tradition’ (*ibid.*).

⁷ Nicholson lists these treatises: *al-Luma ‘fi’l-taṣawwuf* by al-Sarrāj, *al-Ta ‘arruf li-madhhab ahl al-taṣawwuf* by al-Kalābādhī, *Qūṭ al-qulūb* by al-Makkī, *Tabaqāt al-ṣūfiyya* by al-Sulamī, *Hilyat al-awliyā’* by Abū Nu’aym, *Risāla* by al-Qushayrī, *Kashf al-mahjūb* by al-Hujwīrī and *Tādhkirat al-awliyā’* by Aṭṭār (*Luma ‘fi’l-taṣawwuf*, pp. i–ii).

⁸ As for the rest of the figures whom Shukri enumerates; regarding al-Ḥusrī, see al-Sulamī, *Tabaqāt al-ṣūfiyya*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1960, pp. 516–22; Ibn Khafīf: *El²*, s.v. (J.C. Vadet); Ibn Sam’ūn: Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fi’l-ta’rīkh*, Cairo: Idārat al-Ṭibā’at al-Muniriyya, 1929, vol. 9, p. 97, *Muntazam*, vol. 7, p. 193; Dār Qutnī: *Muntazam*, vol. 7, pp. 183–5, *Ibar*, vol. 3, pp. 28–9; Ibn Baṭṭā: *El²*, s.v. (H. Laoust). Among them, it might be worth mentioning that Ibn Khaffīf was a notable Sufi master, also known as al-Shaykh al-Shīrāzī, whose works are mostly lost, but some of them are listed as Sufi manuals in the same period as al-Makkī by Karamustafa (*Sufism (K)*, p. 86). Regarding Ibn Baṭṭā, a prominent Ḥanbālī jurist, al-Azjī states that he narrates Ḥadīth from both al-Makkī and Ibn Baṭṭā (*Muntazam*, vol. 7, pp. 193–4). As mentioned above, no evidence seems to have been found so far which indicates a possible personal link between them and al-Makkī.

⁹ The lacunae of this edition are published as *Pages from the Kitāb al-luma ‘fi’l-taṣawwuf of Abū Nasr al-Sarrāj*, ed. Arberry, London: Luzac, 1947. A German translation includes both, with a correction of Nicholson’s text: *Schlagrichter über das Sufitum*, trans. Gramlich, Stuttgart: Freiburger Islamstudien, 1990.

¹⁰ Cf. *GAL*, SI, p. 359.

¹¹ *Luma ‘fi’l-taṣawwuf*, p. 2 [Arabic].

‘sensible (*‘āqil*)¹² and to differentiate the genuine Sufis from those who dress, act and write like them.

In his time, continues al-Sarrāj, these pseudo-Sufis heavily outnumber true Sufis. However, the latter are the ones whose hearts God revivified (*ahyā*), whose innermost parts (*asrār*) God purified (*tahhara*),¹³ and whose principles and methods must not be confused with those of false Sufis who twist the true meanings of pious sayings and mislead people by their ostentatious words and deeds.¹⁴ From this statement, the target audience of the *Luma*‘ can be deduced to be those who misunderstand Sufism due to the existence of the fake Sufis, and al-Sarrāj attempts to explain the true meaning of Sufism and to clarify Sufi terminologies.

The *Luma*‘ is a well-organised book. It consists of approximately 150 chapters (*abwāb*, sing. *bāb*), which are arranged into thirteen sections (lit. books, *kutub*, sing. *kitāb*). In the introductory section (Chs 1–6, pp. 4–15 [Arabic], [henceforth Chs 1–6, 4–15]), al-Sarrāj divides the *‘ulamā‘* into three categories, the Traditionists (*ashāb al-hadīth*), the jurists (*fuqahā‘*) and the Sufis, and explains the distinguishing characteristics of Sufism in comparison with the former two types of scholars in order to locate Sufism in Islam.¹⁵ This is followed by the etymology of the term ‘Sufism (*sūfiyya*)’ (Ch. 10, 20–1) and the description of the inner science (*‘ilm al-bāti‘*), i.e. Sufism (Ch. 12, 23–4), and its nature (Chs 13–14, 24–8).

After this lead-in, al-Sarrāj provides definitions of mystical terminologies, such as *tawhīd* (Ch. 15, 28–35), gnosis (*ma‘rifa*) (Chs 16–18, 35–41), religious stations (*maqāmāt*, sing. *maqām*) and states (*ahwāl*, sing. *hāl*) (Sec. 1, 41–72). Towards the end, al-Sarrāj includes sections on obscure Sufi terms (Sec. 11, 333–74), and the proper interpretation of ecstatic expressions (*shāthīyāt*) which seem to be abominable (*mustashni‘*) (Sec. 12, 375–436). The *Luma*‘ ends with explanations of the Sufi way of manners and understanding, and the true essence behind its apparent meanings.

This kind of arrangement is not found in the *Qūt*. Al-Makkī provides no chapter on a definition of Sufism, a clear comparison of Sufis with the other types of *‘ulamā‘* or an interpretation of their apparent heretical utterances. Al-Sarrāj’s approach has made some scholars consider the *Luma*‘ to be apologetic,¹⁶ while others state that this is the sign of his ‘confidence’ in the Islamic root of Sufism,¹⁷ as al-Sarrāj believes that true Sufis are not only in ‘complete conformity with Islamic orthodoxy’ but more importantly they are the ‘spiritual élite’.¹⁸ This seems to be a question of perception and, although this is not the place to explore this issue further, al-Sarrāj’s way of argument appears to show his organisational skill rather than being an apology or justification.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid., p. 3 [Arabic].

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 4 [Arabic].

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 5 [Arabic].

¹⁶ E.g. ibid., p. v [introduction by Nicholson]; *Mysticism*, p. 120.

¹⁷ *Sufism* (K), p. 68.

¹⁸ *EP*², s.v. ‘al-Sarrādj’ (P. Lory).

Despite this difference in arrangement, the main similarity between the *Luma'* and the *Qūt* can be found in their approach. As stated at the beginning, al-Sarrāj believes that knowledge and understanding can be found only 'in the book of God ..., what is handed down from the Prophet of God ... and what has been revealed to the hearts of those close to God (*awliyā'*)'.¹⁹ In the elucidation of various Sufi doctrines, al-Sarrāj supports his argument by citing the Qur'ān, Ḥadīth and the words of pious predecessors. The same idea can also be seen in the *Qūt*. This technique, however, is not something distinctive to the two books: it can also be seen in much Sufi (or Islamic) literature. The distinguishing characteristic that is common to the two is their descriptiveness, as manifest in their attempts to explain religious ideas in an almost pedagogic way, and their comprehensiveness, as both discuss a wide range of the spiritual aspects of Islam. (Although Nicholson states that the *Luma'* does not have 'a systematic and exhaustive analysis of mystical doctrines' as the *Qūt* does,²⁰ it should be mentioned that the former is much shorter than the latter.)

These shared characteristics, however, also reveal their dissimilarity, which might be a reflection of their separate objectives. As clearly stated in the title of the *Qūt*, its target audience is those who would like to follow the path which leads to God. In view of its explanatory character, on the other hand, the *Luma'* could also be for Sufi novices; however, its original intended readers are those who misunderstand Sufism, as explained in the introduction.

This different position can be clearly found in their treatment of external actions. In the first chapter, al-Sarrāj emphasises the importance of the combination of knowledge and action, since 'knowledge is joined with action and action is joined with sincere devotion (*ikhlāṣ*)',²¹ which requires believers to have God alone as the goal (*wajh Allāh*) of their life in their knowledge and action.²² However, al-Sarrāj does not provide detailed accounts of actions which could be carried out in everyday life, whereas the *Qūt* is full of this kind of practical description.

On the whole, although the *Luma'* contains extensive discussions of mystical vocabulary, this treatise is not for those who would like to have practical guidance on how to become a Sufi or a good believer, since the way it covers mystical ideas is aimed at those who do not know them well, not those who would like to carry them out. This quality of practicality keeps the *Luma'* apart from the *Qūt*. (Considering this, Shukri's statement that the *Luma'* was composed 'with the same objective' as the *Qūt* sounds implausible.)²³

The last issue that is worth mentioning in regard to al-Sarrāj is his connection with al-Sālimiyya. According to Nicholson, among approximately 200 citations in

¹⁹ *Luma'*, pp. 1–2 [Arabic].

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. viii.

²¹ This term, which can also be translated as 'purification of faith', is an important Qur'anic concept. For a detailed discussion, see *'Ilm*, Ch. 6 on *ikhlāṣ*. Cf. *Concepts*, p. 192; *God and Man*, pp. 102–3.

²² *Luma'*, p. 6 [Arabic].

²³ Shukri, p. 34.

the *Luma'*, forty sayings are first-hand.²⁴ One of them is from Ahmād b. Muḥammad Ibn Sālim (d. 356/967), a leader of al-Sālimiyya. It is clear from the *Luma'* that al-Sarrāj had a strong connection with Ibn Sālim: he attended Ibn Sālim's gathering (*majlis*) and cites a large number of his sayings. Nicholson concludes that al-Sarrāj was not a member of al-Sālimiyya; however, he admits that Ibn Sālim and his theological group had a strong influence on al-Sarrāj's mystical thoughts.²⁵

There is no description of al-Makkī in the *Luma'*, and al-Sarrāj does not appear in the *Qūt* (or the *'Ilm*). Although Knysh states that al-Makkī went to Baghdad to 'study with al-Sarrāj',²⁶ and Abdel-Kader claims that he studied 'under' al-Sarrāj,²⁷ no sources are given and it seems impossible to determine whether there was interaction between the two. Although we do not know when they carried out their writing, a plausible timing would be after they had personal contact with the Sālimiyya school, due to the frequent appearance of Ibn Sālim in their works. What can be conjectured so far is that their surviving treatises were probably composed in the same intellectual milieu, or soon after they shared it.

Al-Kalābādhī and *al-Ta 'arruf li-madhhab ahl al-taṣawwuf*: misconception about Sufism and the true path to God

Another important contemporary of al-Makkī is al-Kalābādhī, whose fame lies in one of his two extant books, *Kitāb al-ta 'arruf li-madhhab ahl al-taṣawwuf*,²⁸ a renowned Sufi textbook. A complete translation (based on manuscripts) was published by Arberry in 1935, and the Arabic text was edited by 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd and Tāhā 'Abd al-Bāqī Surūr in 1960. The aim of *al-Ta 'arruf* and its intended readership are clearly stated in the preface. According to al-Kalābādhī, he attempts to elucidate the characteristic of the Sufi way and to refute its false image and 'the evil interpretation (*sū' ta 'wīl*) of the ignorant' in connection with Sufis; at the same time, he wrote his treatise for those who would like to follow God's path (*tarīq*) and are 'in need of God Most High in order to attain His reality'.²⁹

The seventy-five chapters of *al-Ta 'arruf* can be divided into five sections.³⁰ After praising Sufis for their 'ears being attentive (*wā'īya*), their innermost parts (*asrār*)

²⁴ *Luma'*, pp. xii, xxii.

²⁵ Ibid., pp. x–xi, xix–xx. Cf. Böwering, who mentions 'the divergences of opinion' between al-Sarrāj and Ibn Sālim regarding the utterances of al-Bistāmī (*Vision*, p. 96).

²⁶ *Mysticism*, p. 121.

²⁷ Abdel-Kader, introduction to *al-Junayd*, p. xiv. He also says al-Makkī went to Basra after Baghdad, which contradicts all other statements.

²⁸ The other work is a commentary on Traditions, entitled *Bahr al-fawā' id fī ma 'ānī al-akhbār*; cf. *GAL*, vol. 1, p. 217.

²⁹ *Ta 'arruf*, p. 20.

³⁰ As Arberry does (*Doctrine*, pp. xv–xvii); cf. Nwyia, who divides the book into three (*EF²*, s.v. 'al-Kalābādhī').

pure' but 'their qualities (*nu 'ūt*) concealed',³¹ al-Kalābādhī provides the etymology of Sufism and enumerates famous Sufis and authors of Sufi books (Chs 1–4, 21–33). The next section (Chs 5–30, 33–86) explores the Sufi way of understanding the central tenets of Islam, such as *tawhīd*, the attributes of God (*sifāt*), the Qur'ān and predestination (*qadar*). These true Sufi doctrines are the ones that he has 'verified (*tahaqqqa*)' from what he has studied.³² Most of the chapters in this section begin with the expression, 'Sufis were agreed ...',³³ and the objective of this section seems to be to show the conformity of Sufism with Islam.

From the following section onwards, al-Kalābādhī starts to elucidate what is particular to Sufis in their expressions.³⁴ The third section (Chs 31–51, 86–111) discusses the religious states (*ahwāl*) and the seventeen mystical stations (*maqāmāt*), starting with repentance (*tawba*) and ending with love (*maḥabba*). The next section (Chs 52–63, 111–41) elucidates technical terms (*iṣṭilāḥāt*) that are used among Sufis but not by others. According to al-Kalābādhī, although these words are 'inadequate (*maqṣūra*)' to express the real nature of mystical states, they are 'widely known (*mashhūra*)'³⁵ among those who have experienced these conditions.³⁶ The meanings of mystical ecstasy (*wajh*), intoxication (*sukr*), passing away (*fanā*) and remaining (*baqā*), gnosis (*ma 'rifa*),³⁷ *tawhīd*, etc. are explored in this section. The last part of *al-Ta 'arruf* (Chs 64–75, 141–61) analyses matters arising mainly from the relation between God and Sufis, including various types of God's favour and grace which are given to them. After al-Kalābādhī's attempt to attest that Sufis are the true worshippers of God, the book ends without any particular concluding remarks.

According to al-Kalābādhī, Sufis bring together various types of inherited knowledge ('ulūm al-mawārīth) and acquired knowledge ('ulūm al-iktisāb), and their way of understanding is obtained through a combination of the 'Hadīth, jurisprudence (*fiqh*), Kalām, linguistics (*lughā*) and Qur'anic science'.³⁸ As can be seen in the writings of al-Sarrāj and al-Makkī, *al-Ta 'arruf* is full of citations from Qur'anic verses, Traditions and religious sayings in order to elucidate Sufi doctrines. This usual method of citing canonical sources validates the ideas expressed and consequently, as was the case with the *Luma'*, al-Kalābādhī's work is sometimes considered to be 'frankly apologetic'.³⁹

³¹ *Ta 'arruf*, p. 20.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 85.

³³ E.g. Ch. 5: *ijtama 'at al-ṣūfiyya*; Chs 6, 9, 11, 13: *ajma 'ū* (*ibid.*, pp. 33, 35, 39, 42, 44). Occasionally, a chapter begins with *ikhtalafū* (e.g. Chs. 7, 8; *ibid.*, pp. 37, 39) when there are various opinions among Sufis.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

³⁵ Arberry translates this as 'fully understood', but this might be slightly too strong (*Doctrine*, p. 104).

³⁶ *Ta 'arruf*, p. 111.

³⁷ As Arberry mentions, it seems that Chs 21–2 on gnosis should be placed in this section (*Doctrine*, p. xvi).

³⁸ *Ta 'arruf*, p. 33.

³⁹ *Sufism (A)*, p. 69; cf. *El²*, s.v. 'al-Kalābādhī' (P. Nwyia). Knysh seems to follow Arberry's argument (*Mysticism*, p. 123).

Karamustafa, however, argues that although he finds *al-Ta 'arruf* ‘somewhat prosaic’, he underlines the author’s effort to introduce Sufism to his native people in Transoxania who were not well acquainted with this phenomenon.⁴⁰ This point might be important in understanding this work. The life of al-Kalābādhī is almost unknown, but his *nisba* indicates his native town to be Kalābādh, ‘a quarter of Bukhārā’, where he was buried.⁴¹ His social environment must have been very different from that of al-Sarrāj and al-Makkī, who were in the centre of Islamic civilisation and the Sufi movement of the time. As stated in the preface, al-Kalābādhī studied Sufism mainly through reading,⁴² which can be also assumed from his lists of Sufi writings in Chapters 3 and 4. *Al-Ta 'arruf*, on the whole, takes a highly theoretical approach and seems to be a collection of mystics’ sayings, rather than containing the author’s own arguments. This is significantly different from the impressions we receive from the *Qūt*,⁴³ and might reflect the different intentions and social milieu of the authors.

Concerning the issue of apologetics, Karamustafa states that ‘after all, there were *no* approaches ... in this early phase of Islamic history whose credentials [and] authenticity ... were *not* debated’.⁴⁴ Al-Kalābādhī claims at the beginning that he compiled his work in order to provide proper information on Sufism, and, in the view of the fact that the major Sufis were active many miles away from where he lived, his statement sounds plausible. *Al-Ta 'arruf* was widely read among Sufis, highly esteemed after the *Qūt* and al-Qushayrī’s *Risāla*, and a number of commentaries were made on it.⁴⁵ If this treatise contained only a defensive justification of Sufism, it would have been unlikely to have received this treatment.

In comparison with the *Qūt*, which explores both the theory and practice of Sufism, *al-Ta 'arruf* lacks the second element, as was also the case with the *Luma'*. Al-Kalābādhī does not dismiss the importance of action and quotes a Sufi saying that ‘piety (*ta 'abbud*) is the performance (*ityān*) of what God imposed as duty (*wājib*)’.⁴⁶ However, the main focus of his book is on spiritual performance (which provides a good introduction to Sufism, as he hopes that his work can serve for novices), while the application of the Sufi theories is not covered.

Al-Makkī is not mentioned in *al-Ta 'arruf* and al-Kalābādhī does not appear in the *Qūt* (or the *'Ilm*) either. This itself does not say much on the issue of a possible personal interaction between al-Makkī and al-Kalābādhī, since al-Kalābādhī explains, after enumerating the names of notable Sufis, that he has not mentioned anybody close to or in his own time, though he is mindful of numerous

⁴⁰ *Sufism (K)*, p. 70.

⁴¹ *Doctrine*, p. xi.

⁴² *Ta 'arruf*, p. 20.

⁴³ Cf. Arberry states that the *Qūt* contains ‘somewhat more of careful argument’ but ‘somewhat less of curious quotation’ (*Sufism (A)*, p. 68).

⁴⁴ *Sufism (K)*, p. 70.

⁴⁵ Among others, Arberry mentions commentaries by Ansārī and Qunawī, and states that al-Suyūṭī cites al-Kalābādhī extensively (*Sufism (A)*, p. 69). Cf. *Doctrine*, pp. xii–xiii; *GAL*, SI, p. 360.

⁴⁶ *Ta 'arruf*, p. 141.

contemporary mystics.⁴⁷ Knysh discusses al-Kalābādhī's approving attitude towards Iraqi-style Sufism,⁴⁸ and Karamustafa claims that *al-Ta 'arruf* reveals al-Kalābādhī's familiarity with al-Sarrāj's *Luma'* due to the similarity between their introductions.⁴⁹ Despite his acquaintance with Sufism, al-Kalābādhī does not seem to have associated himself with any Sufi masters and, as Karamustafa points out, his writing has a 'curiously "academic"' style and gives the impression that his understanding of Sufism is at an intellectual level and does not come from his own mystical experience.⁵⁰ In the light of this, coupled with the lack of evidence of al-Kalābādhī's westbound or al-Makkī's eastbound journeys, the possibility that there was a personal encounter between these two figures seems to be slim.

As mentioned at the beginning, al-Sarrāj and al-Kalābādhī are often treated as contemporaries of al-Makkī in the sense that their writings are considered as early 'Sufi manuals'.⁵¹ We should be now in a position to evaluate whether this statement is appropriate, after examining both the similarities and differences in their works. Among the various aspects that have been studied (namely: aim, intended readership, structure, approach and topics), the aim and the target audiences seem to be more important than the rest here, since resemblance in the structure and themes should be contextualised and understood through the intention of the writers.

The significant difference in the target readerships of the *Qūt*, the *Luma'* and *al-Ta 'arruf* concerns whether Sufis (novices or not) are originally included. From the title and the contents, the *Qūt* seems to be written for those who would like to follow, or have already started to lead, a religious way of life (which could also be called a Sufi way of life). This can also be verified by the coverage of practical information and, in the light of this guiding feature, the *Qūt* should be considered as a moral instruction book which could also be used as a Sufi manual.

The *Luma'* and *al-Ta 'arruf*, on the other hand, seem to manifest more compendium characteristics. Their main target audience is those who have misunderstood Sufism and are not acquainted with its true meaning. Due to their comprehensiveness, both works can be used as a guide for novices, as al-Kalābādhī hopes; however, the design of the books is not originally intended for them. It might be also worth mentioning that the *Luma'* and *al-Ta 'arruf* have the term 'Sufism (*taṣawwuf*)' in their titles, while the *Qūt* does not. This could also support the argument that the former two books are written especially for non-Sufis.

Although the motivations of al-Makkī, al-Sarrāj and al-Kalābādhī vary, the fact that their writings present wide-ranging discussions that have been widely read among later Sufis makes it understandable that they are often classified in the same category as the authors of Sufi manuals. However, it is important to note the

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 33.

⁴⁸ *Mysticism*, pp. 123–4.

⁴⁹ *Sufism (K)*, p. 69.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ *Sufism (K)*, p. 84.

different objectives among them and their varied treatment of Sufism. In the *Luma'* and *al-Ta'arruf*, Sufism is presented as one of the Islamic sciences and an effort is made to show not only its conformity with Islam but also its excellence within it.⁵² In the *Qūt*, on the other hand, the aim is mainly to encourage or warn the reader to be a true worshipper of God, and pages are spent on the description of the actual practices of a moral believer, rather than the definition and origin of Sufism in Islam.⁵³

It should also be considered whether al-Makkī, al-Sarrāj and al-Kalābādhī were actually Sufis or presented themselves as such. Although they often appear in the study of Sufism and their writings are generally classified as Sufi treatises, as the famous examples of al-Ghazālī's *Maqāsid al-falāsifa* ('The Aims of the Philosophers') and *Tahāfut al-falāsifa* ('The Incoherence of the Philosophers') remind us,⁵⁴ it is not a necessary condition for giving an analysis of a matter, that the writer be a practitioner or supporter.

Gramlich argues that although al-Makkī's association with the Sālimiyya school contributed to the idea that al-Makkī was a Sufi, he does not describe himself as such and he barely uses the term 'Sufi'; instead he often refers to 'worshippers ('ubbād)', 'the poor (*fuqarā'*)', 'those possessing gnosis ('ārifūn)', 'those who have reached *tawhīd* (*mutawahhidūn*)' and so on. Gramlich concludes that not all advocates of al-Sālimiyya were mystics, with an implication that al-Makkī was not a Sufi.⁵⁵

The basis of Gramlich's conclusion that al-Makkī was probably not a Sufi, however, does not rule out the possibility that al-Makkī actually was one. Al-Makkī puts great effort into illustrating moral practices in Islam. This could be considered an indication that he himself takes a practical approach to his own belief, not only a theoretical one, given that belief in experiential knowledge is one of the characteristics of Sufism.

Ibn Khallikān mentions al-Makkī's ascetic practices,⁵⁶ al-Yāfi'i reports his later spiritual enlightenment⁵⁷ and Ibn al-Jawzī gives a mythical account of his death.⁵⁸ This would indicate that al-Makkī was considered by his associates, or at least by those who lived not long after him, to be a diligent worshipper with esoteric knowledge. His deathbed scene especially, which echoes a story in the *Qūt*,⁵⁹ adds credibility to the idea that al-Makkī was remembered as a Sufi.

⁵² E.g. *Luma'*, pp. 4–11, esp. p. 10 [Arabic]; *Ta'arruf*, pp. 33–86.

⁵³ See the summary of the *Qūt* in Ch. 2.

⁵⁴ The former is usually considered to be clearer than any writings by the 'philosophers themselves' (Watt, *Islamic Philosophy and Theology*, Edinburgh: EUP, 2003, p. 90) and the latter was written to refute philosophers' views, but the clarity of his argument made the Latin world believe that he himself was a philosopher (cf. Nasr, *Islamic Philosophy from its Origin to the Present*, Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2006, p. 113).

⁵⁵ *Nahrung*, vol. 1, p. 13; Gramlich argues that 'nicht die Aussagen, die ihn unter die Sufis einreihen, decken sich mit Makkīs eigenen Worten' but 'er selbst hat sich nicht als Sufi bezeichnet'.

⁵⁶ *Wafāyāt*, vol. 4, pp. 303–4.

⁵⁷ Al-Yāfi'i, *Mir'āt al-janān*, vol. 2, p. 430.

⁵⁸ *Muntażam*, vol. 7, pp. 189–90.

⁵⁹ *Qūt*, vol. 2, pp. 637–8; see Ch. 1 for the life of al-Makkī.

It is hard to know, however, whether al-Makkī regarded himself as a Sufi, as he is not explicit about this. His writing and his association with al-Sālimiyya does not contradict the possibility of his mystical orientation. It should be also pointed out that it is not clear either whether the Sālimiyya can be simply called a Sufi group, as Massignon argues that the main concern of the group is *zuhd* and its followers were never explicitly considered as Sufis in the early sources.⁶⁰ What could be concluded here is that although al-Makkī's spiritual orientation might have been the product of his earnest religious practices, it seems to have been enough for the later biographers to deem him a Sufi.

To a certain extent, the same might be the case with his contemporaries, al-Sarrāj and al-Kalābādhī. Hujwīrī reports al-Sarrāj's ascetic lifestyle,⁶¹ and Nicholson relates another story of al-Sarrāj who was 'seized with ecstasy and threw himself ... upon a blazing fire' but no damage was done.⁶² Despite these few accounts showing al-Sarrāj's ascetic and mystical tendency, his work gives the impression, as Karamustafa argues, that the author is principally a 'scholar' rather than a Shaykh, and the *Luma'* is his 'survey' of Sufism.⁶³ Al-Sarrāj's research is carried out through his collection of Sufi sayings, drawn indirectly from written sources and directly from his acquaintance with notable Sufis of his time. The result of his examination provides a good overview of the history and theories of Sufism, but it lacks practical aspects.

Al-Kalābādhī pushes this tendency further in his *Ta'arruf*. Most of his information comes from reading and his study succeeds in producing an 'authoritative written guide' to Sufism,⁶⁴ as he intended, but again lacks practicality. At this moment, it seems impossible to know whether al-Kalābādhī was a Sufi, not only because his life is shrouded in mystery, but also because it is simply difficult to assess a person's spiritual orientation. However, his treatise on Sufism and his almost objective way of treating this subject give the impression that he was, like al-Sarrāj, a scholarly type rather than a Sufi master. Even so, the fact that their writings are a good introduction to Sufi doctrines was enough for them to be considered Sufi writers later on.

Shukri argues that al-Makkī's work does not manifest an apologetic nature, unlike his two contemporaries' treatises.⁶⁵ However, as shown above, these three figures have different aims in their writing and probably adopted varied approaches to Sufism in their lives. In point of objective, structure and main topics, the *Luma'* and *al-Ta'arruf* show more resemblance to each other than the *Qūt*, with the former two being scholarly works on Sufism, while the *Qūt* is a moral guide full of warnings and sermons. Categorising al-Makkī, al-Sarrāj and al-Kalābādhī as Sufis and classifying their work as Sufi manuals might not be completely on the wrong path, but seems to be too simplistic and could be misleading.

⁶⁰ *EP*², s.v. 'Sālimiyya' (L. Massignon).

⁶¹ *Kashf*, p. 323.

⁶² *Luma'*, pp. iv–v.

⁶³ *Sufism (K)*, p. 69. Melchert also describes al-Sarrāj as a collector of Sufi sayings who 'may have been something of an outside observer' ('Khargūshī, *Tahdhīb al-asrār*', *BSOAS* 73, no. 1, 2010, p. 31).

⁶⁴ *Sufism (K)*, p. 71.

⁶⁵ Shukri, p. 324.

6 The influence of al-Makkī, part 1

Chapters 6 and 7 discuss al-Makkī and his work in pre-modern Muslim scholarship, from his time to the twelfth/eighteenth century, through an exploration of the way in which al-Makkī appears in Islamic literature, what kind of influence he exerts and what sort of criticism he receives. Chapter 6 will examine how al-Makkī is treated (or not treated) in works on Sufism and other religious sciences. Despite the great debt of notable writers on Sufism to the *Qūt*, well-known medieval Sufi hagiographies make no reference to al-Makkī. As al-Makkī's major work, the *Qūt*, heavily relies on Ḥadīth rather than Sufi sayings as we have seen, this chapter will secondly explore major biographical dictionaries and Ḥadīth literary works.

In order to study the extensive attention given to Islamic piety in al-Makkī's writing, Chapter 7 will focus on al-Makkī's influence on four notable Ḥanbalī scholars who left literary works which mention al-Makkī in the fields of Kalām, Sufism, polemics, Ḥadīth, historiography and law. An exploration of the treatment of al-Makkī by those Ḥanbalī thinkers also reveals the complexity of the Sufi–Ḥanbalī relationship. This may challenge the general estimations that Ḥanbalī scholars are simply hostile towards Sufism due to its heretical views of the Divine and its religious practices.

The accounts of al-Makkī are widely scattered and it is also an aim of the present study to collate these materials to establish the basis on which further study can be hopefully developed.¹ Additional important sources, which do not fall into these categories, are also studied in Chapter 6, especially when they do not seem to have

¹ A chronological list of most of the materials treated in Chs 6 and 7 can be found in Appendix X of my thesis (Yazaki, pp. 342–3). Lists of historical accounts about al-Makkī can also be found in Amin, pp. 20–7 (the same information is presented in his article ('al-Makkī', pp. 75–6)); *Nahrung*, vol. 1, p. 11 (a list of the references), pp. 11–21 (several more materials are found in the notes throughout); *Qūt* (2005), p. 6; *Ta rīkh* (381), p. 127 n. 1; *GAL*, vol. 1, p. 217; *ibid.*, SI, p. 359; *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 666; *Kahhāla*, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifin tarājim muṣannifī al-kutub al-'Arabiyya*, Beirut: Dār al-Hibā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī, 1957, vol. 11, pp. 27–8; *al-Ziriklī*, *al-A'lām qāmūs tarājim li-ashhur al-rijāl wa'l-nisā' min al-'Arab wa'l-muṣta'ribīn wa'l-muṣtaṣriqīn*, s.n.: al-Mu'allif, 1970, vol. 7, p. 160. The majority of the sources mentioned in these works are the same and are listed without explanation, apart from in Amin's thesis, which has a brief description of some of the materials, occasionally with translation, arranged roughly chronologically.

been discussed extensively elsewhere. After an examination of historical narratives about al-Makkī, at the end of [Chapter 7](#), concluding remarks are placed addressing possible reasons for al-Makkī's presence or absence in works on Sufism. This raises questions of the fundamental meaning of mysticism in the history of Islam and problematises the way in which we study it.

Works on Sufism and religious sciences

Al-Sarrāj (d. 378/988), *al-Luma' fi'l-taṣawwuf*

As studied in the previous chapter, al-Makkī's two contemporaries, al-Sarrāj (d. 378/988) and al-Kalābādhī, do not mention al-Makkī in their writings. Amin argues that this is probably because al-Makkī was 'too closely associated' with al-Sālimiyya.² This statement, however, does not apply to at least the case of al-Sarrāj, who was 'intimately acquainted with Ibn Sālim' and quotes many of his sayings in his *Luma'*.³

It is not certain whether al-Makkī and al-Sarrāj knew each other personally, nor is it clear either why the former does not appear in the *Luma'* in the section where the latter collects Sufi sayings, both directly and indirectly.⁴ The possibility that they knew of each other does not seem to be so remote, in view of their age (al-Sarrāj died eight years earlier than al-Makkī), association and the places where they lived. If al-Sarrāj knew (of) al-Makkī and still did not mention him in his compilation, this might be because al-Sarrāj did not consider al-Makkī to be a Sufi, or because he did not agree with al-Makkī's ideas as al-Sarrāj criticises many of his contemporary Sufi authors for their lack of proper knowledge of Sufism,⁵ or because of something else we do not know.

Al-Kalābādhī (d. ca. 385/995), *al-Ta'arruf li-madhhab ahl al-taṣawwuf*

In the case of al-Kalābādhī (d. ca. 385/995), he states that he has not mentioned 'recent authors or the people in [his] time',⁶ after he lists previous Sufi compilations in his *al-Ta'arruf*. He does not include al-Sarrāj in this list, despite his apparent familiarity with the *Luma'*.⁷ Taken at face value, al-Kalābādhī's statement seems to be a good reason for the absence of al-Makkī in *al-Ta'arruf*. Other possibilities would be that al-Kalābādhī does not deem al-Makkī to be a Sufi writer, or that the latter's work is not known to the former, since it is not certain when al-Makkī did

² Amin, p. 20.

³ *Luma'*, p. xx [introduction by Nicholson]; *Vision*, pp. 95–6.

⁴ *Luma'*, pp. xii, xxii.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 3 [Arabic].

⁶ *Ta'arruf*, p. 33.

⁷ Cf. *Sufism (K)*, p. 69.

his writing or how and when his work travelled to the eastern part of the Islamic empire. It could be that al-Kalābādhī does not agree with al-Makkī's thought, but this is probably unlikely, as a distinctive feature of *al-Ta 'arruf* is its introductory description of the Sufi movement to the people in Transoxania, rather than the author's personal critical analysis of its ideas.

Al-Sulamī (d. 412/1021), Tabaqāt al-ṣūfiyya

Al-Makkī does not appear in the four important works on Sufism in the fifth/eleventh century. One of the first major Sufi hagiographies, *Tabaqāt al-ṣūfiyya* ('Sufi Biographical Dictionaries'), compiled by al-Sulamī (d. 412/1021), keeps quiet about al-Makkī and the *Qūt*.⁸ Al-Sulamī quotes al-Sarrāj on numerous occasions,⁹ but the name of al-Kalābādhī cannot be found in the *Tabaqāt* at all. This book is a summary of al-Sulamī's own massive work, *Ta'rikh al-ṣūfiyya* ('Sufi History'), which contains a thousand biographies of Sufis (while the *Tabaqāt* includes abridged biographical data of 105 Sufis). This work, unfortunately, has not survived in its original form, and it is unknown to us whether al-Makkī was included in this lost work.

Abū Nu'aym (d. 430/1038), Ḥilyat al-awliyā'

In one of the most famous Sufi biographical dictionaries, *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'* ('The Adornment of the Saints'), Abū Nu'aym al-Īṣfahānī (d. 430/1038) collects 649 accounts of pious people, whom he deems to be Sufis, but there is no section dedicated to al-Makkī.¹⁰ Being a Ḥadīth expert himself, Abū Nu'aym attaches great importance to the activity of the Sufis in his collection as a Ḥadīth transmitter.¹¹ Since Abū Nu'aym studied in Iraq and travelled widely, there seems to be a good chance that he was acquainted with al-Makkī's work. If he knew about al-Makkī and still did not mention him, the three possible reasons would be either that he does not regard al-Makkī as important, he does not consider him to be a Sufi, or he does but disapproves of al-Makkī's ideas.

Al-Qushayrī (d. 465/1073), Risālat al-Qushayriyya

Abū'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī (d. 465/1073), a great mystical scholar, does not refer to al-Makkī either (nor al-Sarrāj or al-Kalābādhī) in his famous compendium of Sufism,

⁸ Although Pedersen, the editor, mentions al-Makkī's seventy 'sciences des ṣūfis' in comparison with al-Sulamī's description in the introduction (al-Sulamī, *Tabaqāt*, p. 27).

⁹ Ibid., pp. 23, 76 [introduction by Pedersen], 572 [Arabic, index].

¹⁰ The available edition does not contain an index, and although al-Makkī's name does not appear in the contents, which is a list of names, it is difficult to know whether he is mentioned in the text somewhere in this voluminous work. This has to wait for a further study (including a complete indexing).

¹¹ Melchert, 'Early renunciants', p. 409.

Risālat al-Qushayriyya ('The Treatise of al-Qushayrī'),¹² where an effort is made to elucidate the principles of Sufism and to position them within the Sharī'a.¹³ Possible reasons for al-Makkī's absence in al-Qushayrī's work seem to be the same as those for the case of Abū Nu'aym, i.e. it is not possible to go beyond guesswork here.

Hujwīrī (d. between 465–9/1072–7), Kashf al-mahjūb

In the earliest extant Persian treatise on Sufism, *Kashf al-mahjūb* ('The Revelation of the Hidden'), the author 'Alī b. 'Uthmān Hujwīrī (d. 465–9/1072–7) elucidates Sufism and enumerates twelve Sufi sects (ten approved and two disapproved).¹⁴ Although al-Makkī himself is not mentioned in the book,¹⁵ it might be worth mentioning that Hujwīrī esteems the 'Sahlīs' (the followers of Sahl al-Tustarī) as one of the approved schools.¹⁶ He differentiates this group from the Sālimīs whom he reproaches as being 'anthropomorphists', and he connects them to the Ḥulūlīs, which is described as being one of the condemned Sufi schools.¹⁷ According to Abū Maṣnūr b. Ṭāhir al-Baghdādī (d. 429/1037), al-Ḥulūliyya can be divided into ten sects, but he does not include al-Sālimiyya. The followers of the latter group are described as those belonging to the 'theologians of the Sālimiyya of Basra (*mutakallimū al-Sālimiyya bi'l-Baṣra*)', who relate themselves to the 'real meanings of Sufism (*haqā'iq ma 'ānā al-Šūfiyya*)',¹⁸ while Karamustafa states that al-Sālimiyya cannot be identified as 'Sufi or mystical in nature' due to its theological orientation.¹⁹

Since Hujwīrī does not expand this point further or mention Ibn Sālim – either the father or the son – in his book, it remains unclear how he sees the differences between the two pupils of Sahl al-Tustarī and al-Tustarī himself, given that the disciples are disapproved of while their teacher is introduced as a pious man and referred to many times in the *Kashf*.²⁰

In light of the respect for Sahl al-Tustarī which both al-Sarrāj and al-Makkī show in their respective writing, as well as the two writers' intellectual relation to Ibn Sālim, it is not obvious why Hujwīrī remains silent about al-Makkī while Hujwīrī not only mentions al-Sarrāj but also appears to have consulted the *Luma'*.²¹

¹² Knysh's translation of the *Risāla* includes an index, but al-Makkī does not appear there (*Epistle*, pp. 429–60).

¹³ The same kind of attempt can be seen in his mystical interpretation of the Qur'ān, *Laṭā'if al-išhārāt*, whose available modern edition lacks an index (*Tafsīr al-Qushayrī*). Cf. *EI*², s.v. 'al-Ḳushayrī' (H. Halm).

¹⁴ *Kashf*, pp. 130–1, 176–266.

¹⁵ Hujwīrī once refers to the Sufi Shaykh, Abū Ṭālib, but claims to have seen him, which rules out the possibility that this Abū Ṭālib is Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (*ibid.*, p. 173). (Al-Kalābādhī is not mentioned in the book either.)

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 195–210; cf. p. 130.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 130–1.

¹⁸ Al-Baghdādī, *al-Farq bayn al-firaq*, Cairo: s.n., 1910, p. 247.

¹⁹ *Sufism (K)*, p. 114. Cf. *EI*², s.v. 'al-Sālimiyya' (L. Massignon); *Vision*, p. 96.

²⁰ *Kashf*, pp. 139–40, 423 [index].

A possible explanation for this different treatment would be the varied level of commitment to al-Sālimiyya, if we accept Nicholson's argument.²² Al-Sarrāj, although he attended Sālimī gatherings, does not seem to have belonged to the school and he reports having an opinion that differs from that of Ibn Sālim in the account of al-Biṣṭāmī in his *Luma'*.²³ Al-Makkī, on the other hand, might even have been the head of the Sālimiyya, or, at least, is often associated with Ibn Sālim in various *tabaqāt*. This could be a reason for the absence of al-Makkī in the *Kashf*; however, again, it is not possible to go beyond guesswork.

Al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn and al-Munqidh min al-dalāl

The next author to examine in this section is Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), who mentions al-Makkī's *Qūt* as a Sufi work which he consulted during his study. Al-Ghazālī's reference to al-Makkī is not the earliest; at least Ibn al-Farrā' and al-Khaṭīb mention him before al-Ghazālī. However, the impact of his reference may be greater than the two other authors', due to al-Ghazālī's fame as a prominent scholar and his heavy reliance on the *Qūt* in his *magnum opus*, *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* ('The Revivification of the Religious Sciences'). As Brockelmann describes the *Qūt* as the 'main source (*Hauptquelle*)' of the *Iḥyā'*,²⁴ al-Makkī's influence on al-Ghazālī is known among scholars on Sufism, as he quotes al-Makkī many times in his massive work.²⁵

Al-Ghazālī also clearly states in *al-Munqidh min al-dalāl* ('The Deliverer from Error') that he used al-Makkī's *Qūt* when he studied Sufism.²⁶ In this 'autobiographical' book, al-Ghazālī compares four groups of 'seekers (*tālibūn*)' in Islam: the Kalām theologians, the Bāṭiniyya, the philosophers and the Sufis.²⁷ He then decides that the Sufi way of life is the best among them in order to attain the truth. After critically analysing the first three groups of seekers, al-Ghazālī moves on to Sufis and lists the books which he has read for his study of Sufism: al-Makkī's *Qūt*, the writings of al-Muḥāsibī, al-Junayd, al-Shiblī, al-Biṣṭāmī and others (in this order).²⁸ Since various scholars have pointed out the similarities between the writings of al-Makkī and al-Ghazālī, I will not examine this issue further here.²⁹ They all point out the great influence of al-Makkī on al-Ghazālī, and how the latter

²¹ Al-Sarrāj appears three times (ibid., pp. 255, 323, 341) and the *Luma'* is mentioned (p. 341) among the four mystical writings to which Hujwīrī refers; cf. *El*, s.v. 'Hudjwīrī' (H. Hosain).

²² *Luma'*, pp. x–xi, xix–xx, where Nicholson concludes that al-Sarrāj was not a member of al-Sālimiyya. Cf. Ch. 5.

²³ Ibid., pp. 394–5 [Arabic]; cf. *Vision*, p. 96.

²⁴ *GAL*, SI, p. 359.

²⁵ E.g. *Iḥyā'*, vol. 1, pp. 15, 117, vol. 3, p. 81 *et passim*.

²⁶ *Munqidh*, p. 64.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 38.

²⁸ Ibid., pp. 64–5.

²⁹ See al-Makkī's influence on al-Ghazālī in Book 21 of the *Iḥyā'* at the end of Ch. 4.

responds to the former by rearranging, copying, summarising, enlarging and making modifications to the original materials in the *Qūt*.³⁰

‘Attār (d. ca. 620/1223), Tadhkirat al-awliyā’

After al-Ghazālī, al-Makkī does not yet appear in two works of Sufi hagiographical literature in the following century: *Šifāt al-ṣifwa* ('The Characteristic of a Sincere Friend') by Ibn al-Jawzī and *Tadhkirat al-awliyā* ('The Memorial of the Saints') by Farīd al-Dīn 'Attār (d. ca. 620/1223); however, after this al-Makkī suddenly seems to become popular, and starts appearing in various famous mystical literary works. The books of Ibn al-Jawzī and 'Attār have not been well explored, probably due to their silence about al-Makkī;³¹ however, it is worth exploring possible reasons for his absence in their writings. (The *Šifa*, an abridgement of *Hilyat al-awliyā* by Abū Nu‘aym, will be treated in the next chapter on al-Makkī and Ḥanbālī scholars.)

The well-known prose work *Tadhkirat al-awliyā* by the famous Persian poet 'Attār, contains biographies and anecdotes of about seventy Sufis and saints.³² The author himself is not said to have actually been a Sufi, but he had admired the mystics and collected their sayings from his childhood onwards.³³ 'Attār appears to have written a book entitled *Kitāb sharḥ al-qalb* ('Book on the Exposition of the Heart'), but a copy of it has not been found and its authenticity and even existence have not been clearly proved.³⁴ However, if he did write such a book, he would probably have been familiar with al-Makkī, since al-Makkī's fame lies in his work on the heart, and it would be rather odd if 'Attār did not mention al-Makkī in the *Tadhkira*. Among the possible sources of 'Attār's book enumerated by Arberry, namely Ja‘far b. al-Khuldī's (d. 348/959) *Hikāyāt al-mashāyikh* ('Narratives of the [Sufi] Shaykhs'), al-Sarrāj's *Luma'*, al-Sulamī's *Tabaqāt*, Abū Nu‘aym's *Hilya*, al-Qushayrī's *Risāla* and Hujwīrī's *Kashf*,³⁵ none mentions al-Makkī (with a single possible exception of the *Hikāyāt*).³⁶ This could be a possible reason for his absence in the *Tadhkira*.

³⁰ For methodical evaluation of this issue, see e.g. Lazarus-Yafeh, *Studies in al-Ghazzali*, Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1975, pp. 34–5 n. 19; Nakamura, 'Makkī and Ghazālī', pp. 83–91; Amin, pp. 190–220; and my comments on them in my thesis (Yazaki, pp. 35–6, 43–4). See also Immenkamp, 'Marriage and celibacy in mediaeval Islam: a study of Ghazali's *Kitāb ādāb al-nikāh*', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1994.

³¹ Both Gramlich and Amin, for example, discuss Ibn al-Jawzī's *Muntazam* and *Talbīs al-Iblīs* but do not mention his other works or 'Attār's *Tadhkira* (*Nahrung*, vol. 1, pp. 12–13, 17; Amin, pp. 22–3).

³² Arberry selected thirty-eight figures from among them and translated their episodes in his *Muslim Saints and Mystics*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966.

³³ Ibid., p. 12; *El²*, s.v. 'Attār' (H. Ritter).

³⁴ 'Attār, *Saints and Mystics*, p. 13.

³⁵ Ibid., pp. 13–14.

³⁶ This work does not seem to have survived in its original form, and it is difficult to check whether it includes al-Makkī; only excerpts of it can be found in various places (*GAL*, SI, p. 358; *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 661).

It should also be mentioned that none of these authors appears in the *Tadhkira*. 'Attār might not have considered them to be key Sufi figures (even while he seems to have regarded them as important writers on Sufism), when 'spiritual words alone appeal[ed]' to him.³⁷ He modified his sources freely according to his own religious ideas, and his work should be considered as an 'extensive prose work' which contains hagiographical information,³⁸ rather than a hagiography written in prose. In the *Tadhkira*, a well-known 'sober' mystic, al-Junayd, is depicted as full of lively anecdotes.³⁹ As for al-Makkī, his only typical Sufi-like episodes are his apparent problematic saying and his deathbed story, which seem to lack the exciting features necessary to be included in 'Attār's mystical prose. I should also highlight that, according to Arberry, 'Attār seems to have regarded al-Hallāj as 'forming the climax' which was followed by 'supreme crises of the early Sufi movement', with fair justification, and the original edition of the *Tadhkira* ended with the episode of al-Hallāj.⁴⁰ 'Attār's interest in post-al-Hallāj Sufis might not have been huge.

Al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234), 'Awārif al-ma'ārif

The accounts in this section so far have concerned mainly why al-Makkī is not mentioned by the authors discussed above. From al-Suhrawardī onwards, however, the tide changes and we see al-Makkī's name in various places. This section will now look at several famous Sufis and important works on Sufism to evaluate how al-Makkī is treated.

One of the most renowned Sufis, Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234), refers to al-Makkī many times in his main work, *'Awārif al-ma'ārif* ('The Gifts of Gnoeses'). In this Sufi handbook, al-Suhrawardī incorporates mystical ideas from early Sufi writings in order to elucidate sixty-three topics, ranging from fundamental questions (e.g. the essence (*māhīya*) of Sufism) and mystical concepts (e.g. state (*ḥāl*) and station (*maqām*)) to practical issues (e.g. good manners (*ādāb*) between the Shaykh and the novice). The main figures, whom he has consulted, are al-Tustarī, al-Sulamī, al-Sarrāj, al-Makkī, al-Kalābādhī and al-Qushayrī.⁴¹ Gramlich, who translated the *'Awārif* into German, mentions the link between al-Makkī and al-Suhrawardī in the introduction to the *Nahrung*, although the discussion takes up less than half a paragraph.⁴² Ohlander also mentions al-Makkī's influence on al-Suhrawardī in his study on the latter;⁴³ however, there seems to be no other detailed study. It is therefore explored briefly here in order to

37 'Attār, *Saints and Mystics*, p. 12.

38 *EP*², s.v. 'Attār' (H. Ritter).

39 'Attār, *Saints and Mystics*, pp. 199–213.

40 *Ibid.*, pp. 16–17.

41 *EP*², s.v. 'al-Suhrawardī' (A. Hartmann); *Knowledge*, p. 58; *Transition*, p. 319.

42 *Nahrung*, vol. 1, p. 16. Cf. Gramlich's translation, *Die Gaben der Erkenntnisse des 'Umar As-Suhrawardī ('Awārif al-ma'ārif)*, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1978, pp. 46, 146, 166, 168, 175, 209, 294, 321, 377, 379, 386, where al-Suhrawardī mentions al-Makkī.

43 *Transition*, see esp. pp. 218–19.

evaluate how al-Makkī is treated in the *‘Awārif* and to indicate the possible places in al-Makkī’s work to which al-Suhrawardī might have referred.

Al-Makkī first appears in the *‘Awārif* in [Chapter 3](#), on the merit (*fadīla*) of mystical knowledge.⁴⁴ Regarding a question about the type of knowledge referred to in the famous Ḥadīth <The quest for knowledge is a religious duty (*fāriḍa*) upon every Muslim>, al-Suhrawardī states:⁴⁵

Shaykh Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī – may God have mercy upon him – said [that] this is the knowledge of the five religious duties on which Islam has been established, because they are incumbent upon Muslims. If the knowledge of them is a duty, the knowledge of action according to them becomes a duty. He said that the knowledge of *tawhīd* lies with this, since the first [duty] is two testimonies (*shahādatān*).⁴⁶ Purification of faith (*ikhlāṣ*) lies within this, since this is necessarily Islam, and the knowledge of purification of faith lies within the soundness of Islam.

This is most likely drawn from Section 31 of the *Qūṭ* regarding knowledge, where al-Makkī presents this argument in slightly more detail, quoting other Ḥadīth.⁴⁷

This excerpt from the *‘Awārif* demonstrates several patterns in the way in which al-Suhrawardī refers to al-Makkī. First, al-Suhrawardī always puts *al-Shaykh* when he mentions al-Makkī with a doxology (except where the name is mentioned in close proximity). Although al-Makkī is not the only author for whom al-Suhrawardī adds an honorific title and eulogy, he does not do so to all the figures he mentions.⁴⁸ Second, al-Suhrawardī does not always quote directly from al-Makkī’s work. In general, he summarises the original material and sometimes adds his own comments. Third, he only occasionally mentions the title of al-Makkī’s book, which he has been consulting. Last, this excerpt also shows the importance of the combination of knowledge and action, which is given great significance by al-Makkī and continues to be emphasised by al-Suhrawardī.

After al-Suhrawardī mentions al-Makkī and quotes a Ḥadīth in the *Qūṭ* almost verbatim in Chapter 19 on the mystical state (*ḥāl*),⁴⁹ he expresses his admiration for

⁴⁴ *‘Awārif*, pp. 22–35.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁴⁶ This is probably because al-Makkī explains the testimony to *tawhīd* and that to the prophethood of Muhammad separately (*Qūṭ*, vol. 3, pp. 1171–88).

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 367. The same discussion can also be seen in Ch. 3 of the *‘Ilm* where the Ḥadīth at issue is examined (*‘Ilm*, pp. 80–1).

⁴⁸ E.g. al-Suhrawardī does not call Sahl b. ‘Abd Allāh (al-Tustarī) or al-Junayd *al-Shaykh* (*‘Awārif*, e.g. pp. 15, 23, 18). He does so for al-Shaykh al-Ṣalīḥ Abu'l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Bāqī, but without a doxology (*ibid.*, e.g. p. 28).

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 108. Cf. *Qūṭ*, vol. 3, pp. 1527–8 (the same or similar Ḥadīth can also be seen in vol. 2, p. 899 and vol. 3, p. 1654; but with different arguments).

al-Makkī in Chapter 22 on *samā'* practice. According to al-Suhrawardī, 'the word of Shaykh Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī' should be valued for his 'great wealth of knowledge', his 'God-fearingness' and his constant 'striving' to become a better believer.⁵⁰

Al-Suhrawardī continues and cites al-Makkī's words: '*Samā'* practice has that which is forbidden (*harām*), that which is permissible (*halāl*) and obscurity (*shubha*).⁵¹ After summarising al-Makkī's argument, he concludes: 'This is the word of Shaykh Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, and this is the truth (*al-ṣaḥīḥ*).⁵² Al-Makkī lays great significance on the ability to differentiate between *harām*, *halāl* and *shubha*, and the last section of the *Qūt* is dedicated to this issue.⁵³ Al-Suhrawardī refers to al-Makkī two more times in Chapter 22.⁵⁴ This also shows his great respect for al-Makkī and, together with the first excerpt, it can be safely deduced that al-Suhrawardī follows al-Makkī's ideas and quotes him to support his argument.

Al-Makkī appears next in Chapter 28, which concerns a tradition that David prostrated himself for forty days and nights until God forgave him, when he realised that he had sinned.⁵⁵ Although the phrasing is not exactly the same, a similar story can be found in the *Qūt*.⁵⁶ Al-Suhrawardī then quotes al-Makkī in Chapter 41 on fasting (*sawm*), where he appears to have summarised al-Makkī's argument in a section concerning fasting in the *Qūt*, using the same Ḥadīth.⁵⁷

In Chapter 47, on the code of practice at night and during sleep, al-Suhrawardī refers to al-Makkī's recommendations in the *Qūt*, where detailed proper manners are elucidated at the beginning (for instance, how many *rak'*as are recommended, which *sūra* should be read and how many times, and so on); however,

⁵⁰ *Awārif*, p. 125.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid. Al-Suhrawardī most probably consulted a section on *samā'* in the *Qūt* where al-Makkī had presented the same argument with more detail (vol. 1, p. 1090). According to Knyshe, 'almost all of the early writers on *samā'* were Persians, with the exception of' al-Makkī (*Mysticism*, p. 323), although al-Makkī might have been Persian (see Ch. 1).

⁵³ *Qūt*, vol. 3, pp. 1711–39.

⁵⁴ *Awārif*, pp. 127 (cf. *Qūt*, vol. 2, p. 1094) and 133 (the *Qūt* has a similar argument to that here (vol. 2, p. 1094), but I could not find the exact place).

⁵⁵ *Awārif*, p. 162. Although the length of the period is not specified, this seems to be based on a Qur'anic verse, «*And David guessed that We had tried him, and he sought forgiveness of his Lord, and he bowed himself and fell down prostrate and repented. So We forgave him that*» (38:25–6). The Hebrew Bible tells a story where David prostrated and fasted for his child after he had committed adultery with Bathsheba and had her husband, Uriah, killed; however, he stopped fasting on the seventh day (2 Sm 12:16–19). The Babylonian Talmud does not contain the same kind of story.

⁵⁶ *Qūt*, vol. 3, p. 1376.

⁵⁷ *Awārif*, p. 236; *Qūt*, vol. 1, pp. 222–3. Cf. A similar argument and Ḥadīth can be seen in a chapter on hunger in the *'Ilm*, pp. 202–3.

al-Suhrawardī seems to have modified the number here and made the practice more accessible.⁵⁸ Al-Makkī says:⁵⁹

There are a thousand verses from the *sūra* of Sovereignty (*mulk*)⁶⁰ till the end of the Qur’ān. If [reading] this does not do any good, say «Say: He is God, the One»⁶¹ 250 times while performing *rak’ā* thirteen times.

Al-Suhrawardī, on the other hand, reduces the number greatly and recommends saying this verse five times for each *rak’ā*, for a start, and then ten times, and more, if one has not memorised the Qur’ān.⁶² This seems to be the only place where al-Suhrawardī makes changes to al-Makkī’s original statement.

Al-Makkī next appears in Chapter 48, concerning how to divide the night of standing (*qiyām al-layl*),⁶³ which is based on a Qur’anic verse, «And who spend the night before their Lord, prostrate and standing» (25:64). The *Qūṭ* has a section on this theme, quoting the same verse (among others),⁶⁴ and this is the only place where al-Suhrawardī mentions the title *Qūṭ al-qulūb*, not only its author’s name. The ‘book of Shaykh Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī’ is then referred in Chapter 55 on good manners towards comrades (*suhba*) and brothers (*ikhwā*), where al-Suhrawardī claims that this topic has already been treated in al-Makkī’s book which covers ‘every good thing about this’.⁶⁵

The last reference to al-Makkī is in Chapter 56, where al-Suhrawardī explains gnosis, the self (*nafs*), soul (*rūh*) and body.⁶⁶ This chapter deals with various matters regarding the heart and there are several arguments and Ḥadīth which echo topics in al-Makkī’s writing. Al-Suhrawardī mentions his name only once in this chapter and it is not clear whether his discussions are directly from al-Makkī. For example, al-Suhrawardī states that:⁶⁷

If the soul operates (*tataharraka*) for good, light appears in the heart from its movement (*haraka*) and the angel sees [the light] ..., while [if the soul] operates for evil, darkness appears in the heart from its movement and the Devil sees the darkness.

⁵⁸ *Awārif*, p. 258.

⁵⁹ *Qūṭ*, vol. 1, p. 57.

⁶⁰ Sūra 67.

⁶¹ Cf. Q. 112:1.

⁶² *Awārif*, p. 258.

⁶³ Ibid., p. 261; cf. *Qūṭ*, vol. 1, p. 119.

⁶⁴ Section 28 (*Qūṭ*, vol. 1, pp. 106–23).

⁶⁵ *Awārif*, pp. 306–7. He might be referring to Section 44 of the *Qūṭ* (vol. 3, pp. 1547–602). Cf. The *Ilm* has a chapter on meritorious intentions in the case of visits to companions (*Ilm*, pp. 205–25).

⁶⁶ *Awārif*, p. 312 (a similar argument with different wording in *Qūṭ*, vol. 2, p. 888).

⁶⁷ *Awārif*, p. 312.

Although I could not find the exact place in the *Qūt*, this is the sort of argument we would see in al-Makkī's writing.⁶⁸

On the whole, it is clear that the *'Awārif* shows al-Suhrawardī's great respect for al-Makkī and that the former covers both theoretical and practical issues which are treated in the *Qūt*. Al-Suhrawardī uses a range of al-Makkī's main arguments, such as knowledge as a religious duty, the importance of recognition of the difference between permissible, forbidden and obscure matters, and both spiritual and practical elements, such as the concepts of *hāl*, the heart and the soul, and *samā'* practice, fasting, *rak'a* and certain codes of manners. Al-Suhrawardī also transmits Ḥadīth from al-Makkī's writing, which is full of it. Therefore, it does not seem to be so absurd to suggest that al-Suhrawardī might have used al-Makkī's ideas without mentioning his name. For instance, a quick look at Chapter 56 of the *'Awārif* is enough to recognise a similar argument in al-Makkī's work (especially Section 30 of the *Qūt* on the characteristics of the heart).⁶⁹

One of al-Suhrawardī's disciples, Abu'l-Baqā' al-Tiflīsī (d. 631/1234), composed a poem about al-Makkī. After praising the *Qūt* as an 'excellent oeuvre', al-Tiflīsī recites that this work concerns hidden matters beyond the rational sphere, revealing the reader's deficiencies.⁷⁰ According to Ohlander, al-Tiflīsī, who is associated with the line of Shumaysāṭīyya *khāngāh*, helped spread the teaching of al-Suhrawardī in Syria.⁷¹ A more extensive study would doubtless reveal a yet greater influence by al-Makkī on al-Suhrawardī (and Suhrawardiyya).

Ibn al-'Arabī (d. 638/1240), al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya and Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam

After al-Suhrawardī, the next important Sufi philosopher who shows high regard for al-Makkī is Ibn al-'Arabī (d. 638/1240). The link between these two figures does not appear to have been studied properly. However, as a copy of a section of the *Qūt* on *shahāda*, written by either Ibn al-'Arabī himself or one of his disciples, demonstrates, he has a great interest in al-Makkī's work.⁷² Ibn al-'Arabī, one of the most influential Islamic thinkers, is known for his prolific output.⁷³ Here, his two main works on Sufism will be briefly discussed: *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya* ('The Meccan Revelations') and *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* ('The Bezels of Wisdom').

⁶⁸ One of the closest arguments might be a report in the *Qūt* (vol. 1, p. 323); cf. Ch. 3 [13].

⁶⁹ *'Awārif*, pp. 307–19; *Qūt*, vol. 1, pp. 321–62.

⁷⁰ Ibn al-Mustawfi, *Ta'rīkh Irbil*, Baghdad: Dār al-Rashīd, 1980, vol. 1, p. 259.

⁷¹ *Transition*, pp. 249 and n. 1, 315, 318–19. (Although the death year of al-Tiflīsī on p. 318 is not 631/1234, this Tiflīsī seems to be the same figure on p. 249, judging from the context and the index (p. 350)). Cf. Ohlander, p. 29.

⁷² I would like to express my thanks to Stephen Hirtenstein, the editor of *Journal of the Muhyiddin Ibn 'Arabi Society and Founder*, for sharing with me the information about this manuscript in Yusuf Ağa Kütpahanesi (4868, fols 000–23) at The Seventh Islamic Manuscript Conference in July 2011.

⁷³ Brockelmann lists more than 200 works (*GAL*, vol. 1, pp. 571–82; *ibid.*, *SI*, pp. 791–802), while Chittick claims that Ibn al-'Arabī wrote 'some five hundred' books (*Imaginal Worlds*, Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1994, p. 1).

In his massive masterpiece, *al-Futūhāt*, which contains a detailed exposition of Sufi doctrine with the author's mystical experiences, al-Makkī appears in many places.⁷⁴ Several examples are discussed here. Ibn al-'Arabī calls al-Makkī one of the 'masters of the people of tasting (*sādāt ahal al-dhawq*)',⁷⁵ and praises him as one of 'God's men (*rijāl Allāh*)'.⁷⁶ The title *Qūt al-qulūb* is also mentioned several times in the *Futūhāt*⁷⁷ and Ibn al-'Arabī introduces al-Makkī as 'Shaykh Abū Tālib al-Makkī, the author of *The Nourishment of Hearts* and other(s) (*wa ghayrihi*)'.⁷⁸ Although unfortunately he does not trouble to specify the title(s) of al-Makkī's other work(s), this statement indicates that al-Makkī's fame lies principally in the *Qūt* but that he is also known for other literary writing(s).

Ibn al-'Arabī shows great respect for al-Makkī and uses his ideas in various places. He does not, however, always agree with what al-Makkī says. In one place, for example, Ibn al-'Arabī writes: 'we do not hold what al-Makkī said and limit ourselves [to it], nor what the other said and limit ourselves [to it] ... I say ...' and states his theory.⁷⁹ Ibn al-'Arabī lists al-Makkī's name as 'one of our companions and Shaykhs' and declares that 'we hold his view and I support his view'.⁸⁰ It is in general clear that Ibn al-'Arabī esteems al-Makkī's writing highly. For instance, after he introduces al-Makkī's theory in the section on the most important realities (*haqā'iq*),⁸¹ Ibn al-'Arabī says:⁸²

Try to understand what we have pointed out and make sure of it. It is indeed a marvellous secret (*sīr̄ 'ajīb*) from amongst the greatest divine secrets. Abū Tālib already pointed it out in his book, the *Qūt*.

Another work of Ibn al-'Arabī, the *Fuṣūṣ*, is his most important work on Sufism apart from *al-Futūhāt*. The *Fuṣūṣ* contains the teachings of twenty-seven prophets, from Adam to Muḥammad, regarding Divine wisdom. This famous mystical and enigmatic work has been commented on by various authors, including Ibn al-'Arabī

⁷⁴ E.g. *Futūhāt*, vol. 1, p. 260, vol. 2, pp. 62–3, vol. 3, pp. 172–3, vol. 4, pp. 190–1, 256.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 602.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 190. Chittick quotes a passage where Ibn al-'Arabī cites al-Makkī: 'Shaykh Abū Tālib al-Makkī, author of *Heart's Food*, and other men of God have said, "God never discloses Himself in a single form to two individuals, nor in a single form twice"' (*Imaginal Worlds*, p. 160; cf. *The Sufi Path of Knowledge*, Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1989, p. 354).

⁷⁷ E.g. *Futūhāt*, vol. 1, p. 63, vol. 4, pp. 190, 256.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 256.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 62.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 172.

⁸¹ Although I could not locate the exact place where al-Makkī talks about 'the sublime celestial body (*al-farak al-'ulūwī*)', this term can be found in two places in the *Qūt* (vol. 2, pp. 660, 1135). It is not certain, however, whether these are the places where Ibn al-'Arabī has consulted the work.

⁸² *Futūhāt*, vol. 2, p. 63.

himself. In the *Fuṣūṣ*, al-Makkī appears only once in the chapter on David.⁸³ When Ibn al-‘Arabī talks about the mighty power of Divine will, he quotes al-Makkī who calls it ‘the throne of essence (‘arsh al-dhāt)’ because the authority of God’s will ‘requires order (*hukm*) for itself’.⁸⁴

As can be seen from these few examples from the *Futūḥāt* and the *Fuṣūṣ*, it is clear that Ibn al-‘Arabī has studied al-Makkī’s writing closely and has great respect for him. Due to the scope of this book and the volume of Ibn al-‘Arabī’s work, it is difficult to examine the link between them further here; however, as in the case of al-Suhrawardī and other subsequent figures, the influence of al-Makkī on these renowned Sufis deserves more academic attention.

Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 672/1273), *Mathnawī-i ma ‘nawī*

One of the best-known Persian Sufi poets, Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 672/1273), also speaks highly of al-Makkī in his masterpiece, *Mathnawī-i ma ‘nawī* (‘The Poems of Inner Meaning’). Iqbal argues that Rūmī must have read al-Sarrāj’s *Luma*’, al-Kalābādhī’s *Ta’arruf*, Hujwīrī’s *Kashf*, al-Makkī’s *Qūt* and al-Qushayrī’s *Risāla*, although not all of them are mentioned in the *Mathnawī*.⁸⁵ According to Iqbal, the *Qūt* is quoted five times.⁸⁶ However, apart from a place where the phrase ‘qūt al-qulūb’ clearly appears as a book title, the intention of the poet is not always obvious, because of the allusive nature of his edificatory masterpiece.

The verse where the *Qūt* is cited demonstrates Rūmī’s esteem for al-Makkī:⁸⁷

Nine hundred years Noah (walked) in the straight way, and every day he had a new sermon to preach.

His ruby (lip) drew its eloquence from the corundum (precious jewel) in the hearts (of prophets): he had not read (mystical books like) the *Risāla* or the *Qūtu ‘l-qulūb*.

⁸³ Ibn al-‘Arabī, *Fuṣūṣ al-hikam*, Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-‘Arabī, 1970, p. 165; cf. p. 349 [index]. Al-Makkī is mentioned twice in the latter half of this edition, which contains an annotation of the text (pp. 227, 277). In the index of Austin’s translation, al-Makkī is indicated as appearing twice in the text; however, the first ‘Abū Ṭālib’ is the Prophet Muhammad’s uncle Abū Ṭālib al-Muṭalib, not Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (*The Bezels of Wisdom*, New York: Paulist Press, 1980, pp. 161, 204; cf. p. 291 [index]).

⁸⁴ Ibn al-‘Arabī, *Fuṣūṣ*, p. 165. Cf. Austin, who translates this part as ‘Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī called it the Throne of the Essence, since for Itself it determines the effectiveness of the divine decision’ (*Bezels*, p. 204). I could not locate the exact place where al-Makkī uses the word ‘arsh al-dhāt in the *Qūt*.

⁸⁵ Iqbal, *The Life and Work of Jalal-ud-din Rumi*, London: Octagon, 1983, pp. 97–8.

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 99.

⁸⁷ Rūmī, *The Mathnawī of Jalāl’uddīn Rūmī*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1925–40, vol. 6, pp. 404–5 (Book VI. 2652–3) [trans.]; p. 423 [Persian] (the next four places will also be cited in this order). Amin quotes this part, but does not mention the other four places (Amin, p. 25); Schimmel also mentions the same part (*Dimensions*, p. 18).

The editor and translator of the *Mathnawī*, Nicholson, comments that the *Qūt* is ‘an earlier and more extensive work’ on Sufism than the *Risāla*.⁸⁸

Another verse from this *magnum opus* which might suggest the *Qūt* is:⁸⁹

When the sucking (babe) is separated from its nurse, it becomes an eater of morsels and abandons her.

Thou, like seeds, art in bondage to the milk of earth: seek to wean thyself by (partaking of) the spiritual food (*qūt al-qulūb*).

As Nicholson states, it seems to be safe to argue that this verse refers to al-Makkī’s *Qūt*, not only because of the content, but also because Rūmī uses Arabic here.⁹⁰

The next verse, on the other hand, shows a subtler allusion to the *Qūt* (if indeed there is one) than in the previous two examples:⁹¹

Whether in the earth there are sugar-canies or only (common) reeds, every earth (soil) is interpreted by its plants.

Therefore the heart’s soil, whereof thought (*fikr*) was (ever) the plant – (those) thoughts have revealed the heart’s secrets (*asrār-i dil*).

According to Nicholson, this verse refers to al-Makkī’s classification of the ‘thoughts and impressions’ (*khawāṭir*) which al-Makkī advises the novice to examine carefully, and in Rūmī’s view, continues Nicholson, every thought is a message from God to the mystic.⁹² Al-Makkī discusses the *khawāṭir* in the *Qūt*, and Nicholson probably refers to this here.⁹³ However, the link between Rūmī and the *Qūt* does not appear to be so obvious here, compared to the first two examples.

Among the five places which Iqbal mentions, this third verse and the last two places, where Nicholson refers to a Ḥadīth in the *Qūt* and al-Makkī’s ideas,⁹⁴ seem to require a prolonged and laborious research in order to establish a proper connection between the two figures, since the link is not evident and such a task has to be done through internal evidence. Although there may be only one (or two) places in *Mathnawī* where Rūmī clearly refers to the *Qūt*, this is enough to see Rūmī’s respect for the *Qūt*. This also indicates that the *Qūt* must have been so well known among (at least) Sufis at the time of Rūmī that the title could be used in a metaphorical way.

⁸⁸ Rūmī, *Mathnawī*, vol. 8, p. 367.

⁸⁹ Ibid., vol. 4, p. 73 (III. 1284–5); vol. 3, p. 73.

⁹⁰ Ibid., vol. 8, p. 35.

⁹¹ Ibid., vol. 4, p. 345 (IV. 1317–18); vol. 4, p. 356.

⁹² Ibid., vol. 8, p. 138.

⁹³ *Qūt*, vol. 1, pp. 324–6; see Ch. 3 [19]–[29].

⁹⁴ Rūmī, *Mathnawī*, vol. 2, p. 52 (I. 927); vol. 1, p. 58, and vol. 2, p. 256 (III. 4591); vol. 3, p. 263. Ibid., vol. 7, pp. 77–8 and vol. 8, p. 116 [commented on by Nicholson] respectively.

Ibn 'Atā' Allāh (d. 709/1309), Laṭā'if al-minan

The next figure to be examined is the third Shaykh of the Shādhiliyya order, Tāj al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn 'Atā' Allāh (d. 709/1309), and his work *Laṭā'if al-minan* ('The Subtle Blessings') which contains the words and deeds of the first and second Shaykhs of the order: Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Shādhilī (d. 656/1258) and Abu'l-'Abbās Aḥmad al-Mursī (d. 686/1287). This matter does not seem to have been addressed properly yet, but the *Qūt* is mentioned in this biographical work. Ibn 'Atā' Allāh reports:⁹⁵

[Shaykh Abu'l-'Abbās] used to say from his Shaykh Abu'l-Ḥasan: A book, the *Iḥyā*, brings you knowledge, and a book, the *Qūt*, brings you light.

He used to say from his Shaykh Abu'l-Ḥasan: You must be with the *Qūt*, as it is indeed nourishment.

Although these statements do not really express Ibn 'Atā' Allāh's opinion himself, it can be said that at least the first two Shaykhs of the Shādhiliyya order had a great respect for the *Qūt*. (Danner, who translated one of Ibn 'Atā' Allāh's works, lists the title of the books esteemed by the first two Shādhiliyya Shaykhs, including the *Iḥyā*, especially on the matter of 'beliefs and practices', and the *Qūt*, on 'esoteric and exoteric beliefs'.)⁹⁶ It is also interesting to see al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā* cited here in contrast to the *Qūt*. In modern scholarship, the link between these two works is often mentioned; however, this might be the first time they can be seen in close proximity in pre-modern literature.

Ibn 'Abbād al-Rundī (d. 792/1390), al-Rasā'il al-ṣughrā

The next Sufi writer to examine is Ibn 'Abbād al-Rundī (d. 792/1390), from al-Andalus, who contributed to the spread of the Shādhiliyya order in the Maghrib.⁹⁷ Gramlich and Amin touch upon the link between al-Makkī and al-Rundī,⁹⁸ and Nwyia, the editor of al-Rundī's letters, mentions al-Makkī elsewhere in his work on al-Rundī.⁹⁹ Al-Rundī recommends in his letter the writings of al-Muḥāsibī, al-Sulamī, al-Qushayrī, al-Makkī, al-Ghazālī and al-Suhrawardī in order to understand Sufism.¹⁰⁰ Among them, al-Rundī shows great admiration for al-Makkī. Renard, who translated al-Rundī's letters into English, argues that al-Rundī esteems the *Qūt* as 'all-sufficient and irreplaceable',¹⁰¹ and Nwyia states

⁹⁵ Ibn 'Atā' Allāh, *Laṭā'if al-minan*, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1998, p. 72.

⁹⁶ Idem, *Miftāḥ al-falāḥ wa miṣbāḥ al-arwāḥ*, Cambridge: Islamic Texts Society, 1996, p. 11.

⁹⁷ *EI*², s.v. 'Ibn 'Abbād' (P. Nwyia).

⁹⁸ *Nahrung*, vol. 1, pp. 16–17; Amin, p. 26.

⁹⁹ See index des nom propres, Nwyia, *Ibn 'Abbād de Ronda, 1332–1390*, Beirut: Imprimerie catholique, 1961, p. 261.

¹⁰⁰ *Rasā'il*, p. 78.

¹⁰¹ Al-Rundī, *Ronda*, p. 48.

that al-Rundī started his study of Sufism with the *Qūt* when he was in Fez.¹⁰² However, a detailed examination of the works written by these two figures does not seem to have been carried out yet. This section therefore analyses several important examples in al-Rundī's *Rasā'il* to demonstrate how he values al-Makkī.¹⁰³

Al-Rundī's letters show that the *Qūt* has met with his wholehearted approval. Letter 1 concerns questions arising from a chapter on fear (*khawf*) in the *Qūt*, where al-Rundī calls this treatise 'healing (*shāfi*)'.¹⁰⁴ In Letter 2, al-Rundī claims that the *Qūt* is 'in every respect' the book to be read among the early writings on Sufism, because it will 'remove your maladies ('ilal)', 'heal your illness (*maraq*)' and will lead you to 'every aim [you] seek (*ghard matlūb*)'.¹⁰⁵ Al-Rundī gives similar praise in another place, where, this time, al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā* is also the object of his admiration.¹⁰⁶ Here he sets out a more detailed contrast between the *Qūt* and the *Iḥyā* than the brief statement of Ibn 'Atā' Allāh discussed above.

In Letter 6, al-Rundī shows his special respect for the two 'Imāms' among early writers on Sufism, al-Makkī and al-Ghazālī, saying that the two elucidate the 'wonders of various types of knowledge (*gharā'ib al-'ulūm*)' and the 'marvels of understanding ('ajā'ib al-fuhūm)' in their respective works¹⁰⁷ in a way that hearts (*sudūr*) will be delighted and matters made easy.¹⁰⁸ The novice should learn, continues al-Rundī, all the benefits in their books, which cannot be seen in any other work.¹⁰⁹ However, al-Rundī finds al-Ghazālī's work to contain issues which are difficult to comprehend and which disagree with Kalām argumentation, even though al-Ghazālī 'arranged [the materials] in sections, ... facilitated understanding, ... refined [them]' and gathered information which had been scattered across many books.¹¹⁰ Al-Rundī specifies several chapters which he particularly believes to have this tendency, and advises that the reader should simply skip these parts.¹¹¹

Al-Makkī, on the other hand, receives unconditional reverence from al-Rundī. Al-Rundī esteems al-Makkī's book as the most recommended above all other writings: nothing else can substitute for it, not only because of its scope and arrangement, but also because of its 'beautiful expressions (*al-alfāz al-ḥasana*)', set out in a way which 'attracts the ears' and 'delights the tongues' in order to elucidate Sufism.¹¹² Like his comments on al-Ghazālī, al-Rundī admits that al-Makkī sometimes discusses issues which are difficult to comprehend by rational

¹⁰² *EP*², s.v. 'Ibn 'Abbād' (P. Nywia).

¹⁰³ Cf. al-Rundī, *Ronda*, pp. 231, 237 [indexes]. Although the second index includes p. 85, 'Abū Ṭālib' here seems to be the Prophet Muḥammad's uncle, not al-Makkī, judging from the context.

¹⁰⁴ *Rasā'il*, p. 19 (Letter 1: 19–28). See 'Works of al-Makkī', Ch. 1 for a discussion of the confusion regarding this expression.

¹⁰⁵ *Rasā'il*, p. 41.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 78–9.

¹⁰⁷ Al-Rundī does not specify the title of their books here.

¹⁰⁸ *Rasā'il*, p. 78.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 79.

understanding ('aqūl) and do not fit the external science of the tradition (zāhir al-'ilm al-manqūl), because these are the author's own original thinking.¹¹³

However, unlike the case of al-Ghazālī, al-Rundī advises the readers to leave these parts for a while, keep following the straight path (*al-manhaj al-qawīm*) and wait for God to 'open their gate'.¹¹⁴ This seems to demonstrate al-Rundī's absolute trust in al-Makkī, since the former assumes the complete reliability of the latter's discussion even when it contains perplexing matters. To al-Rundī, these are truths, but it is simply too difficult for the novice to grasp their deeper meanings, as they are incomprehensible in the conventional way. A similar approach can be seen when al-Rundī admits that the authenticity of Hadīth which al-Makkī quoted is questionable. Al-Rundī gives full support to al-Makkī's argument that if a certain Tradition has been circulated and does not contradict the Qur'ān or Sunna, it can be considered as authoritative material (*hujja*), in spite of its obscure *isnād*.¹¹⁵

Al-Rundī's defence of al-Makkī can also be seen in another place. In Letter 16, where he emphasises the importance of having a Shaykh as a guide on the Sufi path,¹¹⁶ al-Rundī admits that this sort of argument does not appear in the early writers' discourse, such as that of al-Muḥāsibī and al-Makkī. However, he claims that the tendency to rely on a Shaykh almost as a parent, who nourishes his child (*shaykh al-tarbīt*),¹¹⁷ started later. At the time of these early figures, the role of a Shaykh was to instruct the novice (*shaykh al-ta'lim*), and having a spiritual guide was not a requirement. This is why the issues around the Shaykh cannot be found in the early writings. However, al-Rundī insists, they still cover the fundamental matters of Sufism, and this is especially true in the case of al-Makkī.¹¹⁸

This statement is of interest not only in the light of the link between al-Makkī and al-Rundī. It shows al-Rundī's recognition of a change in the role of a Sufi Shaykh and his classification of the history of Sufism into early and later periods, with al-Makkī being in the early one. (Al-Rundī does not specify here when the later period begins.)

From these examples, it is evident that al-Makkī exerted great influence on al-Rundī. Apart from the *Rasā'il*, he wrote a commentary on Ibn 'Atā' Allāh's famous collection, *Kitāb al-ḥikam* ('The Book of Aphorisms'). The name al-Makkī does not seem to appear in the original work;¹¹⁹ however, al-Rundī refers to al-Makkī in his annotation.¹²⁰ Al-Rundī's commentary was a great success. Although he himself did not become the leader of the Shādhiliyya order, its

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., p. 24. This is likely based on al-Makkī's statement in the *Qūt*, vol. 1, pp. 483–9.

¹¹⁶ *Rasā'il*, p. 130.

¹¹⁷ *Tarbīt*: éllever un enfant, un jeune homme (Kazimirski, vol. 1, p. 802); to feed, nourish, bring up (Lane, vol. 1, p. 1008).

¹¹⁸ *Rasā'il*, p. 131.

¹¹⁹ Ibn 'Atā' Allāh, *Ṣūfī Aphorisms*.

¹²⁰ Al-Rundī, *Ghayth al-mawāhib al-'aliyya fī sharḥ al-Ḥikam al-'atā'iyya*, s.n.: Maṭba'at al-Sa'āda, 1390/1970, vol. 1, p. 89, vol. 2, p. 92.

spread in the Maghrib owed much to this important Sufi scholar,¹²¹ and, as Renard states, al-Makkī's work serves as one of the key sources of inspiration in al-Rundī's thought.¹²²

[Pseudo-]Ibn Khaldūn, *Shifā' al-sā'il*

The next work on Sufism for discussion here is *Shifā' al-sā'il* ('Remedy for the Questioner'). This is allegedly written by the famous historian and philosopher Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406). However, according to Talbi, its authenticity has not yet been proven.¹²³ The title *Qūt* appears in this treatise where the author enumerates literary works on piety, such as 'the *Iḥyā*', the *Ri'āya*,¹²⁴ the *Qūt*, [the work of] Ibn 'Atā' and others'.¹²⁵

Amin refers to this work briefly and states that Ibn Khaldūn calls al-Makkī the *qādī*.¹²⁶ However, the person who is designated here might not be al-Makkī. It is written as 'the *qādī* Abū Muḥammad b. 'Atīyya said ...',¹²⁷ when al-Makkī's name is Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Atīyya and has been referred to so far as Abū Ṭālib or Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī in the Arabic writings. Ibn Khaldūn's famous work *al-Muqaddima* ('The Introduction') has a section on Sufism, but neither al-Makkī nor the *Qūt* appears there.¹²⁸ Together with the authenticity of the *Shifā'*, the link between al-Makkī and Ibn Khaldūn is not clear.

Jāmī (d. 898/1492), *Nafahāt al-uns*

Al-Makkī can next be seen in *Nafahāt al-uns* ('Breezes of Intimacy'), written by the Persian poet 'Abd al-Rahmān Jāmī (d. 898/1492). This work seems to be the first Sufi hagiography which includes a biographical sketch of al-Makkī and clearly identifies his connection with Sahl al-Tustarī and both father and son Ibn Sālim:¹²⁹

Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Atīyya al-Ḥārithī al-Makkī – may God Most High have mercy upon him – is the author of the book *The Nourishment of Hearts*, which is a collection of secrets of the Way.

They said [that] in Islam nothing equivalent to [this book] was composed concerning the details of the Way. He was brought up in Mecca, the noblest

¹²¹ Al-Rundī, *Ronda*, xi–xii; Nwyia, *Ronda*, xxxvii–xxxviii, lix–lx; *Et²*, s.v. (P. Nwyia).

¹²² Renard argues that together with the writings of al-Muḥāsibī and al-Ghazālī, these three authors had great influence not only on al-Rundī, but also on the members of the Shādhiliyya order (al-Rundī, *Ronda*, p. 201 n. 1).

¹²³ *Et²*, s.v. 'Ibn Khaldūn' (M. Talbi).

¹²⁴ This likely designates al-Muḥāsibī's principal work, *al-Ri'āya li-huqūq Allāh*.

¹²⁵ [Pseudo-]Ibn Khaldūn, *Shifā' al-sā'il li-tahdhīb al-masā'il*, Beirut: Imprimerie catholique, 1959, p. 70.

¹²⁶ Amin, p. 27.

¹²⁷ [Pseudo-]Ibn Khaldūn, *Shifā'*, p. 45.

¹²⁸ Ibn Khaldūn, *al-'Ibar muqaddima*, Cairo: Muṣṭafā Fahmī al-Kutubī, 1322/1904, pp. 370–6.

¹²⁹ Jāmī, *Nafahāt al-uns min ḥadārāt al-quds*, Tehran: Kitābfurūsh-i Sa'dī, 1337/1918–19, p. 121.

place on the face of the earth. He then entered Basra and went to Baghdad. He died there in Jumādā II of the year 386.

His relation in Sufism is with the knowledgeable Shaykh Abu'l-Hasan Muḥammad b. Abī 'Abd Allāh Aḥmad Ibn Sālim al-Baṣrī. The relationship of Shaykh Abu'l-Hasan is with his father, Abū 'Abd Allāh Aḥmad Ibn Sālim and the relationship of his father is with Sahl b. 'Abd Allāh Tustarī – may God Most High sanctify their souls –.

It should also be mentioned that although Jāmī composed his treatise based on *Tabaqāt al-ṣūfiyya* ('Sufi Biographical Dictionaries') of a famous Ḥanbalī Sufi, 'Abd Allāh Anṣārī (d. 481/1089), and 'Atṭār's *Tadhkira*,¹³⁰ Jāmī adds al-Makkī, who is not included in the two works which the former consulted.

Mullā Ṣadrā (d. 1050/1640)

After Jāmī, al-Makkī does not appear so often in the Muslim works on Sufism.¹³¹ For instance, 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Aḥmad al-Sha'rānī (d. 973/1565), an Egyptian Sufi, does not have an entry dedicated to al-Makkī in his collection of Sufi words and deeds, *al-Tabaqāt al-kubrā* ('The Major Classes'),¹³² even though he was greatly influenced by the Shādhiliyya order.¹³³ However, Nasr points out that Shīrāzī Ṣadr al-Dīn Mullā Ṣadrā (d. 1050/1640), one of the most renowned Shī'ite philosophers, was deeply influenced by early Sufi writings, such as the *Qūt*, *Manāzil al-sā'irīn* ('Places of the Wanderers'),¹³⁴ the 'Awārif, the *Iḥyā*', the *Mathnawī*, the *Fuṣūṣ* and the *Futūḥāt*.¹³⁵ Most of these books have been discussed

¹³⁰ Cf. *EI*², s.v. 'Djāmī' (Cl. Huart); *Mysticism*, pp. 138, 163.

¹³¹ Gramlich, Amin and Shukri also failed to find major books on Sufism which mention al-Makkī.

¹³² The available edition does not include an index; al-Sha'rānī, *al-Tabaqāt al-kubrā*, 2 vols in 1, Cairo: al-Maṭba'at al-'Āmirat al-'Uthmāniyya, 1316/1898. Although al-Makkī does not appear in the contents, which is a list of names, in the future it could be worth exploring the text, which might mention al-Makkī.

¹³³ Cf. *EI*², s.v. 'al-Sha'rānī' (M. Winter); *Mysticism*, p. 252.

¹³⁴ Written by Anṣārī.

¹³⁵ Nasr states that Mullā Ṣadrā often quotes these writings, but he does not refer to any specific page numbers (*Ṣadr al-Dīn Shīrāzī and his Transcendent Theosophy*, Tehran: Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy, 1978, pp. 73–4). He also emphasises Mullā Ṣadrā's great acquaintance with al-Ghazālī's thought (*ibid.*, p. 81 n. 10). It is beyond the scope of the present study to check all the books Mullā Ṣadrā compiled; however, e.g. in his commentary on *Hikmat al-ishrāq*, written by the famous philosopher Yaḥyā b. Ḥabash al-Suhrawardī (d. 587/1191), Mullā Ṣadrā refers to Ibn al-'Arabī many times, and also mentions, although much less frequently, al-Ḥallāj, al-Ghazālī and Rūmī (*Le livre de la sagesse orientale*, Lagrasse: Verdier, 1986, see pp. 677–80 [index des noms]). In his *tafsīr* of the Light verse, Mullā Ṣadrā again refers to many writers on Sufism, such as Dhu'l-Nūn al-Misrī, Sahl al-Tustarī, al-Ḥallāj and al-Ghazālī (*On the Hermeneutics of the Light-Verse of the Qur'ān*, London: ICAS Press, 2004, see pp. 163–7 [index]). Not only the matter of al-Makkī, but also the link between Mullā Ṣadrā and Sufism seems to deserve more academic attention, as Nasr suggests. In terms of al-Makkī, he does not appear in *al-Maẓāhir al-ilāhiyya*, *Kasr aṣnām al-jāhiliyya* or *Mashā'ir*. Some books have no index and require further research; for instance, *al-Shawāhid al-rubūbiyya*, *Falsafa-i 'ālī*, *Masnavī-i Mullā Ṣadrā* and *Risālah-i jabr wa tafwīd*.

in this section, and this indicates al-Makkī's direct and indirect influence on Mullā Ṣadrā.

Muhammad Murtadā al-Zabīdī (d. 1205/1791), Ithāf al-sādat al-muttaqīn

The last work to be examined in this section is *Ithāf al-sādat al-muttaqīn* ('The Gift of God-fearing Gentlemen'), written by the lexicographer Muhammad Murtadā al-Zabīdī al-Ḥanafī (d. 1205/1791). This is an extensive commentary on al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā*, where Muhammad Murtadā pays special attention to words as well as traditions which appear in the book.¹³⁶ This issue does not seem to have been discussed properly, although Reichmuth refers to al-Makkī in his work on Muhammad Murtadā and states that the 'main source' of al-Ghazālī in the field of Sufism is al-Makkī, whose *Qūṭ* is quoted 'at length' in the *Ithāf*.¹³⁷ The available 1894 edition does not contain an index, and it would be impossible to present a complete analysis here; however, it is still worth mentioning how al-Makkī is treated in this voluminous commentary.

In a chapter commenting on Section 2 of the *Iḥyā* regarding the foundations of the articles of faith (*kitāb qawā'id al-'aqā'id*), Muhammad Murtadā presents al-Makkī as the 'author of the *Qūṭ*', and states, for instance, 'this is how the author of the *Qūṭ* cited from Sahl' or 'this is the saying [which] the author of the *Qūṭ* cited in Section 33'.¹³⁸ Al-Makkī appears throughout in a chapter on Section 21 of the *Iḥyā* concerning the wonders of the heart (*kitāb 'ajā'ib al-qalb*).¹³⁹ At the beginning of this chapter, Muhammad Murtadā calls al-Makkī *al-Shaykh*, while he does not give any honorific title to other figures, such as al-Junayd, Ibn 'Atā', al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Abū Nu'aym or al-Qushayrī.¹⁴⁰

Several tendencies can be seen in how Muhammad Murtadā refers to al-Makkī. At least in this chapter on the heart, al-Makkī's *Qūṭ* is the most frequently cited work, followed by, probably, Abū Nu'aym's *Hilya*, al-Suhrawardī's *Awārif* and some work of al-Irāqī.¹⁴¹ Apart from the first entry, al-Makkī is always

¹³⁶ *EF*², s.v. 'Muhammad Murtadā' (C. Brockelmann); *GAL*, vol. 2, pp. 287–8.

¹³⁷ Reichmuth, *The World of Murtadā al-Zabīdī (1732–91)*, Cambridge: Gibb Memorial Trust, 2009, p. 271; cf. pp. 289–90, 308.

¹³⁸ *Ithāf*, vol. 2, p. 67. Cf. *Qūṭ*, vol. 3, pp. 1171–268 (Sec. 33). Al-Makkī's reference to Sahl al-Tustarī is sometimes quoted in the *Ithāf* (e.g. vol. 7, p. 254), which could show the former's importance in the study of the latter, as Böwering suggests in his *Vision*, pp. 25–8 *et passim*.

¹³⁹ *Ithāf*, vol. 7, pp. 205, 224, 228, 229, 230, 234, 235, 236, 237, 240, 241, 244, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 263, 264, 266, 267, 269, 299, 302, 303, 305, 307, 308, 312.

¹⁴⁰ As for al-Makkī, see *ibid.*, vol. 7, p. 205. After him, regarding the first two figures, see e.g. *ibid.*, vol. 7, p. 204; the rest, e.g. vol. 7, pp. 209, 224, 262, respectively. Abū Yazīd al-Bīstāmī is called *al-Imām* once in this chapter (*ibid.*, vol. 7, p. 247), and this seems to be the only other example of an honorific.

¹⁴¹ Al-Irāqī seems to be either Fakhr al-Dīn 'Irāqī (d. 686/1287), a mystical poet of al-Suhrawardīyya (*EF*², s.v. (H. Massé); *Mysticism*, pp. 204, 274) or Shams al-Dīn al-Irāqī (d. 932/1526), who associated himself with the Nūrbakhshīyya order, which holds a mixture of Shī'ite, Sunni and Sufi doctrines (*EF*², s.v. (M. Hasan); *Mysticism*, pp. 237–8).

addressed as the author of the *Qūt*, unlike other writers, who are mostly referred to by name. Expressions such as ‘in this way it [appears] in the *Qūt* (*hākādhā huwa fi'l-Qūt*)’ and ‘the *Qūt* said (*lafaza al-Qūt*) ...’ can often be seen in this section,¹⁴² which indicates Muḥammad Murtadā’s great familiarity with al-Makkī’s work.

At the end, Muḥammad Murtadā adds appendices related to this section and explains that he has gathered the information mainly from the *Qūt* and the *‘Awārif*, by which ‘the understanding (*wuqūf*) of [the topic] has been facilitated’ for him, and he has therefore quoted from these two works alone.¹⁴³ Towards the end of the appendices, it is confessed that all the arguments he has presented here are what he ‘summarised from the book *Qūt*'.¹⁴⁴ From these brief examples, it is evident that Muḥammad Murtadā consulted al-Makkī’s writing carefully and demonstrated a clear link between the *Iḥyā* and *Qūt*. This issue seems to be worth special investigation, and a comprehensive index of the *Ithāf* is awaited.

As can be seen from al-Ghazālī, and especially al-Suhrawardī onwards, many notable mystical authors show their great respect for al-Makkī. It is therefore puzzling why al-Makkī is not included in early Sufi hagiographical writings. It is possible that al-Makkī is not known to those compilers, or is known but considered as of lesser importance. However, such a conclusion seems implausible, considering the fact that al-Ghazālī started his study of Sufism with the *Qūt*, among other famous writings. The intention of the earlier compilers is still not entirely clear; however, al-Makkī’s entry in Jāmī’s hagiography seems more explainable. After being cited in various important mystical works, al-Makkī must have established a reputation as a Sufi writer by the time of Jāmī. Al-Makkī’s appearance in other types of writings might have had an influence on Jāmī’s selection; however, this is no more than a hypothesis.

Hadīth and biographical literature

Having examined al-Makkī as a Sufi author in works on Sufism and other religious sciences, this section explores how al-Makkī is treated in medieval general *tabaqāt* literature and Hadīth literary works – does he always appear as a Sufi master? Since many authors of well-known biographical literature are Hadīth scholars and it is difficult (and sometimes pointless) to try to separate Hadīth literature from biographical dictionaries, they will be studied together here.

Al-Khaṭīb (d. 463/1071), Ta’rīkh Baghdād

One of the earliest extant sources to mention al-Makkī is found in the famous biographical reference book for Hadīth scholars, *Ta’rīkh Baghdād* (‘The History of

¹⁴² E.g. the former: *Ithāf*, vol. 7, pp. 228, 234; the latter: vol. 7, p. 229 (in four places), p. 230.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, vol. 7, p. 308.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 7, p. 312.

Baghdad’), written by Abū Bakr Aḥmad al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071).¹⁴⁵ As discussed in [Chapter 1](#), his short (but valuable) sketch of al-Makkī’s life has often been cited by later authors. From his account, it can be discerned that although al-Khaṭīb cannot fail to include al-Makkī as one of the Ḥadīth transmitters to his book, he is not particularly in favour of al-Makkī’s thought. For instance, he states that al-Makkī writes ‘objectionable and dishonourable matters (*munkara wa mustashna*)’ about God in the *Qūt*.¹⁴⁶ Since no example is cited in his report of al-Makkī, it is not clear which aspects of the *Qūt* made al-Khaṭīb think this way. However, the frequent appearance of Ibn Ḥanbal in the *Qūt* would not have made a good impression on this Ḥadīth scholar, who was openly against the Ḥanbalīs.¹⁴⁷

Ibn al-Qaysarānī (d. 507/1113), al-Ansāb al-muttafiqa and al-Sam’ānī (d. 562/1166), Kitāb al-ansāb

Al-Khaṭīb’s narrative is soon used in an account of al-Makkī in *al-Ansāb al-muttafiqa* (‘Homonymous Lineages’), written by another Ḥadīth scholar, Ibn al-Qaysarānī (d. 507/1113).¹⁴⁸ Al-Makkī then appears in another *Ansāb* (‘Lineages’) by al-Sam’ānī (d. 562/1166).¹⁴⁹ No extra information can be found in the entry on al-Makkī, in which al-Sam’ānī appears to copy Ibn al-Qaysarānī’s account almost verbatim with some minor omissions.

Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200), al-Muntaẓam fī ta’rīkh al-duwal wa’l-umam

One of the most important accounts of al-Makkī can be seen in *al-Muntaẓam fī ta’rīkh al-duwal wa’l-umam* (‘Systematic Arrangement in the History of States and Communities’) by the famous Ḥanbalī scholar ‘Abd al-Rahmān Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200), as discussed in [Chapter 1](#). This book provides both historical analysis and biographical information, which can be found in obituaries. The report on al-Makkī in *al-Muntaẓam* shows the influence of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī. Ibn al-Jawzī, however, does not merely copy what is written in the previous work. He adds valuable anecdotes about al-Makkī and includes his own analysis – which in this case constitutes criticism of al-Makkī’s attitude towards Ḥadīth.

It is worth pointing out that Ibn al-Jawzī describes al-Makkī as one of the ‘pious ascetics (*al-zuhhād al-muta’abbidūn*)’, ‘virtuous (*ṣāliḥ*)’ and ‘*mujtahid*’,¹⁵⁰ and he

¹⁴⁵ *Ta’rīkh*, vol. 3, p. 89.

¹⁴⁶ *Ta’rīkh*, vol. 3, p. 89. Full translation of this account is in Ch. 1.

¹⁴⁷ He was originally a Ḥanbalī but became inclined towards al-Shāfi’ī (*EI*², s.v. ‘al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī’ (R. Sellheim)).

¹⁴⁸ Ibn al-Qaysarānī, *Ansāb*, pp. 153–4.

¹⁴⁹ Al-Sam’ānī, *Ansāb*, p. 541.

¹⁵⁰ A person who uses independent judgement.

mentions al-Makkī's affiliation to al-Sālimiyya.¹⁵¹ However, the term 'Sufi' is not used for either al-Makkī or the *Qūt*. This shows a different attitude from that of al-Khaṭīb, who states that the *Qūt* is written in 'Sufi language',¹⁵² and Ibn al-Qaysarānī and al-Samānī, who repeat al-Khaṭīb's statement. (Ibn al-Jawzī's other books will be studied in [Chapter 7](#) and general comments on his views of al-Makkī will be offered at the end.)

Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233), al-Kāmil fi'l-ta'rīkh

Al-Makkī and the *Qūt* next appear briefly in another famous annalistic history, *al-Kāmil fi'l-ta'rīkh* ('Completeness in History'). The author, Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233), praises the *Qūt* as 'the roots of the most succulent of dates ('urūq al-burdi'¹⁵³)'.¹⁵⁴ Like Ibn al-Jawzī, Ibn al-Athīr does not describe al-Makkī as a Sufi, while he does so for al-Sarrāj.¹⁵⁵

Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1282), Wafayāt al-a'yān

One of the most important anecdotes about al-Makkī's life can be found in the well-known medieval Muslim biographical dictionary, the *Wafayāt al-a'yān* ('Obituaries of Famous People'), composed by Aḥmad Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1282).¹⁵⁶ In his account of al-Makkī, whose translation appears in [Chapter 1](#), Ibn Khallikān quotes Ibn al-Qaysarānī's narrative extensively, but he also gives some extra information about al-Makkī's ascetic practices, which cannot be found in the previous works.¹⁵⁷

Al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348 or 753/1352–3), al-'Ibar fī khabar man ghabar, Mīzān al-i'tidāl fī naqd al-rijāl, Siyar a'lām al-nubalā', Tadhkīrat al-ḥuffāẓ, and Ta'rīkh al-Islām

Among the later historians who used Ibn al-Jawzī's *Muntazam* as a model, Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348 or 753/1352–3) wrote the most massive work in

¹⁵¹ *Muntazam*, vol. 7, pp. 189–90.

¹⁵² *Ta'rīkh*, vol. 3, p. 89.

¹⁵³ *Burḍī*: one of the most excellent sorts of dates (Lane, vol. 1, p. 185).

¹⁵⁴ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 7, p. 183. This work is extensively used by Abu'l-Fidā' (d. 732/1331), a Syrian prince, historian and geographer, in his *al-Mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar*. For his report on al-Makkī, Abu'l-Fidā' seems to combine the accounts of al-Makkī in the *Kāmil* and the *Wafayāt* (see below), and no new information can be found here (*al-Mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar*, Cairo: al-Maṭba'at al-Ḥusayniyya, n.d., vol. 2, p. 131).

¹⁵⁵ Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, vol. 7, p. 137.

¹⁵⁶ *Wafayāt*, vol. 4, p. 303.

¹⁵⁷ The accounts of al-Makkī in the *Ta'rīkh* and the *Wafayāt* are often reproduced by later authors. Al-Fāṣī al-Makkī (d. 832/1429), for example, mentions al-Makkī and the *Qūt* in his collection of biographies of people who have some connection with Mecca (*al-'Iqd al-thamīn fī ta'rīkh al-balad al-amīn*, Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Sunna al-Muḥammadiyya, 1958, vol. 2, pp. 158–9). As al-Fāṣī al-Makkī admits, the first two-thirds of the report are an almost exact copy from al-Khaṭīb, and the last third of the account is from Ibn Khallikān's *Wafayāt*.

this genre, entitled *Ta’rīkh al-Islām* (‘The History of Islam’). This Shāfi‘ī historian and theologian follows Ibn al-Jawzī’s style and, like him, quotes al-Khaṭīb, but in his account of al-Makkī, al-Dhahabī does not simply copy his predecessors’ works, but summarises them and adds his own evaluation and new information.¹⁵⁸ His report of al-Makkī’s deathbed is slightly different from that of Ibn al-Jawzī, and he provides important information about al-Makkī’s alleged collection of forty Ḥadīth.¹⁵⁹

Al-Dhahabī relates that al-Makkī has ‘a sweet tongue (*lisān hulw*)’ in Sufism,¹⁶⁰ unlike Ibn al-Jawzī, who does not use the term ‘Sufi’ for al-Makkī in the *Muntaẓam*, or al-Khaṭīb, who criticises al-Makkī. Al-Dhahabī made six abridgements of *Ta’rīkh al-Islām* by himself, and one of them, *al-’Ibar fī khabar man ghabar* (‘Lessons in the Narrative[s] of Those Who Have Lived in Some Time Past’), has a short account of al-Makkī, where he is recorded as having encountered Sufism, as having been a disciple of Abu'l-Ḥasan Ibn Sālim who was the head of al-Sālimiyya, and as having become the Shaykh of the School himself.¹⁶¹ (Amin claims that al-Dhahabī is the first author who reports that ‘in his opinion at any rate, al-Makkī was a pupil of Ibn Sālim’.¹⁶² Al-Khaṭīb, however, mentions the link between al-Makkī and Ibn Sālim nearly 300 years before al-Dhahabī, and his statement has been copied in various places. A translation of this account is offered by Amin himself.)¹⁶³

In addition to his many books on history, al-Dhahabī compiled several works in the field of Ḥadīth. In his *Mīzān al-i’tidāl* (‘The Scales of Justice’), al-Dhahabī enumerates more than eleven thousand Ḥadīth authorities and presents al-Makkī as an ascetic (*zāhid*) and a preacher (*wā’iz*).¹⁶⁴ His short account explains al-Makkī’s main authorities for the narration of Ḥadīth, and gives the name of a figure who transmitted Ḥadīth from al-Makkī, in addition to some quotes from al-Khaṭīb’s account of al-Makkī. No new information can be found here, but it should be mentioned that although al-Dhahabī mentions al-Makkī’s devoutness, he cites al-Khaṭīb’s negative opinion on the *Qūt* and al-Makkī’s apparent problematic saying in this short report.

The account in the *Mīzān*, on the whole, gives the impression that the author possibly disapproves of al-Makkī. This diverges from the rather approving tone which al-Dhahabī adopts in his *Ta’rīkh*, or the neutral statements in the *’Ibar* as discussed above. The term ‘Sufi’ does not appear in the report in the *Mīzān*, unlike the accounts in his other two works, or the narrative in the *Siyar* which will be introduced next.

¹⁵⁸ *Ta’rīkh* (381), pp. 127–8.

¹⁵⁹ See Ch. 1.

¹⁶⁰ *Ta’rīkh* (381), p. 127.

¹⁶¹ *’Ibar*, vol. 3, pp. 33–4.

¹⁶² Amin, p. 26.

¹⁶³ *Ta’rīkh*, vol. 3, p. 89; Amin, pp. 21–2.

¹⁶⁴ *Mīzān*, vol. 3, p. 655.

Al-Dhahabī's voluminous work on Ḥadīth transmitters, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'* ('Biographies of Noble Personalities'), contains a much longer account of al-Makkī than that in the *Mīzān*, although most information in the *Siyar* is almost the same as that in al-Dhahabī's *Ta'rīkh*.¹⁶⁵ Unlike in the latter, however, al-Makkī is clearly introduced as 'an imām, an ascetic, a knowledgeable person (*ārif*) and a Sufi Shaykh', who was brought up in Mecca but was originally Persian (*ajamī*).¹⁶⁶ Al-Makkī's ascetic exercises are highlighted in the *Siyar*, as an episode is presented in which his belly became green due to his limiting his diet to herbs.¹⁶⁷ Al-Dhahabī then quotes from al-Khaṭīb's *Ta'rīkh*, including al-Makkī's problematic saying, narrates his deathbed story and mentions his Ḥadīth collection and his Ḥadīth masters, as can be seen in al-Dhahabī's *Ta'rīkh*.

Towards the end of the account in the *Siyar*, the fame of the *Qūt* is underlined. Notably, the heading of this report is 'the author of the *Qūt* (*ṣāhib al-Qūt*)', not al-Makkī or Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, while most headings in the *Siyar* are the name of a figure.¹⁶⁸ This verifies al-Dhahabī's statement about the *Qūt* being famous. The *Qūt* must have been sufficiently well known in the time of al-Dhahabī that he could expect his reader to identify al-Makkī simply by saying 'the author of the *Qūt*' (and not *Qūt al-qulūb*).

On the basis of the examination of his biographical works *Ta'rīkh al-Islām* and *al-'Ibar*, and the *Mīzān*, and Ḥadīth literature the *Siyar*, al-Dhahabī's opinion on al-Makkī is, on the whole, not entirely clear. In his work on weak Ḥadīth transmitters, *Tadhkirat al-huffāz* ('Memorial of the Qur'ān Masters'), al-Makkī is not listed.¹⁶⁹ This might indicate that he does not consider al-Makkī as a transmitter of dubious Traditions, contrasting with Ibn al-Jawzī's criticism of al-Makkī on this account. When al-Dhahabī touches upon al-Makkī's Ḥadīth collection in the *Ta'rīkh* and the *Siyar*, he could have made negative comments on this compilation, since he stated that he had seen it. But he does not take a disapproving tone here; rather, he quotes a few Traditions from al-Makkī's collection. It may therefore be deduced that, in terms of a Ḥadīth transmitter, al-Dhahabī does not find anything particularly unacceptable in al-Makkī's works.

As discussed above, the *Mīzān* gives the impression that al-Dhahabī has a negative opinion of al-Makkī. On the other hand, in the *Ta'rīkh*, al-Dhahabī

¹⁶⁵ *Siyar*, vol. 16, pp. 536–7; cf. *Ta'rīkh* (381), pp. 127–8.

¹⁶⁶ *Siyar*, vol. 16, p. 536.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. 16, p. 537. This story might be from an account in Ibn Khallikān's *Wafayāt* (vol. 4, p. 303), but it is not clear.

¹⁶⁸ *Siyar*, vol. 16, p. 536. Al-Makkī is also introduced as 'the author of the *Qūt*' in the *Mīzān* (vol. 3, p. 655).

¹⁶⁹ This work has been supplemented many times; e.g. *Dhayl tadhkirat al-huffāz* by Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Husaynī (d. 763/1362), *Lahz al-alhāz bi-dhayl tabaqāt al-huffāz* by Muḥammad al-Hāshimī al-Makkī (d. 871/1466) and *Dhayl tabaqāt al-huffāz* by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505). Al-Makkī does not appear in the first two works at least, and probably not in the last one either (all three works are published in one volume; al-Ḥusaynī, *Dhayl tadhkirat al-huffāz*, Beirut: Dār Ihyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī, 1968. Only the last work does not have an index in this edition).

makes a positive comment on al-Makkī's writing style on the subject of Sufism, and quotes al-Khaṭīb as in the *Mīzān*, but omits the latter's criticism of the *Qūṭ*. There is a possibility that al-Dhahabī had not read al-Makkī's work himself when he wrote the *Mīzān*, where he mainly cites from al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī; but al-Dhahabī had become acquainted with al-Makkī before he compiled the *Ta'rīkh*, where he presented his own opinion. The *Ta'rīkh* was abridged by the author himself six times and the estimated end date of the compilation of this work therefore cannot be very late in his life. However, the timing of al-Dhahabī's writing is unknown and this issue cannot progress beyond hypothesis.¹⁷⁰

Al-Dhahabī's ambivalent views on al-Makkī may be due to his indefinite position on Sufism in general, and not particularly because of al-Makkī. For instance, in an account of al-Muḥāsibī in the *Mīzān*, al-Dhahabī quotes a saying of Abū Zur'a who criticises al-Muḥāsibī's works for being innovative, erroneous and straying from the right path (*dalālātī*), and states that:¹⁷¹

Where is someone like al-Ḥārith [al-Muḥāsibī]? How then if Abū Zur'a saw the writings of the later authors, such as the *Qūṭ* of Abū Ṭālib [al-Makkī]. Where is something like the *Qūṭ*? How then if he saw *Bahjat al-asrār* of Ibn Jahḍam¹⁷² and *Haqā'iq al-tafsīr* of al-Sulamī, his mind would fly away.

Al-Dhahabī continues by enumerating al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā*, 'Abd al-Qādir's *al-Ghunya*, and Ibn al-'Arabī's *Fuṣūṣ* and *Futūḥāt* in the same vein, and then concludes that at the time of al-Muḥāsibī, there were 'a thousand imāms' in the field of Ḥadīth, such as Ibn Ḥanbal.¹⁷³ This statement gives the impression that al-Dhahabī rejects these major authors on Sufism, and recommends the reader to study 'proper' (according to his estimation) Ḥadīth scholars. (It is probably this statement to which al-Suyūṭī responds and claims that al-Dhahabī's comment is misleading, as he 'murmurs against Imām Fakhr al-Dīn b. al-Khaṭīb [al-Rāzī]', against the one who is 'greater than the imām', namely 'Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, the author of *The Nourishment of Hearts*', and against the one who is 'greater than Abū Ṭālib', namely 'Shaykh Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī'. Finally, al-Suyūṭī announces that al-Dhahabī's statement is 'not accepted regarding them').¹⁷⁴

However, in his account of the Sufi poet Ibn al-Fāriḍ (d. 632/1235), al-Dhahabī says that although the work of this poet is something on which 'you [would] turn your back', he advises that you 'do not hasten [to judge]', but, rather, keep 'a good

¹⁷⁰ Cf. *EI*², s.v. 'al-Dhahabī' (M. Bencheneb).

¹⁷¹ *Mīzān*, vol. 1, p. 431.

¹⁷² This figure might be a Meccan Sufi, 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan Ibn Jahḍam al-Hamadhānī (d. 414/1023), who is considered to have played the key role in the development of Sufism in al-Andalus; Fierro, 'The polemic about the "karāmāt al-awliyā"' and the development of Ṣūfism in al-Andalus (fourth/tenth–fifth/eleventh centuries)', *BSOAS* 55, no. 2, 1992, p. 238 and n. 22.

¹⁷³ *Mīzān*, vol. 1, p. 431.

¹⁷⁴ Al-Laknawī, *al-Raf' wa'l-takmīl fi'l-jarḥ wa'l-ta'dīl*, Aleppo: Maktabat al-Maṭbū'āt al-Islāmiyya, 1963, pp. 131–2.

opinion of Sufism', since if you see what is behind the dress and symbolic expressions of mystics, Sufism will 'direct you to what is good'.¹⁷⁵ This seems to conflict with the previous account above, since this statement shows al-Dhahabī's positive views of Sufis, even though he admits that their writings might be easily misunderstood. Examining his apparently contradictory narratives on al-Makkī, and his sayings on the writers on Sufism and his opinion on mysticism, it appears to be difficult to make general observations about al-Dhahabī's position on al-Makkī or Sufism.

Al-Şafadī (d. 764/1363), al-Wāfi bi'l-wafayāt

Al-Makkī and his *Qūt* next appear in an enormous biographical work, *al-Wāfi bi'l-wafayāt* ('Completeness in Obituaries'), composed by Şalāh al-Dīn al-Şafadī (d. 764/1363).¹⁷⁶ In his account of al-Makkī, it appears that al-Şafadī first borrows a narrative in al-Dhahabī's *Ta'rīkh* (including the statement about al-Makkī having 'a sweet tongue' in Sufism). He quotes al-Khaṭīb's report about al-Makkī's alleged problematic utterance, and then mentions his ascetic practices, a reference which can be seen in Ibn Khallikān's *Wafayāt*. Al-Şafadī next cites Ibn al-Jawzī's criticism of al-Makkī's use of Ḥadīth whose origin cannot be traced.¹⁷⁷ Up to this point, al-Şafadī does not add any new information and it is not clear whether he is in favour of al-Makkī.

At the end of the narrative, however, al-Şafadī relates his own experience¹⁷⁸ that he saw a copy of the *Qūt* repeatedly used by Majd al-Dīn al-Aqsarā'ī, who was the 'Shaykh of Shaykhs at the *khāngāh* of Siryāqūs' and he says that, if possible, he would have bought it for 3,000 *dirhams*, but it was the *waqf* property of the *khāngāh* of Karīm al-Dīn and he could not obtain it.¹⁷⁹ It cannot be certain from this whether al-Şafadī had actually read the *Qūt* when he wrote this account; however, it is clear that he had a great interest in this work.

¹⁷⁵ *Mizān*, vol. 3, pp. 214–15.

¹⁷⁶ Al-Şafadī, *al-Wāfi bi'l-wafayāt*, Beirut: Dār Ihyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī, 1420/1999–2000, vol. 4, pp. 86–7.

¹⁷⁷ Al-Şafadī here refers to Ibn al-Jawzī's *Mir'āt*. This work might be the one composed by Ibn al-Jawzī's grandson, Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī (d. 654/1256). The statement about al-Makkī and Tradition can be found in Ibn al-Jawzī's *Muntaẓam* (vol. 7, pp. 189–90).

¹⁷⁸ Although Amin states that al-Şafadī in general 'repeat[s] the information given by al-Baghdādī, without adding any comment' (Amin, p. 26).

¹⁷⁹ Al-Şafadī, *Wāfi*, vol. 4, p. 87. *Khāngāh* is a cenobitic lodge for Sufi dervishes (*Mysticism*, p. 90, see also index; cf. Lane, vol. 1, p. 818). Siryāqūs is near Cairo and became an important site when the Mamlūk Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn (r. 693–741/1293–1341 with two interruptions) built a *khāngāh*. According to Williams, al-Maqrīzī reports that 'a sufi shaykh named Majd al-Dīn al-Aqsarā'ī, who had been shaykh of the khanqah of Karīm al-Dīn in the Qarāfa cemetery, was appointed head of the khanqah and 100 sufis were assigned to it. The Sultan bestowed upon him ... the title "Shaykh of Shaykhs", hitherto reserved for only the head of the khanqah ... in Cairo' ('The khanqah of Siryāqūs: a Mamluk royal religious foundation', in *In Quest of an Islamic Humanism*, ed. Green, Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 1984, p. 110).

Al-Yāfi’ī (d. 768/1367), Mir’āt al-janān

Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Yāfi’ī (d. 768/1367), the founder of the Yāfi’īyya (a branch of the Qādiriyya) and a famous Ash’arī scholar, also mentions al-Makkī and the *Qūt* in his compilation, *Mir’āt al-janān* (‘The Mirror of the Soul’).¹⁸⁰ Unlike his many other works on Sufism, the *Mir’āt* is a historical book influenced mainly by Ibn al-Athīr, Ibn Khallikān and al-Dhahabī.¹⁸¹ In his writing, al-Yāfi’ī calls al-Makkī ‘the Shaykh of Islam and the exemplar of the noble saints’. His short biographical sketch of al-Makkī seems to be copied almost verbatim from al-Dhahabī’s *Ibar*, although he does not describe al-Makkī as the head of the Sālimiyya as al-Dhahabī does, while he does mention that al-Makkī’s teacher is the renowned ‘great Shaykh and gnostic’ Abu’l-Ḥasan Ibn Sālim al-Baṣrī.

The value of the *Mir’āt* for the study of al-Makkī lies in al-Yāfi’ī’s summary of his spiritual life. According to al-Yāfi’ī, al-Makkī was in the beginning ‘a man of religious practice and struggle (*sāhib riyāda wa mujāhada*)’ but in the end he reached ‘innermost secrets and perception (*asrār wa mushāhada*)’. This statement appears to be found only here and it is interesting to see how al-Makkī’s spiritual progress is depicted by a Sufi scholar.

Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373), al-Bidāya wa’l-nihāya

Al-Makkī and his *Qūt* next appear in *al-Bidāya wa’l-nihāya* (‘The Beginning and the End’), compiled by ‘Imād al-Dīn Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373), a great historian and Traditionist of the Mamlūk period.¹⁸² In his work, Ibn Kathīr often refers to various authors, including Ibn al-Jawzī, Ibn al-Athīr and al-Dhahabī, and this major annalistic history is often used by later compilers.¹⁸³ In his account of al-Makkī, Ibn Kathīr quotes Ibn al-Jawzī twice, and here the style of his narrative is similar to that of Ibn al-Jawzī in the *Muntażam*, with minor modification and omission.¹⁸⁴ Ibn Kathīr appears to be the only author who mentions, citing from Ibn al-Jawzī, the name of the mosque, Jāmi’ al-Ruṣāfa, where al-Makkī’s tomb was built.¹⁸⁵ This statement cannot be found in the *Muntażam* or Ibn al-Jawzī’s other three writings discussed in the present study, and it is not clear where Ibn Kathīr obtained this information.

¹⁸⁰ Al-Yāfi’ī, *Mir’āt al-janān*, vol. 2, p. 430 (all the quotes in these two paragraphs are from here).

¹⁸¹ *EI*², s.v. ‘al-Yāfi’ī’ (E. Geoffroy).

¹⁸² Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, vol. 11, p. 341.

¹⁸³ *EI*², s.v. ‘Ibn Kathīr’ (H. Laoust); Auchterlonie, *Arabic Biographical Dictionaries*, Durham: Middle East Libraries Committee, 1987, p. 7.

¹⁸⁴ The poem which al-Makkī recited is slightly different from that which is related in the *Muntażam*, and the story of al-Makkī’s death seems to be a mixture of the reports of Ibn al-Jawzī (*Muntażam*, vol. 7, pp. 189–90) and al-Dhahabī (*Ta’rīkh* (381), pp. 127–8).

¹⁸⁵ See Ch. 1.

Ibn al-Qunfudh (d. ca. 810/1407), Kitāb al-wafayāt

Al-Makkī and the *Qūṭ* are next mentioned by the Algerian historian Ibn al-Qunfudh (d. ca. 810/1407) in his list of the death dates of notable Muslims, entitled *Kitāb al-wafayāt* ('The Book of Obituaries').¹⁸⁶ In addition to al-Makkī's influence on al-Rundi from al-Andalus, this work seems to demonstrate that al-Makkī was known outside the Iraq area where he is reported to have been active.

Ibn Hajar (d. 852/1449), Lisān al-mīzān

Again in North Africa, the Egyptian Ḥadīth scholar Aḥmad Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī (d. 852/1449) also mentions al-Makkī. He was inspired by al-Dhahabī and compiled a voluminous book entitled *Lisān al-mīzān* ('The Discourse of the Scales'), where Ibn Ḥajar reworked al-Dhahabī's *Mīzān*. As explained at the beginning of the *Lisān*, Ibn Ḥajar first introduces an account in the *Mīzān*, whose end is indicated as 'concluded (*intahā*)', and then his own words are presented.¹⁸⁷ This is the case with the account of al-Makkī: the first part of which is an exact copy of the report in the *Mīzān*.

Ibn Ḥajar then adds useful information about al-Makkī's teachers, namely 'Abd Allāh b. Ja‘far b. Fāris (d. 346/957) and Abū Zayd al-Marwazī (d. 372/982).¹⁸⁸ The former authorised al-Makkī to transmit Ḥadīth and the latter taught him *Sahīh al-Bukhārī*.¹⁸⁹ Ibn Ḥajar mentions al-Makkī's Ḥadīth collection, possibly drawing his information from al-Dhahabī's *Ta‘rīkh* and/or *Siyar*,¹⁹⁰ and he states that al-Makkī belonged to the 'madhab of Abu'l-Hasan Ibn Sālim', which could be a citation from al-Dhahabī's *Ibar*.¹⁹¹ Since the *Mīzān* contains negative comments of al-Khaṭīb, as discussed above, this colours the tone of the narrative of the *Lisān*, where Ibn Ḥajar does not add anything particularly positive about al-Makkī. On the whole, although his report of al-Makkī offers some useful information, it is presented in a simple practical manner and does not convey the compiler's own opinion on al-Makkī.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁶ Ibn al-Qunfudh, *al-Wafayāt*, Beirut: Dār al-Afaq al-Jadīda, 1983, p. 222. He puts al-Makkī's death in the year 389/999, which is footnoted and corrected by the editor as 386/996.

¹⁸⁷ Ibn Hajar, *Lisān*, vol. 1, p. 98.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., vol. 5, pp. 297–8; cf. *Mīzān*, vol. 3, p. 655.

¹⁸⁹ See Ch. 1. Ibn Ḥajar reports the latter's name as Ibn Zayd al-Marwazī; however, from the context, Ibn Ḥajar seems to have meant the Shāfi‘ī scholar Abū Zayd al-Marwazī (de Slane, vol. 2, pp. 613–14; Amin, p. 3). It is not clear from where Ibn Ḥajar obtained the names of the two teachers of al-Makkī, as he did not trouble to specify the precise sources.

¹⁹⁰ *Ta‘rīkh* (381), p. 128; *Siyar*, vol. 16, p. 537.

¹⁹¹ *Ibar*, vol. 3, p. 34.

¹⁹² At the end of the account, Ibn Ḥajar states that 'al-Nadīm mentioned [al-Makkī] in *Musannaf al-Mu‘tazila*'; however, it is not clear to whom and to which work Ibn Ḥajar refers. Neither the name of the author nor the title appears in *GAL* or *GAS*. Kahhāla lists two figures under the name of 'al-Nadīm': Muḥammad al-Nadīm Abū'l-Faraj al-Baghdādī (d. 438/1047) and Muḥammad al-Nadīm al-‘Ikbarī (?) [العکبری] (d. 473/1080) (*Mu‘jam*, vol. 9, p. 41, vol. 11, p. 190). Not much information is offered regarding the latter, apart from a brief statement that he was a Ḥadīth narrator and a Ḥāfiẓ. As

Ibn Taghrībirdī (d. 874/1470), al-Nujūm al-zāhira

Another Egyptian historian, Ibn Taghrībirdī (d. 874/1470), also mentions al-Makkī and the *Qūt* in his history of Egypt, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* ('The Shining Stars'), which contains obituaries and biographical data.¹⁹³ Probably from al-Dhahabī and/or al-Şafadī, he describes al-Makkī as having 'a sweet tongue' not only in Sufism but also in his preaching.¹⁹⁴

Ḩājjī Khalīfa (d. 1067/1657), Kashf al-żunūn

The last author in this section is the famous scholar of the Ottoman empire, Muşṭafā Ḥājjī Khalīfa (known as Kātib Çelebi) (d. 1067/1657). He lists the *Qūt* in his biographical dictionary, *Kashf al-żunūn* ('The Removal of Doubts'), which enumerates approximately 14,500 Arabic works.¹⁹⁵ After a short sketch of al-Makkī's life, Ḥājjī Khalīfa reports that no other work is said to compare with the *Qūt*, which explains the 'details of the Way (*daqā'iq al-ṭarīqa*)' in a manner which cannot be found in previous writings.¹⁹⁶ This statement might be from the notable Persian poet Jāmī, whose passage on al-Makkī in the *Nafahāt* is almost the same as this.¹⁹⁷

Narratives in biographical dictionaries are often repetitive, and obtaining new information or evaluating authors' own opinions is not the easiest task. I have attempted to examine the general image of al-Makkī, and selected materials which add something new to previous works or indicate al-Makkī's fame.¹⁹⁸ On the

for the former, he is introduced as the author of *al-Fihrist*, and many biographical dictionaries are listed including *GAL* (SI, pp. 226–7). The relevant account in *GAL* is Ibn Ishāq Ibn al-Nadīm, who compiled the famous *Fihrist* and died in 385/995. Despite some confusion (both the name, al-Nadīm or Ibn al-Nadīm, and the death year), according to Fück, Ibn Ḥajar makes use of the *Fihrist*, and it may be possible that he is referring to Ibn al-Nadīm in an account of al-Makkī in the *Lisān* (*EL*², s.v. 'Ibn al-Nadīm' (J.W. Fück)). However, Ibn al-Nadīm does not seem to have composed a book on the Mu'tazilites (*ibid.*). Although there is a section on them in the *Fihrist*, al-Makkī does not appear there or anywhere in this work (Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, pp. 201–27 [on al-Mu'tazila], 22–164 [index]). On the whole, it is not clear what Ibn Ḥajar means in his statement. Neither Amin nor Gramlich, who quotes the *Lisān*, explores this issue (Amin, p. 3; *Nahrūn*, vol. 1, pp. 11, 20).

¹⁹³ Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira fī mulūk Miṣr wa'l-Qāhira*, Cairo: s.n., 1938, vol. 4, pp. 174–5.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 175. Cf. *Ta'rīkh* (381), p. 127; al-Şafadī, *Wāfi*, p. 86.

¹⁹⁵ Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-żunūn 'an asāmī al-kutub wa'l-funūn*, Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1999, vol. 2, p. 319.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁷ Jāmī, *Nafahāt*, p. 121. See above for discussion on Jāmī.

¹⁹⁸ After Ḥājjī Khalīfa, although new information cannot be found, it might be worth mentioning a report on al-Makkī in a famous massive work, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, written by Ibn al-'Imād al-Hanbalī (d. 1089/1678) (*Shadharāt al-dhahab fī akhbār man dhahab*, Cairo: Maktabat al-Qudsī, 1350/1931–2, vol. 3, pp. 120–1). This biographical history was compiled for impoverished scholars like himself who could not obtain a large number of books (*EL*², s.v. 'Ibn al-'Imād' (F. Rosenthal)), and the main focus of the work therefore seems to be a collection of earlier writings, rather than his analysis of them. This is also the case with his treatment of al-Makkī, whose account begins with the verbatim report from al-Dhahabī's *'Ibar* and moves onto a near-verbatim narrative from the *Wafayāt* of Ibn Khallikān. He mentions both sources but does not provide his own evaluation.

whole, it is clear that he won renown as the author of the *Qūt*, not any other writing. The compilers in this section portray al-Makkī as a pious believer, although it varies whether the authors approve of him or not. These compilers describe al-Makkī in different ways, such as a Sufi writer, a Ḥadīth scholar, a preacher and an ascetic.

If the separation of Sufis and Ḥadīth experts took place in the ninth century as Melchert suggests,¹⁹⁹ it should be highlighted that al-Makkī was still included in Ḥadīth literature after the ninth century, but *not* in early Sufi works. Nowadays al-Makkī is not usually remembered as a Ḥadīth transmitter. However, together with his collection of Ḥadīth, it is worth investigating how the dynamics between Sufism and Ḥadīth changed over time and the way in which this affected al-Makkī's image.

¹⁹⁹ Melchert, 'Early renunciants'.

7 The influence of al-Makkī, part 2

Works by Ḥanbalī scholars

Ibn al-Farrā' (d. 458/1066), al-Mu'tamad fī uṣūl al-dīn

Dating back to the eleventh century, the first author to consider is the Ḥanbalī scholar Qādī Abū Ya'lā Ibn al-Farrā' (d. 458/1066). His book, *al-Mu'tamad fī uṣūl al-dīn* ('What is Approved amongst the Principles of Religion'), seems to be the earliest extant source which mentions al-Makkī.¹ This work is an abridgement of his own compilation with the same title, and deals with the major Kalām arguments, such as the existence of God, Divine attributes and names, God's will and speech, reason ('aql), and the inimitability (*i'jāz*) of the Qur'ān. Ibn al-Farrā' also discusses al-Sālimiyya and the Imamate, and he ends the book with an interpretation of Kalām terminologies.² This work sheds a different light on the link between al-Makkī and al-Sālimiyya.

Al-Mu'tamad shows the incorporation of Kalām into Ḥanbalite dogma, apparently for the first time among the disciples of Ibn Ḥanbal. According to Haddad, the editor, this work could dispel 'the myth of Hanbalite uniformity and anti-rationalism'.³ However, the attitudes of Ibn al-Farrā' towards Kalām theologians, especially the Ash'arites, are not always clear. Ibn Taymiyya, who often quotes Ibn al-Farrā', criticises him for accepting Ash'arite views, when Ibn al-Farrā' refutes them in his lost work (as do others, such as the Karrāmiyya, Bāṭiniyya and Sālimiyya). The Ash'arites then refute Ibn al-Farrā' and accuse him of being anthropomorphist.⁴ The *Mu'tamad* includes refutations of the Mu'tazilites, as well as of extreme Shī'ites, and his critical attitude towards them and al-Sālimiyya is at least evident. One of his lost works includes refutations of the latter,⁵ and the *Mu'tamad* contains a chapter on this mystico-theological school,

¹ See Ch. 1.

² *Mu'tamad*, pp. 11–12 [Arabic]; cf. pp. 13, 27–8 [Arabic].

³ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 21, 25; *EF*², s.v. 'Ibn al-Farrā'' (H. Laoust).

⁵ *Mu'tamad*, p. 25.

where the author enumerates eighteen items from its dogmas which he disproves one by one.⁶

Al-Makkī appears five times in the *Mu'tamad*, but Ibn al-Farrā' does not quote him in the section on the Sālimiyya school, and the book shows no obvious link between al-Makkī and the school. Gramlich also highlights this point and argues that it is questionable to criticise al-Makkī for his association with the alleged heretical teachings of al-Sālimiyya. After comparing four propositions of Ibn al-Farrā' against al-Sālimiyya with al-Makkī's views of each of these in the *Qūt*, Gramlich tries to point out how the former misunderstands the ideas of the Sālimiyya. Gramlich concludes that its heresy is the product of its adversaries, and that the negative comments by al-Khaṭīb on the *Qūt* should be interpreted in the same way.⁷ Bin Ramli carries out more thorough research on this, comparing all the propositions of Ibn al-Farrā' with the relevant passages in the *Qūt*. He points out more similarities between the nineteen tenets and al-Sālimiyya than Ibn al-Farrā' 'leads us to believe', despite the general view that the list in the *Mu'tamad* is a typical example of Ḥanbalī hostility towards Sālimī teachings.⁸

Here I examine how and when al-Makkī makes his presence in the *Mu'tamad*, as well as the author's treatment of al-Makkī. Ibn al-Farrā' includes the eulogy 'may God have mercy upon him (*rahimahu Allāhu 'anhu*)' every time he quotes al-Makkī, and mentions the *Qūt* when he first cites al-Makkī in a chapter on the scales (*mīzān*).⁹ Here Ibn al-Farrā' explains the scales, which God sets up on the Last Day, and cites a passage from the *Qūt* where al-Makkī describes the accuracy of the scales, which can weigh 'motes and mustard seeds' and easily differentiate good from evil.¹⁰ Al-Makkī next appears in a chapter on the path (*sīrāt*) which leads to Hell.¹¹ Ibn al-Farrā' quotes al-Makkī in support of his argument, drawing almost verbatim from the *Qūt*.¹²

Ibn al-Farrā' again relies on al-Makkī's views in a chapter concerning revivification (*iḥyā*) of the deceased in their graves.¹³ In the *Qūt*, al-Makkī affirms the reality of this and claims that suffering will visit the disobedient, while felicity will come to the obedient; in either case, this occurs not only physically but it affects the soul (*rūh*) and the self (*nafs*).¹⁴ Fourthly, al-Makkī appears in a chapter on Paradise and Hell in the *Mu'tamad*, where, again, the author supports his argument with

⁶ Ibid., pp. 217–21 [Arabic]. A translation of these eighteen propositions can be found in *Vision*, pp. 94–5, and Bin Ramli, pp. 261–99. Twelve of these are cited in *Ghunya*, vol. 1, pp. 106–7.

⁷ In Bowering's translation above, Gramlich examines nos. 2, 5, 16 and 18 with relevant views in the *Qūt* (*Nahrung*, vol. 1, pp. 15–16).

⁸ Bin Ramli, pp. 261–303.

⁹ *Mu'tamad*, p. 175 [Arabic].

¹⁰ Ibid. Almost exactly the same phrase can be seen in *Qūt*, vol. 3, p. 1276.

¹¹ *Mu'tamad*, pp. 176–7 [Arabic].

¹² *Qūt*, vol. 3, p. 1276.

¹³ *Mu'tamad*, p. 178 [Arabic].

¹⁴ *Qūt*, vol. 3, p. 1276; for al-Makkī's views of *nafs* and *rūh*, see e.g. Ch. 3 [21]–[22].

al-Makkī's words, which include a quote from Sahl al-Tustarī.¹⁵ Al-Makkī states here that companions close to God (*mugarrabūn*) enter Heaven without a reckoning (*hisāb*), while unbelievers (*kuffār*) go to Hell without it, and he cites a saying of Sahl al-Tustarī regarding the Final Judgement. Ibn al-Farrā' copies this passage almost word for word, except that he omits 'our imām' before the name of al-Tustarī.¹⁶

Al-Makkī last appears in the *Mu'tamad* in a chapter on repentance, where the author has a section concerning a basin (*hawd*) which the Prophet Muḥammad holds for believers before entering Heaven.¹⁷ The same story can be seen in the *Qūṭ*, which states that the liquid in the basin is 'whiter than milk' and 'sweeter than honey', and after drinking it, believers will never be thirsty again.¹⁸

As can be seen, al-Makkī is found in five different chapters in the *Mu'tamad*; however, all these citations appear almost consecutively in Section 34 of the *Qūṭ* regarding Islam and belief. Whether Ibn al-Farrā' read the other parts of the book, we do not know. Apart from the fourth case, where he cites a saying of Sahl al-Tustarī, al-Makkī's words are always followed by an expression, 'contrary to the Mu'tazilites who are in denial of this'. Ibn al-Farrā' verifies al-Makkī's statements by quoting from either the Qur'ān (for the first four cases) or the Ḥadīth (for the last case).¹⁹ This seems to demonstrate that Ibn al-Farrā' not only agrees with al-Makkī, but also uses him to refute the Mu'tazilites.

At least in the *Mu'tamad*, this Ḥanbālī theologian does not suggest any connection between al-Makkī and al-Sālimiyya. This is evidenced by the fact that the author does not mention al-Makkī in the chapter on refutations of this school. It might also be worth mentioning that Sahl al-Tustarī appears only once in the *Mu'tamad*, in the citation from al-Makkī which we have just seen, without any reference to al-Sālimiyya. On the whole, this work indicates no obvious relation between this group and al-Tustarī or al-Makkī.

Besides the lack of association of al-Makkī with al-Sālimiyya, Ibn al-Farrā' does not suggest any connection between al-Makkī and Sufism either. All the citations from the *Qūṭ* in the *Mu'tamad* are about after death, the Last Day, the hereafter and Heaven and Hell. This gives the impression that the *Qūṭ* is a book on devotion in which its author preaches on moral conduct in this world in the manner of a warning. The attitude of Ibn al-Farrā' towards Sufism is not clear, as he does not seem to have compiled anything regarding it,²⁰ however, whatever his attitude may be, it seems certain that Ibn al-Farrā' does not relate al-Makkī to this phenomenon.

¹⁵ *Mu'tamad*, p. 186 [Arabic].

¹⁶ *Qūṭ*, vol. 3, p. 1277.

¹⁷ *Mu'tamad*, p. 206 [Arabic].

¹⁸ *Qūṭ*, vol. 3, pp. 1276–7. Note that this story does not appear in the Qur'ān; see below.

¹⁹ The story of Muḥammad's basin does not appear in the Qur'ān and Ibn al-Farrā' quotes other Traditions to support al-Makkī's saying.

²⁰ Cf. *Mu'tamad*, pp. 13–28. It might be also worth considering that Ibn al-Farrā' does not quote either al-Sarrāj or al-Kalābādhī, whose works are definitely about Sufism, as their titles suggest.

In *al-Mu'tamad*, the latter is depicted as a pious Muslim author, to whom the former gives respect.

'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (d. 561/1166), al-Ghunya li-ṭālibī ṭarīq al-ḥaqq

The next work in this section is *al-Ghunya li-ṭālibī ṭarīq al-ḥaqq* ('What is Adequate for the Student of the Path to the Truth'), written by the Ḥanbalī Sufi 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (d. 561/1166). This paradigmatic book became a favourite Muslim manual for 'Hanbalīs, Sufis and non-Sufis alike'.²¹ The author not only is a Ḥanbalite writer on mysticism, following his famous predecessor, Anṣārī, but also gave his name to the first known Sufi order, al-Qādiriyah. The *Ghunya* treats all sorts of religious issues, from rules of conduct (*ādāb*), Muslims' obligations (e.g. fasting, pilgrimage, almsgiving and prayer), and eschatological issues, to internal matters (e.g. the characteristics of the heart, soul and the self), and the Devil. The link between al-Makkī and 'Abd al-Qādir has been mentioned by al-Raḍwānī, Braune and Knysh, though not in depth.

Al-Raḍwānī briefly refers to the influence of the *Qūṭ* on the *Ghunya*.²² Braune mentions that Ibn Taymiyyah criticises certain litanies in the *Ghunya*, which are taken from the *Qūṭ*. However, no source is specified, and it is not clear where Ibn Taymiyyah states this nor which particular prayers he frowns upon in the *Ghunya* and the *Qūṭ*.²³ Knysh adds to this point and states that some Ḥanbalī scholars underline the similarities between the two books.²⁴ He claims that a model for the *Ghunya* is the *Qūṭ*, except for a section on suspicious groups, including al-Sālimiyah.²⁵ Here again, however, no reference is identified, and it is unknown to us which Ḥanbalites Knysh meant or how he came to the conclusion that the 'source of inspiration' for 'Abd al-Qādir is the *Qūṭ*.²⁶ (As Knysh discusses there, apart from a section on heretical sects, the topics of *al-Ghunya* are the same sorts of issues as al-Makkī covers in the *Qūṭ*, although the latter also explains more mystical matters, e.g. religious stations and states. Al-Ghazālī too deals with similar religious subjects in his *Iḥyā*. The arrangement of these three books is different, and it might be worth exploring them from a comparative point of view.)

Although these brief statements exist, a close comparison between the texts of al-Makkī and 'Abd al-Qādir does not seem to have been carried out. This section therefore studies a chapter on the heart in the *Ghunya* which bears a striking resemblance to some passages in the *Qūṭ*.

²¹ *Mysticism*, p. 181.

²² *Qūṭ*, vol. 1, pp. 16, 18.

²³ *EP*, s.v. "'Abd al-Qādir al-Djilānī" (W. Braune). Prayers are treated in numerous places in the *Ghunya* and the *Qūṭ*, and it is difficult to trace.

²⁴ *Mysticism*, pp. 181–2.

²⁵ As mentioned above, this is the section where 'Abd al-Qādir copies most of the list of Ibn al-Farrā' (*Ghunya*, pp. 106–7); cf. *Mu'tamad*, pp. 217–21 [Arabic].

²⁶ *Mysticism*, p. 181.

‘Abd al-Qādir states that the heart has six impulses (*khawātir*); they are from the self (*nafs*), the Devil, soul (*rūh*), angels, reason (*‘aql*) and certainty (*yaqīn*).²⁷ He explains that the first two belong to desires, the next two are related to the truth, that reason can work for either, and that certainty is the essence of belief. This is exactly what al-Makkī states in the *Qūt*,²⁸ and it seems that ‘Abd al-Qādir is summarising his words, apart from the explanation of the concept of reason, where the passages in the *Qūt* are copied almost word for word.²⁹

In the following section, ‘Abd al-Qādir explains the concepts of the self and soul in more detail, as these are the ‘places to find the angel and the Devil’, and he depicts the characteristics of the heart as including ‘two types of shining light; these are knowledge and belief’, which are the ‘instruments of the heart and its senses’.³⁰ This looks like a summary of al-Makkī’s passage in the *Qūt*, with some near-verbatim lines.³¹ (This section appears just before the explanation of the six impulses in the *Qūt*, while ‘Abd al-Qādir arranges them the other way round.)

‘Abd al-Qādir does not always specify the precise sources upon which he drew in compiling the *Ghunya*, and these have to be identified on the basis of internal evidence. For example, he does not mention al-Makkī’s name in the sections on the heart, which we have just seen, nor does he refer to his fellow Ḥanbalī scholar Ibn al-Farrā’, even though ‘Abd al-Qādir seems to have copied the latter’s work regarding al-Sālimiyya. Nothing definite can therefore be claimed.

‘Abd al-Qādir studied Sufism under the ascetic and strict Shaykh Abu’l-Khayr Ḥammād al-Dabbās (d. 523/1131),³² and shows great familiarity with early Sufis and Sufi terminologies in his writing. Demeerseman examines three works of ‘Abd al-Qādir (*al-Ghunya*, *al-Fāth al-rabbānī*, *Futūh al-ghayb*) and enumerates fifteen Sufis, whose names ‘Abd al-Qādir mentions in his writings, as an example to demonstrate his thorough knowledge of Sufism: al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Ibrāhīm b. Adham, Sufyān al-Thawrī, Ḥārith al-Muḥāsibī, Rābi‘a al-‘Adawiyya, Abū Fuḍayl b. ‘Iyāq, Ma‘rūf al-Karkhī, Abū Yazīd al-Biṣṭāmī, Dhu’l-Nūn al-Miṣrī, al-Shiblī, Sārī al-Saqatī, Abū Ḥafs b. Salāma, Sahl al-Tustarī, Ibrāhīm al-Khawwāṣ and Abu’l-Qāsim al-Junayd. Demeerseman also studies ‘Abd al-Qādir’s command of Sufi terms.³³ It would not be therefore too absurd to argue that this famous Ḥanbalī preacher has acquainted himself with al-Makkī’s work. Together with the points which Braune and Knysh made concerning Ibn Taymiyya and some other Ḥanbalī

²⁷ *Ghunya*, vol. 1, pp. 113–14.

²⁸ *Qūt*, vol. 1, pp. 324–6 (see Ch. 3 [19]–[28]). ‘Abd al-Qādir changes the term ‘enemy (*‘adū*)’ to ‘Devil (*shayṭān*)’.

²⁹ *Ghunya*, vol. 1, p. 113 (lines 8–13); *Qūt*, vol. 1, p. 325 (lines 4–11).

³⁰ *Ghunya*, vol. 1, p. 114.

³¹ Ibid. (lines 4–9); *Qūt*, vol. 1, p. 324 (lines 6–12). ‘Abd al-Qādir again changes the term ‘enemy (*‘adū*)’ to ‘Devil (*shayṭān*)’.

³² *EP*, s.v. ‘‘Abd al-Qādir al-Djilānī’’ (W. Braune).

³³ Demeerseman, *Nouveau regard sur la voie spirituelle d’Abd al-Qādir al-Jilānī et sa tradition*, Paris: J. Vrin, 1988, pp. 13–19.

scholars, there seems to be no shortage of areas on which to base research on the connection between al-Makkī and 'Abd al-Qādir.

Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200), Ṣifat al-ṣifwa, Talbīs Iblīs and Talqīḥ fuhūm ahl al-athar

Ibn al-Jawzī shows more complex sentiments towards Sufism than does 'Abd al-Qādir, who does not seem to have any difficulty in being both a mystic and a Ḥanbalī. One might expect Ibn al-Jawzī, being a well-known Ḥanbalī scholar, to deny Sufism totally; however, his opinion on Sufis is not so straightforward. We have already seen one writing of Ibn al-Jawzī in the previous chapter, *al-Muntaẓam*, and three more compilations will be examined here.

The first work, *Ṣifat al-ṣifwa* ('The Characteristic of a Sincere Friend'), is an abridgement of *Hilyat al-awliyā'* by Abū Nu'aym, whom Ibn al-Jawzī 'admired'³⁴ As briefly mentioned in Chapter 6, this work does not refer to al-Makkī. At the beginning of the *Ṣifa*, Ibn al-Jawzī praises the *Hilya* as a 'remedy for malady (*dawā'* *li-adwā'*)',³⁵ although he continues that there are ten things which spoil the *Hilya* and he enumerates them.³⁶ Ibn al-Jawzī then esteems the saints (*awliyā'*) and the virtuous (*ṣāliḥūn*), as their understanding comes through the 'true nature of knowledge (*haqīqat al-'ilm*)'.³⁷ After his explanations regarding these pious people, Ibn al-Jawzī goes on to discuss the Prophet Muhammad and his Companions, and shows his respect for them for their 'knowledge ('ilm), renunciation (*zuhd*) and worship (*ta'abbud*)'.³⁸

The aim of the *Ṣifa* is to illustrate the true nature of Sufism, which is supposed to be in accordance with the guides demonstrated by the Prophet and his Companions.³⁹ Although it does not go beyond guesswork here, a possible reason for al-Makkī's absence in this work would be, firstly, that he was not originally included in the *Hilya* and Ibn al-Jawzī does not seem to have updated the original information.⁴⁰ Secondly, while using Ḥadīth transmitted by al-Makkī on certain occasions (see below), Ibn al-Jawzī may not consider his *Qūt* to be a representative of the 'true nature of Sufism' according to Ibn al-Jawzī's standard which is strongly demonstrated in the following work.

In *Talbīs Iblīs* ('Deception of the Devil'), which is considered to be a typical 'Hanbalī polemic',⁴¹ Ibn al-Jawzī presents strong arguments against numerous sects and figures. According to Laoust, Ibn al-Jawzī claims that these groups and

³⁴ *EL*², s.v. 'Ibn al-Djawzī' (H. Laoust). Cf. Auchterlonie, *Biographical Dictionaries*, p. 20.

³⁵ *Ṣifa*, vol. 1, p. 2.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 2–5.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 9.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 88.

³⁹ Cf. *EL*², s.v. 'Ibn al-Djawzī' (H. Laoust).

⁴⁰ For instance, he stops at the eighth *tabaqā* of the people from Kufa; a figure in this section includes Abū Dāwūd al-Ḥafṣī who died in 203/818–19 (*Ṣifa*, vol. 3, pp. 108–9).

⁴¹ *EL*², s.v. 'Ibn al-Djawzī' (H. Laoust).

individuals are to be condemned for having introduced innovative ideas, and his criticisms include Sufi writers, especially al-Makkī, al-Ghazālī and al-Qushayrī.⁴² Amin follows this line and states that Ibn al-Jawzī criticises al-Makkī for his use of weak Traditions, as can be found in the *Muntażam*.⁴³ This seems to be a fair comment in the light of a passage in the section on Sufism in the *Talbīs*, where Ibn al-Jawzī states:⁴⁴

Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī composed *The Nourishment of Hearts* for [the Sufis] wherein he referred to invalid (*bāṭila*) Traditions and that which is based on no authority in relation to prayers⁴⁵ for days and nights, and other topics. He [also] mentioned in it false doctrine, and constantly used a phrase, ‘some of those who have been unveiled⁴⁶ said’, but this is an empty expression (*kalām fārīgh*). He quoted in [his book] from some Sufis that God – may He be praised and glorified – reveals Himself in this world to those who are close to Him (*awliyā*).

Ibn al-Jawzī then quotes an account from al-Khaṭīb’s *Ta’rīkh*, including the latter’s negative comments on the *Qūt* and al-Makkī’s apparent problematic utterance.⁴⁷

In a section of *Talbīs* on ascetics (*zuhhād*), Ibn al-Jawzī also mentions al-Makkī.⁴⁸

Absolute abstention (*kaff*) is an error. Note this, as attention should not be paid to the saying of al-Ḥārith al-Muḥāsibī and Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, concerning what they said about reduction of food and the fight against the self by refraining from what is permissible for it.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Amin, p. 23.

⁴⁴ *Talbīs*, pp. 164–5. The whole book (apart from Sections 1–3) is translated into English by Margoliouth. (The translation here is done by the present author.)

⁴⁵ *Šalawāt*: Margoliouth renders this as ‘fastings’ (Margoliouth (Jul. 1936), p. 356) but this might be because of a different edition which is used by the translator (idem (Jan. 1935), p. 3 [the 1340/1921–2 edition is used here; whereas the available edition was published in 1368/1948–9]).

⁴⁶ *Mukāshafūn/mukāshifūn*: Amin also translates the same passage but leaves this term as ‘*mukāshifūn*’ (Amin, p. 23), while Margoliouth renders it as ‘those favoured with revelations’ (Margoliouth (Jul. 1936), p. 356). Although Ibn al-Jawzī states that al-Makkī often uses this word, I could not find an example. (Rather, it seems that al-Makkī more frequently uses the phrases: ‘one of those who have gnosis (*‘ārifūn*) said’ (*Qūt*, vol. 1, pp. 334, 341, 343, vol. 2, p. 509, etc.) and ‘one of those who have knowledge (*‘ulamā’*) said’ (ibid., vol. 1, pp. 335, 340, 363, vol. 2, pp. 505, 509, 521 etc.)) The context of the passage where the term at issue is used is therefore not clear; however, this might be a passive article, i.e. *mukāshafūn*, not active as Amin suggests, since this term seems to designate those whose veil has been lifted by God. (Cf. *mukāshif*: revealer (Lane, vol. 2, p. 3001).) Although the *Qūt* does not have a section on unveiling (*mukāshafa*), al-Makkī states that revelation enables believers to see and find God (*Qūt*, vol. 1, p. 347), and *mukāshafūn* appears to be those who have received it. Note that the term *mukāshafa* is explained by Hujwīrī as ‘the presence of the spirit (*sīr*) in the domain of actual vision (*‘iyān*)’ in comparison with the concept *muḥādara* (*Kashf*, p. 373). Al-Qushayrī has a chapter on *muḥādara*, *mukāshafa* and *mushāhada* (*Risāla*, pp. 75–6).

⁴⁷ *Ta’rīkh*, vol. 3, p. 89.

⁴⁸ *Talbīs*, p. 152.

Both passages reject al-Makkī's views and methods, and the sections on asceticism and Sufism in general give the impression of total rejection by Ibn al-Jawzī on both accounts. Ibn al-Jawzī, for example, states that some Sufis, who are induced by hunger into 'false fantasies' and declare that they are 'madly in love (*haymān*)' with God, are in 'between unbelief and innovation'.⁴⁹ He criticises al-Sulamī for interpreting the Qur'ān freely, al-Sarrāj for presenting repulsive doctrine and al-Ghazālī for citing invalid Traditions.⁵⁰

However, a careful examination of his apparently strong arguments should shed a different light on the aim of his series of attacks. For instance, Ibn al-Jawzī quotes al-Junayd who said that Sufism is about 'departing from every vicious quality and entering into every sublime quality', and Ruwaym⁵¹ who claimed that all people count on impressions (*rusūm*), except Sufis who observe realities (*haqā'iq*).⁵² Ibn al-Jawzī then argues that Sufis were originally in this sort of state, but the Devil deceived them and their followers.⁵³ These early Sufis are also observed to have once been agreed that 'reliance is to be on the Book and Sunna'; however, the Devil managed to delude them because of their ignorance.⁵⁴ (Presumably Ibn al-Jawzī means ignorance of the Sunna, Islam and Traditions. After criticising major writers on Sufism, he mentions this as the reason for their compilation.)⁵⁵

Ibn al-Jawzī often uses expressions such as 'the Devil's deceit to the ascetics', saying that the basic technique of the Devil for deluding Sufis is that he 'diverted them from knowledge'⁵⁶ and that most of the time the Devil misleads worshippers and ascetics by 'secret dissimulation (*riyā*)'.⁵⁷ As the title of this book, *Talbīs Iblīs*,⁵⁸ clearly indicates, this work is about the deception of the Devil. Ibn al-Jawzī states at the beginning that he decided to compose this book in the way of 'warning against temptation of [the Devil]' in order to remove his deception.⁶⁰ As discussed earlier, Ibn al-Jawzī talks in his *Ṣīfa* about the Prophet and his Companions with admiration for their high level of 'knowledge (*ilm*), renunciation (*zuhd*) and worship (*ta'abbud*)'.⁶¹ In the *Talbīs*, three chapters concern the ways in which

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 164.

⁵⁰ Ibid., pp. 164–6.

⁵¹ Probably Abū Muḥammad Ruwaym b. Aḥmad; see e.g. *Kashf*, pp. 135–6.

⁵² *Talbīs*, p. 163. This distinction between images and reality is similar to Plato's famous allegory of the cave, where people believe that the shadows on the wall are reality.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 168.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 166.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 161.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 163.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 152.

⁵⁹ According to Margoliouth, the title is taken from al-Ghazālī who was thinking of composing a similar type of book, despite the fact that Ibn al-Jawzī criticises him severely (Margoliouth (Jan. 1935), p. 2).

⁶⁰ *Talbīs*, pp. 4–5.

⁶¹ *Ṣīfa*, p. 88.

the Devil deceives those possessing these three qualities.⁶² This could show that what Ibn al-Jawzī intends to demonstrate and refute in the *Talbīs* is not knowledge, asceticism or even worship *per se*, but the deceptions that can be perpetrated based upon them.

On the whole, it seems plausible to take at face value what Ibn al-Jawzī says in the introduction of the *Talbīs*, and what he chose for the title of his book, and assume that the target of his attacks are heretical innovative ideas, deceptions and frauds by people who mistakenly believe that they have obtained a certain quality when they have not. This is because the Devil managed to confuse them, owing to their ignorance and/or wrong information.

It should also be mentioned that Ibn al-Jawzī is probably a ‘*laudator temporis acti*’ (someone who praises the past), one who shows great respect for ascetics and Sufis in earlier times but is hostile towards their successors who, he believes, have deviated from the original path.⁶³ This can be, for instance, seen in his division of the first Sufis from later Sufis, as mentioned above, and the fact that the former group seems to meet with his approval. Ibn al-Jawzī also quotes a saying that Satan used to ‘meet people and teach them’ but now he ‘meets them and learns from them’.⁶⁴

It may therefore be deduced that Ibn al-Jawzī does not reject Sufism itself. It is its delusions that he refuses. The same reasoning could well be applicable to the case of al-Makkī. Ibn al-Jawzī rebuts al-Makkī in the *Talbīs*, but this does not necessarily mean that the author rejects him completely. It seems more likely that what Ibn al-Jawzī criticises are certain aspects of al-Makkī’s views and manners which are manifest in the *Qūt*, but not the whole book or al-Makkī himself.

This hypothesis can be further examined through looking at another book of Ibn al-Jawzī, *Talqīḥ fuhūm ahl al-athar* (‘The Impregnation of the Perception of the People of Tradition in the Prominent Books of History and Biographies’), where he uses al-Makkī’s ideas. This issue is referred to briefly in an article on *tabaqāt* in *EI*²⁶⁵ and discussed more extensively in Bin Ramli’s thesis.⁶⁶ However, there seems to be no other discussion about this. In the *Talqīḥ*, Ibn al-Jawzī lists chronologically and alphabetically the people of Tradition who appear in notable books of history and biographies.⁶⁷ The last chapter of this book is entitled the ‘classes (*tabaqāt*) of this community’, where the author introduces a Ḥadīth of the Prophet, reported by Anas b. Mālik (d. 91–3/709–11).⁶⁸

⁶² *Talbīs*, ch. 6 (‘*ulamā*’), ch. 8 (worshippers (‘*abbād*’)) and ch. 9 (ascetics (‘*zuhhād*’)).

⁶³ Margolouth (Jan. 1935), p. 3.

⁶⁴ *Talbīs*, p. 38.

⁶⁵ *EI*², s.v. ‘*tabaqāt*’ (Cl. Gilliot).

⁶⁶ Bin Ramli, pp. 22–4.

⁶⁷ Although Brockelmann lists the *Talqīḥ* in the category of ‘Universalgeschichte’, it might be more appropriate to classify the book as ‘Biographie’ or ‘Hadīt’ (*GAL*, vol. 1, p. 662; *ibid.*, *SI*, p. 915).

⁶⁸ *Talqīḥ*, p. 714.

The classes of my community are of five generations. Each class of them is forty years. My generation and the generation of my Companions are the people of knowledge and belief. Those who follow them up to eighty [years] are the people of piety and fear of God. Those who follow them up to 120 years are the people of compassion and connection (*tawāṣīl*). Those who follow them up to 160 years are the people who separate from each other and stand back to back. Those who follow them up to 200 years are the people who [enter the state of] disorder and war.

Ibn al-Jawzī states that this Tradition is handed down from al-Makkī. The same Ḥadīth can be found in the *Qūṭ*, but it stops after reaching the people 120 years after the Prophet's generation. (This is probably because al-Makkī uses this Tradition in order to confirm the importance of knowledge, as it is stated after the Ḥadīth that the Prophet 'connected knowledge with belief and gave both precedence over the rest of classes'.)⁶⁹

After introducing this Tradition, Ibn al-Jawzī examines other versions and argues that al-Makkī is the only person who divides each generation, based on this Ḥadīth of Anas, into five groups and classifies notable Muslims into each. These five are: caliphs, jurists, Ḥadīth experts, Qur'ān reciters and ascetics. It is stated that al-Makkī categorises these five *tabaqāt*, each of which is forty years, up to his time. Ibn al-Jawzī then follows his example and enumerates fourteen generations with five classes, which ends with the year 560/1164–7, Ibn al-Jawzī having died in 597/1200.⁷⁰

When considering only the *Talqīḥ*, one would not guess that in other writings the author criticises al-Makkī's use of weak Traditions, since, in the *Talqīḥ*, Ibn al-Jawzī shows his trust in the Ḥadīth which al-Makkī passed down, as he clearly states that all the transmitters of this Tradition about the *tabaqāt* are approved,⁷¹ and even adopts his grouping as a model. Ibn al-Jawzī does not specify the title of al-Makkī's book from which the former cites the Tradition of Anas. There is a possibility that Ibn al-Jawzī consulted al-Makkī's alleged Ḥadīth collection, since the same Tradition in the *Qūṭ* does not have the whole passage. In addition to this, the *Qūṭ* does not contain al-Makkī's classification of forty years with five *tabaqāt*.⁷² It should also be mentioned that, in the *Talqīḥ*, Ibn al-Jawzī lists a chain of transmitters of this Tradition, whereas a long *isnād* cannot be found in the *Qūṭ*, and, in this particular case, al-Makkī just mentions a 'Ḥadīth of Anas from the Prophet'.⁷³

From these three reasons, it may be concluded that it is not the *Qūṭ* (or the *'Ilm*) where Ibn al-Jawzī found this Tradition and al-Makkī's categorisation. This might raise the probability of the existence of al-Makkī's alleged collection of forty Ḥadīth. Ibn al-Jawzī evidently sees significance in the enumeration of Ḥadīth

⁶⁹ *Qūṭ*, vol. 1, p. 384; this Tradition appears in Section 31 regarding knowledge.

⁷⁰ *Talqīḥ*, pp. 714–17.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 714.

⁷² And neither does the *'Ilm*. (This Ḥadīth itself does not seem to appear.)

⁷³ *Qūṭ*, vol. 1, p. 384.

transmitters. For this Tradition of Anas, for example, Ibn al-Jawzī lists eleven transmitters,⁷⁴ and, as Margoliouth points out, many lines of the *Talbīs* are ‘occupied with’ *isnād*, which are omitted in the process of translation apart from the first and the last.⁷⁵ The short or non-existent *isnād* in the *Qūt* might be one reason why he states that the Traditions in this book are ‘invalid’⁷⁶ and ‘have no origin’.⁷⁷

Having examined four books of Ibn al-Jawzī, now is the time to tie up loose ends and evaluate his attitudes towards al-Makkī and Sufism. An assessment of his overall opinion of Sufism, however, would take his other writings into account, when he is said to have written more than 200 books.⁷⁸ Rather than making such conjectures, my focus will be his view of al-Makkī and his standpoint regarding Sufism in his writings we have seen so far.

His attitudes towards al-Makkī show the variety of his feelings. The account of al-Makkī in the *Muntaẓam* indicates the author’s rather negative opinion of al-Makkī. As discussed above, Ibn al-Jawzī criticises the *Qūt* for using rootless Ḥadīth and quotes al-Khaṭīb’s statements about al-Makkī’s apparent problematic saying (but not al-Khaṭīb’s disapproving remark about the *Qūt*).⁷⁹ Although the term ‘Sufism’ or ‘Sufi’ is not used, the fact that al-Makkī is introduced as an ascetic, as Ibn al-Jawzī explains in the *Talbīs* that a Sufi is essentially an extended version of an ascetic,⁸⁰ together with the reference to his affiliation with al-Sālimiyya, give a clear impression of al-Makkī being a Sufi. Al-Makkī’s response in the form of a poem regarding the *samā’* practice and his deathbed story seem to follow a conventional image of Sufis as well.

This attitude seems to be confirmed in the *Talbīs*, where Ibn al-Jawzī makes al-Makkī appear in the sections on asceticism and Sufism in order to criticise his views. Although the same author made an abridgement of a famous Sufi treatise, the *Hilya*, and shows his respect for its author in the *Ṣīfa*, the image of Ibn al-Jawzī would seem to be one of hostility to anything which he believes is outside mainstream Islam.

This impression is not inaccurate, since he does rebut, for instance, certain Sufi writers including al-Makkī in a strong disapproving tone. As seen above, it appears that Ibn al-Jawzī rejects al-Makkī and Sufism in general. Laoust, for example, states that al-Makkī, al-Qushayrī and al-Ghazālī are ‘vigorously attacked’ in the *Talbīs*.⁸¹ However, in the *Talqīḥ* Ibn al-Jawzī’s attitude is entirely different from that in the *Muntaẓam* and the *Talbīs*. Thus, there seems to be good reason to re-evaluate the initial impression and expectation of Ibn al-Jawzī being hostile to Sufism.

⁷⁴ *Talqīḥ*, p. 714.

⁷⁵ Margoliouth (Jan. 1935), p. 3.

⁷⁶ *Talbīs*, p. 164.

⁷⁷ *Muntaẓam*, vol. 7, p. 189.

⁷⁸ Cf. *GAL*, vol. 1, pp. 659–66; *ibid.*, *SI*, pp. 914–20.

⁷⁹ *Muntaẓam*, vol. 7, pp. 189–90.

⁸⁰ *Talbīs*, p. 161. (Cf. Ibn al-Jawzī also states on p. 165 that this ‘well-known path (*madhhab*)’, i.e. Sufism, is different from asceticism.)

⁸¹ *EP*, s.v. ‘Ibn al-Djawzī’ (H. Laoust).

From what we have seen in these chapters, it appears that the thrust of Ibn al-Jawzī's criticism of al-Makkī is specific. First of all, the bulk of his disapproval is directed towards the *Qūt* (particularly certain phrases), al-Makkī's behaviour towards Tradition, and some of his teachings. As can be seen here, Ibn al-Jawzī specifies the problems he finds in al-Makkī's writing, and it may be assumed that the rest of al-Makkī's views do not trouble him. He would not have used al-Makkī's Ḥadīth and method if he had had difficulties with al-Makkī himself.

The same could apply to the case of Sufism. As discussed above, Ibn al-Jawzī's criticism of Sufism does not amount to total denial. His problem lies in Sufism's divergence from its original 'version'. It should also be mentioned that in the list of *tabaqāt* in the *Talqīḥ*, al-Bistāmī appears as the representative of an ascetic in the sixth generation and Ibn Sālim in the eighth,⁸² even though the two would seem to be exactly the sort of figure that Ibn al-Jawzī would find unacceptable, al-Bistāmī being famous for his ecstatic utterances when he reached the mystical state, and Ibn Sālim being often the target of criticism from the Ḥanbalites.

According to Braune, Ibn al-Jawzī used to hold meetings which are 'paradigmatic' for Sufi practices, despite his vigorous attacks on the 'orgiastic' elements of Sufi gatherings.⁸³ Braune uses this as an example of a Ḥanbalite attitude which is not always firm refusal of mystical phenomena. Khalidi also argues that despite Ibn al-Jawzī's general reputation for being 'hard-headed' about reporting oddities, omens, *karamat* and other marvels associated with "low" Sufism', his work is indeed 'full of them', and discusses Ibn al-Jawzī's mixed feeling towards certain elements of Sufism.⁸⁴

It is impossible here to determine for certain Ibn al-Jawzī's general attitude towards Sufism, not only because of the need for a laborious process of study of his voluminous writings, but also because Ibn al-Jawzī might after all not have been consistent in his views on Sufism. It appears, however, that his criticism is strictly directed against any doctrine, whether mysticism or any other approach, which has, in his opinion, deviated from the accepted and lawful norms. Shukri briefly mentions that Ibn al-Jawzī criticises al-Makkī for his use of weak traditions.⁸⁵ Amin expands this, offers a translation of an account of al-Makkī in the *Muntaẓam* and a passage from the *Talbīs*, and gives a comment that the particular point of Ibn al-Jawzī's criticism of al-Makkī is his lack of reliability as a Ḥadīth transmitter.⁸⁶ However, Ibn al-Jawzī's feelings towards al-Makkī do not seem amenable to such a simple summary as this. What has been established as certain so far is that his estimation of al-Makkī and Sufism is more complicated than it looks at first sight.

⁸² *Talqīḥ*, p. 716. It is not clear how much Ibn al-Jawzī made a change to al-Makkī's original list up till the latter's era. If he did, he chose these two figures by himself, and if not, he did not mind leaving them in the list.

⁸³ *EP*², s.v. '‘Abd al-Ķādir al-Djīlāmī' (W. Braune).

⁸⁴ Khalidi, *Arabic Historical Thought in the Classical Period*, Cambridge: CUP, 1995, pp. 212–13.

⁸⁵ Shukri, p. 55.

⁸⁶ Amin, p. 23.

Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328), Majmū‘ fatāwā

The same tendency can be seen in another well-known Ḥanbalī thinker, Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328). In his *Majmū‘ fatāwā* ('Collection of Legal Opinions'), Ibn Taymiyya responds to a question regarding the *Qūt* and the *Iḥyā*, and claims that the latter is 'subordinate' to the former, as al-Makkī is 'more knowledgeable' than al-Ghazālī in general, including about Ḥadīth and Sufi sayings, and his words are 'undoubtedly more apposite, better and less heretical (*bid‘a*)' than those of al-Ghazālī.⁸⁷ Although Ibn Taymiyya acknowledges that there are many useful matters included in the *Iḥyā*,⁸⁸ in his opinion the book also talks about what he sees as objectionable issues.

This *fatwā* also demonstrates that Ibn Taymiyya is well acquainted not only with these two books but also with Islamic religious discourses in general. In his explanation of the *Iḥyā*, for example, Ibn Taymiyya relates the work not only to al-Makkī, but also to al-Muḥāsibī, Kalām and philosophy.⁸⁹ Laoust analyses Ibn Taymiyya's familiarity with both Islamic sciences and heretical doctrines, and argues that although he often mentions al-Ghazālī in his main writings, Ibn Taymiyya observes that al-Ghazālī's ideas are borrowed from al-Muḥāsibī and, particularly, from al-Makkī, whose *Qūt* has 'passé dans l' *Iḥyā*'.⁹⁰

It seems clear that this famous Ḥanbalī scholar has a rather high opinion of the *Qūt* and prefers it to al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā*. Ibn Taymiyya explains that the *Qūt* elucidates internal matters, such as 'patience (*sabr*), gratitude (*shukr*), love (*hubb*), trust in God (*tawakkul*) and *tawḥīd*', and states that although the work is less problematic than the *Iḥyā*, it still contains weak Traditions and many dubious issues.⁹¹

This last criticism can also be seen in another *fatwā*, where Ibn Taymiyya discusses 'the people of gnosis', whose writings always include 'questionable and false' Ḥadīth, and he enumerates the major writings in this category, such as the works of 'Abū Ṭālib [al-Makkī], Abū Ḥāmid [al-Ghazālī], and Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir [al-Jīlānī]'.⁹² These two passages above indicate that although Ibn Taymiyya has a problem with the use of invalid (according to him) Traditions, he does not seem to have any difficulty with mysticism itself.

Makdisi in his article concludes that Ibn Taymiyya was a Sufi of the Qādiriyya order (although he does not seem to approve of 'Abd al-Qādir's use of weak Ḥadīth), and claims that Ibn Taymiyya has the 'formal credentials' of Sufism which has not yet been found for al-Ghazālī.⁹³ Laoust argues that Ibn Taymiyya

⁸⁷ *Fatāwā*, vol. 10, p. 551.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. 10, pp. 551–2.

⁹⁰ *Taimīya*, pp. 80–100; the quote is from p. 82.

⁹¹ *Fatāwā*, vol. 10, p. 551.

⁹² *Ibid.*, vol. 11, p. 579.

⁹³ Makdisi, 'Ibn Taimīya: a Ṣūfi of the Qādiriyya order', *American Journal of Arabic Studies* 1, part 1 (1973), pp. 118–28; the quote is from p. 119. Cf. Nasr, *Islamic Philosophy*, p. 76.

never hides his ‘intellectual affinity’ for Sufism,⁹⁴ nor his admiration for the saints, and he even talks about the Sālimiyya school with ‘strong sympathy’.⁹⁵ Laoust also claims that the *Qūt* is Ibn Taymiyya’s favourite work among mystical writings,⁹⁶ and, unlike Ibn al-Farrā’ and ‘Abd al-Qādir, Ibn Taymiyya seems to approve of certain doctrines of al-Makkī and al-Sālimiyya.

Ibn Taymiyya shows his wide knowledge of mystical tradition by referring to major writings on Sufism, such as *Kitāb al-zuhd* (‘Book of Renunciation’) of Ibn al-Mubārak (d. 181/797),⁹⁷ the *Hilya* of Abū Nu‘aym, the *Ṣīfa* of Ibn al-Jawzī, the *Tabaqāt* of al-Sulamī and the *Risāla* of al-Qushayrī.⁹⁸ Ibn Taymiyya also refers to, for instance, al-Junayd, al-Tustarī, al-Suhrawardī and Ibn al-‘Arabī, although Ibn Taymiyya does not seem to approve of the latter’s doctrine of *wahdat al-wujūd*.⁹⁹ It seems clear that Ibn Taymiyya does not seem to deny Sufism *per se*, but finds what deviates from the Sharī‘a unacceptable. According to Laoust, although the core doctrine of Ibn Taymiyya is based on Ḥanbalism, he was looking for a ‘doctrine of synthesis or of conciliation’, which integrates the three elements of three branches of knowledge: the reason of Kalām thinkers, the Ḥadīth of Traditionists and the ‘free-will (*irāda*)’ of Sufis.¹⁰⁰

As in the case of Ibn al-Jawzī, Ibn Taymiyya’s criticism of al-Makkī regards his attitudes towards Ḥadīth (and he is not the only writer who receives the same accusation as seen above). Shukri and Amin briefly touch upon this point,¹⁰¹ while al-Raḍwānī quotes only the first part of an above-mentioned *fatwā*, which shows Ibn Taymiyya’s preference for al-Makkī over al-Ghazālī, and omits the rest where Ibn Taymiyya expresses his disapproval of certain aspects of the *Qūt*.¹⁰² As can also be seen in his other writings, on the whole Ibn Taymiyya speaks highly of al-Makkī and prefers him to al-Ghazālī,¹⁰³ and the link between the two figures seems to deserve further investigation.

This section has examined four notable Ḥanbalī scholars and their treatment of al-Makkī. The heavy influence of the *Qūt* can be seen in the writings of the first two authors, Ibn al-Farrā’ and ‘Abd al-Qādir, while Ibn al-Jawzī and Ibn Taymiyya

⁹⁴ See also Homerin, ‘Ibn Taimīya’s *al-Ṣūfiyah wa-al-fuqarā’*’, *Arabica* 32, fasc. 2 (Jul. 1985), esp. p. 219.

⁹⁵ Laoust also explains that Ibn Taymiyya regards a Sufi as one who ‘tout en préconisant une pratique fervente de la Loi, respecte la théodicée et les pratiques culturelles de la tradition orthodoxe’ (*Taimīya*, p. 89).

⁹⁶ Laoust, ‘Le Hanbalisme sous les Mamlouks Bahrides’, *Revue des études Islamiques* 28 (1960), p. 35; cf. Makdisi, ‘The Hanbalī school and Sufism’, *Humaniora Islamica* 2 (1974), p. 67.

⁹⁷ Ibn al-Mubārak was a well-known ascetic and his book is a collection of Tradition and pious sayings in regard to renunciation (cf. *Mysticism*, pp. 21–2; *Sufism* (4), p. 40), although Ibn Taymiyya states here that the Ḥadīth in this book are weak.

⁹⁸ *Fatāwā*, vol. 11, p. 580.

⁹⁹ Cf. Homerin, ‘Ibn Taymīya’, p. 219; cf. Nasr, *Islamic Philosophy*, p. 76.

¹⁰⁰ *EI*², s.v. ‘Ibn Taymiyya’ (H. Laoust).

¹⁰¹ Shukri, p. 55; Amin, p. 26.

¹⁰² *Qūt*, vol. 1, p. 3.

¹⁰³ *Taimīya*, 90 n. 1.

demonstrate both criticism and acceptance of al-Makkī. The analysis of these four Ḥanbalī thinkers first of all sheds light on the extensive attention given to Islamic devotion in al-Makkī's writing. Although his teaching may be accepted only partially, it is clear that al-Makkī is regarded as an influential author of religious doctrines in Islam.

It has also become clear that those famous Ḥanbalī scholars have been inspired by mystical thought one way or another, while their core doctrine is centred on Ḥanbalism. It may look quite contrary to the current general image of Ḥanbalīs, especially that of Ibn Taymiyya who influenced the anti-Sufi Wahhābī movement. It should be worth mentioning again here a summary of the *Qūṭ* written by the Salafi reformer of Damascus in the late Ottoman period, Jamāl al-Dīn al-Qāsimī (d. 1914).¹⁰⁴ Like Ḥanbalism, the Salafi trends are also associated with the anti-Sufi sentiment; however, according to Weismann, Salafi 'ulamā' were originally inspired by certain Sufi revival movements.¹⁰⁵ Although I do not intend to exaggerate the closeness between Sufis and Ḥanbalīs, the relation between Sufism and Ḥanbalism (and Salafiyya) evinces more intricate patterns than it seems at first sight, and this would be an intriguing subject to explore further.

Pre-modern Muslim scholarship: al-Makkī, preacher of Islamic piety

After studying over forty works in various religious fields, including Sufism, *ṭabaqāt*, Ḥadīth, Ḥanbalism, it is now time to draw the threads of these two chapters together and to evaluate what kind of status al-Makkī had in pre-modern times. After al-Makkī died in 386/996, Ibn al-Farrā' and al-Khaṭīb, who died seventy and seventy-five years after him, seem to be the first authors to mention al-Makkī and whose works have survived until today. In Ibn al-Farrā' 's *Mu'tamad*, al-Makkī is not connected with either Sufism or al-Sālimiyya, while al-Khaṭīb associates him with both in the *Ta'rīkh*. The *Mu'tamad* concerns Kalām-Ḥanbalism, while al-Khaṭīb's *Ta'rīkh* has been cited in numerous biographical dictionaries since its completion. Al-Khaṭīb's negative opinion of the *Qūṭ*, and his statement that this work is a Sufi writing and that al-Makkī was a member of al-Sālimiyya must have had a stronger influence on later authors than that of Ibn al-Farrā'.

Despite a certain amount of criticism by non-Sufi writers, al-Makkī starts making a constant appearance among the major works on Sufism after al-Ghazālī's reference to him. It is still a mystery why early Sufi authors in the pre-al-Ghazālī period were totally silent about al-Makkī. I would like to explore three possible reasons for his absence, namely, first, that al-Makkī was not regarded as a Sufi; second, that his thought and his affiliation with al-Sālimiyya were disapproved of; and, third, the fragile position of Sufism in the fifth/eleventh century.

¹⁰⁴ Al-Qāsimī, *al-Wa'z al-maṭlūb min Qūṭ al-qulūb*, Beirut: Dār al-Bashā'ir al-Islāmiyya, 2000.

¹⁰⁵ Weismann, 'The politics of popular religion', p. 39.

As for the first point, al-Makkī is often introduced as the author of the *Qūt*. It would not therefore be a surprise that the work was not originally received as a Sufi manual, especially by Sufis. There might also be a gap between the criteria for being a Sufi asserted by Sufis themselves and those of non-Sufis. Al-Makkī's ascetic practices and mythical deathbed story are reported in non-Sufi writings, such as by Ibn Khallikān, Ibn al-Jawzī and al-Dhahabī. This kind of narrative could be enough for non-Sufis to deem al-Makkī a Sufi, but there is a possibility that for early Sufis this might indicate al-Makkī's piety and diligence, but no more.

Concerning the second and third points, although Ibn al-Farrā' projects a theologically different image of al-Makkī than that of al-Khaṭīb, if the latter's view is the one which was commonly accepted, the main writers on Sufism in its formative period might have avoided mentioning al-Makkī. Their aim is to prove the soundness of Sufism, and the link between al-Makkī and al-Sālimiyya might have been considered problematic, especially given that this school seems to have been regarded as heretical even among those in favour of Sufism, as discussed above in connection with Hujwīrī's *Kashf*. Since little is known about this school, it is difficult to evaluate whether this speculation can be proved correct. However, al-Makkī's association with this group and the position of Sufism in Islam in the fourth/tenth and fifth/eleventh centuries could be the major external reasons for the absence of al-Makkī in the early Sufi writings.

In addition to these social and environmental conditions, possible internal reasons should also be considered, namely the characteristics of al-Makkī's writings. In the historical sources examined in these chapters, three works of al-Makkī are identified: the *Qūt*, a Ḥadīth collection and (allegedly) a *tafsīr* of the Qur'ān.¹⁰⁶ As discussed earlier, the *Qūt* could be classified as a Sufi work, since it covers spiritual aspects of religion and elucidates certain terms which are often used by Sufis. However, the *Qūt* has to be differentiated from the other classical manuals of Sufism, such as al-Sarrāj's *Luma'*, al-Kalābādhī's *Ta'arruf*, al-Qushayrī's *Risāla* and Hujwīrī's *Kashf*, since these are clearly compiled to clarify the nature of Sufism, with explanation of mystical terminologies, figures and writings.

The emphasis of the *Qūt* is on the importance of right bodily action based on right action in the heart. This spirit is inherited by al-Ghazālī in his *Iḥyā'*, and Ibn Taymiyya and al-Rundī compare these two works for good reason. The core question of both books is how to become a better believer. If a Sufi represents a religiously right Muslim, the *Qūt* and the *Iḥyā'* would evidently be writings on Sufism. However, it might be less misleading if we just say that these books are about Islamic piety in general. At the time of al-Makkī and throughout the fifth/eleventh century, mystical phenomena in Islam must have had a different image from the one which they may have today. In this period of the theorisation of Sufism, there is a possibility that the *Qūt* was regarded as falling somewhere

¹⁰⁶ None of his other possible writings (see Ch. 1) appears in these materials, including the *'Ilm*. As argued above, Ibn al-'Arabī states that al-Makkī compiled other books than the *Qūt*, and al-Khaṭīb mentions his works on *tawḥīd*; however, their titles or genres remain unknown to us.

between a work on Sufism and on religious ethics. In addition to the previous points regarding al-Sālimiyya and timing, the characteristics of the *Qūt* itself could be part of the reason why al-Makkī does not appear amongst the Sufi classics.

From the twelfth century onwards, the tide changes and al-Makkī starts to be cited and esteemed in various writings on Sufism. It should be underlined that these works do not always mention al-Makkī's connection with al-Sālimiyya,¹⁰⁷ while other non-Sufi sources in the same period often refer to this subject. The Sālimī group appears to have died down after the time of al-Makkī.¹⁰⁸ If the reputation of this school was unchanged, since the school did not have a chance to improve its reputation, the difference between this and the previous period would be the position of Sufism in Islam, which might have had a positive effect on al-Makkī's appearance in later Sufi literature.

Considering al-Ghazālī's fame and importance in the history of Islam, we could give all the credit to him for al-Makkī's appearance after him. It might be possible to argue that his open respect for al-Makkī and his contribution to the improvement of the status of mysticism in Islam gave encouragement and liberty to later authors to use and mention al-Makkī freely. However, as Knysh argues, it is more plausible to judge that al-Ghazālī is a 'vivid example' of the intellectual trend in the sixth/twelfth century,¹⁰⁹ when the Sufi movement seems to have been rooted in Islam religiously and socially, and many Sufi orders started to be formed.¹¹⁰

The cultivation of mystical activity can also be found in a tighter master–disciple relationship than before, as al-Rundī points out.¹¹¹ These environmental changes in Sufism might have taken place gradually; however, overall it can be assumed that spiritual life in later times must have become different from that of early Sufis through the systematisation period. In addition to al-Ghazālī, this altered position of Sufism in Islam might have contributed to al-Makkī's appearance and the open respect which he has received in many mystical writings from the sixth/twelfth century onwards.

Regarding al-Makkī's influence, his direct obvious inspiration can be found in the writings of Ibn al-Farrā', al-Ghazālī, Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Suhrawardī, Ibn al-'Arabī, al-Rundī and Muḥammad Murtadā. A possible link between al-Makkī and 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, and his influence on Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh and Ibn Taymiyya, should be further explored. In the connection with Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh and al-Rundī, the comparison between the Shādhiliyya teachings and those of al-Makkī should give another perspective on the study of al-Makkī. As discussed above, he seems to have made a strong impression on various Ḥanbalī scholars, and the relationship between

¹⁰⁷ An exception is Jāmī, who mentions al-Makkī's relation with Ibn Sālim and Sahl Tustarī, via Ibn Sālim's father (*Nafahātī*, p. 121).

¹⁰⁸ *Vision*, p. 96; *EI*', s.v. 'Sālimiyya' (L. Massignon).

¹⁰⁹ *Mysticism*, p. 168.

¹¹⁰ Basic Sufi communities can be seen earlier than this period (cf. *Sufism (K)*, pp. 114–15), but the major Sufi orders, many of which still exist today, saw their rise in the sixth/twelfth century onwards (cf. *Mysticism*, pp. 172–3).

¹¹¹ *Rasā'il*, p. 130; see the previous chapter. Cf. *Mysticism*, pp. 177–9; *Sufism (K)*, pp. 116–27.

al-Makkī and these thinkers, and Sufism and Ḥanbalism in general, show entangled intellectual interaction, and this deserves further investigation.

The main criticism of al-Makkī concerns his use of weak Tradition, as Gramlich and Amin mention.¹¹² Although the former enumerates the books that express disapproval of al-Makkī's method, most of them copy their information from previous works, and it is not certain whether these authors have actually read al-Makkī's book. For instance, al-Khaṭīb expresses his negative opinion about the *Qūṭ* (but not regarding the use of Tradition); however, it cannot be entirely certain whether he has read the work himself. Among the writers who have been studied here, it appears to be only Ibn al-Jawzī and Ibn Taymiyya who offer original critical views on the basis of their own examination of the work, and a careful study of their writings reveals that their attitudes towards al-Makkī are not as straightforward as they look or as one might expect. Al-Dhahabī, too, might have had direct contact with the *Qūṭ*, as well as al-Makkī's Ḥadīth collection; however, the former's opinion on the latter is not clear from the works which we have looked at in the previous chapter.

In terms of al-Makkī's biographical data, al-Khaṭīb's *Ta'rīkh* is one of the core sources for later *ṭabaqāt*, followed by Ibn al-Jawzī's *Muntaẓam* and Ibn Khallikān's *Wafayāt*, which make good use of the *Ta'rīkh*. Al-Dhahabī then collates information from these former works and his compilations also serve as a model for later authors. These writings set a precedent and afterwards many biographical compilations became, more or less, supplements or reworkings of the previous versions.

At the time of al-Dhahabī, three-and-a-half centuries had already passed since al-Makkī's death, and after the mid-eighth/fourteenth century there is less new information about al-Makkī's life and work.¹¹³ From this time onwards, the focus of examination of the historical sources would be not only seeking for new data, but how their authors respond to early writings and how they use al-Makkī's work – for instance, al-Suyūṭī's response to al-Dhahabī, al-Rundi's *Rasā'il* and Muḥammad Murtadā's *Ithāf*.

On the whole, then, what kind of status did al-Makkī and his works have in pre-modern times? Amin concludes his article with a statement that al-Makkī was a 'traditionist *sūfī*, though both sides, *sūfīs* and traditionists, do not acknowledge him for his involvement in the *sūfī* and *hadīth* world'.¹¹⁴ However, apart from the Sufi classics in the late fourth/tenth and fifth/eleventh centuries, many writings on both Sufism and Tradition do acknowledge him, and the initial silence among the early mystic writers should be located within the wider social context, not only from their possible personal opinion on al-Makkī.

¹¹² *Nahrung*, vol. 1, p. 17; Amin, p. 23. Cf. Shukri, p. 55.

¹¹³ A single exception would be Ibn Ḥajar, who adds new information about al-Makkī's teachers in his *Lisān*, a rework of al-Dhahabī's *Mīzān*.

¹¹⁴ Amin, 'al-Makkī', p. 76.

Al-Makkī's main work, the *Qūt*, cannot be simply categorised into either mystical or Ḥadīth literature. As Gramlich says, this work is a 'summary of Islamic piety',¹¹⁵ inspired by Traditions, early pious ancestors, ascetics and Sufis, as can be seen in frequently cited religious authorities in the *Qūt*. This inclusive nature might come from its author, who can be described simply as a devout believer, since any kind of classification (Sufi or Traditionist) is exclusive and does not seem to capture his nature. As Melchert discusses, the disciplinary division may have been clear by the time of Ibn al-Jawzī;¹¹⁶ however, it seems less so at the time of al-Makkī who lived before or in a transition period of classification and formalisation of jurisprudence and religious sciences. This probably explains why al-Makkī's writing(s) could be the source of inspiration, including criticism, in various fields not only of mysticism, but also of Ḥadīth, *tabaqāt*¹¹⁷ and others. The topic of the *Qūt*, the heart, can also draw wider attention, since this seems to be an almost universal subject in many religious traditions, as we have seen. Then there may well also be works (within and outside Muslim writings) which are inspired by al-Makkī but without acknowledgement. The last part of the present study will analyse a book on Jewish piety as a possible example of this tendency.

¹¹⁵ *Nahrung*, vol. 1, p. 5.

¹¹⁶ Melchert, 'Early renunciants', p. 410.

¹¹⁷ This *tabaqāt* does not refer to biographical dictionaries, but to the classification of people, which can be seen in Ibn al-Jawzī's *Talqīh*, where he uses al-Makkī's grouping as a model, as discussed above.

8 Ibn Bāqūdā and *al-Hidāya ilā farā’id al-qulūb*

Up to now, the present study has examined al-Makkī’s religious ideas and his significance for Muslim thinkers. The focus of the last two chapters shifts from Muslim to Jewish writings, and al-Makkī’s possible influence on a certain Judaeo-Arabic¹ literary work which was produced when Arabic was the lingua franca throughout the vast area of the Islamic world. Sharing the vernacular inevitably facilitated continuous cultural discourse beyond faith borders. In what Goitein famously called the ‘Jewish-Arab symbiosis’,² there was a dynamic interaction between Jewish and Islamic and/or Arabic writings, particularly in al-Andalus. It would be too idealistic and simplistic to regard al-Andalus as the template of *convivencia*; however, there is no doubt that this period produced a great number of monumental works, which had a far-reaching influence among Jews in the fields of philosophy, science, literature and religion.

The last part of this book examines this intellectual relationship through a comparison between the work of al-Makkī and Ibn Bāqūdā (d. after 1080), the Andalusian Jewish judge who wrote *Kitāb al-hidāya ilā farā’id al-qulūb* (‘Book of the Right Guidance to the Religious Duties of Hearts’)³ in Judaeo-Arabic, approximately a century after al-Makkī’s death. Compared to, for example, Moses Maimonides (d. 1204), the name of Ibn Bāqūdā is hardly known in

¹ The use of the term ‘Judaeo-Arabic’ and its status have been the source of disputes; here I use this term to designate a type of Arabic written in Hebrew script. For further discussion, including the linguistic and social settings of Judaeo-Arabic, see e.g. Khan, ‘Judaeo-Arabic’, in *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2007, vol. 2, pp. 526–36; Blau, *Studies in Middle Arabic and its Judaeo-Arabic Variety*, Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1988, esp. pp. 85–117; Hary, *Multiglossia in Judeo-Arabic*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992, esp. Ch. 4; idem, *Translating Religion*, Leiden: Brill, 2009, esp. pp. 8–13; Versteegh, *The Arabic Language*, Edinburgh: EUP, 1997, esp. Ch. 8; the socio/ethnolinguistic aspect of labelling of ‘Judaeo-Arabic’ is also discussed in Suleiman, *Arabic, Self and Identity*, Oxford: OUP, 2011, pp. 33–8.

² Goitein, *Jews and Arabs*, p. 131.

³ Mansoor rendered the title as *The Book of Direction to the Duties of the Heart*; Vajda translated it as *Introduction aux devoirs des cœurs* (*Théologie*, p. 18); Yahuda read it as *Die Anleitung zu den religiösen Pflichten der Herzen* (*Hidāja*, p. 59). Considering *farīda* (pl. *farā’id*) as signifying a thing made obligatory on humanity by God (Lane, vol. 2, p. 2375), Yahuda’s rendition of ‘religiösen Pflichten’ sounds most appropriate.

Islamic studies. However, among Jews, his work *al-Hidāya* is considered to be one of the most important works on Jewish morals and spirituality, and his fame is not only among scholars by any means. Ibn Bāqūdā appears in popularised books, for example, *Fifty Key Jewish Thinkers*,⁴ and *Jewish Philosophy A–Z*, which describes *al-Hidāya* as a ‘philosophical-mystical’ work influenced by Sufism, Kalām, Mu‘tazilites and Neo-Platonism.⁵

The then Chief Rabbi of the United Kingdom, Hertz, pointed out the importance of the two ‘Guides’ in medieval Jewish literature: Ibn Bāqūdā’s *al-Hidāya* and Maimonides’ *Dalālat al-hā’irīn* (‘The Guide of the Perplexed’). Hertz considers the former a ‘book of the people’, rather than exclusively for scholars, succeeding in deepening the knowledge of Jewish spirituality.⁶ Admitting that the idea of the very title of Ibn Bāqūdā’s work is non-Jewish, Hertz states that apart from the Torah, *al-Hidāya* is ‘the noblest expression of the Jewish spirit of all times’.⁷ As a systematic treatise on ethics in the Jewish religious tradition, this book has also drawn significant scholarly attention in various countries, with recent work written in, for instance, English, Hebrew, Spanish, German and French.⁸

Ibn Bāqūdā was one of the earliest Jewish moral philosophers in what is now Spain. He is sometimes described as a Neo-Platonist, probably partly because the first two chapters of his book seem to have Neo-Platonic elements⁹ (although Lomba argues that his teaching is Aristotelian),¹⁰ and partly because of a certain Neo-Platonic work which used to be attributed to Ibn Bāqūdā.¹¹ The impact upon *al-Hidāya* of Arabic literature, especially that of Kalām and Sufi writings, is clear from its title, its contents and the religious milieu in which Ibn Bāqūdā lived, and this influence has been the subject of significant scholarly work. Al-Makki’s impact on him has also been suggested in Jewish studies;¹² however, this link is hardly recognised in Islamic studies and there seems to be no comprehensive research into it.¹³

⁴ Cohn-Sherbok, *Fifty Key Jewish Thinkers*, London: Routledge, 1997, pp. 17–19.

⁵ Hughes, *Jewish Philosophy A–Z*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, pp. 88–9.

⁶ Hertz, *Sermons, Addresses and Studies*, London: Soncino, 1938, vol. 3, p. 327.

⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 321–42; the citation is from p. 342.

⁸ Gallego *et al.* (eds), *Bibliography of Jews in the Islamic World*, Leiden: Brill, 2010, see index, p. 485.

⁹ See e.g. Guttman, *Philosophies of Judaism*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1964, p. 104; Altmann, *Studies in Religious Philosophy and Mysticism*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969, p. 73; Sirat, *A History of Jewish Philosophy in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge: CUP, 1985, p. 82; D. Shatz, ‘The biblical and rabbinic background to medieval Jewish philosophy’, in *Companion*, p. 17.

¹⁰ Lomba, p. 530.

¹¹ See e.g. *EJ*, ‘Bahya (pseudo)’.

¹² E.g. Yahuda, introduction to *Hidāja*, p. 59; Mansoor, introduction to *Direction*, pp. 31–2; Goodman, ‘Bahya on the antinomy of free will and predestination’, *Journal of the History of Ideas* 44, no. 1, Jan.–Mar. 1983, pp. 115–30; *Dialogue*, see index. Goodman also discusses a possible influence of the Bible on al-Makki; see e.g. *Jewish and Islamic Philosophy*, Edinburgh: EUP, 1999; ‘What does Spinoza’s *Ethics* contribute to Jewish philosophy?’, in *Jewish Themes in Spinoza’s Philosophy*, Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2002. See my thesis for further discussion on al-Makki in Jewish studies (Yazaki, pp. 26–32).

¹³ E.g. the latest article on al-Makki in *EF* does not mention this possible link (s.v. ‘Abū Tālib al-Makki’ (E.S. Ohlander)).

In this chapter, I will first introduce Ibn Bāqūdā and his book, and then explore *al-Hidāya* in detail. The next and last chapter compares this work with the *Qūt* by evaluating their aims, structures, approaches, and their religious views of the heart, in order to examine whether literary parallels can be found between the two books as has sometimes been suggested; and if so, how they should be understood in the overall context. The primary aim of this section is to analyse the possible link between al-Makkī and Ibn Bāqūdā as individuals. The conclusion, however, will briefly discuss the interaction between Muslim and Jewish religious traditions in general and how we approach mystical teachings in these two monotheistic creeds.

Ibn Bāqūdā: the Jewish echo?

Bahyā b. Yūsuf Ibn Bāqūdā (also known as Bachya Abū Ishāq ben Joseph Ibn Paqūda) was an Andalusian scholar.¹⁴ His life is shrouded in mystery. The name ‘Paqūda’, quite rare in the medieval Jewish literature, may be of Aramaic origin.¹⁵ It is not certain when and where he was born and died, nor is the exact place where he spent his life known. The latest Jewish figure among those whom he mentions in *al-Hidāya* is Ibn Janāh, who died around 1050, and *al-Hidāya* was translated into Hebrew by Judah b. Tibbon (d. ca. 1190) in 1161, or between 1161 and 1180, at the request of Rabbi Meshullam ben Jaqob in Lunel (d. 1170).¹⁶

Yahuda, writing in 1904, states that Ibn Bāqūdā wrote at the very end of the eleventh century or the beginning of the twelfth century, based on his belief in al-Ghazālī’s (d. 1111) influence on *al-Hidāya*.¹⁷ However, in 1912, we can see Yahuda’s change of mind, confessing that he does not find his original argument convincing any more and mentions the possibility of the two thinkers studying the same, previous work.¹⁸

Kaufmann claims in 1910 that Ibn Bāqūdā was active in the mid-eleventh century, while in 1927 Kokovtsov places his life towards the end of the eleventh century. Kaufmann argues for Ibn Bāqūdā’s influence on a famous Andalusian poet, Solomon ben Judah Ibn Gabirol, who was born ca. 1021 and died ca. 1057. From this, as well as Ibn Bāqūdā’s acquaintance with Ibn Janāh, Kaufmann concludes that Ibn Bāqūdā composed his book in approximately 1040.¹⁹ Kokovtsov, on finding new material, reviews this issue. He reads a passage written by Moses ben Jacob Ibn

¹⁴ In Jewish studies, his name usually appears as Bahya (or Bachya); however, I will follow the Arabic rendition here.

¹⁵ Cf. Kokovtsov, ‘The date of life of Bahya ibn Paqoda’, *Livre d’hommage à la mémoire du Dr Samuel Pozánski*, Varsovie: Comité de la grande synagogue à Varsovie, 1927, pp. 13, 19.

¹⁶ Cf. Yahuda, *Prolegomina zu einer erstmaligen Herausgabe des Kitāb al-hidāja ‘ila farā’id al-qulūb von Bachja ibn Josef ibn Paqūda aus dem ‘Andalus’* nebst einer größeren Textbeilage, Darmstadt: C.F. Winter’sche Buchdruckerei, 1904, p. 1 n. 2.

¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 12–14.

¹⁸ *Hidāja*, p. xv.

¹⁹ Kaufmann, ‘Die Theologie des Bachja Ibn Pakuda’, in *Gesammelte Schriften* 2, ed. Braun, Frankfurt am Main: J. Kauffmann, 1910, pp. 17–18.

Ezra (ca. 1055–after 1135), a poet and philosopher from Granada, as indicating that Ibn Bāqūdā belongs to an earlier generation than Ibn Ezra, and concludes that Ibn Bāqūdā wrote *al-Hidāya* between 1050–5 and 1080–90.²⁰

These disputes mainly concern an argument over who influenced whom and who mentioned whom. More recent studies by Mansoor in 1973 and Lobel in 2007 show that it is likely that Ibn Bāqūdā did his writing in the latter half of the eleventh century, with the very beginning of the twelfth century as the *terminus ad quem*. Following the argument by Kokovtsov, both authors agree that *al-Hidāya* was written probably around 1080,²¹ and Lomba in 2010 also considers the work to have been written between 1080 and 1090.²²

The place where he mainly spent his life is, likewise, uncertain. Some scholars place him in Cordoba, others in Saragossa.²³ There seems an inclination towards the latter among recent research; for instance, according to Lobel, a manuscript of *al-Hidāya* from 1340 states that Ibn Bāqūdā lived in Saragossa.²⁴ In the eleventh century, Spain witnessed the collapse of the Marwānid Caliphate. The Kingdom of al-Andalus was facing its downfall and the political and social situation in Cordoba must have been different from that in Saragossa. It remains obscure, however, how the work of Ibn Bāqūdā and the place he spent his life would have been involved in his writing.

Concerning his profession, the earliest translation of *al-Hidāya* describes Ibn Bāqūdā as a *dayyān*, a judge at a rabbinical court, as his name appears as al-Wā’iz al-Dayyān Bahyā b. Yūsuf b. Bāqūdā al-Andalusī in Yahuda’s edition. However, nothing in his writings specifically suggests his occupation. No anecdote about his career seems to have survived. It is clear that he is well acquainted with Talmudic studies as a member of a rabbinical court. However, it is hard to know whether Ibn Bāqūdā did his writing in his spare time or whether we should see this as something arising from his judicial work.

Ibn Bāqūdā’s fame lies in his book *al-Hidāya*, but he also composed a number of hymns in Hebrew for liturgy. According to Tanenbaum, Ibn Gabirol and Ibn Bāqūdā are ‘transitional figures’ in the history of devotional poetry.²⁵ Peles collected twenty-eight liturgical poems composed by Ibn Bāqūdā, including three which appear in *al-Hidāya*.²⁶ Some of his hymns have been used as part of the prayer service among the Jews of Spain and Italy, and others can be found in the Cairo Genizah.²⁷ On the whole, due to the paucity of sources, we have little chance of finding out about his personal life.

²⁰ Kokovtsov, ‘Life of Bahya’, pp. 13, 20.

²¹ *Direction*, pp. 1, 33–6; *Dialogue*, pp. 1–2.

²² Lomba, p. 529.

²³ Cf. *Direction*, p. 1.

²⁴ *Dialogue*, p. 1; cf. Lomba, p. 529.

²⁵ Tanenbaum, *The Contemplative Soul*, Leiden: Brill, 2002, p. 54.

²⁶ Peles, ‘Bahya ben Yosef ibn Baquda liturgical poems, critical edition’, unpublished M.A. dissertation, submitted to Tel-Aviv University, 1977.

²⁷ *Direction*, pp. 1–2; Lomba, p. 529.

The significance and scholarship of *al-Hidāya*

Al-Hidāya has been widely read as a book of Jewish ethics. Its influence can be seen, for example, on the writings of the poet and philosopher Moses Ibn Ezra (d. after 1135), the great thinker Abraham Ibn Ezra (d. 1164), the Talmudist Israel Israeli (d. 1317) and one of the most distinguished Jewish philosophers, Moses Maimonides.²⁸ The only son of Moses Maimonides, Abraham Maimonides (d. 1237), is also known to have been a prominent spiritual successor of Ibn Bāqūdā. The difference between the two lies in their attitudes towards the use of Islamic sources. Fenton, for instance, states that while Ibn Bāqūdā had ‘misgivings’ about this, Abraham Maimonides not only demonstrates his respect for Sufis, but believes they are the ‘heirs’ of Jewish traditions.²⁹

Al-Hidāya was originally written in Judaeo-Arabic and was translated into Hebrew by Judah b. Tibbon in the latter half of the twelfth century, as mentioned. Another Hebrew rendition by Joseph Qimḥi (d. 1170) is known; however, only a chapter on repentance is extant. The book became popular through Ibn Tibbon’s version and among Jews is generally known by its Hebrew title, *Hovot ha-levavot* (‘Duties of the Heart’). The *Hovot* was later used among Kabbalists, and became a basic manual of eighteenth-century Hasidism in Central Europe.³⁰ Including Hebrew, Ladino, Spanish, Portuguese, Yiddish, German, Italian, French and English, *al-Hidāya* has been translated into many languages. Most of these translations are based on Judah’s Hebrew version, which has more than 200 editions.³¹

In 1912, Yahuda edited the Judaeo-Arabic manuscripts of *al-Hidāya* and published it in the Arabic script, except for Biblical quotations, pious sayings and Jewish names, which were left in Hebrew. Not only painstakingly transliterating Hebrew letters into Arabic, Yahuda added a significant introduction in German which examined the Arabic and Islamic sources of *al-Hidāya*. Born into an Iraqi Jewish family in Jerusalem, Yahuda’s doctoral thesis also emphasises the Arab origin of this important work among Jews.³² As this edition appeared fifteen years

²⁸ Cf. Lomba, p. 531. Kokovtsov, for instance, states that Moses Ibn Ezra borrowed ‘entire passages’ from *al-Hidāya* (‘Life of Bahya’, p. 18), and N. Ilan discusses Israel’s heavy reliance on Ibn Bāqūdā (‘Between Halakhic codification and ethical commentary: Rabbi Israel Israeli of Toledo on intention in prayer’, in Hary and Ben-Shammai (eds) *Esoteric and Exoteric Aspects in Judeo-Arabic Culture*, Leiden: Brill, 2006, pp. 137, 143, 160 n. 84, 167 nos. 110 and 112, 168 nos. 113–14, 169 n. 116).

²⁹ P. Fenton, ‘Judaism and Sufism’, in *Companion*, p. 208. See also Guttmann, *Philosophies of Judaism*, pp. 192–5. It would be interesting to analyse how Sufi theorists in the systematising period try to prove Sufism as being of Islamic origin (and indeed the essence of Islam), and how Abraham Maimonides sees the origin of Sufism in Judaism.

³⁰ See e.g. Altshuler, *The Messianic Secret of Hasidism*, Leiden: Brill, 2006, esp. pp. 338–9, 341; Fenton, ‘Judaism and Sufism’, p. 205; Goitein, *Jews and Arabs*, p. 152; B. Safran, ‘Bahya ibn Paquda’s attitude’, in Twersky (ed.) *Studies in Medieval Jewish History and Literature*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979, p. 154; *Dialogue*, p. ix.

³¹ For the translations and editions of *al-Hidāya*, see *Direction*, pp. 455–6; *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. 2, p. 453; cf. Lomba, p. 529.

³² Yahuda, *Prolegomena*, pp. 1–17.

after the foundation of the Zionist Organization, the possible political motivation behind this publication has led to severe criticism.³³ For example, in his review, Bettan calls Yahuda's effort in the transliteration a 'thankless task' and 'violent change of form' and states that Yahuda makes a 'grave error' when he asserts Ibn Bāqūdā's 'absolute dependence on Arabic philosophy'.³⁴ Yahuda's use of manuscripts has also been criticised and a considerable number of mistakes and misprints have been pointed out both in the introduction and in the Arabic text.³⁵ Even so, Yahuda's Arabic edition is valuable for providing us with an easy access to the original teaching of Ibn Bāqūdā, as even Bettan admits, freeing us from Judah's interpretation (although his Hebrew version is still widely used). This also offers an opportunity to researchers in Islamic studies, who may read Arabic but not necessarily Hebrew, of exploring this intriguing Judaeo-Arabic work.

Ibn Bāqūdā and his book have provided a large amount of material for Jewish scholarship, and various aspects of *al-Hidāya* (and the *Hovot*) have been studied – from the philosophical and theological views of Ibn Bāqūdā, to the book's linguistic, cultural and historical dimensions, including comparative analysis between *al-Hidāya* and Judah's translation.³⁶ Concerning the Islamic influence on *al-Hidāya*, study of Ibn Bāqūdā's ideas and the milieu in which he lived has led to agreement that the book represents his adoption of Islamic thought. He is described as 'a direct offspring of Muslim pietism',³⁷ a description which applies not only to his ideas but also, it is proposed, to the style and terminologies used in his book.³⁸ It is therefore crucial to examine *al-Hidāya* in Arabic rather than in Hebrew translation, especially for an analysis of Islamic influence on Ibn Bāqūdā.

This importance also comes from the way in which Judah b. Tibbon translated *al-Hidāya*. Judah, the father of translators, often suffers from the lack of appropriate words in Hebrew. The contribution of this prominent Ibn Tibbon family to the development of philosophical vocabularies in Hebrew precisely lies in their coinage of technical terminologies for philosophy and science through translation.³⁹ At the beginning of the *Hovot*, Judah states his attitudes towards translation:⁴⁰

³³ For detailed analysis of the motivation behind Yahuda's publication, see my forthcoming chapter: 'Yahuda and *al-Hidāya ilā farā'iq al-qulūb*: deep connections between Jewish and Muslim spirituality in the 11th and 20th centuries', in Adang and Meri (eds) *Muslim–Jewish Relations in Past and Present*, Brill.

³⁴ Bettan, review of *al-Hidāja*, in *Central Conference of American Rabbis*, Yearbook 1914, pp. 303, 305. Note also criticism of Bettan's review by other rabbis on pp. 309–10.

³⁵ Regarding the manuscripts which Yahuda used, see *Hidāja*, pp. 1–18. For the critique, see e.g. *Direction*, p. 3; Malter, review of *al-Hidāja*, *JQR* new series 7, no. 3, Jan. 1917, pp. 386–91.

³⁶ Cf. a list of references in *Direction*, pp. 453–9 and Gallego *et al.*, *Bibliography*, name index.

³⁷ Goitein, *Jews and Arabs*, p. 152. Cf. Yahuda, *Prolegomena*, p. 5.

³⁸ See e.g. Sirat, *Jewish Philosophy*, p. 82.

³⁹ Any decent encyclopaedia has an article on this famous family; see e.g. *EJ*, s.v. 'Tibbon, Ibn' (J.T. Robinson and U. Melammed); *EJW*, s.v. 'Ibn Tibbon, Judah ben Saul' (L. Ferre).

⁴⁰ Zwiep, *Mother of Reason and Revelation*, Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben, 1997, p. 71 (see also pp. 69–70).

If it were possible for a translator to translate word for word, without adding or omitting, this danger [of perverting the contents] could be avoided, although admittedly such a literal translation would be hard to understand.

Despite this statement, Judah's translation is considered to be too literal, at least for a modern reader's taste, and it is also known that he sometimes made changes and omissions in the translation process to make *al-Hidāya* more suitable to his own opinion.⁴¹

Even with the best intention of reproducing the original meanings, translation is an interpretation. In order to study the teachings of Ibn Bāqūdā, it is not necessary for me to emphasise the importance of consulting the original text. This point, however, does not seem to have always been taken into consideration by scholars in this field. For example, one of the reviewers of Mansoor's English translation, which was carried out for the first time from Yahuda's Arabic edition, points out that there are already English versions of it based on the Hebrew versions,⁴² as well as a French and a Hebrew translation from the original Arabic text, and suggests that Mansoor should have focused on translating other important Jewish works.⁴³

Despite this criticism (and the paucity of annotation and the inconsistency of renderings),⁴⁴ Mansoor's translation should be considered significant in terms of the recognition of the importance of the original text. In addition to this translation, Vajda conducts painstaking research on the link between Sufi writings and *al-Hidāya*, based on the Arabic original. Lobel also provides more general research on the interaction between Sufism and Jewish thought, referring to the Arabic text. On the whole, there remains no shortage of material for scholars to conduct serious research on the original Arabic and Judaeo-Arabic text of *al-Hidāya*, and the Muslim influence upon it. In the present study, Yahuda's Arabic edition, *al-Hidāja*, is consulted.

⁴¹ For detailed comparison between *al-Hidāya* and the *Hovot*, see e.g. *Hidāja*, pp. 19–52; M. Sister, 'Bachja-studien: Die ethisch-asketischen Termini in Bachjas "al-Hidāja 'ilā farā'id al-qulūb" und ihre Übersetzung durch Jehuda ibn-Tibbon' and 'Einige Bemerkungen über Bachjas Stil im Kitāb al-hidāja 'ila farā'id al-qulūb und dessen Übersetzung durch J. ibn Tibbon', in Katz (ed.) *Medieval Jewish Philosophy*, New York: Arno Press, 1980, pp. 34–75 and 86–93 respectively.

⁴² E.g. Collins produced a summarised translation in 1909, *The Duties of the Heart*; Hyamson published five-volume *Duties of the Heart* in 1925 in a dual English and Hebrew translation.

⁴³ Kamhi, review of *The Book of Direction to the Duties of the Heart*, trans. Mansoor, *BSOAS* 37, no. 2, 1974, p. 458.

⁴⁴ Mansoor's very brief commentary on the translation and a considerable number of inconsistencies and mistakes throughout the book have been pointed out (*ibid.*; Nemoy, review of *The Book of Direction to the Duties of the Heart*, trans. Mansoor, *JQR* new series 65, no. 4, Apr. 1975, p. 259).

Al-Hidāya ilā farā’id al-qulūb: a reminder of religious obligations

The aims of al-Hidāya

At the beginning of *al-Hidāya*, Ibn Bāqūdā sets the scene with a clear statement of the aim of his book. He sees two kinds of knowledge in religion: external knowledge concerning the obligatory matters of limbs (*jawārih*), and internal knowledge concerning the obligatory matters of hearts (*qulūb*).⁴⁵ The latter is more important than the former, since it is the heart which decides both inward and outward actions, and concerns this world and the hereafter, and the supreme knowledge. Ibn Bāqūdā insists that this issue is addressed clearly in the Scriptures and sayings of sages. This notwithstanding, he could not find a single book which draws proper attention to the heart.⁴⁶

Ibn Bāqūdā divides post-Talmudic Jewish writings into three categories on the matter of religious obligations. He then criticises these early thinkers for their failure to deal exclusively with inner knowledge and the heart’s religious obligations.⁴⁷ Humans are easily caught up by evil thought and he insists that constant reminders are necessary.⁴⁸ While others may consider these obligations too self-evident to be written down, Ibn Bāqūdā is aware of the fact that we are all slaves to habit and familiarity. For these reasons, he in the end decides to compose a book himself in order to guide those who attempt to bring ‘the treasures of hearts (*kunūz al-qulūb*)’ to light and to come close to God,⁴⁹ and hence the title, *The Right Guidance to the Religious Duties of Hearts*. The great popularity the book gained soon after its completion demonstrates well that there was a gap to be filled, as Ibn Bāqūdā felt.

The target audience of *al-Hidāya* are those who are neglectful in their observance of the law (*sharī’ā*) and belief⁵⁰ – not necessarily only philosophers or theologians, but the intellectuals. Apart from the first chapter, where he occasionally uses logic and mathematical arguments to elucidate *tawhīd* and God’s creation, Ibn Bāqūdā tries not to be too philosophical, and aims to make his book as clear and accessible as possible. Throughout *al-Hidāya*, Ibn Bāqūdā quotes from the books of the Prophets and sayings of sages, which, together with a sound mind, are the gates to God, and he draws simple analogies which should be easily understandable.⁵¹ He confesses that his knowledge of Arabic is not sufficient to express everything he means. However, he chose Judaeo-Arabic to compose *al-Hidāya* on the assumption that his book could then be read by more people of his time,⁵² since Judaeo-Arabic

⁴⁵ *Hidāja*, p. 5 [Arabic].

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 29 [Arabic].

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 7–11, 22 [Arabic].

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 24 [Arabic].

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 29 [Arabic].

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 28 [Arabic].

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 25–6 [Arabic].

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 23 [Arabic].

was commonly used among the Jews in the Islamic world. (The issue of the use of Judaeo-Arabic in a comparative analysis between the *Qūt* and *al-Hidāya* is discussed later.)

In *al-Hidāya*, Ibn Bāqūdā often quotes the Bible, the Talmud and the Midrashim, but rarely refers to post-Talmudic Jewish writers, except Sa’adya Gaon (d. 942).⁵³ In the introduction, Ibn Bāqūdā recommends his reader to study Sa’adya’s books, since they can ‘give light to intellects (*‘uqūl*)’ and ‘make minds (*adhhān*) skilful’.⁵⁴ Like Sa’adya, Ibn Bāqūdā’s aim seems to be to seek rational foundations for belief in order to strengthen it. This was undertaken by many Jewish philosophers in the medieval era under the influence of Greek and Muslim thinkers and the Islamic interpretation of Greek philosophy.⁵⁵ *Al-Hidāya* also contains mystical elements. Agus, for instance, divides medieval Jewish philosophy into three categories: rationalistic, romantic and mystical; and describes Ibn Bāqūdā as both mystic and rationalist.⁵⁶

The chapters of al-Hidāya

Al-Hidāya concerns ethics. The book consists of ten chapters or gates (*abwāb*), and each chapter represents a ‘fundamental principle (*asl*)’ of the religious obligations of the heart. Ibn Bāqūdā elucidates ten primary duties in total with different aspects and obstacles to accomplishing them.⁵⁷ The internal structure of *al-Hidāya* is quite clear. Each chapter starts with a brief introduction to the subject matter, followed by six to ten sections, with each section explaining an aspect of the principle. Ibn Bāqūdā quotes many Biblical texts and sayings of sages, and draws analogies from them. His intention is always clearly stated and his argument is coherent. *Al-Hidāya* is a well-arranged book, despite his rhetorical apologies that he was in a hurry to finish it before he died, and that we might therefore find it inadequate.⁵⁸

The first chapter (*Hidāja*, pp. 35–92 [Arabic] [henceforth pp. 35–92]) concerns *tawhīd* and sincere devotion to God. Ibn Bāqūdā states that the declaration of *tawhīd* is the most important principle and all other religious duties follow from it.⁵⁹ This is based on the five spiritual duties he enumerates: belief in the existence of the Creator; belief that He is our Lord; belief in His oneness; sincere love for God; and

⁵³ Sa’adya Gaon is one of the earliest philosophers from upper Egypt. He was inclined to Mu’tazilite ideas and had a significant influence on later Jewish thinkers.

⁵⁴ *Hidāja*, p. 33 [Arabic].

⁵⁵ See e.g. Cahn, *The Philosophy of Judaism*, New York: Macmillan, 1962, pp. 321–2, 329; Sirat, *Jewish Philosophy*, pp. 1–5.

⁵⁶ J.B. Agus, ‘Medieval Jewish philosophy’, in Cohen and Mendes-Flohr (eds) *Contemporary Jewish Religious Thought*, New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1972, p. 573.

⁵⁷ *Hidāja*, p. 25 [Arabic].

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 30 [Arabic].

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 26, 35–7 [Arabic].

love with the pure heart.⁶⁰ Ibn Bāqūdā then starts proving the existence of the Creator, following Sa'adya's argument.⁶¹

According to *al-Hidāya*, it is impossible for us to perceive God from the 'viewpoint of His nature (*dhāt*)'.⁶² We can perceive Him only from the creature's standpoint,⁶³ hence the second chapter (pp. 93–124) deals with contemplation (*i'tibār*) of created beings. The third chapter (pp. 125–74) elucidates man's duty to obey (*fā'a*) God, which should, Ibn Bāqūdā insists, follow the two principles of obligatory matters in the heart.⁶⁴

The fourth chapter (pp. 175–227) deals with total reliance upon God (*tawakkul*). Ibn Bāqūdā explains that God is the only being who is in charge of everything, including 'gain and loss'.⁶⁵ What humans can do is, therefore, to 'surrender themselves completely (*istislām*) to Him'.⁶⁶ Total reliance upon God is propitious in respect of both 'belief and this world'.⁶⁷ Correspondingly, he establishes the fifth principle (pp. 228–58) as the devotion of all acts to God alone. Considering His unique nature, Ibn Bāqūdā explains that every action should be carried out for His sake with 'the clarity of minds and the purity of hearts (*ṣafw al-damā'ir wa-naqā' al-qulūb*)'.⁶⁸

The sixth chapter (pp. 259–81) concerns humility (*tawāḍu'*). Humility may remove pride (*ujb*) with which actions can never be righteous. This is also the 'basis of worship', since humility 'separates the servant of God from the Divine qualities' which belong to God alone and never to created beings.⁶⁹ Humility is the beginning of repentance (*tawba*), hence the seventh principle (pp. 282–305) of obligatory matters in the heart is repentance. Through reasoning and the Book of God, states Ibn Bāqūdā, it is clear that humans tend to 'fail to fulfil' their duty to obey God.⁷⁰ He explains that since human natures are manifold, their activities also become varied. This can be proved logically and is frequently mentioned in the Bible. This is the reason why humans need the 'rein of law (*zimām shārī'a*)'⁷¹ and he insists that God gives humans opportunities to repent and

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 37 [Arabic].

⁶¹ Ibid., pp. 43–5 [Arabic]. Starting an argument with a proof of the existence of the Creator is common practice among the Kalām thinkers, as well as Sa'adya who follows their style. This tendency can be seen especially in his major philosophical work *Kitāb al-amānāt wa l-i'tiqādāt*; Sa'adya Gaon, *The Book of Beliefs and Opinions*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1948.

⁶² *Hidāja*, p. 27 [Arabic].

⁶³ Ibid., pp. 27, 93–7 [Arabic].

⁶⁴ Ibid., pp. 27, 125–30 [Arabic].

⁶⁵ *Al-naf' wa l-darr*: benefit and damage. Mansoor renders this as 'reward and punishment' (*Direction*, p. 103) but this translation is misleading, since Ibn Bāqūdā does not talk about the consequences of human acts here (*Hidāja*, p. 27 [Arabic]).

⁶⁶ *Hidāja*, p. 27 [Arabic].

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 175 [Arabic].

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 228 [Arabic].

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 259 [Arabic].

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 282 [Arabic].

⁷¹ Ibid.

return to their obligations after their deviation from them.⁷² One of the conditions of repentance is self-examination (*muhāsabat al-nafs*),⁷³ which is the eighth principle (pp. 306–53). It can lead the self to rightness in both this world and the hereafter.⁷⁴

The ninth chapter (pp. 354–77) concerns renunciation (*zuhd*) of this world. Ibn Bāqūdā explains the thirty important aspects of self-examination, which cover all the duties of man to God,⁷⁵ and renunciation is an aspect of self-examination when the declaration of *tawhīd* cannot be obtained without it. Ibn Bāqūdā states that true affirmation of *tawhīd* can be achieved only through the ‘completeness (*tāmm*)’ of the heart which has abstained from the love of this world.⁷⁶ Renunciation is an obligation for believers and can bring them repose for ‘souls and bodies (*al-nufūs wa 'l-ajsām*)’.⁷⁷ Ibn Bāqūdā frowns upon complete abstinence by created beings as this is against the moderate nature of the law. Instead, he looks with favour upon those who ‘hold the middle of the extreme edges of renunciation (*hudūd al-zuhd*)’, which is from worldly luxuries and longing for them, citing a verse from Isaiah to support his argument (Is 45:18).⁷⁸

The last and most supreme principle is sincere love (*mahabba*) for God. This tenth principle (pp. 378–97) is the ‘utmost degree of the steps’ which Ibn Bāqūdā has explained in this book so far.⁷⁹ Renunciation is to free the heart in order to devote itself to God alone. Believers can then truly realise their obligation of ‘fear (*khawf*) for God and love for Him’.⁸⁰ This fear is ‘the goal of renunciation’ and ‘the closest stage to love’.⁸¹ Love for God is dedication of the soul (*nafs*)⁸² which is yearning for God and His light. The soul is a spiritual (*rūhānī*) substance which yearns for other spiritual beings, but is bound to a crude (*kathīf*) entity, the body. This is a test (*ikhtibār*) given by the Creator; the soul has to learn how to control this ‘coarse body’ which is ‘full of darkness’.⁸³ It is therefore the obligation and longing of the human soul to free the heart from the shackles of the body and this

⁷² Ibid., pp. 27–8, 282–3 [Arabic].

⁷³ In the fifth section of the previous chapter on repentance, Ibn Bāqūdā enumerates the most important twenty conditions. One of them is self-censure. Although he uses *al-taqrī' wa 'l-tawbīkh*, it seems that he means this condition as *al-muhāsaba* in the eighth chapter (ibid., p. 289 [Arabic]).

⁷⁴ Ibid., pp. 28, 306 [Arabic].

⁷⁵ Ibid., pp. 308–49 [Arabic].

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 28 [Arabic].

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 354 [Arabic].

⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 361 [Arabic].

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 378 [Arabic].

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Up till now, *nafs* has been rendered as ‘self’, since in Sufism this term may also represent the lower self. However, here, Ibn Bāqūdā uses it as the opposite entity to the body. In this Neo-Platonic context, *nafs* is generally translated as ‘soul’. From now on, this term will be rendered as either ‘self’ or ‘soul’, depending on the context.

⁸³ *Hidāja*, p. 379 [Arabic].

world, and to ‘unite (*ittasala*) with the light’ of the Divine.⁸⁴ Ibn Bāqūdā claims that this highest stage is love for God.⁸⁵

At the end of *al-Hidāya*, Ibn Bāqūdā adds ten couplets which sum up the main points of the ten chapters of his book. They are composed in Hebrew and the poem is written in rhyming couplets and a single acrostic of Ibn Bāqūdā’s name can be found with the first letter of each couplet.⁸⁶ Ibn Bāqūdā composed another poem in Hebrew which is mentioned and partly quoted in a chapter of *al-Hidāya* on repentance⁸⁷ and added at the end of the book. It is entitled ‘Admonition’ and has been used in Sefardi prayers on the Day of Atonement. Each section starts with ‘my soul (*nafshi*)’, with Biblical quotations throughout the poem.⁸⁸

Al-Hidāya is a devotional work. It is neither apologetic nor polemical. It is not the aim of the writing to defend the faith or reveal new discoveries. The value of Ibn Bāqūdā’s work lies in its systematic arrangement and clear argument, based on the author’s thorough knowledge of the Scriptures and religious texts. The book is well planned, reasonable and encouraging, and we can easily feel the author’s dedication from the very beginning.

Islamic sources of al-Hidāya

From the general outline above, it appears that Kalām argumentation, Sufi concepts and Jewish ethics coexist in *al-Hidāya*.⁸⁹ It is, however, hard to tell when Ibn Bāqūdā refers to Muslim ideas, since he does not consistently mention the sources of his quotations. For instance, he quotes a saying: ‘[I] met people returning from a war ... and told them: You came back, by praise of God, from the lesser *jihād* ... and [now] prepare yourself for the greater *jihād* ... [which is] against desire (*hawā*) and its soldiers’.⁹⁰ This is very likely based on a well-known Ḥadīth of the Prophet Muhammad who emphasised the importance of the inner, greater *jihād*,⁹¹ although Ibn Bāqūdā simply mentions that this quote is from ‘one of the pious men (*ṣālihūn*)’ without suggesting any more detail. (This Ḥadīth also appears in the *Qūṭ* but in a slightly different way.⁹² This point will be examined later.) The lack of reference to sources is not unusual for the time of Ibn Bāqūdā and it requires more investigation to identify which anecdotes and sayings in *al-Hidāya* are of Islamic origin.

Fenton argues that Ibn Bāqūdā attempts to ‘camouflage’ the Islamic characteristic of his work by giving equivalent Biblical sources as a replacement for Qur’anic

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid., pp. 28, 378–9 [Arabic].

⁸⁶ *Direction*, p. 447; *Hidāja*, pp. 397–8 [Hebrew].

⁸⁷ *Hidāja*, p. 295 [Arabic].

⁸⁸ *Direction*, p. 452; *Hidāja*, pp. 398–407 [Hebrew].

⁸⁹ Lobel puts this characteristic as ‘the creative integration of philosophy, theology, Sufi mysticism, and rabbinic Judaism’ (*Dialogue*, p. xii).

⁹⁰ *Hidāja*, p. 232 [Arabic].

⁹¹ See e.g. *Kashf*, p. 200.

⁹² *Qūṭ*, vol. 2, p. 521.

quotations.⁹³ It seems reasonable that Malter claims this important Jewish writing as being the most ‘thoroughly Mohammedan in style and diction’ in Judaeo-Arabic literature.⁹⁴ The influence of Greek philosophy and Islamic religious thought on Ibn Bāqūdā is so strong that comprehension of *al-Hidāya* requires knowledge not only of Jewish traditions but also of Arabic literature, including philosophy, Kalām and Sufism.

Ibn Bāqūdā’s philosophical and Kalām arguments can be seen most clearly in the first chapter, where he proves the creation of the world and the existence of the Creator in order to affirm His creature’s obligation to declare His *tawhīd*, and in the second chapter where he argues for a dual composition of creatures, as consisting of spiritual and material elements such as soul (*nafs*) and body (*jasad*).⁹⁵ Ibn Bāqūdā emphasises the importance of rational speculation throughout his book and insists that it is man’s duty to reason about intelligible matters.⁹⁶ In this sense, he is a philosopher. However, as mentioned above, *al-Hidāya* was written for religious people, not for philosophers. Philosophical argument is for him a tool to strengthen belief, as it was for many Jewish philosophers at that time.

Mystical tones can be found in various places, even in Chapters 1 and 2 where Ibn Bāqūdā is developing philosophical arguments. He states there clearly that his book is to elucidate ‘inner knowledge (*al-ilm al-bātin*)’,⁹⁷ as God cannot be known through imagination (*wahm*) and sensory perception (*hiss*).⁹⁸ God comes closest to the heart when believers observe His traces (*āthār*); but He goes furthest if they observe Him by ‘likening His nature (*tamaththul dhātihī*)’ to something similar and ‘giving a form (*taṣawwur*)’ to Him.⁹⁹ The utmost degree of His gnosis can be achieved when believers reach a stage where the heart is in contemplation of Divine nature only.

Ibn Bāqūdā insists that believers should focus on His meaning rather than making images of Him and associating Him with something resembling. When all those images disappear from the soul (*nafs*), God becomes inseparable from the believers.¹⁰⁰ (This is similar to Ibn al-‘Arabī’s statement that images of God are based on something that is not God and his criticism of one who ‘creates what he believes in himself through his consideration’.¹⁰¹ The significant difference is that Ibn al-‘Arabī condemns Kalām thinkers for doing so and Ibn Bāqūdā accepts Kalām argument.)

⁹³ Fenton, ‘Judaism and Sufism’, in *Companion*, p. 204.

⁹⁴ Malter, review of *Hidāja*, p. 380.

⁹⁵ *Hidāja*, p. 100 [Arabic]. Cf. *Direction*, p. 159; Malter, ‘Personifications of soul and body: a study in Judaeo-Arabic literature’, *JQR* new series 2, no. 4, Apr. 1912, p. 453.

⁹⁶ E.g. *Hidāja*, p. 41 [Arabic], where Ibn Bāqūdā emphasises the importance of *ṭariq al-naẓar* and *ṭariq al-qiyās al-aqlī*.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 76 [Arabic].

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 81 [Arabic]. This is somewhat similar to al-Ghazālī’s claim in his autobiographical book that religion is beyond two general ways of perception, namely bodily senses and intellect (*Munqidh*, pp. 4–6).

⁹⁹ *Hidāja*, p. 81 [Arabic].

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 81–2 [Arabic].

¹⁰¹ Chittick, *Sufi Path*, p. 350.

It is clear from this example that even the first two chapters of *al-Hidāya*, where philosophical arguments are more prominent than in the other chapters, have a strong mystical tone. Together with the contents of the rest of the book and its very title, it is natural to consider that there is a mystical, and especially Sufi, influence upon *al-Hidāya*. (Regarding mystical aspects in Jewish tradition, some of Ibn Bāqūdā's ideas have been recognised as resembling certain concepts in the Kabbalistic tradition, while differences between Ibn Bāqūdā's and Kabbalistic views have also been noted.)¹⁰²

It has been pointed out that the writings of al-Muḥāsibī (d. 243/857), Abu'l-Tayyib al-Mutanabbi (d. 354/955) and al-Makkī (d. 386/996) might have had an influence on *al-Hidāya*.¹⁰³ Ibn Bāqūdā does not mention any non-Jewish sources in his book and it is difficult to determine its Muslim sources, if there are any. The possible influence of al-Muḥāsibī and al-Makkī on *al-Hidāya* has probably been raised because they are notable writers on the matter of the heart among thinkers in Sufism, and clearly the central concern of *al-Hidāya* is the heart. In addition to these two authors, Lomba enumerates, as the possible source of Ibn Bāqūdā's inspiration, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728), Muḥammad b. Wāsi' (d. 127/744), Sufyān b. 'Uyayna (d. 196/811), Dhu'l-Nūn al-Miṣrī (d. 246/861) and the anonymous *Epistles of Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* (written probably between 350/961 and 375/986).¹⁰⁴

As discussed earlier, it seems unlikely now that al-Ghazālī influenced Ibn Bāqūdā; however, the possibility that they shared common sources remains. Al-Ghazālī claims that the major sources of his mystical ideas include al-Makkī, al-Muḥāsibī and al-Junayd (d. 298/910),¹⁰⁵ and it seems also worth examining al-Junayd's teaching in comparison with *al-Hidāya*. As an author of a treatise on the heart, it may be interesting to look at Abu'l Ḥusayn al-Nūrī (d. 295/907–8) as well.

As regards the poet al-Mutanabbi, Mansoor and Yahuda point to a verse in *al-Hidāya* which can be found in the *Dīwān* of al-Mutanabbi, but was not translated by Judah b. Tibbon.¹⁰⁶ In his translation, Judah tried to substitute Arabic quotations with equivalent Hebrew verses, where possible. Al-Mutanabbi's verse might have been omitted during this replacement process without providing a substitute.¹⁰⁷ This de-Islamicisation, or at least de-Arabicisation, process may indicate that Judah recognised many Islamic/Arabic sources of *al-Hidāya*, even after Ibn Bāqūdā's own replacement job. This verse is consequently missing in many other renditions which are based on Judah's Islamically attenuated version of the work. Apart from

¹⁰² Cf. *Direction*, p. 43; *Dialogue*, pp. 27, 215–16; *Théologie*, p. 141.

¹⁰³ E.g. *Direction*, pp. 31–3.

¹⁰⁴ Lomba, p. 531.

¹⁰⁵ *Munqidh*, p. 24.

¹⁰⁶ *Direction*, p. 33; *Hidāja*, p. 112. The poem at issue is: النَّفُوسُ كَيْرًا تَعْبَتُ فِي مَرَادِهَا الْأَجْسَامَ قَالَ لَنَا قُولُ الشَّارِعِ: وَإِذَا كَانَتْ (ibid., p. 236 [Arabic]). Al-Makkī does not seem to quote this verse in the *Qūṭ*. Moreover, in the *Qūṭ*, the idea of *jism* is generally described as a counterpart of *qalb*, and *nafs* is treated as a lower self which should be controlled. The dichotomous view of *jism* and *nafs* in this citation does not appear to conform to al-Makkī's perspective on *jism* and *qalb*.

¹⁰⁷ *Hidāja*, pp. 112–13; *Direction*, pp. 33, 282.

this particular verse, the link between al-Mutanabbī and *al-Hidāya* does not seem to have been discussed exhaustively. It should also be mentioned that the *Epistles of Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’* often quote verses of al-Mutanabbī.¹⁰⁸ This issue seems to beg further investigation.

As for the influence of al-Muḥāsibī, Vajda briefly mentions it¹⁰⁹ and Mansoor also touches upon the possible impact of his writings on Ibn Bāqūdā’s views of abstinence in [Chapter 9](#). Mansoor states that it is difficult to trace whether his influence was direct or indirect, since later Sufi writings are greatly affected by al-Muḥāsibī, and Ibn Bāqūdā might have been influenced by them, not necessarily directly from al-Muḥāsibī.¹¹⁰ Lobel expands this argument and compares the use of the specific term *ikhlāṣ*, which often appears in both *al-Hidāya* and the works of al-Muḥāsibī. She evaluates the use of *ikhlāṣ* in *al-Hidāya* and how this term is translated (and not translated) into Hebrew, and argues that Ibn Bāqūdā’s application of the concept of *ikhlāṣ* has an Islamic connotation, which she compares to al-Muḥāsibī’s use of the term.¹¹¹ I limit my analysis to the putative connection between Ibn Bāqūdā and al-Makkī here. However, it would be worth exploring other Arabic sources of *al-Hidāya*.

Many scholars argue in favour of the influence of the *Qūṭ* on *al-Hidāya*. Mansoor, for instance, analyses that although Ibn Bāqūdā does not borrow al-Makkī’s ideas blindly, many similarities can be found between their writings.¹¹² Lobel also mentions al-Makkī’s *Qūṭ* from time to time,¹¹³ as does Yahuda.¹¹⁴ Vajda, on the other hand, claims that the *Qūṭ* exerted a significant influence on *al-Hidāya* and refers to al-Makkī throughout his study, the *Théologie*. Considering al-Ghazālī’s indebtedness to al-Makkī, similarities between works of Ibn Bāqūdā and al-Ghazālī may suggest their common source, the *Qūṭ*. However, a systematic comparison of apparent parallels between *al-Hidāya* and the *Qūṭ* has not yet been thoroughly carried out. In order to avoid unwarranted conclusions, careful research is needed, which I hope to carry out in the next chapter.

¹⁰⁸ *EI*², ‘Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’ (Y. Marquet).

¹⁰⁹ E.g. *Théologie*, pp. 49 n. 2, 107, 130 n. 3; Vajda, ‘Le dialogue de l’âme et de la raison dans les *Devoirs des Cœurs* de Bahya Ibn Paquda’, *Revue des études juives* 102, 1937, p. 101.

¹¹⁰ *Direction*, pp. 32–3. Mansoor also mentions the possible influence of al-Muḥāsibī on a chapter of ‘The Service of God’ in *al-Hidāya*; however, it is not certain which chapter Mansoor designates by this title. *Dialogue*, pp. 152–4.

¹¹¹ *Direction*, pp. 31–2. Mansoor mentions two of al-Makkī’s writings: *Qūṭ al-qulūb* and *Hayāt al-qulūb*. It is not clear which book Mansoor means by the latter title. Interestingly, Yahuda also mentions that al-Makkī is the author of the *Qūṭ* and *Hayāt al-qulūb* (*Hidāja*, p. 59 n. 3). The latter is also referred to by Goldziher but he does not identify the author’s name (Goldziher, review of *Hidāja*, *Revue des études juives* 49, 1904, p. 157). One of the editions of the *Qūṭ* has two books in the margin and one of them is entitled as *Hayāt al-qulūb fi kayfiyya al-wusūl ilā al-mahbūb* written by ‘Imād al-Dabbī al-Umūmī. There might be some connection between Mansoor and Yahuda’s statements and this work in the margin; however, nothing is certain here.

¹¹² *Dialogue*, e.g. pp. 196, 198, 200 *et passim*.

¹¹³ *Hidāja*, e.g. pp. 53, 59.

9 The *Qūt* and *al-Hidāya*: a Muslim–Jewish dialogue?

Exploring *al-Hidāya*, there seems to be much in common between this pious Jewish treatise and the devotional Muslim work, the *Qūt*. At the same time, a number of questions need to be raised before analysing the possible link between the two writings. First of all, is there any external evidence to prove that the *Qūt* could have been read in al-Andalus at the time of Ibn Bāqūdā? Secondly, how substantial are the similarities and when do they break down (or not)? Lastly, how do we understand this intellectual relationship in the broader cultural context?

Framework

First, I attempt to investigate whether the issue of time (the timing of the completion of the books) and space (the geographical gap between present-day Iraq and Spain) can be overcome. Regarding al-Makkī, it is not certain when and where he wrote. Considering the fact that he mentions his personal encounter with Ibn Sālim (d. ca. 356/967),¹ although the exact date and place are unknown, we could assume that the *Qūt* was probably written at some point in the latter half of the tenth century because of his death date of 967 and al-Makkī's death in 996.

As regards Ibn Bāqūdā, he is considered to have spent his life either in Cordoba or in Saragossa, and the latest studies show that he wrote between 1080 and 1090. There thus appears to be approximately a hundred years between the completion dates of the *Qūt* and *al-Hidāya*, and this may be enough to cover the geographical gap between Iraq and Spain.²

The next issue to be discussed is whether a copy of the *Qūt* actually existed in al-Andalus during the life of Ibn Bāqūdā. Due to a paucity of information, only scanty evidence can be provided here. According to Sezgin, there exists a summary of the *Qūt* written by Muḥammad b. Khalaf b. Sa‘īd al-Andalusī (d. 485/1092).³ His

¹ *Qūt*, vol. 3, pp. 1202, 1318.

² For example, al-Ghazālī is said to have finished writing *Tahāfut al-falāsifa* at the beginning of 1095 in Baghdad (*EI*², s.v. ‘al-Ghazālī’ (W.M. Watt)), and Ibn Rushd in Spain seems to have composed *Tahāfut al-tahāfut* at some point between 1174 and 1180 (*EI*², s.v. ‘Ibn Rushd’ (R. Arnaldez)).

³ *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 667.

nisba seems to be able to connect al-Makkī to Islamic Spain; however, it is not certain where al-Andalusī wrote. One manuscript of the *Qūt* has survived in the Escorial Library, which is written in Maghribi style, but not dated.⁴ It is certain that the *Qūt* was read in the western part of the Islamic world, although in a slightly later period, since two prominent Andalusian mystics, Ibn al-‘Arabī (d. 638/1240) and al-Rundi (d. 792/1390), refer to al-Makkī in their writings, as seen in [Chapter 6](#). However, there does not seem to exist any other external evidence which can clearly show whether the *Qūt* existed in al-Andalus in the late eleventh century.

Lastly, assuming that the *Qūt* existed in the time of Ibn Bāqūdā, it should be asked whether it is possible that he read this book. This question is, however, almost impossible to answer with any certainty. If the book was available in Cordoba or Saragossa, and if Ibn Bāqūdā had access to it, it is likely that he read it, considering the religious environment in al-Andalus and the popularity of the *Qūt*. Given the fact that Ibn Bāqūdā’s main interest is the heart, or the inner aspects of religious life, the very title of the *Qūt* could have inspired him. In the introduction of *al-Hidāya*, Ibn Bāqūdā cites a saying: ‘Whoever utters a wise word, even if he belongs to the Gentiles, is called a sage.’⁵ This might indicate his intention to quote non-Jewish sayings in his book, and might justify his use of Muslim sources.

On the whole, it appears to be impossible, at this moment, to prove only from external evidence that Ibn Bāqūdā actually read the *Qūt*. At the same time, no evidence has been found which rules out this possibility. Allowing that this probability provides the basis for further argument, the rest of this chapter studies the actual texts to see if there is any direct link between the *Qūt* and *al-Hidāya*.

Aims and structure

First, I will explore the contexts and contents of *al-Hidāya* and the *Qūt*. This is to avoid overemphasising textual parallels in certain expressions or short excerpts, since ignoring the whole context might lead us to misrepresent these similarities. It is possible that, despite the parallels, the aim and attitudes of the writings could be opposed to each other.⁶ This section thus first examines the aims of the two books and their structure. The next section analyses their overall approach in order to form the basis of a further argument. Lastly, Ibn Bāqūdā’s perspective on the image of the heart will be explored in comparison with its treatment in the *Qūt*. The heart is the key idea and underlies all the religious concepts which are dealt with in *al-Hidāya* and the *Qūt*.⁷ By focusing on the heart, I will attempt to evaluate the degree of similarities and their implications. The main concern here is not to force us to draw

⁴ Ms. árabe 729, fols 1–155.

⁵ *Hidāja*, p. 26 [Hebrew citation]; the translation is from *Direction*, p. 103.

⁶ For critical evaluation of literary parallels, see Sandmel, ‘Parallelomania’, *Journal of Biblical Literature* 81, no. 1, Mar. 1962, pp. 1–13; Davila, ‘The perils of parallels: “Parallelomania” revisited’, unpublished draft for discussion, St Mary’s College, University of St Andrews, 2001.

⁷ For a comparative analysis of another important idea of both works, knowledge (*‘ilm* and *ma ‘rifā*), see my thesis, Appendix IX, pp. 336–41.

a causal connection between the two works, but to set the context in order to gain a better understanding of them.

Ibn Bāqūdā's aim in writing *al-Hidāya* is clearly expressed in the introduction. He states that the target audience of his book are those who are mistaken in their belief and are remiss in their religious duties; the book is structured in order to guide those who seek the inner knowledge which leads to God.⁸ The purpose of the *Qūt*, on the other hand, is not stated so obviously; however, the intended reader appears to be, from its title, the novice who is striving to reach *tawhīd*. It could be said that both books are written for religious people who would like to take the path which leads to God alone.

Concerning the structure, all the chapters of *al-Hidāya* are closely linked and Ibn Bāqūdā develops a coherent argument which starts with the core of all religious duties, *tawhīd*, and ends with their goal, love for God. Apart from this highest aim, all the nine obligations elucidated in *al-Hidāya* are equally essential and one cannot be fulfilled without the others. For instance, the declaration of *tawhīd* is the basis from where all other obligations of the heart follow,⁹ but, at the same time, it cannot be achieved without renunciation, which is described in the ninth chapter.¹⁰ The arrangement of *al-Hidāya* is concerned with establishing a logical and lucid argument, rather than creating a hierarchy of the religious duties of the heart.¹¹

With regard to the *Qūt*, this work begins with the description of various forms of outward conduct. Al-Makki then elucidates more internal aspects of religious life, but he does not seem to give a strong structure to the last quarter of the book. The arrangement of the *Qūt* bears no comparison with the structure of *al-Hidāya*. There is no doubt that the latter is much more structured than the former. The chapters of *al-Hidāya* are organised coherently and it is easy to follow Ibn Bāqūdā's argument. The arrangement and logical flow of the *Qūt* are not as strong as that evinced by *al-Hidāya*.

Mansoor makes a brief comment that the structure of *al-Hidāya* accords closely with al-Makki's nine religious stations (*maqāmāt*), which are elucidated in Section 32 of the *Qūt*. (See Table 1.) Ibn Bāqūdā does not borrow al-Makki's ideas blindly, states Mansoor, but both of them put love for God as the highest stage for believers.¹² Among ten fundamental principles (*usūl*) of the heart's religious obligations in *al-Hidāya* and nine fundamental principles (*usūl*) of the stations of religious certainty in the *Qūt*,¹³ four principles are shared: total reliance upon God,

⁸ *Hidāja*, pp. 5, 24, 29 [Arabic].

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 26, 35 [Arabic].

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 28, 354 [Arabic].

¹¹ On this particular point, my opinion differs from that of Lomba, who states that the ten duties are described in 'an ascending spiritual progression' (Lomba, p. 530).

¹² *Direction*, pp. 31–2. It is a brief comment and Mansoor does not expand his argument. (He describes al-Makki's nine stations as 'classification of the degrees of devoutness' or 'the nine degrees of knowledge'; however, the words 'devoutness' or 'knowledge' do not reflect the original meaning, 'religious certainty (*yaqīn*)'; *ibid.*, p. 31; *Qūt*, vol. 2, p. 499).

¹³ *Hidāja*, the previous page of p. 6*, pp. 6*–9* [Arabic]; *Qūt*, vol. 2, p. 499.

Table 1 Fundamental principles in *al-Hidāya* and the *Qūt*

| Ibn Bāqūdā – <i>al-Hidāya</i> | Al-Makkī – the <i>Qūt</i> |
|---|------------------------------------|
| <i>tawhīd</i> | repentance (<i>tawba</i>) |
| contemplation (<i>i‘tibār</i>) | patience (<i>sabr</i>) |
| obedience (<i>tā‘a</i>) | gratitude (<i>shukr</i>) |
| total reliance (<i>tawakkul</i>) | hope (<i>rajā‘</i>) |
| sincere devotion (<i>ikhlāṣ</i>) | fear (<i>khawf</i>) |
| humility (<i>tawāḍu‘</i>) | renunciation (<i>zuhd</i>) |
| repentance (<i>tawba</i>) | total reliance (<i>tawakkul</i>) |
| self-examination (<i>muḥāsabat al-nafs</i>) | contentment (<i>ridā‘</i>) |
| renunciation (<i>zuhd</i>) | — |
| love (<i>maḥabba</i>) | love (<i>maḥabba</i>) |

repentance, renunciation, and love for Him. Apart from these, the two sets of religious notions do not seem to correspond to each other. Furthermore, the essential features of having these principles are different in the two books.

Ibn Bāqūdā arranges his book in order to maintain a logical flow by which he hopes to be able to convince his reader to fulfil the heart’s religious obligations. The first nine gates are the preceding duties which lead a believer to the highest stage of faith, pure love for God (the last gate).¹⁴ Al-Makkī’s categories, on the other hand, are clear ascending stations. They are the conditions of those possessing religious certainty and each subdivision is a station to the next one. The only echo between Ibn Bāqūdā’s religious principles and al-Makkī’s stations is that both are considered as mandatory by the authors, as well as gates through which believers can become closer to God. Mansoor appears to compare *al-Hidāya* only with the section of the *Qūt* where those stations are identified. The similarities are limited and it is important to study the whole *Qūt* in contrast with *al-Hidāya*. Although the method is shared, the nature of Ibn Bāqūdā’s ten obligations seems to be different from that of al-Makkī’s stations, or the mystical stations in general, which are repeatedly referred to in discussions of progress along the spiritual path.

It should be added here that Ibn Bāqūdā’s duties are also different from mystical states (*ahwāl*), which are often used to describe a certain psychological condition which occurs on the path towards God. Unlike mystical stations, those states are generally considered to be impossible to be reached by human effort alone; they can be attained with the help of Divine grace. *Al-Hidāya* is a book on religious obligations which Ibn Bāqūdā insists that believers must make an effort to fulfil. Consequently, unattainable mystical states cannot be directly comparable to Ibn Bāqūdā’s ten duties of the heart. Al-Makkī states that the mystical stations are to ‘remain and persist’; whereas the mystical states which are ‘the gift from God Most High’, are changeable and transient, and to be established in the heart.¹⁵

¹⁴ *Hidāja*, p. 383 [Arabic].

¹⁵ *Qūt*, vol. 2, pp. 1164–5. Al-Makkī does not enumerate the states.

It could be said that the arrangement of *al-Hidāya* manifests two modes. If the nature of Ibn Bāqūdā's fundamental principles is not concerned, the very idea of dividing religious duties into subdivisions is shared between *al-Hidāya* and the *Qūt*, and so are some of their themes. This technique can also be seen in al-Makkī's contemporaries' treatises: al-Sarrāj's *Luma'* and al-Kalābādhī's *al-Ta'arruf*,¹⁶ but not in, for instance, Sa'adya's book which Ibn Bāqūdā recommends his reader to consult.¹⁷ However, starting the argument by proving the existence of the Creator is shared between *al-Hidāya* and Sa'adya's *Doctrines and Beliefs*,¹⁸ following the Kalām tradition; but not with the *Qūt* (or the *Luma'* or *al-Ta'arruf*). The arrangement of *al-Hidāya*, therefore, might be a product of these two different trends in Arabic religious literature.

Approach

Regarding the approach to the subject matter, the same technique can be seen in *al-Hidāya* and the *Qūt*. Both cite respective religious doctrines and their exegeses by sages. *Al-Hidāya* is full of quotations of the Scriptures, the Talmud and the Midrashim; likewise, the *Qūt* is filled with Qur'anic verses and Ḥadīth. Both works contain many sayings of sages, sometimes with reference to their sources and other times without. These citations are used to support their arguments, but, at the same time, the topics of the books are treated as the natural outcome of the interpretation of the respective religious texts.

In other words, these two books appear to have been written on the assumption that their themes are evident extensions of the Scriptures and interpretive tradition. Ibn Bāqūdā insists in his introduction that the importance of fulfilling the heart's religious obligations is clearly shown in many places in the Scriptures and repeatedly expressed by pious ancestors; but, since nobody had explored this issue exhaustively, he decided to do it himself.¹⁹ As for al-Makkī, although he is never as explicit as Ibn Bāqūdā, the thirty-three Qur'anic verses, which are the only component of the first two sections of the *Qūt*,²⁰ affirm the significance of right conduct in this world, which is self-explanatorily stated in the Qur'ān, and also signal the motivation of al-Makkī to write the *Qūt*.

It is clear that in both *al-Hidāya* and the *Qūt*, quotations from religious texts and pious sayings are used to underpin their claims and justify their arguments; however, it is dubious whether this shared method proves anything. So far, we have

¹⁶ Al-Sarrāj provides the definition of mystical stations and states, and enumerates seven stations and nine states (*Luma'*, pp. 41–72 [Arabic]). Al-Kalābādhī describes religious states briefly and lists seventeen stations (*Ta'arruf*, pp. 86–9, 92–111).

¹⁷ Ibn Bāqūdā does not mention the name of the books (*Hidāja*, p. 33 [Arabic]); however, Sa'adya's *magnum opus*, *The Book of Doctrines and Beliefs*, does not show the technique which is used in the *Qūt*.

¹⁸ This book starts with elucidation of 'creatio ex nihilo' and 'the unity of the Creator' (Sa'adya, *The Book of Doctrines and Beliefs*, Oxford: East and West Library, 1946).

¹⁹ *Hidāja*, p. 8 [Arabic].

²⁰ *Qūt*, vol. 1, pp. 9–10.

seen that *al-Hidāya* and the *Qūt* show a similar approach to their theses, and use a similar technique for their topics. However, it could be said that this is a fairly standard way of dealing with religious issues and does not necessarily establish a link between them. Although this is not to deny the possibility of a significant connection, this resemblance may begin to break down as they discuss the external duties upon believers.

The most obvious contrast in approach would be their treatment of outward aspects of religious life. Unlike the *Qūt*, *al-Hidāya* does not give a detailed account of the external conduct of believers. The *Qūt* explains what believers ought to do on a practical everyday level; for instance, the virtue of prayer from Monday to Sunday, recommended Qur'anic verses after the morning prayer, food, travel, trade²¹ and so on. The book was written for novices and this might be one of the reasons the *Qūt* takes a pragmatic approach. This demonstrates a significant difference from *al-Hidāya*.

Ibn Bāqūdā values the significance of having right intention as the core of external conduct,²² however, his book does not provide practical examples. Ibn Bāqūdā claims that religious obligations can be fulfilled only with both knowledge and action, and there are 613 duties upon the body, while the number of duties of the heart are innumerable.²³ He quotes the Talmud, 'He who only occupies himself with the study of the Torah is as if he had no God',²⁴ and states the importance of combining study with practice based on a pure heart.²⁵ His view of the superiority of the heart might be the reason he does not elucidate external aspects of religious life in *al-Hidāya*. It might be because of his hurry to finish his book as he mentions,²⁶ or he might have thought that they would be just obvious to any Jew. It is, however, also possible that Ibn Bāqūdā does not lay the same amount of importance on bodily duties as does al-Makkī in the *Qūt*. Ibn Bāqūdā, for instance, insists that fulfilling the heart's religious duties can balance both the inner and the outer obligations to God.²⁷

According to al-Makkī, external knowledge, which concerns actions of the body, and internal knowledge, which concerns those of the heart, are interdependent. These two types of knowledge cannot exist without each other, just as in the case of the relationship between the body and the heart. Their status accords with that of a grain which has a skin and an inside. Both the exterior and the interior together comprise the grain; the difference in their natures does not result in two grains existing separately. The relationship between outer and inner knowledge, and the body and heart, is the same. Al-Makkī explains their interrelationship as, 'Islam is

²¹ Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 80–4, 15–19, vol. 3, pp. 1405–21, 1523–32, 1654–710 respectively.

²² *Hidāja*, p. 11 [Arabic].

²³ Ibid., pp. 12–13 [Arabic]. The 613 is the total number of Biblical commandments in Jewish tradition. Ibn Bāqūdā does not explain the detail of those bodily obligations, while Maimonides elucidates them in detail in his book (Maimonides, *The Commandments*, London: Soncino Press, 1967).

²⁴ *Babylonian Talmud*, 'Abodah Zarah 17b, p. 89.

²⁵ *Hidāja*, p. 19 [Arabic].

²⁶ Ibid., p. 30 [Arabic].

²⁷ Ibid., p. 20 [Arabic].

the exterior of belief (*īmān*) and it is the actions of bodily members, while belief is the interior of Islam and it is the actions of hearts.²⁸ Islam is the manifestation of belief. Belief is not as obvious as external deeds but this is what connects the exterior and interior of religious life. The *Qūt* claims that both aspects are necessary for believers.²⁹

The *Qūt* still emphasises the superiority of inner knowledge over outer knowledge, since the former has control over the latter.³⁰ However, external knowledge should not be ignored, since it is ‘the proof of God’ and unawareness of this knowledge leads to unbelief.³¹ Al-Makkī quotes a saying of al-Junayd who tells Sārī al-Saqatī that one must have a sound base of external knowledge of belief, such as Ḥadīth and Sunna, before taking a Sufi path, since it is the root of faith.³² It appears to be important for al-Makkī not only that one be knowledgeable about the inner aspects of belief, but also that one combine them with the outward features of religion and thus make right bodily actions according to the knowledge of the heart.

Like the *Qūt*, *al-Hidāya* is a moral guide, as evidenced by the title. It describes a model mindset for believers and attempts to elucidate internal religious phenomena in a logical way. The main concern of this book is the attitudes of believers’ hearts towards God, not their external behaviour. In its sense of guidance, *al-Hidāya* resembles the *Qūt*, but without the explanation of external religious elements.

As a précis of the argument, it could be remarked so far that the purposes of writing *al-Hidāya* and the *Qūt* show similarities. Nevertheless, there are barely any parallels in their overall arrangement. It is possible to spot a shared structural element between the nine religious stations in the *Qūt* and the ten gates of *al-Hidāya*. At the same time, Ibn Bāqūdā’s way of opening his book appears to adopt the style of Sa’adya and/or Jewish theologians and philosophers who adopted Kalām methods of argumentation. The contents of all ten religious obligations in *al-Hidāya* do not match the religious stations in the *Qūt*; however, they do resonate with the overall themes of the *Qūt*. Concerning the inner features of religious life, the two books treat of similar subject matters and use equivalent materials. Mere observation of the chapter titles of *al-Hidāya* would not reveal its Jewish origin. If there were no Biblical citations, one might consider *al-Hidāya* as a Sufi work.

The major difference between *al-Hidāya* and the *Qūt* lies in the method of argumentation. Ibn Bāqūdā follows a line of reasoning and analyses his materials in a logical way. He emphasises the importance of the use of intellect in progressing to knowledge of the Divine.³³ Intellect is of prime importance throughout *al-Hidāya* and Ibn Bāqūdā’s manner of elucidation consistently remains at an

²⁸ *Qūt*, vol. 3, p. 1284.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 366.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 436.

³¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 406.

³² *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 428.

³³ *Hidāja*, p. 4 [Arabic].

intelligible level. Al-Makkī, likewise, emphasises the importance of knowledge, since belief, to him, is knowledge,³⁴ but this knowledge comes together with proper actions both inwardly and outwardly.

This is another occasion where an alleged parallel between *al-Hidāya* and the *Qūt* falls down. The latter attaches great importance to outward conduct, while the former treats inward matters only. This characteristic seems to follow the philosophical tradition rather than Sufism. Lobel calls this tendency ‘philosophical mysticism’,³⁵ describing Ibn Bāqūdā’s logical argumentation regarding mystical themes. However, it is not only mysticism which is treated in his book. It does not even seem to be his intention to elucidate mysticism. Although mystical tones and themes can be seen throughout *al-Hidāya*, the main concern of the book is religious ethics based on rational belief. Considering the aim, structure and overall approach alone, we cannot confirm the influence of the *Qūt* on *al-Hidāya*. The last section therefore looks at the contents of the books in more detail through the key religious idea which is shared between them – the heart.

The religious idea of the heart

In the introduction to *al-Hidāya*, Ibn Bāqūdā claims that through the reading of the Book of God, the sayings of sages, and reasoning, he has come to the conclusion that there is an urgent need for the heart to perform certain essential matters of religion.³⁶ He states that a human is a combined entity of body (*jasad*) and soul (*nafs*); the former is exterior (*zāhir*) and the latter is interior (*bātin*). They are God’s blessings and accordingly, insists Ibn Bāqūdā, it is man’s obligation to obey Him both outwardly and inwardly. External duties are those of the limbs; such as prayer and fasting. A human body is capable of performing them. Internal duties, on the other hand, can be demonstrated only in an internal way, namely in the performances of the heart.³⁷

Inward obligations, many of which are elucidated in *al-Hidāya*, can be fulfilled without expressing themselves in bodily activity. External tasks, on the other hand, can only be accomplished when they accord closely with those of the internal. Ibn Bāqūdā emphasises that the ‘religious duties of hearts’ are the ‘foundations (*qawā’id*) of all the obligations’.³⁸ It is the heart, therefore, which has control over the actions of the body. It is also the heart which is the measurement of God’s reward, as a good bodily deed without a good intention would not be considered to be good.³⁹ Differentiation of the heart from the body can also be seen in the *Qūt*.

³⁴ E.g. *Qūt*, vol. 1, pp. 383–4: al-Makkī quotes Qura’nic verses to support his argument (58:11, 4:162, 3:7, 30:56).

³⁵ *Dialogue*, p. xii.

³⁶ *Hidāja*, p. 10 [Arabic].

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 8 [Arabic].

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 8–9 [Arabic].

Like Ibn Bāqūdā, al-Makkī attaches the heart to internal qualities and the body to external features.⁴⁰ Al-Makkī says that the heart belongs to the Divine sphere, where God bestows the ability of love (*raghabūt*) and awe (*rahabūt*),⁴¹ and where God shines with his might.

Love (*raghba*) and awe (*rahba*) are twin concepts used to describe human characteristics, and they can also be seen employed in *al-Hidāya*. They are described as a man's ability with which pure love for God (*mahabba*) can be sought.⁴² Ibn Bāqūdā uses the term 'fear (*khawf*)' to illustrate the closest gate to the goal of believers, love for God. This word appears throughout *al-Hidāya*, especially in its last chapter on love.⁴³ Following rabbinic literature, Ibn Bāqūdā differentiates the lower form of fear, fear of God's punishment ('*iqāb*), from the higher form which derives from awe (*hayba*) and reverence (*ijlāl*) for the Divine reality. This highest stage of fear is, according to Ibn Bāqūdā, equivalent to the Hebrew term *yir'at* in the Bible,⁴⁴ where God-fearingness concerns not only faith but also human morality and required attitudes towards God.⁴⁵

It should be pointed out that Ibn Bāqūdā differentiates the term *khawf* from *rahba*, which comes together with *raghba*. He also differentiates *mahabba* from *raghba*.⁴⁶ Both the *Qūt* and *al-Hidāya* treat *rahba* and *raghba* together as human characteristics in the heart, and *mahabba* as the highest station of believers. The *khawf* is described as a state which comes just before love for God in *al-Hidāya*, while, in the *Qūt*, it is the fifth station among nine stations to religious certainty in the heart.⁴⁷

This parallel seems to break down here, since al-Makkī puts fear (*khawf*) before renunciation (*zuhd*) while Ibn Bāqūdā insists that fear is the goal of renunciation and the closest stage to the highest aim, love for God. However, al-Makkī puts a section on fear in the chapter on love and explains that love and fear are inter-dependent and cannot be achieved without each other.⁴⁸ Fear, for al-Makkī, is the essence of *taqwa*⁴⁹ which brings together devotional service to God, as this is necessary knowledge of the Divine.⁵⁰

⁴⁰ *Qūt*, vol. 1, p. 324.

⁴¹ Or 'yearning and fear' (*ibid.*). For more detail of these two concepts, see Ch. 3, a footnote to [20]. In the *Qūt*, al-Makkī describes *raghba* and *rahba* as human characteristics which God bestowed, and a basis of the majority of humans' actions (*Qūt*, vol. 3, pp. 1550, 1579).

⁴² *Hidāja*, p. 386 [Arabic].

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 378–97 [Arabic].

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 387 [Arabic].

⁴⁵ See e.g. B. L. Sherwin, 'Fear of God', in Cohen and Mendes-Flohr (eds) *Jewish Religious Thought*, p. 245.

⁴⁶ Mansoor translates both *khawf* and *rahba* as 'fear', and *mahabba* and *raghba* as 'love' throughout the last chapter, but they might require clarification (*Direction*, pp. 426–46).

⁴⁷ See Table 1 above.

⁴⁸ *Qūt*, vol. 2, pp. 1070–9, esp. p. 1075.

⁴⁹ This term often appears in the *Qūt* with a mixture of meanings involving fear of God, warding off evil and duty to God. See Ch. 3, a footnote to [15].

⁵⁰ *Qūt*, vol. 2, pp. 616 and 680.

Al-Makkī insists that true belief cannot be achieved as long as love of this world and desire (*hawā*) stay in the heart.⁵¹ Ibn Bāqūdā explains that he has written his chapter on renunciation just before the chapter on pure love for God, as the goal of renunciation is to remove love of this world and lusts (*shahwāt*) for it.⁵² This issue keeps appearing in both the *Qūt* and *al-Hidāya*. According to al-Makkī, evil and the evil self manifest themselves only by desire and ignorance. Desire keeps believers attached to this world and detached from their God-fearing duties.⁵³ The same line of thought can be seen in Ibn Bāqūdā's aforementioned citation of the lesser and greater *jihād* where he explains that the greater *jihād* is against desire and its soldiers.⁵⁴

Al-Makkī states that ignorance (*jahl*), inattention (*ghafla*) and occupation with trivial matters of this world (*talab fuqūl dunyā*) damage the heart. Believers have to fight against them by controlling their selves, the evil and their body, because God created this world as a test for believers, to see if they can renounce it.⁵⁵ According to Ibn Bāqūdā, what prevents a believer from performing the heart's obligations is love of this world and ignorance of God.⁵⁶ Love of this world, ignorance and greed are similarly treated by al-Makkī as the very cause of the appearance of desire. According to him, its manifestation in the heart depends on the control of those three evil sources.⁵⁷

In the *Qūt*, the heart of a believer is described as the only place where God resides on the earth. But this heart has to be pure and free from unbelief and hypocrisy, as these can extinguish the light of the heart.⁵⁸ Ibn Bāqūdā, likewise, states that having gnosis of God in the heart and all the earthly desires and cravings exterminated, the heart can be filled with love for God. The fire of desire will then seem to be like the light of a lamp in front of the light of obedience to God, which shines like the sun during the daytime.⁵⁹ According to Ibn Bāqūdā, the body belongs to this world, and the heart to the hereafter. This is why the 613 bodily commandments have to be fulfilled with a pure heart. The heart can be cleansed by inner knowledge, which is elucidated in *al-Hidāya*.⁶⁰ Likewise, a harmonious relationship between belief, heart and action is highly esteemed in the *Qūt*.⁶¹

Up to this point, the ideas and arguments of Ibn Bāqūdā and al-Makkī on the matter of the heart could be said to be in parallel. However, this putative parallel breaks down with respect to two important concepts, namely reason and *nafs* – self

⁵¹ Ibid., vol. 1, p. 343. See also Ch. 3, the footnote to [16].

⁵² *Hidāja*, p. 379 (cf. p. 131) [Arabic]. See Ch. 3, a footnote to [23] for *shahwa*.

⁵³ *Qūt*, vol. 1, pp. 323–4.

⁵⁴ *Hidāja*, p. 232 [Arabic]. Cf. Mansoor, who renders *hawā* as 'instinct' here (*Direction*, p. 277).

⁵⁵ *Qūt*, vol. 1, p. 345.

⁵⁶ *Hidāja*, p. 12 [Arabic].

⁵⁷ *Qūt*, vol. 1, pp. 332–3.

⁵⁸ Ibid., vol. 1, p. 334.

⁵⁹ *Hidāja*, p. 393 [Arabic].

⁶⁰ Ibid., pp. 392, 394 [Arabic].

⁶¹ *Qūt*, vol. 1, p. 340.

or soul. According to al-Makkī, the light of religious certainty fills the heart of the believer when the three indispensable elements of the heart work appropriately. They are belief, knowledge and reason.⁶² Belief and knowledge pertain to the heart, whereas reason is a tool of both the heart and the body, and so is desire. Reason and desire are a pair of measurements which God bestowed upon humans. The former functions as guidance, while the latter as seduction. They are a test of God to assess whether a believer makes the right decision. Unlike desire, reason can work for both good and evil, and it is the believer's choice as how to use his reason.⁶³ In the *Qūt*, reason is described as twofold. It can be useful and harmful. However, its basic status is contrary to that of religious certainty. Reason belongs to this world, with the self (*nafs*) and the enemy, while religious certainty belongs to the Divine sphere, together with the soul (*rūh*) and the angel.⁶⁴

This is significantly different from Ibn Bāqūdā's beliefs. To him, reason is vital. Rational thinking is encouraged and recommended throughout *al-Hidāya*. Humans are rational beings and he insists in the introduction that the basis of the heart's obligations lies in reason.⁶⁵ His whole book is based on rational argument, and Ibn Bāqūdā claims that believers need to use their reason and speculate on what they have learnt from religious tradition until falsity is eliminated and truth becomes unimpaired.⁶⁶ Ibn Bāqūdā seems to see religion as a body of beliefs that need rational justification. This line of thought, which seems to be based on Greek philosophical tradition, cannot be found in the *Qūt*. For al-Makkī, what counts is what worshippers believe and how they manifest their belief properly inwardly and outwardly.

As for the concept of *nafs*, al-Makkī differentiates the self (*nafs*) from the soul (*rūh*) in the matter of the heart, and decides that the self is blameworthy. It associates with the enemy through desire and ignorance. On the other hand, the soul is praiseworthy, and it manifests itself with the angels by truth and knowledge.⁶⁷ A dichotomous view can also be found in *al-Hidāya*, but in a slightly different way. As mentioned above, Ibn Bāqūdā considers a human to be a composite of the body and the soul (*nafs*). In his argument, it appears that this *nafs* and the heart are interchangeable. Ibn Bāqūdā explains that the body is part of this world, while the heart belongs to the hereafter. Believers are supposed to disregard their bodies and earthly issues, and focus their souls and hearts on religious practices and obedience to God.⁶⁸ In *al-Hidāya*, the *nafs* and the heart designate the same internal element of the human, which stands in an opposite relation to the exterior of human beings, the body. It is worth mentioning that, in a citation regarding lesser *jihād* and greater *jihād*, al-Makkī's greater struggle is that

⁶² Ibid., vol. 1, p. 328.

⁶³ Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 324–5.

⁶⁴ Ibid., vol. 1, p. 343.

⁶⁵ *Hidāja*, p. 6 [Arabic].

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 16 [Arabic].

⁶⁷ *Qūt*, vol. 1, p. 324. For a detailed discussion, see Ch. 3 [18]–[22].

⁶⁸ *Hidāja*, p. 392 [Arabic].

of the self (*nafs*) against its desire,⁶⁹ whereas Ibn Bāqūdā names only desire as the target against which the greater *jihād* should be fought.⁷⁰ Here again, the *nafs* is not treated as an enemy by Ibn Bāqūdā.

The argumentation of *al-Hidāya* preserves a hybrid of Sufi and Islamic philosophical approaches. The importance of the heart as the only entity which can reflect Divine light is an important notion among Sufis who condemn the lower self, *nafs*, or at least advocate control over the self in order to purify the heart. Ibn Bāqūdā seems to adopt the former concept, namely the significance of performing the heart's religious duties. However, he does not follow the concept of the lower self in Sufi tradition. Here, he seems to adopt the *Kalām* argument which divides humans into two components, the soul (*nafs*) and the body. This may be the reason Ibn Bāqūdā does not distinguish the heart and *nafs*, but treats both of them as an internal human feature.

Dynamics between Judaism and Islam

This chapter has discussed the possible influence of the *Qūt* on *al-Hidāya* through their aims, structures, approaches and views of the important concept which is shared between the two books – the heart. Various similarities are found in the contents and terminologies, while interesting contrasts are also seen, especially in the manner of argument and the views of reason and *nafs*. Based on what has been looked at in this chapter, it appears to be clear that a direct link cannot be easily established between *al-Hidāya* and the *Qūt*.

Four major difficulties exist in making a connection between the two books. First of all, empirical evidence is lacking which proves that Ibn Bāqūdā had a chance to read the *Qūt*. Second, he does not mention any Muslim sources, and thus, in the light of the previous point, any possible link has accordingly to be established through examination of the contents.

The third difficulty lies in the language of *al-Hidāya*, Judaeo-Arabic. This is a form of Arabic which was developed by Jewish citizens in the Islamic world. Although Classical Judaeo-Arabic, which was used between the tenth and fifteenth or sixteenth centuries, reflects Classical Arabic orthography compared to the earlier type of Judaeo-Arabic, it also adopts vernacular elements in varied degrees according to the writers' ability and their target audience.⁷¹ Judaeo-Arabic literature shows a wide range of styles with 'infinitely varied mixtures' of Classical Arabic and Middle Arabic, with Hebrew elements.⁷² Due to the heterogeneous nature of

⁶⁹ *Qūt*, vol. 2, p. 521.

⁷⁰ *Hidāya*, p. 232 [Arabic].

⁷¹ Cf. Khan, 'Judaeo-Arabic', in *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*.

⁷² Blau enumerates three main kinds: 'some kind of Classical Arabic with Middle Arabic admixture', 'semi-Classical Middle Arabic' and 'some kind of "classicized" Middle Arabic' (*The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judaeo-Arabic*, London: OUP, 1965, p. 25). The extent of Hebrew elements varies, some of them exist in syntax and morphology (*ibid.*, pp. 133–66). See also Hary, *Multiglossia*, Ch. 4; *idem*, *Translating Religion*, esp. pp. 29–41.

Judeo-Arabic, it has to be taken into consideration that Ibn Bāqūdā might have modified terms and sentences, if he ever indeed borrowed ideas from Muslim sources. The author also admits, as mentioned, that he does not have good command of Arabic.⁷³ Consequently, there are limits to the extent to which *al-Hidāya* can be compared with any kind of other Arabic text at a linguistic level, and the bulk of comparison has to be done at the level of ideas. However, ideas are very difficult to track down, causing problems in establishing links between texts.

The last difficulty lies in the shared heritage between Judaism and Islam, which also concerns the last question I posed at the beginning of this chapter: what conclusions can we draw from this comparative study? *Al-Hidāya* appears to be an integration of Sufism, philosophy and rabbinical teachings. It is not impossible that Ibn Bāqūdā consulted the *Qūt*, considering the contents of the book, a certain amount of resemblance between the two books and the social interaction between Jews and Muslims in al-Andalus. However, those similarities could be a parallel development, having no direct connection. Due to the shared materials between Judaism and Islam, and common attitudes towards God as a relational participant of His created beings, it is likely that a similar conclusion will be drawn whenever Jewish or Muslim scholars encounter apparently parallel problems in their respective religions.

Al-Makkī and Ibn Bāqūdā both emphasise the omnipotence of God in reiterating the unavoidable fact that there exists a sphere which human comprehension cannot reach. By doing so, they widen, intentionally or not, the gap between God and His created beings.⁷⁴ They then employ the heart as a bridge between the physical world and the spiritual world, as well as the human sphere and the Divine sphere. This line of thought (which I would call ‘devotional’ but might be aptly described as ‘mysticism’, although it is arguable whether al-Makkī and Ibn Bāqūdā intended to write a book on mysticism in particular) could stem from an ardent search for a pious way of life in respective religions without having any direct influence. The religious image of the heart is also a common enough thought as we saw, and direct contact is not necessary.

It is also true, however, that the shared heritage between the two religions makes it easy to be inspired by each other. The essential ideas of *al-Hidāya* and the *Qūt* seem to contain nothing which could be considered to be incompatible with the other faith. Both works are filled with citations of the Books, traditions and religious authorities to support arguments. However, this does not rule out the possibility that those arguments could be adopted by the other belief, since a change in the source of citations does not necessarily affect the overall ideas. If Ibn Bāqūdā did not have the immediate knowledge of al-Makkī’s work, it raises an intriguing question of why then many similarities exist in the two works. Dynamics between Jewish and Islamic traditions in medieval Spain took place in a particular

⁷³ *Hidāja*, p. 23 [Arabic].

⁷⁴ Arberry once described Sufism as ‘the mystical movement of an uncompromising Monotheism’ (*Sufism* (A), p. 12).

socio-political environment, but the nature of the two religions would also be an important factor in facilitating the interaction between Jewish and Muslim scholars. When nothing is recognisably Jewish or Islamic, universalism of mystical and philosophical thought seems to win over the particularism of the two religions.

The present study could not establish a direct link between *al-Hidāya* and the *Qūt*; however, it finds no evidence to rule out this possibility. It is important not to force the comparison, but it seems to be equally important not to avoid it. There are plenty of other themes to investigate among the two books. Possible links between *al-Hidāya* and Kalām, al-Mu‘tazilites, Muslim philosophers and other Arabic and Sufi sources will be the obvious points to start. I have examined the connections between *al-Hidāya* and the *Qūt*, but the idea that these two in fact share a common source is also worth studying. In a broader context of Judaism and Sufism, Fenton mentions the significant influence of Sahl al-Tustarī on the later Kabbalistic idea of numerical values in words, and the impact of Abu'l-Hasan al-Shādhilī and Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh beyond Islam.⁷⁵ Here, we may recognise the direct and indirect influence of al-Makkī in Jewish tradition. Ibn Bāqūdā and his book have not been discussed exhaustively in Islamic studies and more analysis using Arabic and Muslim sources is awaited.

Socio-linguistically, the consequences of the use of Judaeo-Arabic provides another perspective to *al-Hidāya*. Judaeo-Arabic literature demonstrates complex phenomena, interlacing language with faith, tradition and politics. Considering this, the expression of the ‘original Arabic text (Arabischer Urtext)’ in the title of Yahuda’s edition may need to be revisited. This is not only because he used more than one manuscript to reproduce the ‘original’ text and had to sometimes have two versions of a passage. It is because the visual representation of the Judaeo-Arabic text had to be given up for the convenience of Arabic readers.

I hasten to add that this is not to devalue Yahuda’s work by any means. This is to point out the significance of the graphic function of a text. For instance, a certain eleventh-century trader demonstrates a curious mixture of Arabic and Judaeo-Arabic in his letters preserved in the Genizah collections.⁷⁶ In some cases, he seems to have switched to Arabic letters at the edge of the paper for the pragmatic reason that Arabic script takes up less space than Hebrew script. However, this does not explain all the examples. There seem to be more psychological aspects in the use of the Hebrew script, for example showing intimacy to a fellow Jew. For further study of *al-Hidāya*, although Ibn Bāqūdā’s handwritten text appears to be no longer extant, the sociological and linguistic importance of consulting the ‘original’ Judaeo-Arabic form cannot be overemphasised.

⁷⁵ Fenton, ‘Judaism and Sufism’, in *Companion*, pp. 204, 206.

⁷⁶ This is based on a talk by Wagner (Taylor-Schechter Genizah Research Unit, University of Cambridge), ‘A matter of script? Arabic and Judaeo-Arabic in the Genizah collections’, at the *Intertwined Worlds: The Judaeo-Islamic Tradition* symposium (11–13 Sep. 2011, University of Cambridge).

Conclusion

Qūt al-qulūb essentially concerns ethical issues. In this major writing, al-Makkī almost attempts to codify the Qur’ān, Ḥadīth and sayings of worthy ancestors in order to show a pious way of life. Piety and ethics may not be identical. However, religion often defines codes of behaviour, and in the *Qūt*, pious conduct and ethical action seem to be treated in the same way. Piety does not require logical comprehension of the mechanism of belief. In his work, al-Makkī encourages the reader to accept the unavoidable fact that there exists a sphere which human ability cannot reach. He clearly divides Divinity from humanity, as his belief appears to be based on the acknowledgement of the limit of man’s faculties.

Al-Makkī, however, has complete faith in the enormous spiritual capacity of a particular human organ, the heart. If employed properly, the heart will be a judge and guide in this world and can be a bridge to the hereafter. One of the themes of the present study has been the universality of the religious image of the heart. As we have seen, many cultures have attached a metaphorical role to the heart whose religious images bear a striking resemblance regardless of time and space. This has been further confirmed by a comparative analysis of the religious teachings of the heart of al-Makkī and Ibn Bāqūdā. Crossing the border of faith and language, a unique aspect of the heart appears to lie in its symbolic ability of encompassing physical and spiritual worlds, Divine and human spheres.

This book has also explored the issue of the Sufi–Ḥanbalī relationship. Contrary to the prevailing view of Ḥanbalī hostility towards Sufism, an exploration of the intellectual reaction towards al-Makkī of four Ḥanbalī scholars from different periods in different genres has demonstrated their diverse opinions of his work, from respect and total reliance to partial dependence and criticism. For example, the present study has unpacked the complexity of the treatment of al-Makkī by Ibn Taymiyya, who has often been a reference point for the anti-Sufi Wahhābī movement. The line between the historical Ibn Taymiyya and the perception of him among later thinkers is never going to disappear. However, it is not necessary for me to reiterate the importance of a proper understanding of his thought by going back to his original texts, rather than quoting second- or third-generation citations out of context. The study of al-Makkī is thus relevant to the modern context and a more in-depth examination should shed a different light on the current political image of Sufi–Ḥanbalī relations.

The present study has also evaluated a dynamic interaction between Judaism and Islam based on a comparative analysis between the *Qūt* and *al-Hidāya*, which has led to a further question of the way we study al-Makkī and mysticism in general. If we are to assume that Ibn Bāqūdā went to great pains to substitute Muslim sources with Jewish ones, the significant issue is less about the extent to which he did so and more that he considered them of equal value. Ibn Bāqūdā seems to be able to find appropriate Jewish sources in many cases, and so does Judah b. Tibbon. If materials are already available, thought can be simultaneously developed, and influence can be mutual.

When Ibn Bāqūdā quotes a saying which seems to indicate his use of Islamic texts, Fenton sees his anxiety (see [Chapter 8](#)). It may have been the case. Ibn Bāqūdā may not have been too comfortable in using Muslim sources openly. However, I rather see his confidence here, as Moses Maimonides stated in a preface to one of his writings:¹

Know that neither the teachings nor the explanations which I propound in the following chapters are altogether original to me. They are thoughts gathered by me from the works of sages in the Midrash and the Talmud and from other Jewish writings; furthermore, from the utterances of philosophers of antiquity and our own days, and from the works of various and diverse authors. *I am willing to learn from anybody and everybody.* [Emphasis is mine.]

These two authors' scholarly honesty seems to come from their confidence that all their arguments can be explained and supported fully by their own Jewish tradition. Without denying Islamic traces in *al-Hidāya*, it should be emphasised that one of the inspiring aspects that Ibn Bāqūdā may have found in non-Jewish writings was the tools for constructing a convincing argument (methodology, argumentation, terminology), not necessarily only the contents.

Bettan in his review criticises Yahuda for his 'grave error' in making 'such a bold assertion' of Ibn Bāqūdā's complete reliance upon Arabic literature.² In terms of Yahuda's motivation, further investigation is necessary to assess whether the demonstration of the total dependence of *al-Hidāya* on Arabic writing was the sole aim in the publication of his edition. Regardless of his objective, however, the idea of 'reliance' or 'borrowing' needs to be revisited. The high level of acculturation and assimilation has been recognised in the medieval world of Judaism and Islam. This phenomenon is particularly remarkable in mysticism, as esoteric ideas seem to be somewhat easily transferred as philosophical and scientific knowledge. This receptivity may stem from the essence of these ideas which, although expressed in the vernacular, can go beyond localised tradition and beyond specific creeds, so that faith borders become secondary, while the contents become primary.

¹ This citation from Ch. 8 of the *Pirke Aboth* is from Hertz, *Sermons, Addresses and Studies*, vol. 3, p. 333.

² Bettan, review of *Hidāja*, pp. 305–6.

Ibn Bāqūdā's work reveals the development of the mystico-philosophical tradition in Judaism and the quick spread of Sufism into the Iberian peninsula. This also helps us understand the context and phenomenon of Judaeo-Arabic literature in al-Andalus, and the intertwined relationship between Judaism and Islam. In reading the *Qūt* and *al-Hidāya*, it should be noted that both authors were public figures – they were both preachers and Ibn Bāqūdā was a judge. Both deny an extreme form of asceticism, and their books pay attention to individual duties, as well as collective ones. At the end of his article, Ilan poses the question whether *al-Hidāya* should be read as an ethical work or as Sufi literature.³ My answer would be both. Ethics and mysticism overlap. As can be seen in the teachings of Confucius and Daoism, individual spiritual exercise and human social behaviour are interconnected. The personal is social and political. This view is shared by both the *Qūt* and *al-Hidāya*. In essence they are devotional works, passionately calling for the cultivation of a human relationship with the Divine, fellow humans, and everything surrounding them.

It is hoped that the present monograph has not only extended the study of al-Makkī beyond Sufism, and beyond Islam, but that it will also lead to further exploration of a fuller range of opinions of the mystical way of life, piety and ethics – in both the past and the present.

³ Ilan, 'Al-ītidāl al-shari'i: another examination of the perception of asceticism in *The Duties of the Heart of Bahya*', *Revue des études juives* 164, nos. 3–4, Jul.–Dec. 2005, p. 461.

Select bibliography

Abbreviations

| | |
|--------------|---|
| <i>BSOAS</i> | <i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i> |
| <i>BSOS</i> | <i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies</i> |
| <i>IC</i> | <i>Islamic Culture</i> |
| <i>IS</i> | <i>Islamic Studies</i> |
| <i>JAOS</i> | <i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i> |
| <i>JQR</i> | <i>The Jewish Quarterly Review</i> |
| <i>JRAS</i> | <i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i> |

Primary sources

Primary sources in the original language

‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, Abū Muḥammad, *Ghunya li-ṭālibī ṭarīq al-haqq*, 2 vols in 1, Cairo: Maṭba‘at Muḥammad ‘Alī Ṣabīḥ wa Awlādūh, 1288/1871–2.

Abu’l-Fidā’, Ismā‘īl b. ‘Alī, *al-Mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar*, 4 vols in 2, Cairo: al-Maṭba‘at al-Ḥusayniyya, n.d.

Abū Nu‘aym, Ahmad b. ‘Abd Allāh, *Hilyat al-awliyā’ wa tabaqāt al-asfiyā’*, 10 vols, Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī; Maṭba‘at al-Sā‘āda, 1932–8.

al-Baghdādī, ‘Abd al-Qāhir, *al-Farq bayn al-firaq*, ed. Muḥammad Badr, Cairo: s.n., 1910.

al-Dhahabī, Shams al-Dīn, *Tadhkirat al-huffāz*, 4 vols, Hyderabad-Deccan: Dā’irat al-Ma’ārif al-‘Uthmāniyya, 1955–8.

—, *Kitāb al-‘ibar fī khabar man ghabar*, ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid and Fuād Sayyid, 5 vols, Kuwait City: Dār al-Maṭbū‘at wa’l-Nashr, 1960–6.

—, *Mīzān al-i‘tidāl fī naqd al-rijāl*, ed. ‘Alī Muḥammad al-Bajāwī, 4 vols, Cairo: ‘Isā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1382/1962–3.

—, *Siyar a‘lām al-nubalā’*, ed. Ḥusayn al-Asad Shu‘ayb al-Arnā‘ūt, 25 vols, Beirut: Mu’assasat al-Risāla, 1981.

—, *Ta‘rīkh al-Islām wa wafayāt al-mashāhīr al-a‘lām ḥawādīth wa wafayāt 381–400*, ed. ‘Umar ‘Abd al-Salām Tadmūrī, Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-‘Arabī, 1988.

—, *Ta‘rīkh al-Islām wa wafayāt al-mashāhīr al-a‘lām ḥawādīth wa wafayāt 351–380*, ed. ‘Umar ‘Abd al-Salām Tadmūrī, Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-‘Arabī, 1989.

al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Makkī, Muḥammad, *al-‘Iqd al-thamīn fī ta’rīkh al-balad al-amīn*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiqī, 8 vols, Cairo: Maṭba‘at al-Sunna al-Muḥammadiyya, 1958.

al-Ghazālī, Abū Ḥāmid, *Tahāfut al-falāsifa*, ed. M. Bouyges, Beirut: Imprimerie catholique, 1927.

—, *al-Munqidh min al-dalāl*, ed. Maḥmūd Bījū, Damascus: Dār al-Taqwā; Amman: Dār al-Faṭḥ, 1992.

—, *Iḥyā’ ulūm al-dīn*, 4 vols, Cairo: Dār Iḥyā’ al-Kutub al-‘Arabiyya, n.d. Ḥājjī Khalīfa, Muṣṭafā (Kātib Çelebi), *Kashf al-żunūn ‘an asāmī al-kutub wa’l-funūn*, 6 vols, Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1999.

al-Ḥallāj, Ḥusayn b. Manṣūr, *Kitāb al-Tawāṣīn par al-Ḥallāj*, ed. L. Massignon, Paris: Librairie Paul Geuthner, 1913.

—, *Akhbar al-Ḥallaj: recueil d’oraisons et d’exhortations du martyr mystique de l’Islam Husayn Ibn Mansur Hallaj*, ed. L. Massignon, Paris: Librairie philosophique Vrin, 1975.

al-Ḥusaynī, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, *Dhayl tadhkirat al-huffāz li’l-Dhahabī*, Beirut: Dār Iḥyā’ al-Turāth al-‘Arabī, 1968.

Ibn al-‘Arabī, Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad, *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, ed. Abu’l-‘Ilā ‘Afīfī, Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-‘Arabī, 1970.

—, *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, ed. ‘Uthmān Yahyā, 4 vols, Cairo: al-Hay’at al-Miṣriyyat al-‘Āmma lil-Kitāb, 1405–12/1985–92.

Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, *Laṭā’if al-minān fī manāqib al-Shaykh Abi’l-‘Abbās al-Mursī wa Shaykhīhi al-Shādhilī Abi’l-Ḥasan*, ed. Khalīl al-Manṣūr, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1998.

Ibn al-Athīr, ‘Izz al-Dīn ‘Alī, *al-Kāmil fi l-ta’rīkh*, ed. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Najjār, 9 vols, Cairo: Idārat al-Ṭibā’at al-Muniriyya, 1929.

Ibn Bāqūdā, Bahyā (Bachja Ibn Jōsēf Ibn Paqūda), *al-Hidāja ilā farā’iḍ al-qulūb des Bachja Ibn Jōsēf Ibn Paqūda aus Andalusien im arabischen Urtext zum ersten Male nach der Oxford und Pariser Handschrift sowie den Petersburger Fragmenten*, ed. A. S. Yahuda, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1912.

Ibn al-Farrā’, Qādī Abū Ya’lā Muḥammad, *al-Mu’tamad fī uṣūl al-dīn*, ed. Wadi Z. Haddad, Beirut: Dar el-Machreq, 1974.

Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, Shihāb al-Dīn, *Lisān al-mīzān*, ed. ‘Ādil Aḥmad ‘Abd al-Mawjūd and ‘Alī Muḥammad Muawwad, 7 vols, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1996.

Ibn al-‘Imād al-Hanbalī, Abu’l-Falāḥ, *Shadharāt al-dhahab fī akhbār man dhahab*, 8 vols, Cairo: Maktabat al-Qudsī, 1350/1931–2.

Ibn al-Jawzī, ‘Abd al-Rahmān, *Ṣifat al-ṣifwa*, Haydarabad: Maṭba‘at Dā’irat al-Ma’ārif al-Uthmāniyya, 1355/1936.

—, *al-Muntazam fī ta’rīkh al-mulūk wa’l-umām*, 10 vols, Haydarabad: Maṭba‘at Dā’irat al-Ma’ārif al-Uthmāniyya, 1357/1938.

—, *Talbīs Iblīs*, ed. Muḥammad Muṇīr al-Dimashqī, Cairo: Idārat al-Ṭibā’at al-Muniriyya, 1369/1949–50.

—, *Talqīḥ fuhūm ahl al-athar fī ‘uyūn al-ta’rīkh wa’l-siyar*, Cairo: Maktabat al-Ādab, 1975.

Ibn Kathīr, Ismā’īl b. ‘Umar, *al-Bidāya wa’l-nihāya*, ed. Aḥmad Abū Milhīm et al., 14 vols, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1988.

Ibn Khaldūn, ‘Abd al-Rahmān, *Kitāb al-‘ibar muqaddima*, Cairo: Muṣṭafā Fahmī al-Kutubī, 1322/1904.

[pseudo-]Ibn Khaldūn, ‘Abd al-Rahmān, *Shifā’ al-sā’il li-tahdhīb al-masā’il: apaisement à qui cherche comment clarifier les problèmes*, ed. I.-A. Khalifé, Beirut: Imprimerie catholique, 1959.

Ibn Khallikān, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, *Waṣayāt al-a'yān wa anbā' abnā' al-zamān*, ed. İhsan 'Abbās, 8 vols, Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1968.

Ibn al-Mustawfī, Sharaf al-Dīn Abu'l-Barakāt, *Ta'rīkh Irbil: nabāhat al-balad al-khāmil bi-man waradahu min al-amāthil*, ed. Sāmī b. al-Sayyid Khamās al-Šaqqār, 2 vols, Baghdad: Dār al-Rashīd, 1980.

Ibn al-Nadīm, Muḥammad b. Iṣhāq, *al-Fihrist*, Cairo: Maktabat al-Tijāriyya al-Kubrā, 1348/1929–30.

Ibn al-Qaysarānī, Abu'l-Faḍl Muḥammad, *al-Ansāb al-muttafiqa: homonyma inter nomina relativa*, ed. P. de Jong, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1865.

Ibn al-Qunfudh, Abu'l-'Abbās Aḥmad, *Kitāb al-waṣayāt*, ed. 'Ādil Nuwaiḥid, Beirut: Dār al-Afaq al-Jadīda, 1983.

Ibn Taghrībirdī, Abu'l-Maḥāsin Yūsuf, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira fī mulūk Miṣr wa'l-Qāhira*, 16 vols, Cairo: s.n., 1938.

Ibn Taymiyya, Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Majmū' fatāwā shaykh al-Islām Aḥmad b. Taymiyya*, ed. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Najdī al-Ḥanbālī et al., 30 vols, Riyad: Maṭābī al-Riyād, 1381/1961–2.

Jāmī, 'Abd al-Rahmān, *Nafāhāt al-uns min ḥaḍarāt al-quds*, ed. Tawḥīdī Pūr, Tehran: Kitābfurūsh-i Sa'dī, 1337/1918–19.

al-Kalābādhī, Abū Bakr, *al-Ta'arruf li-madhhab ahl al-taṣawwuf*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd and Tāhā 'Abd al-Baqī Surūr, Cairo: Dār Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-'Arabiyya, 1380/1960–1.

al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Abū Bakr Aḥmad, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād aw madīnat al-salām*, 14 vols, Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī, 1931.

al-Laknawī, Muḥammad 'Abd al-Hayy, *al-Raf' wa'l-takmīl fi'l-jarḥ wa'l-ta'dīl*, ed. 'Abd al-Fattāḥ, Aleppo: Maktabat al-Maṭbū'at al-Islāmiyya, 1963.

Maimonides, Moses (Mūsā b. Maymūn), *Dalālat al-hāirīn*, ed. Ḥusayn Ātāy, 3 vols in 1, Cairo: Maktabat al-Thaqāfat al-Dīniyya, 1980.

al-Makkī, Abū Ṭālib, *Qūt al-qulūb fī mu'amalat al-maḥbūb wa waṣf ṭarīq al-murīd ilā maqām al-tawḥīd*, 2 vols, ed. Muḥammad al-Zuhrā, Cairo: al-Maṭba'at al-Yamaniyya, 1310/1892–3.

—, *Qūt al-qulūb fī mu'amalat al-maḥbūb wa waṣf ṭarīq al-murīd ilā maqām al-tawḥīd*, 4 vols in 2, Cairo: al-Maṭba'at al-Miṣriyya, 1932.

—, *Qūt al-qulūb fī mu'amalat al-maḥbūb wa waṣf ṭarīq al-murīd ilā maqām al-tawḥīd*, 2 vols, Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1961.

—, *Qūt al-qulūb fī mu'amalat al-maḥbūb wa waṣf ṭarīq al-murīd ilā maqām al-tawḥīd*, 2 vols, ed. Sa'īd Nasīb Makārim, Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1995.

—, *Qūt al-qulūb fī mu'amalat al-maḥbūb wa waṣf ṭarīq al-murīd ilā maqām al-tawḥīd*, 2 vols, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1997.

—, *Qūt al-qulūb fī mu'amalat al-maḥbūb wa waṣf ṭarīq al-murīd ilā maqām al-tawḥīd*, 3 vols, ed. Maḥmūd b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Rāḍwānī, Cairo: Dār al-Turāth, 2001.

—, *Qūt al-qulūb fī mu'amalat al-maḥbūb wa waṣf ṭarīq al-murīd ilā maqām al-tawḥīd*, 2 vols, ed. 'Āsim Ibrāhīm al-Kayyālī, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 2005.

—, *Qūt al-qulūb fī mu'amalat al-maḥbūb wa waṣf ṭarīq al-murīd ilā maqām al-tawḥīd*, 2 vols, Cairo: al-Maktabat al-Tawfīqiyya, n.d.

—, *Qūt al-qulūb fī mu'amalat al-maḥbūb wa waṣf ṭarīq al-murīd ilā maqām al-tawḥīd*, 2 vols in 1, Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, n.d.

—, *Qūt al-qulūb fī mu'amalat al-maḥbūb wa waṣf tarīq al-murīd ilā maqām al-tawḥīd*, British Library, ms. Oriental 7726, 351 folios.

—, *Qūt al-qulūb fī mu'amalat al-maḥbūb*, Chester Beatty Library, ms. 3698, 185 folios.

—, *Qūt al-qulūb ilā mu'amalat al-maḥbūb wa waṣf tarīq al-murīd ilā maqām al-tawḥīd*, Escorial Library, ms. árabe 729, folios 1–155.

pseudo-al-Makkī, Abū Ṭālib 'Ilm al-qulūb, ed. 'Abd al-Qādir Aḥmad 'Atā, Cairo: Maktabat al-Qāhira, 1964.

—, *'Ilm al-qulūb*, ed. 'Abd al-Qādir Aḥmad 'Atā, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 2004.

Muhammad Murtadā al-Zabīdī, Abu'l-Fayḍ, *Iḥāf al-sādat al-muttaqīn bi-sharḥ Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, 10 vols, Cairo: Aḥmad al-Bābī al-Halabī, 1894.

al-Muḥāsibī, al-Ḥārith b. Asad, *Kitāb al-ri'āya li-ḥuqūq Allāh*, ed. M. Smith, London: Luzac, 1940.

—, *al-'Aql wa-fahm al-Qur'ān*, ed. Ḥusayn al-Qūwatlī, Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1391/1971.

—, *Kitāb al-'ilm*, ed. Muḥammad al-'Ābid Mazālī, Tunis: al-Dār al-Tūnisiyya, 1975.

—, *Risālat al-mustarshid*, ed. Sharafī Aḥmad al-Rifā'ī, Qusanṭīna (Algeria): Dār al-Ba'th, 1401/1981.

al-Nūrī, Abu'l-Ḥasan, 'Textes mystiques inédits d'Abū-l-Ḥasan al-Nūrī (m. 295/907)', ed. P. Nwyia, *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 44, 1968, pp. 117–154.

al-Qushayrī, Abu'l-Qāsim, *al-Risālat al-Qushayriyya fī 'ilm al-taṣawwuf*, Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Taqaddam, 1346/1927–8.

—, *Tafsīr al-Qushayrī laqā'i al-īshārāt*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd, 6 vols in 3, Cairo: al-Maktabat al-Tawfīqiyya, n.d.

Rūmī, Jalāl al-Dīn, *The Mathnawī of Jalāl 'uddīn Rūmī*, ed., trans. and commentary by R.A. Nicholson, 8 vols, Leiden: E.J. Brill; London: Luzac, 1925–40.

al-Rundī, Ibn 'Abbād (Ibn 'Abbād de Ronda), *Ghayth al-mawāhib al-'aliyya fī sharḥ al-Hikam al-'atā'iyya*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd and Maḥmūd b. al-Sharīf, s.n.: Maṭba'at al-Sā'āda, 1390/1970.

—, *al-Rasā'il al-ṣughrā: lettres de direction spirituelle*, ed. P. Nwyia, Beirut: Dār al-Mashriq, 1974.

—, *Kitāb fī-hi jawāb su'āl awradahu ba' d al-nās 'alā mas'ila fī kitāb Qūt al-qulūb fī bāb al-khawf min-hu wa fī-hi ziyyāda muṣīda yaḥtāj ilayhā al-murīd fī mukhālaṭat ba' d al-nās [al-Rasā'il al-ṣughrā]*, Escorial Library, ms. árabe 740, folios 183–236.

Şadr al-Dīn Shīrāzī, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm (Mullā Şadrā), *al-Mazāhir al-ilāhiyya*, ed. Jalāl al-Dīn Āṣṭīyānī, Mashhad: s.n., 1961.

—, *Risālah-i jabr wa tafwīd: ma'rūf bihi khalq al-a'māl*, ed. Muḥammad 'Alī Rawzātī et al., Isfahan: Ḥabl al-Matīn, 1340/1961.

—, *Kasr aṣnām al-jāhiliyya*, ed. Muḥammad Taqī Dānish'pazhūh, Tehran: Maṭba'at Jāmi'at Tihrān, 1962.

—, *al-Shawāhid al-rubūbiyya*, Jalāl al-Dīn Āṣṭīyānī, Mashhad: Chāpkhānah-i Dānishgāh-i Mashhad, 1346/1967.

—, *Maṣnāvi-i Mullā Şadrā*, ed. Muṣṭafā Fayzī, Qum: Kitābkhānah-i Āyat Allāh al-'Uzmā Mar'ashī Najaftī, 1376/1997–8.

al-Şafadī, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl, *al-Wāfi bi'l-wafayāt*, ed. T.M. Aḥmad al-Arnā'ūt, 29 vols, Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī, 1420/1999–2000.

al-Sam'ānī, Abū Sa'd, *The Kitāb al-ansāb of 'Abd al-Karīm ibn Muḥammad al-Sam'ānī*, reproduced in facsimile from the manuscript in the British Museum, add. 23,355, Leiden: E.J. Brill; London: Luzac, 1912.

al-Sarrāj, Abū Naṣr, *Pages from the Kitāb al-luma' of Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāj*, ed. A.J. Arberry, London: Luzac, 1947.

—, *The Kitāb al-luma' fi'l-taṣawwuf of Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāj*, ed. R. A. Nicholson, London: Luzac, 1963.

al-Shā'rānī, 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Aḥmad, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā lawāqīḥ al-anwār fī ṭabaqāt al-akhyār*, 2 vols in 1, Cairo: al-Maṭba'at al-'Āmirat al-'Uthmāniyya, 1316/1898.

al-Subkī, Abū Naṣr 'Abd al-Wahhāb, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyyat al-kubrā*, ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad al-Ṭanāḥī and 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Muḥammad al-Ḥilw, 10 vols, Cairo: Maṭba'at 'Isā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1964–76.

al-Suhrawardī, Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar, *Awārif al-ma'ārif*, Cairo: al-Maktabat al-'Alāmiyya, 1358/1939.

al-Sulamī, Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān, *Kitāb ṭabaqāt al-ṣūfiyya*, ed. J. Pedersen, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1960.

al-Yāfi'i, 'Abd Allāh, *Mir'āt al-janān wa-'ibrat al-yaqzān*, 4 vols, Hyderabad: Maṭba'at al-Ma'ārif, 1337/1918–19.

Yāqūt, Ibn 'Abd Allah, *Kitāb mu'jam al-buldān*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, 10 vols, Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1866–73.

Primary sources in translation

'Attār, Farīd al-Dīn, *Muslim Saints and Mystics: episodes from the Tadhkirat al-auliya'* ('Memorial of the saints') by Farid al-Din Attar, trans. A.J. Arberry, London; Boston, MA: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966.

The Babylonian Talmud, trans. and ed. I. Epstein et al., 35 vols, London: Soncino Press, 1935–52.

The Bible: authorized King James version with Apocrypha, ed. R. Carroll and S. Prickett, Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.

al-Ghazālī, Abū Ḥāmid, *The Remembrance of Death and the Afterlife: book XL of the Revival of the Religious Sciences*, trans. T.J. Winter, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Hujwīrī, 'Alī b. 'Uthmān, *Kashf al-maḥjūb of al-Hujwīrī 'The Revelation of the Veiled': an early Persian treatise on Sufism*, trans. R.A. Nicholson, E.J.W. Gibb Memorial Trust, Wiltshire: Aris & Phillips, 2000.

Ibn al-'Arabī, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad, *The Bezels of Wisdom*, trans. R.W.J. Austin, New York: Paulist Press, 1980.

Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh, Ahmad b. Muḥammad, *Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh's Ṣūfi Aphorisms*, trans. V. Danner, Leiden: Brill, 1973.

—, *Miftāḥ al-falāḥ wa miṣbāḥ al-arwāḥ: the key to salvation and the lamp of souls*, trans. M.A.K. Danner, Cambridge: Islamic Texts Society, 1996.

Ibn Bāqūdā, Bahyā (Bahya ben Joseph Ibn Paquda), *The Duties of the Heart*, trans. E. Collins, London: John Murray, 1909.

—, *Duties of the Heart: torat hovot ha-levavot*, 5 vols, trans. from the Arabic into Hebrew by J.I. Tibbon with English translation by M. Hyamson, New York: Bloch Publishing, 1925.

—, *Les devoirs du cœur*, trans. A. Chouraqui, Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1972.

—, *The Book of Direction to the Duties of the Heart*, trans. M. Mansoor, Oxford; Portland, OR: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2004.

Ibn al-Jawzī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, "The devil's delusion" by Ibn al-Jauzi', trans. D. S. Margoliouth, *IC* 9–12, quarterly, 1935–8.

Ibn Khallikān, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, *Ibn Khallikan's Biographical Dictionary*, trans. W.M. de Slane, 4 vols, New York; London: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1842.

The Jerusalem Talmud, trans. and ed. H.W. Guggenheimer, Berlin; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2000.

al-Junayd, Abu'l-Qāsim, *The Life, Personality and Writings of al-Junayd: a study of a third/ninth century mystic with an edition and translation of his writings*, A.H. Abdel-Kader, E.J.W. Gibb Memorial Trust, London: Luzac, 1962.

al-Kalābādhī, Abū Bakr, *The Doctrine of the Sūfīs: kitāb al-ta'arruf li-madhab ahl al-taṣawwuf*, trans. A.J. Arberry, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1935.

The Koran Interpreted, trans. A.J. Arberry, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Maimonides, Moses, *The Commandments*, trans. C.B. Chavel, 2 vols, London; New York: Soncino Press, 1967.

al-Makkī, Abū Ṭālib, *Die Nahrung der Herzen: Abū Ṭālib al-Makkīs Qūt al-qulūb*, trans. R. Gramlich, 4 vols, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1992–5.

—, *Xīn líng de liáng dān* ('Good Remedy of the Heart'), trans. Mǎ Xiǎo Pèi, Beijing: Chinese Social Science Press, 2008.

The Meaning of the Glorious Qur'an, trans. M.M. Pickthall, New Delhi: Adam Publishers & Distributors, 2002.

The Qur'an, trans. A. Jones, E.J.W. Gibb Memorial Trust, Exeter: Short Run Press, 2007.

al-Qushayrī, Abu'l-Qāsim, *al-Qushayrī's Epistle on Sufism: al-risala al-Qushayriyya fi 'ilm al-tasawwuf*, trans. A.D. Knysh, Reading: Garnet, 2007.

al-Rundī, Ibn 'Abbād, *Ibn 'Abbād of Ronda: letters on the Sūfī path*, trans. J. Renard, New York: Paulist Press, 1986.

Sa'adya Gaon (Saadya Gaon), *The Book of Doctrines and Beliefs*, abridged edition, trans. A. Altmann, Oxford: East and West Library, 1946.

—, (Sa'dia ben Josef), *The Book of Beliefs and Opinions*, trans. S. Rosenblatt, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1948.

Şadr al-Dīn Shīrāzī, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm (Mullā Şadrā), *Falsafah-i 'ālī, yā, Ḥikmat-i Şadr al-muta'allihīn, kitāb-i Asfār*, trans. J. Muṣlih, Tehran: Dānishgāh-i Tehrān, 1377/1958.

—, *Mashā'ir*, trans. G.Ḥ. Āḥānī, Isfahan: Dānishkādah-i Adabīyāt, 1340/1960.

—, *On the Hermeneutics of the Light-Verse of the Qur'an: tafsīr āyat al-nūr*, trans. L.-P. Peerwani, London: ICAS Press, 2004.

al-Sarrāj, Abū Naṣr, *Schlagrichter über das Sufitum*, trans. R. Gramlich, Stuttgart: Freiburger Islamstudien, 1990.

The Sayings of the Desert Fathers: the alphabetical collection, trans. B. Ward, Oxford: A.R. Mowbray; Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian, 1975.

al-Suhrawardī, Abū Ḥafṣ, *Die Gaben der Erkenntnis des 'Umar As-Suhrawardī ('Awārif al-ma'ārif)*, trans. R. Gramlich, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1978.

al-Suhrawardī, Yaḥyā b. Ḥabash, *Le livre de la sagesse orientale, Kitāb ḥikmat al-ishrāq: commentaires de Qotboddin Shīrāzī et Mollā Şadrā Shīrāzī*, trans. H. Corbin, Lagrasse: Verdier, 1986.

The Twelve Principal Upaniṣads: text in Devanāgarī, trans. various scholars, 2nd edn, 3 vols, New Delhi: D.K. Printworld, 2000.

Secondary sources

Abd-el-Jalil, J., *Aspects intérieurs de l'Islam*, Paris: Éditions du seuil, 1949.

Abrahamov, B., *Divine Love in Islamic Mysticism: the teachings of al-Ghazālī and al-Dabbagh*, London: Routledge Curzon, 2003.

Abū Khizām, Fu'ād, *Mu'jam al-muṣṭalḥāt al-ṣūfiyya*, Lebanon: Maktabat Lubnān, 1993.

Abun-Nasr, J.M., *Muslim Communities of Grace: the Sufi brotherhoods in Islamic religious life*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2007.

Aïnî, M.A., *Un grand saint de l'Islam: Abd-al-Kadir Guilânî*, 1077–1166, Paris: P. Geuthner, 1938.

Altmann, A., *Studies in Religious Philosophy and Mysticism*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969.

Altshuler, M., *The Messianic Secret of Hasidism*, Leiden; Boston, MA: Brill, 2006.

Amedroz, H.F., 'Notes on some Sufi lives', *JRAS* 17, 1912, pp. 551–86.

Amin, W. Mohd Azam b. Mohd, 'An evaluation of the *Qūt al-qulūb* of al-Makkī with an annotated translation of his *Kitāb al-tawba*', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1991.

—, 'Abū Tālib al-Makkī: a traditional Sūfī', *Hamard Islamicus* 22, no. 3, 1999, pp. 71–9.

Anawati, G.C. and Gradet, L., *Mystique Musulmane: aspects et tendances, expériences et techniques*, Paris: J. Vrin, 1961.

Arberry, A.J., 'Khargūshī's manual of Sūfīsm', *BSOS* 9, no. 2, 1938, pp. 345–9.

—, *An Introduction to the History of Sūfīsm: the Sir Abdullah Suhrawady lectures for 1942*, London; New York; Toronto: Longmans, Green, [1942].

—, *Sufism: an account of the mystics of Islam*, Mineola, NY: Dover, 2002.

Auchterlonie, P., *Arabic Biographical Dictionaries: a summary guide and bibliography*, Durham: Middle East Libraries Committee, 1987.

Awn, P.J., *Satan's Tragedy and Redemption: Iblīs in Sufi psychology*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1983.

Badran, M., and Cooke, M. (eds), *Opening the Gates: a century of Arab feminist writing*, London: Virago, 1990.

al-Baghdādī, Ismā'īl Bāshā (Bağdatlı Ismail Paşa), *Hadiyyat al-ārifīn asmā' al-mu'allifīn wa āthār al-muṣannifīn*, 2 vols, Istanbul: Milli Egitim Basimevi, 1951.

Baldick, J., *Mystical Islam: an introduction to Sufism*, London: Tauris, 1989.

Bellamy, J.A., 'Sex and society in Islamic popular literature', in A. L. al-Sayyid-Marsot (ed.) *Society and the Sexes in Medieval Islam*, Malibu, CA: Undena, 1979, pp. 23–42.

Bettan, Rabbi Israel, review of *al-Hidāja 'ilā farā'id al-qulūb des Bachja Ibn Jōsēf Ibn Paqūda aus Andalusien im arabischen Urtext zum erstenmale nach der Oxford und Pariser Handschrift, sowie der Petersburger Fragmenten*, ed. A.S. Yahuda, in Julian Morgenstern (ed.) *Central Conference of American Rabbis*, vol. 24, Yearbook 1914, pp. 301–11.

Bin Ramli, H., 'A study of early Sufism in relation to the development of scholarship in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries A.H./C.E.: with special reference to knowledge and theology in the *Qūt al-qulūb* of Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (d. 386/996)', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Oxford, 2011.

Biographical Encyclopaedia of Sufis: Central Asia and Middle East, ed. N. Hanif, New Delhi: Sarup & Sons, 2002.

Blau, J., *The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judaeo-Arabic: a study of the origins of Middle Arabic*, London: Oxford University Press, 1965.

—, *Studies in Middle Arabic, and its Judaeo-Arabic Variety*, Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1988.

Blau, J., and Reif, S.C. (eds), *Genizah Research after Ninety Years: the case of Judaeo-Arabic*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Böwering, G., *The Mystical Vision of Existence in Classical Islam: the Qur'anic hermeneutics of the Sufi Sahl at-Tustarī (d. 283/896)*, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1980.

—, review of *Die Nahrung der Herzen: Abū Ṭālib al-Makkīs Qūt al-qulūb*, vol. 1: chs 1–31, trans. R. Gramlich, *JAOS* 115, no. 3, July 1995, pp. 555–6.

—, review of *Die Nahrung der Herzen: Abū Ṭālib al-Makkīs Qūt al-qulūb*, vol. 2: ch. 32, trans. R. Gramlich, *JAOS* 117, no. 3, July 1997, pp. 619–20.

—, review of *Die Nahrung der Herzen: Abū Ṭālib al-Makkīs Qūt al-qulūb*, vol. 3: chapters 33–48 and vol. 4: bibliography and indices, trans. and ed. R. Gramlich, *JAOS* 118, no. 1, January 1998, pp. 145–6.

Brinner, W.M. and Ricks, S.D. (eds), *Studies in Islamic and Judaic Traditions: papers presented at the Institute for Islamic–Judaic Studies*, 2 vols, Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1986–9.

Brock, S. (trans.), *The Syriac Fathers on Prayer and the Spiritual Life*, Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian, 1987.

Brockelmann, C., *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, 2 vols and 3 supplementary vols, Leiden: Brill, 1943.

Burrows, M., *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, New York: Gramercy, 1986.

Cahn, Z., *The Philosophy of Judaism: the development of Jewish thought throughout the ages, the Bible, the Talmud, the Jewish philosophers, and the Cabala, until the present time*, New York: Macmillan, 1962.

Calder, N., review of *Al-Ġazālī. Le livre du licite et de l'illicite: kitāb al-ḥalāl wa-l-ḥarām*, by Régis Morelon, *BSOAS* 46, no. 1, 1983, p. 210.

—, *Studies in Early Muslim Jurisprudence*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1993.

Casirí, M. (ed.), *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana Escurialensis sive librorum omnium mss. quos Arabicè ab auctoribus magnam partem Arabo-Hispanis compositos Bibliotheca Coenobii Escurialensis complectitur*, 2 vols, Matri: Antonius Perez de Soto, 1760–70.

Chittick, W.C., *The Sufi Path of Knowledge: Ibn al-‘Arabī’s metaphysics of imagination*, Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1989.

—, *Imaginal Worlds: Ibn al-‘Arabī and the problem of religious diversity*, Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1994.

Claude, A., *Quest for the Red Sulphur: the life of Ibn ‘Arabī*, trans. P. Kingsley, Cambridge: Islamic Texts Society, 1993.

Cohen, A.A., and Mendes-Flohr, P. (eds), *Contemporary Jewish Religious Thought: original essays on critical concepts, movements and beliefs*, New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1972.

Cohn-Sherbok, D., *Fifty Key Jewish Thinkers*, London; New York: Routledge, 1997.

Cooperson, M., ‘Ibn Ḥanbal and Bishr al-Ḥāfi: a case study in biographical traditions’, *Studia Islamica* 2, no. 86, août 1997, pp. 71–101.

Cornell, V.J. (ed.), *Voices of Islam*, 2 vols, Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007.

Davila, J.R., ‘The perils of parallels: “Parallelomania” revisited’, unpublished draft for discussion, St Mary’s College, University of St Andrews, 2001.

Demeerseman, A., *Nouveau regard sur la voie spirituelle d’Abd al-Qādir al-Jilānī et sa tradition*, Paris: J. Vrin, 1988.

Dictionary of Judaism in the Biblical Period: 450 B.C.E. to 600 C.E., ed. J. Neusner, New York: Macmillan Library Reference; London: Simon & Schuster and Prentice Hall International, 1996.

Douglas, E.H., ‘The beard’, *The Muslim World* 68, issue 2, April 1978, pp. 100–10.

Encyclopaedia Judaica, 2nd edn, ed. M. Berenbaum, and F. Skolnik, 22 vols, Detroit, MI: Macmillan Reference USA, 2007.

Encyclopaedia of Buddhism: a world faith, ed. M.G. Chitkara, 6 vols, New Delhi: A.P.H., 1999–.

Encyclopaedia of Islam, ed. M.Th. Houtsma *et al.*, 4 vols, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1913–36.

Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd edn, ed. P.J. Bearman *et al.*, 13 vols, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1960–2004.

Encyclopaedia of Islam, 3rd edn, ed. G. Krämer *et al.* Online. Available HTTP: <http://www.brillonline.nl.ezproxy.lib.ed.ac.uk/subscriber/uid=3245/title_home?titl_id=ei3_ei3> (accessed on various dates until March 2012).

Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān, ed. J.D. McAuliffe *et al.*, 5 vols, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2001–6.

Encyclopaedia of Sufism, ed. M.S. Khan, and S. Ram, 12 vols, New Delhi: Anmol Publications, 2003.

Encyclopaedic Survey of Islamic Culture, ed. M. Taher, 7 vols, New Delhi: Anmol, 1997–.

Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature, ed. J.S. Meisami, and P. Starkey, 2 vols, London: Routledge, 1998.

Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World, ed. N.A. Stillman, P.I. Ackerman-Lieberman *et al.*, 5 vols, Leiden: Brill, 2010.

The Encyclopedia of Religion, ed. M. Eliade *et al.*, 16 vols, New York: Macmillan, 1987.

The Encyclopedia of Taoism, ed. F. Pregadio, London: Routledge, 2008.

Ernst, C.W., *The Shambhala Guide to Sufism*, Boston, MA: Shambhala, 1997.

Ess, J. van, *Die Gedankenwelt des Ḥārīt al-Muḥāsibī*, Bonn: Selbstverlag des Orientalischen Seminars der Universität Bonn, 1961.

—, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra: eine Geschichte des Religiösen Denkens im Frühen Islam*, 6 vols, Berlin; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1997.

Fierro, M., ‘The polemic about the “karāmāt al-awliyā” and the development of Ṣūfism in al-Andalus (fourth/tenth–fifth/eleventh centuries)’, *BSOAS* 55, no. 2, 1992, pp. 236–49.

Frank, D.H. and Leaman, O. (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Jewish Philosophy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Frye, R.N. (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 4, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975.

Gallego, M.Á., Bleaney, C.H., and Suárez, P.G. (eds), *Bibliography of Jews in the Islamic World*, Leiden; Boston, MA: Brill, 2010.

Geoffroy, É., *Le soufisme en Égypt et en Syrie*, Damascus: L’Institut Français d’Études Arabes de Damas, 1995.

Ginsberg, H.L., ‘Lexicographical notes’, *Supplements to Vetus Testamentum* 16, 1967, pp. 71–82.

Goitein, S.D., *Jews and Arabs: their contacts through the ages*, New York: Schocken Books, 1955.

—, ‘A plea for the periodization of Islamic history’, *JAOS* 88, no. 2, April–June 1968, pp. 224–8.

Golb, N. (ed.), *Judaean-Arabic Studies: proceedings of the founding conference of the society for Judaean-Arabic studies*, Amsterdam: Harwood Academic, 1997.

Goldziher, I., ‘Materialien zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Ṣūfismus’, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 13, 1899, pp. 35–56.

—, review of *al-Hidāja ilā farā'id al-qulūb des Bachja Ibn Jōsēf Ibn Paqūda aus Andalusien*, ed. A.S. Yahuda, *Revue des études juives* 49, 1904, pp. 154–60.

—, ‘Die dogmatische Partei der Sālimijja’, in I. Goldziher (ed.) *Gesammelte Schriften* 5, Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1970.

Goodman, L.E., ‘Bahya on the antinomy of free will and predestination’, *Journal of the History of Ideas* 44, no. 1, January–March 1983, pp. 115–30.

—, *Jewish and Islamic Philosophy: crosspollinations on the classical age*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999.

—, ‘What does Spinoza’s *Ethics* contribute to Jewish philosophy?’, in H.M. Ravven and L.E. Goodman (eds) *Jewish Themes in Spinoza’s Philosophy*, Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2002.

Guttmann, J., *Philosophies of Judaism: the history of Jewish philosophy from Biblical times to Franz Rosenzweig*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1964.

Al-Ḥabīb al-‘Umar, ‘Sharḥ kitāb *Qūṭ al-qulūb*’, 34 lectures, 2009–11. Online. Available HTTP: <<http://www.alhabibomar.com/Lessons.aspx?SectionID=7&CatID=49>> (accessed 18 December 2011).

Hary, B., *Multiglossia in Judeo-Arabic with an Edition, Translation, and Grammatical Study of the Cairene Purim Scroll*, Leiden; New York; Köln: E.J. Brill, 1992.

—, *Translating Religion: linguistic analysis of Judeo-Arabic sacred texts from Egypt*, Leiden; Boston, MA: Brill, 2009.

Hary, B., and Ben-Shammai, H. (eds), *Esoteric and Exoteric Aspects in Judeo-Arabic Culture*, Leiden; Boston, MA: Brill, 2006.

Hava, J. G., *Al-Faraid Arabic–English Dictionary*, Beirut: Dār al-Mashriq, 1970.

Hertz, J. H., *Sermons, Addresses and Studies*, 3 vols, London: Soncino, 1938.

Homerin, Th. E., ‘Ibn Taimīya’s *al-Šūfiyah wa-al-fuqarā*’, *Arabica* 32, fasc. 2, July 1985, pp. 219–44.

Hourani, G. F., ‘The chronology of Ghazālī’s writings’, *JAOS* 79, no. 4, October–December 1959, pp. 225–33.

Hughes, A. W., *Jewish Philosophy A–Z*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

Ibrahim, B., ‘Salafi intolerance threatens Sufis’, *Guardian* 10 May 2010. Online. Available HTTP: <<http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/belief/2010/may/10/islam-sufi-salafi-egypt-religion>> (accessed 8 March 2012).

Ilan, N., ‘*Al-i ‘tidāl al-sharī‘i*: another examination of the perception of asceticism in *The Duties of the Heart of Bahya*’, *Revue des études juives* 164, nos. 3–4, July–December 2005, pp. 449–61.

Immenkamp, B., ‘Marriage and celibacy in medieval Islam: a study of Ghazali’s *Kitāb ādāb al-nikāh*’, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1994.

International Association of Sufism. Online. Available HTTP: <<http://ias.org>> (accessed 24 March 2012).

International Sufi Movement. Online. Available HTTP: <<http://www.sufimovement.org>> (accessed 24 March 2012).

Iqbal, Afzal, *The Life and Work of Jalal-ud-din Rumi*, London: Octagon, 1983.

Izutsu, T., *God and Man in the Koran: semantics of the Koranic Weltanschauung*, Tokyo: Keio Institute of Cultural and Linguistic Studies, 1964.

—, *The Concept of Belief in Islamic Theology: a semantic analysis of īmān, and islām*, Tokyo: Keio Institute of Cultural and Linguistic Studies, 1965.

—, *Ethico-Religious Concepts in the Qur’ān*, Montréal: McGill University Press, 1966.

Jabre, F., *La notion de la ma’rifa chez Ghazali*, Beirut: Éditions les lettres orientales, 1958.

Jewish Encyclopedia, ed. I. Singer *et al.*, 12 vols, New York; London: Funk & Wagnalls, 1901–6.

Kahhālā, ‘Umar Riḍā, *Mu’jam al-mu’allifīn tarājim muṣannifī al-kutub al-‘Arabiyya*, 14 vols, Beirut: Dār Iḥyā’ al-Turāth al-‘Arabī, 1957.

Kamhi, D. J., review of *The Book of Direction to the Duties of the Heart*, trans. M. Mansoor, *BSOAS* 37, no. 2, 1974, p. 458.

Karamustafa, A. T., *Sufism: the formative period*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007.

Katz, S. T. (ed.), *Medieval Jewish Philosophy*, New York: Arno Press, 1980.

Kaufmann, D., ‘Die Theologie des Bachja Ibn Pakuda’, in M. Braun (ed.) *Gesammelte Schriften* 2, Frankfurt am Main: J. Kauffmann, 1910.

Kazimirski, A. de B., *Dictionnaire Arabe–Français*, 2 vols, Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1944.

Khalidi, T., *Arabic Historical Thought in the Classical Period*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

—, *The Muslim Jesus: sayings and stories in Islamic literature*, Cambridge, MA; London: Harvard University Press, 2001.

Khalil, A., ‘Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī & the Nourishment of Hearts (*Qūt al-qulūb*) in the context of early Sufism’, *The Muslim World*, DOI: 10.1111/j.1478-1913.2011.01361.x, 2011 (first published online).

Khan, G., ‘Judeo-Arabic’, in K. Versteegh (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, vol. 2, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2007, pp. 526–36.

Khan, Y.H., ‘Sufism in India’, *IC* 30, no. 3, July 1956, pp. 239–62.

Kinberg, L., ‘What is meant by *zuhd*’, *Studia Islamica* 61, 1985, pp. 27–44.

Knysch, A., *Islamic Mysticism: a short history*, Leiden: Brill, 2000.

Kohler, K. *Jewish Theology: systematically and historically considered*, New York: KTAV, 1968.

Kokovtsov, P., ‘The date of life of Bahya ibn Paqoda’, *Livre d’hommage à la mémoire du Dr Samuel Pozánski*, Varsovie: Comité de la grande synagogue à Varsovie, 1927, pp. 13–21.

Lane, E.W., *An Arabic–English Lexicon*, 2 vols, London: Williams and Norgate, 1984.

Laoust, H., *Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de Takī-d-Dīn Ahmad b. Taimīya: canoniste hanbalite, né à Harrān en 661/1262, mort à Damas en 728/1328*, Le Caire: Imprimerie de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1939.

—, ‘Le Hanbalisme sous les Mamlouks Bahrides’, *Revue des études Islamiques* 28, 1960, pp. 1–70.

—, *Les schismes dans l’Islam*, Paris: Payot, 1965.

Lassner, J., *The Topography of Baghdad in the Early Middle Ages: text and studies*, Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1970.

Lazarus-Yafeh, H., *Studies in al-Ghazzali*, Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1975.

Leaman, O., *An Introduction to Medieval Islamic Philosophy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Le Strange, G., *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, London: Oxford University Press, 1924.

Lobel, D., *A Sufi–Jewish Dialogue: philosophy and mysticism in Bahya Ibn Paqūda’s Duties of the Heart*, Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007.

MacDonald, D.B., ‘The life of al-Ghazzali, with especial reference to his religious experiences and opinions’, *JAOS* 20, 1899, pp. 71–132.

—, ‘The development of the idea of spirit in Islam II’, *Moslem World* 22, no. 2, April 1932, pp. 153–68.

Madelung, W., review of *Early Islam between Myth and History: al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110H/728CE) and the formation of his legacy in classical Islamic scholarship*, by S. A. Mourad, *BSOAS* 70, no. 1, 2007, pp. 157–60.

Mahmoud, A.-el-H., *Al-Mohāsibī: un mystique musulman religieux et moraliste*, Paris: Librairie orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1940.

Makdisi, G., ‘Ibn Taimīya: a Ṣūfī of the Qādirīya order’, *American Journal of Arabic Studies* 1, part 1, 1973, pp. 118–28.

—, ‘The Hanbali school and Sufism’, *Humaniora Islamica* 2, 1974, pp. 61–72.

Malter, H., ‘Personifications of soul and body: a study in Judeo-Arabic literature’, *JQR* new series 2, no. 4, April 1912, pp. 453–79.

—, review of *al-Hidāja ilā farā’id al-qulūb des Bachja Ibn Jōsēf Ibn Paqūda aus Andalusien*, ed. A.S. Yahuda, *JQR* new series 7, no. 3, January 1917, pp. 379–91.

Mann, V.B. et al. (eds), *Convivencia*, New York: Jewish Museum, 1992.

Massignon, L., *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, Paris: Librairie philosophique J. Vrin, 1968.

—, *La passion de Husayn Ibn Mansûr Hallâj: martyr mystique de l'Islam, exécuté à Bagdad le 26 mars 922*, 4 vols, Paris: Gallimard, 1975.

Melchert, Ch., *The Formation of the Sunni Schools of Law, 9th–10th Centuries C.E.*, Leiden: Brill, 1997.

—, ‘The Ḥanābila and the early Sufis’, *Arabica* 48, 2001, pp. 352–67.

—, ‘Early renunciants as Ḥadīth transmitters’, *The Muslim World* 92, Fall 2002, pp. 407–18.

—, ‘Khargūshī, *Tahdhīb al-asrār*’, *BSOAS* 73, no. 1, 2010, pp. 29–44.

Moore, G.F., *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era: the age of the Tannaim*, 3 vols, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1927.

Mourad, S.A., *Early Islam between Myth and History: al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110H/728CE) and the formation of his legacy in classical Islamic scholarship*, Leiden; Boston, MA: Brill, 2006.

Muhammad Murtadā al-Zabīdī, Abu'l-Fayd, *Tāj al-'arūs min jawāhir al-qāmūs*, 40 vols, Kuwait: Wizārat al-Irshād wa'l-Anbā', 1965.

Muhyiddin Ibn 'Arabi Society. Online. Available HTTP: <<http://www.ibnarabisociety.org/>> (accessed 24 March 2012).

Nakamura, K., ‘Makkī and Ghazālī on mystical practices’, *Orient* 20, 1984, pp. 83–91.

—, *Isuramu-no shūkyō shisō: Gazārī to sono shūhen* (‘The Religious Thought of Islam with Special Reference to al-Ghazālī’), Tokyo: Iwanami, 2002.

Nasr, S.H. (ed.), *Ṣadr al-Dīn Shīrāzī and his Transcendent Theosophy: background, life and works*, Tehran: Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy, 1978.

—, (ed.), *Islamic Spirituality*, 2 vols, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987 (vol. 1); London: SCM Press, 1991 (vol. 2).

—, *Islamic Philosophy from its Origin to the Present: philosophy in the land of prophecy*, Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2006.

Nelson, K., *The Art of Reciting the Qur'an*, Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2001.

Nemoy, L., review of *The Book of Direction to the Duties of the Heart*, trans. M. Mansoor, *JQR* new series 65, no. 4, April 1975, pp. 258–9.

Nettler, R.L. (ed.), *Medieval and Modern Perspectives on Muslim–Jewish Relations*, Luxembourg: Harwood Academic, 1995.

Nicholson, R.A., ‘The goal of Muhammadan mysticism’, *JRAS*, part 1, 1913, pp. 55–68.

—, ‘A historical enquiry concerning the origin and development of Sufism’, *JRAS*, part 2, 1996, pp. 303–48.

—, *The Mystics of Islam*, Bloomington, IN: World Wisdom, 2002.

Nwyia, P., *Ibn 'Abbād de Ronda, 1332–1390: un mystique prédicateur à la Qarawīyīn de Fès*, Beirut: Imprimerie catholique, 1961.

Ohlander, E.S., ‘Fear of God (*taqwā*) in the Qur'ān: some notes on semantic shift and thematic context’, *Journal of Semitic Studies* 50, no. 1, Spring 2005, pp. 137–152.

—, *Sufism in an Age of Transition: 'Umar al-Suhrawardī and the rise of the Islamic mystical brotherhoods*, Leiden: Brill, 2008.

Olivelle, P., ‘Heart in the Upaniṣads’, *Rivista di Studi Sudasiatici* 1, 2006, pp. 51–67.

Pascal, B., *Pensée*, ed. Philippe Sellier, Paris: BORDAS, 1991.

Pedersen, J., ‘The criticism of the Islamic preacher’, *Die Welt des Islams* new series 2, issue 4, 1953, pp. 215–31.

Peles, Y., ‘Bahya ben Yosef ibn Baquda liturgical poems, critical edition’, unpublished MA dissertation, Tel-Aviv University, 1977.

Peto, J. (ed.), *The Heart*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press; London: Wellcome Collection, 2007.

Picken, G., *Spiritual Purification in Islam: the life, and works of al-Muhasibi*, London: Routledge, 2011.

Pūrvjavādī, Naṣr Allāh, ‘Bāzmāndahā-yi kitāb-i *al-Ishāra wa'l-ibāra*-i Abū Sa'īd-i Khargūshī dar kitāb-i 'Ilm al-qulūb', *Ma'ārif* 15, no. 3, 1999, pp. 34–41.

al-Qāsimī, Muḥammad Jamāl al-Dīn, *al-Wa'z al-maṭlūb min Qūt al-qulūb*, ed. Muḥammad b. Nāṣir al-'Ajamī, Beirut: Dār al-Bashā'ir al-Islāmiyya, 2000.

Rahman, F., review of *Ibn 'Abbād de Ronda (1333–1390): lettres de direction spirituelle (ar-rasā'il aṣ-ṣughrā)*, by P. Nwyia, *BSOAS* 22, no. 1/3, 1959, pp. 584–5.

Reichmuth, S., *The World of Murtadā al-Zabīdī (1732–91): life, networks and writings*, Cambridge: Gibb Memorial Trust, 2009.

Religion Past and Present: encyclopedia of theology and religion, ed. H.D. Betz *et al.*, English edn, 11 vols, Leiden: Brill, 2007–.

Renard, J., *Seven Doors to Islam: spirituality and the religious life of Muslims*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA; London: University of California Press, 1996.

—, *Knowledge of God in Classical Sufism: foundations of Islamic mystical theology*, New York: Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 2004.

Ritner, R. K., “‘The breathing permit of Hōr’ among the Joseph Smith Papyri”, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 62, no. 3, July 2003, pp. 161–80.

Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy, ed. E. Craig *et al.*, London: Routledge, 1998.

Sandmel, S., ‘Parallelomania’, *Journal of Biblical Literature* 81, no. 1, March 1962, pp. 1–13.

Sartain, E. M., *Jalāl al-dīn al-Suyūṭī*, 2 vols, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975.

Schimmel, A., *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1975.

Sells, M. A. (trans., and ed.), *Early Islamic Mysticism: Sufi Qur'an, mi'raj, poetic and theological writings*, New York: Paulist Press, 1996.

Sezgin, F., *Geschichte des Arabischen Schrifttums*, 9 vols, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1967–84.

Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam, ed. H. A. R. Gibb, and J. H. Kramers, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1953.

Shukri, M. A. M., ‘The mystical doctrine of Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī as found in his book *Qūt al-qulūb*’, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1976.

—, ‘Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī and his *Qūt al-qulūb*’, *IS* 28, no. 2, 1989, pp. 161–70.

Sirat, C., *A History of Jewish Philosophy in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Smith, M., *Rābi'a the Mystic and her Fellow Saints in Islam: being the life, and teachings of Rābi'a al-Adawiyya al-Qaysiyya of Baṣra together with some account of the place of the women saints in Islām*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1928.

—, *Studies in Early Mysticism in the Near, and Middle East*, London: Sheldon Press, 1931.

—, *An Early Mystic of Baghdād: a study of the life and teaching of Ḥārith b. Asad al-Muḥāsibī A.D. 781–857*, London: Sheldon Press, 1935.

—, review of *The Doctrine of the Sūfīs* by al-Kalābādhī, by A. J. Arberry, *BSOS* 8, no. 4, 1937, pp. 1169–70.

—, *Readings from the Mystics of Islam*, London: Luzac, 1950.

Špidlík, T., *La spiritualité de l'Orient Chrétien II: la prêtre*, Orientalia Christiana Analecta 230, 1988.

Steingass, F. J., *A Comprehensive Persian–English Dictionary*, London: Allen, 1892.

Stern, M. S., ‘Al-Ghazzālī, Maimonides, and Ibn Paquda on repentance: a comparative model’, *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 47, no. 4, December 1979, pp. 589–607.

Storey, C.A., *Persian Literature: a bio-bibliographical survey*, 5 vols, London: Luzac, 1939–97.

Suleiman, Y., *Arabic, Self and Identity: a study in conflict and displacement*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Tanenbaum, A., *The Contemplative Soul: Hebrew poetry and philosophical theory in medieval Spain*, Leiden; Boston, MA; Köln: Brill, 2002.

Threshold Society. Online. Available HTTP: <<http://sufism.org/>> (accessed 24 March 2012).

Twersky, I. (ed.), *Studies in Medieval Jewish History and Literature*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979.

Vajda, G., ‘Le dialogue de l’âme et de la raison dans les *Devoirs des Cœurs* de Bahya Ibn Paquda’, *Revue des études juives* 102, 1937, pp. 93–104.

—, *La théologie ascétique de Bahya ibn Paquda*, Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1947.

Verheyelzoon, L., *Devotion to the Sacred Heart: object ends practice motives*, London: Sands, 1955.

Versteegh, K., *The Arabic Language*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997.

Wagner, E.-M., ‘A matter of script? Arabic and Judaeo-Arabic in the Genizah collections’, paper presented at the *Intertwined Worlds: The Judaeo-Islamic Tradition* symposium, Cambridge, September 2011.

Ware, K. T., “‘Pray without ceasing’: the ideal of continual prayer in Eastern monasticism”, *Eastern Churches Review* 2, 1968–9, pp. 253–61.

—, ‘The origins of the Jesus prayer: Diadochus, Gaza, Sinai’, in Ch. Jones, G. Wainwright and E. Yarnold (eds) *The Study of Spirituality*, London: SPCK, 1986, pp. 175–84.

Watt, W.M., *Muslim Intellectual: a study of al-Ghazālī*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1963.

—, ‘Some mystics of the later third/ninth century’, *IS* 7, no. 4, 1968, pp. 309–16.

—, *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1973.

—, *Islamic Philosophy and Theology*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003.

Weismann, I., ‘The politics of popular religion: Sufis, Salafis, and Muslim Brothers in 20th-century Hamah’, *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 37, no. 1, February 2005, pp. 39–58.

Wensinck, A.J., ‘On the relation between Ghazālī’s cosmology and his mysticism’, *Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeeling Letterkunde Deel 75*, serie A, no. 6, 1933, pp. 183–207.

—, *La pensée de Ghazzālī*, Paris: Librairie d’Amérique et d’Orient, 1940.

Williams, J.A., ‘The khanqah of Siryāqūs: a Mamluk Royal religious foundation’, in A.H. Green (ed.) *In Quest of an Islamic Humanism*, Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 1984.

Yahuda, A.S., *Prolegomena zu einer erstmaligen Herausgabe des Kitāb al-hidāja ‘ila farā’id al-qulūb von Bachja ibn Josef ibn Paquda aus dem ‘Andalus’ nebst einer größeren Textbeilage*, Darmstadt: C.F. Winter’sche Buchdruckerei, 1904.

Yazaki, S., ‘A study of Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī’, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2010.

—, ‘A pseudo-Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī?: the authenticity of ‘Ilm al-qulūb’, *Arabica* 59, 2012, pp. 1–35.

—, ‘Yahuda and al-Hidāya ilā farā’id al-qulūb: deep connections between Jewish and Muslim spirituality in the 11th and 20th centuries’, in C. Adang and Y. Meri (eds) *Muslim–Jewish Relations in Past and Present: a kaleidoscopic view*, Brill, forthcoming.

al-Ziriklī, Khayr al-Din, *al-A'lām qāmūs tarājim li-ashhar al-rijāl wa'l-nisā' min al-'Arab wa'l-musta'ribīn wa'l-mustashriqīn*, 12 vols, s.n.: al-Mu'allif, 1970.

al-Zuh̄lī, Wahba, *al-Mawsū'at al-Qur'āniyyat al-muyassara*, Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1423/2002-3.

Zwiep, I.E., *Mother of Reason and Revelation: a short history of medieval Jewish linguistic thought*, Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben, 1997.

Index

‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (d. 561/1166) 4–5, 120, 138–9, 142; influence of al-Makkī on 129–31; *see also* Qādiriyā

Abū Nu‘aym (d. 430/1038) 98, 100, 114, 131, 139; influence of al-Makkī on 97
‘adū *see* enemy

‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 40/661) 43, 61, 63–4, 70, 79

al-Andalus 148, 160–1; ‘Golden Age’ in the Jewish history 4; interaction between Jews and Muslims 6, 145, 172; Judaeo-Arabic literature 176; al-Rundī 109, 123

angel (*malak*) 104, 130, 170; in Section 30 of the *Qūt* 49, 52–4, 70–2, 74, 77–8, 80–2

‘aql (reason) 32, 37, 126, 130, 139; impulse of 53–4, 72–3, 81; inborn reason (*al-‘aql al-gharīzī*) 73; limitations of 66; in the *Qūt* 52, 56, 60–1, 73, 75–6, 78, 82, 170; in the *Qūt* and *al-Hidāya* 169–71; reasoning 21, 44, 57, 154, 167

Ash‘arite 126

‘Attār (d. ca. 620/1223) 100–1, 113

‘Awārif al-ma‘ārif (‘The Gifts of Gnoeses’) 10, 25, 101–2, 105, 113–5; *see also* al-Suhrawardī

awliyā’ (God’s close associates) 55, 70, 88, 131–2

‘ayn al-yaqīn (certain sight) 66–7

Baghdad 12–4, 16, 18–20, 38, 89, 113, 116

Basra 13, 15, 17–21, 38, 98, 113

al-Biṣṭāmī, Abū Yazīd (d. ca. 261/875) 44, 71, 79, 99, 130, 137

body 15, 18, 38, 68, 104; actions of 37, 45, 84; as external tool 52; and heart 2–3, 29–30, 34, 83; in Hebrew Bible 31; in *al-Hidāya* 155, 157, 165, 167–71; in Judaism 32–3, 165; and reason 54

Christianity 4, 29, 33–5

Dalālat al-ḥā’irīn (‘The Guide of the Perplexed’) 32, 146

darkness 62, 78, 104, 155

David 103, 107

Devil 48–52, 75, 82, 104, 129–30; in *Talbīs Iblīs* 131, 133–4

devotion 34, 45, 62, 66, 83, 128; in *al-Hidāya* 153–4; Islamic 2, 5, 140

al-Dhababī (d. 748/1348 or 753/1352–3) 18, 20–1, 23–4, 122–4, 141, 143; and al-Makkī 117–21

dhikr (remembrance) 40, 52, 55

disobedience 31, 77–8, 82; *see also* obedience

enemy (‘adū) 48–50, 52, 75–7, 80, 170–1; impulse of 53, 81; and self 54, 69, 72, 74, 78

ethics 174, 176; in *al-Hidāya* 6, 146, 149, 153, 156, 167; in the *Qūt* 2, 26, 40, 142

farīda pl. *farā’id* (religious duty) 102

al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) 2, 93, 115, 140–2; and Ibn Bāqūdā 147, 158–9; and Ibn al-Jawzī 132–3, 136; and Ibn Taymiyya 138–9; the *Iḥyā’* 3, 10, 83, 120, 129; influence of al-Makkī on 99–100; Muḥammad Murtaḍā 114; and al-Rundī 109–11

God: Creator 13, 16, 18, 153–5, 157, 164; Divine grace 34–6, 163; Divine knowledge 18, 84; Divine mercy 52; Divine quality 32, 34, 82; Divine will 32, 107; Divine wisdom 106; obedient to 69, 81; omnipotence of 74, 82, 172; *see also* guidance, ‘ilm, light

guidance 20, 26, 43, 69, 74, 78, 88, 166, 170; of God 54, 64, 82

Ḩājjī Khalīfa (d. 1067/1657) 124
hāl pl. *ahwāl* (religious state) 87, 90, 163
 al-Ḩallāj (d. 309/922) 38, 45, 86, 101
 Ḥanafīyya: Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767) 44–5;
 Ḥanafī school 45
 Ḥanbalism 2, 4–5, 139–40, 143; Ḥanbalī literature 2, 4; Ḥanbalīs 13, 45, 116, 129, 140; Ḥanbalī scholar 4–6, 14, 17, 26, 28, 95, 100, 116, 126, 129–31, 138–40, 142, 174; *see also* Ibn Ḥanbal
haqq al-yaqīn (true religious certainty) 67
 al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728) 36, 38, 43, 114, 130, 158; in Section 30 of the *Qūt* 50, 69, 79
hawā (desire) 52, 75, 156, 169
 heart: actions of 37, 45, 65, 83–4; as a bridge 29, 31, 172, 174; in Buddhism 30; characteristics of 41, 50, 54–5, 69, 80–1, 105, 129–30; in Christianity 33–5; in Daoism 30; in the early history of Sufism 35–8; in the Hebrew Bible 31–2; in Hinduism 30–1; as internal tool 52; of Jesus 34; in Judaism 32–3; as a judge 29, 174; knowledge of 37, 55–7, 63, 166; in the New Testament 31–2; purification of 35; quality of 2, 33, 55, 69; in the Qur’ān 36; religious image of 31, 172, 174; superiority of 70, 165; symbolism of 3–5, 29, 81, 84
 Heaven 59–60, 72, 128
 Hell 59, 65, 127–8
 hereafter 2, 29, 36, 128, 174; in *al-Hidāya* 152, 155, 169–70; in the *Qūt* 39–41, 52, 58–9, 73, 78
al-Hidāya ilā farā’iḍ al-qulūb ('The Right Guidance to the Religious Duties of Hearts') 2, 6, 145–7, 175–6; aims of 152–3; Arabic/Islamic sources of 156–9; contents of 153–6; date of 147–8; scholarship on 149–51; *see also* Ibn Bāqūdā
hikma (wisdom) 24, 27, 52, 63–4, 105
 Hujwīrī (d. between 465–9/1072–7) 83–4, 94, 100, 107, 141; and al-Makkī 98–9
 hypocrisy *see* *nifāq*
 Ibn (al-)‘Abbās (d. 68/687) 43, 60, 63, 72, 79
 Ibn al-A‘rābī (d. 341/952) 19–21
 Ibn al-‘Arabī (d. 638/1240) 2, 5, 120, 139, 142, 157, 161; influence of al-Makkī on 105–7
 Ibn ‘Atā’ Allāh (d. 709/1309) 110–12, 114, 142, 173; influence of al-Makkī on 109
 Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233) 117, 122
 Ibn Bāqūdā (d. after 1080) 2, 6, 33, 145–7, 160, 173–6; life of 147–8; *see also* *al-Hidāya ilā farā’iḍ al-qulūb*, Kalām
 Ibn al-Farrā’ (d. 458/1066) 5, 17, 99, 130, 139–42, 140–2; influence of al-Makkī on 126–9; *see also* Kalām
 Ibn Ḥajar (d. 852/1449) 20, 123
 Ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241/855) 13, 28, 43–5, 116, 126; and Ḥadīth 15, 21, 120; *see also* Ḥanbalism
 Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200) 2, 6, 93, 119, 121–2, 137, 139, 141–4; influence of al-Makkī on 131–7; life of al-Makkī 12–15, 17; and *al-Muntażam* 116–8; and *Ṣifat al-ṣifwa* 100, 139
 Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373) 18, 122
 [pseudo-]Ibn Khaldūn 112
 Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1282) 93, 117, 121–2, 141, 143; life of al-Makkī 12–13, 15–17, 19, 21
 Ibn Mas‘ūd (d. 32/653) 44, 49, 70, 79
 Ibn al-Qaysarānī (d. 507/1113) 12, 16, 116–17
 Ibn al-Qunfudh (d. ca. 810/1407) 123
 Ibn Sālim, Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad (d. 297/909) 17, 45, 98, 112–13
 Ibn Sālim, Abu'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad (d. ca. 356/967) 45, 98, 112–13, 118, 122–3, 137, 160; life of al-Makkī 13, 15, 17; in the *Luma‘* 89, 96, 99; a teacher of al-Makkī 19–21
 Ibn Taghrībīdī (d. 874/1470) 124
 Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328) 2, 4, 84, 126, 129–30, 141, 174; influence of al-Makkī on 138–9, 142–3; and Wahhābī movement 6, 140; *see also* Kalām
ikhlāṣ (purification of faith, sincere devotion) 24, 88, 102, 159, 163
‘ilm (knowledge): different levels of 57–9; external 41–2, 55, 83, 152, 165–6; of God 56–7, 59–60, 72, 82; *‘ilm al-yaqīn* (knowledge of absolute certainty) 67; internal 41, 55–6, 63, 69–70, 83, 152, 165; second-hand and first-hand 57
‘Ilm al-qulūb ('The Knowledge of Hearts') 18, 22, 24
īmān (belief) 52, 166
 Islamic Spain *see* al-Andalus
jahl (ignorance) 18, 61, 75, 78, 82, 133–4; and desire 53, 81, 169–70
 Jāmī (d. 898/1492) 5, 112–13, 115, 124

jihād 48, 70, 156, 169–71
 al-Jīlānī *see* 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī
 Judaeo-Arabic 2, 145, 149–50, 152–3, 157, 172, 176; and Arabic 6, 151, 171, 173
 Judah b. Tibbon (d. ca. 1190) 147, 149–51, 158, 175
 Judaism 4, 6, 29, 32–3, 171–3, 175–6

Kabbālā: Kabbalistic idea 173; Kabbalistic tradition 158
 al-Kalābādhī (d. ca. 385/995) 84, 96–7, 101, 107, 141, 164; contemporary of al-Makkī 3, 5, 39, 43, 85–6, 89–94; and al-Makkī 96–7
 Kalām 5, 90, 95, 99, 110; and Ibn Bāqūdā 146, 156–7, 164, 166, 171, 173; and Ibn al-Farrā' 126, 140; and Ibn Taymiyya 138–9
khāngah 105, 121
 al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071) 99, 121, 123, 127, 140–1, 143; and al-Dhahabī 118–20; and Ibn al-Jawzī 116–17, 132, 136; life of al-Makkī 12–14, 17–18; and al-Makkī 115–16; teachers of al-Makkī 20; works of al-Makkī 27; *see also* *Ta'rīkh Baghdaḍā*
khāṭir pl. *khawāṭir* (impulse) 47, 81, 84, 108, 130; in Section 30 of the *Qūṭ* 63–4, 66, 68–9, 74; six impulses 53–4, 56, 60–1, 72–3, 78, 81, 130
khawf (fear) 37, 42, 110, 155, 163, 168
Kitāb luma' fi'l-taṣawwuf ('The Book of Sparkling Lights in Sufism') 3, 5, 43, 90–2, 99–100, 107, 141, 164; and al-Makkī 96; and the *Qūṭ* 85–9, 92–4
Kitāb al-ta'arruf li-madhab ahl al-taṣawwuf ('The Book of Acquaintance with the Path of Sufis') 3, 5, 43, 164; and al-Makkī 96–7; and the *Qūṭ* 85, 89–94
 light 34, 36–7, 104, 109, 130, 152–3, 169–70; Divine light 34, 36, 61, 64, 67–9, 73, 155–6, 171; in *al-Hidāya* 152–3, 169; in Section 30 of the *Qūṭ* 47, 51, 53, 56, 58, 60–1, 66, 68, 74, 76–8
Luma' fi'l-taṣawwuf *see* *Kitāb luma' fi'l-taṣawwuf*
maḥabbā (pure love for God) 42, 90, 155, 163, 168
 Maimonides (d. 1204) 32, 145–6, 149, 175
 al-Makkī (d. 386/996): death of 14–16, 24, 93, 118, 143, 145, 160; deathbed story 15, 18, 101, 119, 136, 141; in earliest extant sources 5, 12, 115, 126; and five classes (*tabaqāt*) 135
malak *see* angel
 Mālikīyya 16; Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795) 20, 45; Mālikī cemetery 18–19; Mālikī thought 21
 manuscripts 24, 89, 149–50; of the *Qūṭ* 5, 8–10, 26, 39
maqām, pl. *maqāmāt* (religious station) 22, 39, 68–9, 73, 87, 101, 129, 166, 168; mystical 90, 163; of religious certainty 41–3, 162
ma'rīfa (gnosis) 24, 27, 37–8, 87, 90, 104; of God 70, 157, 169; in Section 30 of the *Qūṭ* 57, 62–8, 72; those possessing 40–1, 93, 138
 Mecca 13, 15–17, 19–21, 85, 112, 119
 Messenger of God 48–9, 51, 62–3; *see also* Prophet Muḥammad
 monotheism: monotheistic traditions 6, 31
 morals 18, 26, 146
 Muḥammad Murtadā (d. 1205/1791) 114–15, 142–3
 al-Muḥāsibī (d. 243/857) 44, 83, 85, 130; and al-Dhahabī 120; and al-Ghazālī 99; and *al-Hidāya* 158–9; and Ibn al-Jawzī 132; and Ibn Taymiyya 138; images of the heart 37–8; and al-Rundī 109, 111
 Mullā Ṣadrā (d. 1050/1640) 113–14
al-Muntaẓam fī ta'rīkh al-duwal wa'l-umam ('Systematic Arrangement in the History of States and Communities') 12, 16, 116–17, 131
mushāhada (spiritual vision) 57, 73, 84
 Muslim-Jewish relations 4, 171–3
 al-Mutanabbi (d. 354/955) 158–9
 Mu'tazilite 84, 126, 128, 146, 173
nafs: impulse of the self 53, 81; as self 47, 52, 83, 104, 127, 130, 169–71; as soul 155, 157, 167, 169–71
nifāq (hypocrisy) 44, 51, 63, 169; hypocrite 32, 51, 59, 62–3, 72
niyya (intention) 24
 novice 22, 26, 39–41, 69, 108, 162, 165; al-Kalābādhī 91–2; al-Rundī 110–11; al-Sarrāj 88, 92; al-Suhrawardī 101
 al-Nūrī (d. 295/907–8) 37–8, 44, 83, 158

obedience 41, 77–8, 82–3, 163 *see also* God, disobedience

Paradise 39–40, 48, 65, 127

piety 2, 28, 91, 112, 135, 174, 176; Islamic piety 6, 95, 140–1, 144; Jewish piety 144; in Section 30 of the *Qūt* 55–7

prayer 35, 40, 42–3, 129, 132, 165; in Christianity 33–4; and Ibn Bāqūdā 148, 156, 167; in Judaism 33; in Section 30 of the *Qūt* 48–9, 58

Prophet Muḥammad 10, 39, 48, 128, 131, 156; *see also* Messenger of God

Qādiriyya 122, 129, 138; *see also* ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī

al-Qushayrī (d. 465/1073) 83–4, 91, 141; and ‘Aṭṭār 100; and Ibn al-Jawzī 132, 136; and Ibn Taymiyya 139; and al-Makkī 97–8; and Muḥammad Murtadā 114; and Rūmī 107; and al-Rundī 109; and al-Suhrawardī 101

raghabūt (love) 168

rahabūt (awe) 168

revealed law 52, 70

reward 40, 54, 65, 68, 74, 82, 167

rūh (soul) 52–3, 81, 83, 104, 127, 130, 170

Rūmī (d. 672/1273) 2, 5, 107–8

al-Rundī (d. 792/1390) 5, 22–3, 26, 141–3, 161; influence of al-Makkī on 109–12, 123

Sa‘adya Gaon (d. 942) 32, 153–4, 164, 166

al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363) 121, 124

Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 283/896) 17, 21, 38, 43, 98, 114, 173; and ‘Abd al-Qādir 130; and Hujwīrī 98; and Ibn Farrā’ 128; and Jāmī 112–13; in Section 30 of the *Qūt* 60, 62, 73, 79

Salafī 1, 26, 140

Sālimiyya 17–18, 45, 93–4, 117–18, 122, 140–42; and ‘Abd al-Qādir 129–30; and Hujwīrī 98–9; and Ibn al-Farrā’ 126–8; and Ibn al-Jawzī 136; and Ibn Taymiyya 139; and al-Sarrāj 88–9, 96

al-Sam‘ānī (d. 562/1166) 12, 116–17

al-Sarrāj (d. 378/988) 83–4, 90–2, 97, 100–1, 107, 117, 133, 141; contemporary of al-Makkī 3, 5, 39, 43, 85–9, 92–4, 164; and Hujwīrī 98–9; and al-Makkī 96

Satan 33, 37, 134

Shādhiliyya 109, 111, 113, 142

Shāfi‘īyya: al-Shāfi‘ī (d. 204/820) 45; Shāfi‘ī historian 118; Shāfi‘ī scholar 15, 20; Shāfi‘ī school 21; Shāfi‘ī thought 21

Shāfi‘ī a 42, 45, 98, 139, 152, 154

Shī‘a 28; Shī‘ite 18, 25, 28, 113, 126

shirk (unbelief) 63, 133, 166, 169

sin 32, 36, 55, 76

Solomon 63

Sufi–Hanbalī relations 4, 6, 95, 174

al-Suhrawardī, Abū Ḥafṣ ‘Umar (d. 632/1234) 2, 5, 10, 25, 107, 109, 114, 139; influence of al-Makkī on 101–5, 115, 142; *see also* ‘Awārif al-ma‘ārif

al-Sulamī (d. 412/1021) 97, 100–1, 109, 120, 133, 139

al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) 27, 120, 143

symbolism 3–5, 29, 81, 84

al-Ta‘arruf li-madhab ahl al-taṣawwuf
see Kitāb al-ta‘arruf li-madhab ahl al-taṣawwuf

taqwā (God-fearingness, pious fear of God) 26, 36, 103, 168–9; in Section 30 of the *Qūt* 52, 55–6, 62, 72, 74, 76–8

Ta‘rīkh Baghdād (‘The History of Baghdad’) 119, 132, 140, 143; life of al-Makkī 12–14, 16; and al-Makkī 115–16; *see also* al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī

tawba (repentance) 9, 41–2, 46, 90, 128, 163; in *al-Hidāya* 149, 154–6, 163; in Section 30 of the *Qūt* 51, 56, 68

tawḥīd 39, 42, 45, 87, 90, 93, 102, 138; in *al-Hidāya* 152–3, 155, 157, 162–3; in Section 30 of the *Qūt* 56, 67–8, 70; works of al-Makkī 13, 15, 24, 27–8

test 28, 155, 169–70; in *al-Hidāya* 155; in Section 30 of the *Qūt* 53–4, 74–5, 82

treasury 72–5, 81

‘Umar b. al-Khaṭīb (d. 23/644) 43, 64, 72, 79

Wafayāt al-a‘yān (‘Obituaries of Famous People’) 121, 143; life of al-Makkī 12, 15–16; and al-Makkī 117

Wahhābī 4, 6, 140, 174

warning 3, 48, 56, 64, 94, 128, 133

wisdom *see hikma*

worship 13, 15, 33, 40, 131, 133–4; in *al-Hidāya* 154; in Section 30 of the *Qūt* 65, 77

al-Yāfi‘ī (d. 768/1367) 93, 122

yaqīn (religious certainty) 36–7, 40–1, 43, 130, 162–3, 168, 170;

in Section 30 of the *Qūt* 54, 56–8, 60–4, 66–72, 76–8, 81–2

zuhd (renunciation) 42, 45, 94, 155, 163, 168; in *al-Hidāya* 155, 162–3, 168–9; and Ibn al-Jawzī 131, 133; in Section 30 of the *Qūt* 56; *zāhid* 45, 118