

AL-JUNAYD'S DOCTRINE OF TAWHID

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An Analysis of his Under-
standing of Islāmic
Monotheism

by

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty
of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree
of Master of Arts

Institute of Islamic Studies
McGill University
Montreal

April, 1967

PREFACE

Of the early mystics of Islām, Abū al-Qāsim al-Junayd is the most important because of his doctrine of tawhīd. This doctrine of al-Junayd had a tremendous influence on contemporary and later Ṣūfīs (Muslim mystics), particularly those of the Baghdād school.

Attempts have been made by some scholars of Islāmic mysticism, Massignon and Arberry for example, to analyse al-Junayd's doctrine of tawhīd. But with the edition by Abdel-Kader of the extant Rasā'il of al-Junayd, much more first-hand material has now been made available to us.

Abdel-Kader has not only edited the Rasā'il but also has translated it, and given an historical introduction to al-Junayd as well as an analysis of some of his doctrinal points. But neither the translation nor the analysis is satisfactory. In most cases, I have found it profitable not to make any direct reference to Abdel-Kader's translation and commentary, although they formed the starting point of my work.

This thesis is an attempt to arrive at a correct and adequate understanding of al-Junayd's doctrine of

tawhīd, and to relate his ideas, as far as possible, to those of the Ṣūfīs before and after him. My special endeavour has been to show that there exists in al-Junayd's doctrine of tawhīd a well-structured system of thought.

In most cases, the translation of Arabic texts quoted in the thesis is mine. I have, however, accepted the translation of others in a few cases in which either the Arabic texts have not been available or the translation has been found satisfactory. I have been able to read Persian texts in translation only. Hence none of the material quoted from Persian texts has been translated by me.

I have followed the transliteration system devised by the Institute of Islāmic Studies, McGill University.

In compiling this thesis, I have been helped by my teachers and friends. Professors M. Muḥaqqiq and D. Little of the Institute of Islāmic Studies kindly went through the whole thesis in manuscript and made many constructive suggestions; Prof. C. J. Adams, Director of the Institute, went to the trouble of reading parts of the thesis and of making valuable comments in spite of the very heavy pressure of his work; Mr. E. Sharqawī rendered me immense help in reading and translating Arabic texts; Mr. J. Fiegenbaum

checked my English and the transliteration of Arabic and Persian words; Mr. R. Nettler and Father J. R. Milot did the proof-reading. I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to them all. I am also grateful to Prof. H. Landolt who provided the inspiration for this work, and to my wife 'Ā'ishah who typed the thesis.

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I

INTRODUCTION

In our attempt to study al-Junayd's¹ doctrine of tawhīd, we shall be dealing with his mystical experience. But any attempt to deal with a mystical experience involves at least two problems: one of understanding the experience and the other of describing it.

Mystical experience is of the nature of feeling. Hence it cannot be dissected from the outside. It is a non-rational or supra-rational experience. Understanding cannot penetrate it; logic cannot grasp it; intellect cannot fathom it. Al-Ghazzālī (d. 505/1111) attempted in vain to arrive at an intellectual understanding of this experience. Then he retired and lived in solitude for about ten years seeking illumination according to the Ṣūfī path and only then did he succeed in tasting the cup of bliss.² That is to say, in order to 'know' what mystical experience is, one has to be a mystic himself.

It is not only that this experience cannot be 'understood' or 'comprehended', but also that it cannot be properly described, for description involves language and language is the vehicle of rational concepts. Rational concepts are incapable of describing what is essentially

non-rational. As the Mandukya Upanishad says, the unitary consciousness "is beyond all expression."³ According to Plotinus, "vision baffles telling."⁴ R. M. Bucke says that his experience was "impossible to describe."⁵ In fact, the mystical experience is unutterable and ineffable. The human lover, when he is completely overcome by the emotion of love for the beloved, becomes speechless. The same is the case with the mystics. They experience profound blessedness, ecstasy, rapture, etc., and these experiences are too deep to be expressed in words. Hence al-Junayd says, "He who knows God is dumb."⁶ The famous Irānian Ṣūfī Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 672/1273) expresses the same idea in the Mathnawī. Having described the joy of unification with God as "sweeter to embrace her [the Beloved] without those veils", he says,

The story admits of being told up to this point,
But what follows is hidden and inexpressible in words.
If you should speak and try a hundred ways to express it,
'Tis useless; the mystery becomes no clearer.⁷

This is one of the reasons why mystics, as a rule, prefer to be silent.⁸ As al-Junayd says, "Expressions are wholly pretensions, and where realities are established pretensions are idle."⁹

Nevertheless, often mystics endeavour to express their experience and to communicate it to others. This is because they feel that they are called upon to do so; they feel it their duty to guide others on the right

path and, therefore, they are compelled to resort to expression. Al-Junayd, for example, did not come out and teach the people in public until he felt that he was being commanded to do so by the Prophet in dream.¹⁰

Al-Kalābādhī (d. 388/998) reports him as saying, "If it were not that I heard that the Prophet had said, 'In the last days the leader of the people shall be the vilest of them', I would not have come forth to you."¹¹

But in expressing their experience to others, the mystics realize the utter inadequacy of language at every step. Arthur Koestler, speaking of his attempt to describe his experience, says that "to communicate what is incommunicable by its nature one must somehow put into words, and so one moves in a vicious circle."¹² According to Eckhart, "the prophets walking in the light... sometimes were moved to... speak of things they know... thinking to teach us to know God. Whereupon they would fall dumb, becoming tongue-tied..."¹³

The same is true of the Muslim mystics. They face the same difficulty in expressing and communicating their experiences. Al-Junayd writes to one of his fellow mystics,

There, the intellects of the intellectuals lose their way, the learning of the learned halt and the goal of wisdom of the wise comes to an end. This is the limit of what can be described; this is the peak where all description comes to an end. Beyond this there is a barrier till the Day of Resurrection.¹⁴

In the same letter, he writes that "if someone tries to express it or to describe some of it, then 'their faces are downcast before the Living, the Existing; they are undone by their burden of iniquity' (Qur'ān, 20:111)."¹⁵ Perhaps the same idea is being expressed by 'Amr b. 'Uthmān al-Makkī (d. 297/909), al-Junayd's disciple, when he says, "Ecstasy does not admit of explanation, because it is a secret between God and the true believers."¹⁶ Explaining this, al-Hujwīrī (d. 469/1079) says, "Let men seek to explain it as they will, their explanation is not that secret, inasmuch as all human power and effort is divorced from the Divine mysteries".¹⁷

The failure of the mystics to express their experience in words leads them to resort to the use of symbols. In his The Mystics of Islām, Nicholson remarks that "the Ṣūfīs adopt the symbolic style because there is no other possible way of interpreting mystical experience."¹⁸ He quotes Ibn al-'Arabī (d. 638/1240) as saying, "Gnostics cannot impart their feelings to other men; they can only indicate them symbolically to those who have begun to experience the like."¹⁹ The kind of symbolism adopted by each mystic depends upon his temperament and character. Nicholson goes on to say,

If he be a religious artist, a spiritual poet, his ideas of reality are likely to clothe themselves instinctively in forms of beauty and glowing images of human love. To him the rosy cheek of the beloved represents the divine essence manifested through its

attributes; her dark curls signify the One veiled by the Many; when he says, "Drink wine that it may free you from yourself", he means, "Lose your phenomenal self in the rapture of divine contemplation."²⁰

Of how much use are these symbols for understanding the experience? The answer has been provided by Nicholson in the following words:

No one can approach the subject of this chapter -- the state of the mystic who has reached the journey's end -- without feeling that all symbolical descriptions of union with God and theories concerning its nature are little better than leaps in the dark. How shall we form any conception of that which is declared to be ineffable by those who have actually experienced it?²¹

Now, if these symbolical descriptions also are only "little better than leaps in the dark", does it mean that these descriptions are altogether useless? No. The symbols serve as hints and indications to a similar experience that others may have already had. In other words, those who have had the experience can understand what these symbols symbolize.²² Al-Junayd expresses this fact beautifully in one of his letters to a friend of his. He says:

This is an indication of something which cannot be further explained. (Then) this cannot be understood by any kind of indication, but only through the very experience which has been described. I have wrapped up what this (letter) contains and have not explained it clearly. Take this (letter) (keeping in mind that) it (the truth) cannot be obtained except through experience.²³

In another letter he writes that he could comprehend

clearly what his friend wanted to convey to him in the previous letter because he had had a similar experience already. He says,

What you hinted at in addition to what you explained clearly was not concealed from me. All this is clear to me, since I had the knowledge of it and had the comprehension of what you sought in advance.²⁴

Besides the difficulties mentioned above, we have a special problem connected with 'understanding' al-Junayd's experience. Al-Junayd made his writings deliberately unintelligible. A scholar like al-Sarrāj (d. 378/988) admits frankly that al-Junayd's sayings are too difficult except to those who are familiar with them.²⁵ According to al-Junayd, Sūfī teachings are of a secret nature, and these might be a source of danger if they were revealed to the public. This made him extremely cautious. As he says, "I am warned against uttering mysteries in public."²⁶ When Abū Bakr Shiblī (d. 334/945), his disciple, started revealing the secrets in his sermons to the congregation, he warned him not to do so.²⁷ But it seems that Shiblī did not take note of his master's warning and hence al-Junayd's remark to him, "We acquired this knowledge with great efforts and then hid it in the vaults; but you have come and revealed it openly to the people."²⁸ It is because of this fear of misunderstanding that al-Junayd is said to have restricted the number of his hearers to not more than twenty,²⁹ and when he wrote, he worded his letters very

carefully. In one of his letters, he writes:

What prevented me from corresponding with you was the fear that what the letter contains may be revealed to some one else without your knowledge. This is because some time ago, I wrote a letter to some people in Iṣpahān; my letter was opened and a copy of it was taken. But it was difficult for some of them to understand. I was worried about their safety and a certain responsibility towards them was imposed on me. The people are in need of kindness, but it is not kind to make them face what they do not know, or to speak to them what they do not understand. This may happen unintentionally. May God give you protection and may He keep you and us safe. Keep your tongue in control --- may God show you mercy --- and know the people of your time. Speak to them in accordance with their knowledge and keep them away from what they cannot know.³⁰

Moreover, the attitude of the orthodox Muslims of the time towards Ṣūfīsm was one of hostility. It was a time of great crisis for Ṣūfīsm. Dhū al-Nūn of Egypt (d. 245/859) was suspected of heresy and arraigned before the Caliph Mutawakkil.³¹ The same thing happened to al-Junayd's close friend, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Nūrī (d. 295/907), though ultimately he escaped punishment.³² Al-Nūrī said to al-Junayd, "O Abū'l Qāsim, thou hast concealed the truth from them and they have put thee in the place of honour; but I have told them the truth and they have pelted me with stones."³³ It is true that al-Junayd was not pelted with stones, but he was also accused of infidelity and brought before the Caliph Muwaffaq, and this in spite of his reputation as a devoutly religious person and a great intellectual. He escaped,

however, by describing himself as a jurist.³⁴ In this atmosphere of suspicion and hostility, to reveal anything which could lend itself to misunderstanding might lead to dangerous consequences as it has been shown in the case of the death of Mansūr Hallāj about ten years after al-Junayd's death. All these factors combined prompted al-Junayd to make his writings ~~and~~ obscure almost to the point of unintelligibility.

In view of the above facts, is there any use in trying to understand al-Junayd's mystical experience, his experience of tawhīd? Yes. We do not claim to have had similar experience ourselves, but nevertheless, with the help of a sympathetic imagination, it will perhaps be possible for us to gain at least some measure of insight into this experience. But at the same time we should be extremely cautious; we should be conscious of the fact that we shall be speaking of mystical experience at second hand; and therefore, we should remain modest as to the correctness of our understanding of it. We would never pretend to have a complete grasp of al-Junayd's mystical experience; perhaps some of the secrets of this experience will never be unveiled to us. Nevertheless, we should proceed modestly and try to have some understanding of this experience.

II

TAWHĪD

Before we attempt to understand and analyse al-Junayd's experience, it will perhaps be worthwhile to understand what he means by Sūfism (tasawwuf). This will give us an insight into the direction in which we should proceed in dealing with our subject-matter. Of the many of his definitions that have come down to us, we shall discuss only a few.

"Sūfism", al-Junayd says, "is to be with God without attachment (to anything other than Him.)"¹ We understand this definition to mean that there is a deep sense of a tremendous gap between the Creator and the created, and Sūfism is a means to bridge this gap and bring them together. Its function is to attach man to God. But attachment necessarily involves detachment. Hence, when Sūfism attaches man to God, it detaches him from all else. This, in fact, is, as we shall see later, another way of saying that Sūfism brings one in unification with God, that it is a means of experiencing tawhīd.

Al-Junayd's second definition of Sūfism that we want to consider has been preserved in al-Hujwiri's Kashf al-Mahjūb. According to this definition, "Sūfism

is an attribute wherein is Man's subsistence". When asked whether it was an attribute of man or of God, al-Junayd replied, "Its essence is an attribute of God and its formal system is an attribute of mankind."² This definition describes the highest state of mystical experience—experience of tawhīd in which the mystic realizes that he is wholly lost to himself, and by being lost to himself, he is present in God. At this stage, he feels that there is no longer any gulf between him and God; his phenomenal attributes are substituted by the attributes of the Divine and the individual will has been transformed into the Divine Will. Al-Hujwīrī has explained this definition beautifully. One of the two interpretations that he has offered is this:

...in real unification (tawhīd) there are, correctly speaking, no human attributes at all, because human attributes are not constant but are only formal (rasm), having no permanence, for God is the agent. Therefore they are really the attributes of God. Thus (to explain what is meant), God commands His servants to fast, and when they keep the fast He gives them the name of "faster" (ṣā'im), and nominally this "fasting" (ṣawm) belongs to Man, but really it belongs to God.³

If the first definition of al-Junayd describes Sūfism as a means of attaining⁴ the experience of tawhīd, the second definition describes the nature of the experience itself. But the third definition that we are going to consider gives us a complete idea of his

mystical position. According to him, Ṣūfīsm is

the purification of the heart from conformity with created things, separation from natural attributes, suppression of human qualities, keeping away from the impulses of the lower soul (nafs), dwelling in the spiritual qualities, being occupied with real knowledge, dealing with what is primary from eternity, counselling the whole community, being really faithful to God and following the Messenger, may God bless him and give him peace, according to the Law.⁵

Here we find that the summum bonum of the Ṣūfī is the attainment of the experience of tawhīd -- unification with God, and this is done by the mortification of desires arising out of the lower soul (nafs) and the passing-away of the human attributes. But after the goal has been attained, the Ṣūfī comes back to the world and becomes a counsellor of the community. Yet al-Junayd insists that however high a stage a man may reach, he has to remain faithful to God and act according to the Qur'ān and the Sunnah.

The above discussion of al-Junayd's definitions of Ṣūfīsm shows that the central point of his teaching is the doctrine of tawhīd. We shall now make an attempt to understand more thoroughly what al-Junayd means by tawhīd. But here we come upon the basic mystical experience which, as we have already seen, is inexpressible and incommunicable. As al-Junayd himself has said, "When the intellects of the intellectuals reach tawhīd, they reach bewilderment."⁶ Hence we should proceed with

the necessary caution that we have mentioned in the Introduction.

Literally, the word tawhīd means 'making one', 'asserting oneness', 'declaring oneness', etc.⁷ Theologically it means belief in the oneness of God. This, combined with the belief in the prophethood of Muhammad, constitutes the shahādah which forms the basis of the Islāmic faith. In this sense, then, tawhīd means that God is the only one single Being and He has no partner associated with Him. The Qur'ān expresses this very clearly in Sūrat al-Ikhlās thus, "(O Muhammad!) say, God is one; He is eternal. He neither begets nor is begotten Himself, and there is no one like unto Him."⁸ It is because of this principle of strict monotheism that Islām considers shirk, associating any partner with God, as the greatest sin. Consistently with this attitude, Islām does not accept the Christian conception of Trinity. According to Islām, the mystery of Trinity contradicts the principle of God's unity. Christians, it argues, have introduced three deities and transformed the man Jesus into the substance of the son of God. The Qur'ān says, "Believe, therefore, in God and His apostles and say not 'there is Trinity'. God is only one God."⁹

The Mu'tazilites have carried this principle of monotheism to its logical consequences. According to them, God is a oneness in Himself and no shadow of duality

could attach to Him. To vindicate this position of God's absolute unity, they deny the possession of attributes on the part of God, for unity and attributes are philosophically incompatible. Possession is a relation showing duality of the subject and object, the possessor and the possessed. Now, supposing God possessed attributes, these attributes must either have been co-eternal with Him or non-eternal, that is, came into existence after God. But neither of these two alternatives can be maintained, for in the former case, there would have been two eternal things -- God and His attributes; but this is impossible because the Qur'ān declares God to be the only Eternal Being. As we find in one verse, "And everlasting is the essence of your Lord, Possessor of greatness and eminence".¹⁰ In the latter case, that is, if the attributes were not possessed by Him from eternity, but came to be possessed by Him later, then it would mean that a time was when God was without attributes, and therefore imperfect. This again is against the Qur'ān which says, "You will never find a change in the ways of God."¹¹

In view of the above, the Mu'tazilites deny the possession of attributes on the part of God. But the fact remains that in the Qur'ān, mention has been made both of God and of His attributes. How could this problem be solved? Mu'tazilites answer that God's attributes and His Essence are identical. God is

Powerful, for example, not by virtue of His possession of the attribute of Powerfulness, but because He is Powerful essentially.¹²

There is still a third sense in which tawhīd has been taken --the Sūfī sense. For them, tawhīd is not only the confession of the unity of God; it is much more than this. For them, it is the complete merging of the individual will into the Will of God; it is the effacement of all human volition and personal initiative and the affirmation of the Divine will in every act. The following quotation from the Persian mystic Abū Saʿīd b. Abī al-Khayr (d. 440/1048) will illustrate this meaning clearly:

... it is the vision of the heart that is of value, not the tongue's speech ... the (true servant) is he who fears the majesty of God and frees himself from carnal desires. Until you empty yourself of Self, you will not be able to escape from it. It is not enough for me to repeat, "There is no god but God", to become a Muslim. (It is written) "Most of them have not believed in God, but are polytheists", that is, they have made profession of faith with the tongue, but most of them in their hearts are polytheists. God has said, "I do not pardon the polytheist", that is, God will not forgive one who gives Him a partner, but apart from that He will forgive whom He will. All the members of thy body are filled with doubt and polytheism. Thou must cast out this polytheism from thy heart that thou mayst have peace... thou canst not believe in God until thou dost deny thyself, that self which keeps thee far from God Most High and which says, "So and so has done thee an injury and such a one has treated thee well". All this leads to dependence on

creatures and all this is polytheism. The creatures are nothing, the Friend is everything. After this manner it must be known and declared and having been declared, it is necessary to abide by it and in it. And to abide by it means that when thou hast said, "One", thou must not again say "Two" and the creature and the Creator are two. The right faith is to say God and therein to stand fast. And to stand fast means that when thou hast said, "God", thou shouldst no more speak of the creatures nor think upon them in thine heart, so that it is as if the creatures were not. Whatever thou dost see or say, see and say from what is existent, which will never cease to be. Love that One, Who, when thou shalt cease to be, will not Himself cease to be, that thou, too, mayst become one who will never cease to be.¹³

Let us now come to al-Junayd. The most famous and oft-quoted definition of tawhīd by him is this: "Unification is the isolation of the Eternal from the Contingents" (Ifrād al-Qadīm 'an al-Muhdath).¹⁴ But the question is: how can unification be isolation (or separation)^{and} its opposite? This seems to violate the logical principle of contradiction; a thing cannot be itself and its contradiction at the same time. For a man to be a man and not-man at the same time is an impossibility. Hence unification and isolation appear to be incompatible. Our answer is that unification and isolation, association and dissociation, attachment and detachment -- these are simultaneous processes, one necessarily involving the other. Union in one direction is separation in another and separation in one direction

means union in another.

Now what does al-Junayd mean by al-Qadīm? We have translated the word as 'Eternal'. But it does not cover the meaning of the word 'Eternal', for the latter has two aspects: a backward aspect and a forward aspect. When we say "God is eternal", we mean that He was not originated in the past, nor will He cease to exist in the future. But here the word al-Qadīm refers only to al-Qadīm al-azalī, the backward aspect of the word 'Eternal'.¹⁵ and not the forward aspect of it. The forward aspect is referred to by the word al-bāqī.

What is the special purpose of al-Junayd's use of the word al-Qadīm in referring to God? One reason we can think of is that throughout his writings, we find him constantly looking backward to that point in time when the soul (al-rūh) was created by God. As we proceed, we shall find that the goal of the mystic's journey, according to him, is to be as he was before his soul was joined with the physical body. As a devoted Muslim, he believes in the Day of Judgement, no doubt,¹⁶ but his main concern is the attainment of the state of the soul in which it was in the long past. It is for this reason, perhaps, that he looks at God in His backward aspect of eternity.

Another reason we can think of for his use of the word al-Qadīm for God is that perhaps he wants to

contrast the nature of the soul with that of God, for the former differs from the latter in respect to its origination and not with regard to its continuity in the future; God will never perish and neither will the soul, but the latter is originated in time,¹⁷ while the former is not.

We have still one important word in al-Junayd's definition which needs clarification, and that is al-muhdath. This refers to things that have both origination and decay, coming into being and ceasing to exist, and hence contrast directly with God. They contrast with the soul only in one respect -- in respect of its continuity in the future -- for the soul will continue to exist while the contingents will not. With regard to their origin, they have the same nature -- both are originated in time. So we can say that the soul stands intermediary between God and the contingents. God has neither origin nor decay; al-muhdath has both, but the soul has only origin and no decay. Thus, the soul partakes of the nature of both: it partakes of the nature of God in so far as it will continue to exist, and it shares in the nature of al-muhdath because it is originated in time.

Now, in tawhīd, realizing the difference between the Eternal and the contingents, the soul eliminates

the latter completely and isolates God in His absolute oneness. In doing this, the soul strips itself of all multiplicity, all phenomena; all its relationships with the world are swallowed up in one relationship -- its relationship with the One. It is a self-emptying process, and the result is that the soul becomes completely naked; it possesses nothing, nor is it attracted to anything other than the One. The heart is now occupied completely with the Divine, and no creature can invade this place any longer. It has become the dwelling place of God Himself. Al-Junayd says, "It is thine own heart which is in truth the dwelling place of God Most High. So far as in thee lies, give no admission into this abode of His, to any other save Him."¹⁸

Thus unification necessarily involves isolation of God from all contingents. It is turning away from the contingents and holding fast to the Divine. While commenting on Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad b. Khafīf's saying, "Unification consists in turning away from nature", al-Hujwīrī says that "no one can turn to God until he has turned away from nature and the 'natural' man (ṣāhib ṭab) is unable to apprehend the reality of Unification which is revealed to you only when you see the corruption of your own nature."¹⁹ Al-Junayd expresses this state thus:

From the true nature of this existence comes real vision of (God) together with the disappearance of his existence (i.e., human nature); with the loss of his

existence, God's existence has been purified; with the purification of God's existence, his own attributes have disappeared, and being lost to himself, he is present in God. So, being present with God, he is lost to himself and being lost to himself he is present with God.²⁰

The muwahhid now loses all desires and all personal initiative. He even empties himself of fear of Hell and hope for Paradise, for these are created things and, therefore, they cannot have any room in his heart. Once, Rābi'ah al-'Adawiyah (d. 185/801) was found running with fire in one hand and water in another. When asked as to why she was doing so, she replied that she was going to put out the fire of Hell with the help of the water and set Paradise on fire with the help of the fire so that nobody could ever worship God either for fear of Hell-fire or for hope of Paradise.²¹ This shows that the heart of the muwahhid has no concern for anything except God. As for personal will and personal initiative, he has none. God has entered the mystic's heart, and so it is He who is acting through him. God is now the supreme will and the supreme actor, and the mystic is like a dead body in the hands of the washer who prepares the corpse for burial. All his movements, all his speech -- everything is controlled by the Divine. As al-Junayd says, to the muwahhid, all motion and lack of motion of things created is the act of God.²² Expressing the same idea, al-Hujwiri says that

"when the Divine omnipotence manifests its domain over humanity, it transports a man out of his own being, so that his speech becomes the speech of God."²³

A more or less similar idea as is contained in al-Junayd's famous saying about tawhīd²⁴ is found in the Indian classical Sāṃkhya Yoga according to which Yoga (uniting, joining) means disjoining or disuniting of the puruṣa from the prakṛti, the eternal from the contingent. As Hiriyanna says, in Sāṃkhya Yoga, "Yoga which means 'union'... comes to mean 'disunion' (viyoga)..."²⁵ But this similarity of the two conceptions should not mislead us. In Sāṃkhya Yoga, Puruṣa, the eternal, timeless being which has to be separated is the human spirit, and the contingent from which it has to be separated is the physiological apparatus in which the spirit has been temporarily caged. But to al-Junayd, eternity belongs to God and God alone. In commenting on Abū Yazīd's saying, "I contemplated on tawhīd (and I realized that) the created things have disappeared from the ṣūfī (ʿarīf) and the ṣūfī (ʿarīf) has disappeared from the created things", al-Junayd says that "all created things are absent from God Most High and He is isolated in His Majesty from His creation."²⁶ This seems to mean that the state in which there is a complete loss of consciousness of everything other than God al-Junayd applies to God, while Abū Yazīd

applies it to the soul. By doing this, al-Junayd apparently makes an insurmountable barrier between God and the human spirit.

We have tried to understand in our own way what al-Junayd means by his famous definition concerning tawhīd. But this definition is like an ocean of amrita²⁷ and people have drunk from it according to their individual tastes and capacities. According to al-Sarrāj, for example, tawhīd is that to which "there is no way for man except to mention and describe it to the extent that He has shown to them and informed them,"²⁸ and this is what, he says, is meant by "Isolation of the Eternal from the contingent." In al-Sarrāj's view, Shiblī means the same thing when he says,

The one who defines tawhīd by expression is a heretic the one who points to it is a dualist, the one who keeps silent concerning it is ignorant, the one who imagines that he has attained it, has not attained it, the one who indicates it is an idol-worshipper, the one who speaks about it is heedless, the one who thinks that he is near it is far from it...²⁹

Al-Hujwīrī starts his discussion of the views of the Ṣūfīs on tawhīd with al-Junayd's definition, and interprets it thus:

... you must not regard the eternal as a locus of phenomena, or phenomena as a locus of the eternal; and you must know that God is eternal and that you are phenomenal, and that nothing of your genus is connected with Him, and that nothing of His attributes is mingled in you, and that there is no homogeneity between the eternal and the phenomenal.³⁰

Al-Qushayrī quotes the definition of al-Junayd twice; once in the beginning of chapter one of his Risālah³¹ and again in the chapter on tawhīd. But in neither case does he give his own interpretation. In the chapter on tawhīd, he quotes it as follows:

Unification which is attained only by the Sūfīs is the isolation of the Eternal from the contingents, departure from the abode (of deceit), cutting off from the objects of love, abandoning of what is known and what is unknown, and God's (may He be praised) taking place of all these.³²

Ibn Taymīya (d. 728/1328), though an anti-mystic, praises al-Junayd for regarding tawhīd as isolation of the Eternal from the contingents. There were some Sūfīs who fell into the wrong conception of total fusion in God (al-ittihād). Hence, says Ibn Taymīya, this distinction between the Eternal and the contingents made by al-Junayd would safeguard many from following the wrong path.³³

Ibn Taymīya further mentions that some Sūfīs have agreed with al-Junayd on this point of the distinction between the Eternal and the contingents; others have failed to understand what is meant by this, and still others have blamed him for what he said of those who have blamed al-Junayd. Ibn Taymīya mentions Ibn al-ʿArabī's saying in his Al-Isrā ilā al-Maqām al-Asrā, "Oh Junayd, who can distinguish between two things except the one who is other than both? You are

either the Eternal or the contingent. Then how can you make the distinction?"³⁴

Ibn al-ʿArabī's disapproval of al-Junayd's distinction between the Eternal and the contingents is understandable. He did not find in al-Junayd's conception of tawhīd a sense of a total absorption of the individual spirit into the Divine Spirit. Naturally, therefore, he could not accept it. However, according to Ibn Taymīya, al-Junayd is right and Ibn al-ʿArabī wrong. Commenting on Ibn al-ʿArabī's argument, he says,

This is his ignorance. Indeed, the one who can distinguish between two things knows that this is different from that, without having the condition that he will be the third. Every man distinguishes between himself and others, and (still) he is not the third. God, may He be praised, distinguishes between Himself and others and (yet) there is no third being.³⁵

Not only have many Sūfī writers quoted and commented on al-Junayd's famous saying on tawhīd, but many were greatly influenced by it. In fact, this definition of al-Junayd's constitutes the essence of the views of many contemporary and later Sūfīs and Sūfī writers on the subject. We shall take a few examples to illustrate this point.

Let us first take the example of al-Junayd's own contemporaries — his associates, friends and disciples. Al-Nūrī defines tawhīd thus: "Union with God is separation from all else, and separation from all else is union with

Him."³⁶ This definition means that

any one whose mind is united with God is separated from all besides, and vice versa: therefore union of the mind with God is separation from the thought of created things, and to be rightly turned away from phenomena is to be rightly turned towards God.³⁷

Shiblī, a notable pupil of al-Junayd, says, "The worshipper does not experience tawhīd until he is completely estranged from his own inner self (sirr) so that God can manifest Himself to him."³⁸ On another occasion, he says that until one completely renounces this world and the thoughts of the next, it is impossible for one to attain tawhīd.³⁹

Husayn b. Mansūr al-Ḥallāj (d. 309/922), though he was refused discipleship by al-Junayd,⁴⁰ was greatly influenced by him. Tawhīd, according to him, is attained when "the servant sees nothing other than the Creator and no thought other than that of his Maker is connected with his secret heart (sirr)".⁴¹ Again, he says, "Tawhīd is your isolation as a single individual, and that God's making you not to see yourself."⁴²

Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥusrī (d. 371/981), an associate of Shiblī, says, "Our principles of tawhīd are five: the removal of phenomenality, and the affirmation of eternity, and departure from familiar haunts, and separation from brethren, and forgetfulness of what is known and unknown."⁴³ Here "removal of phenomenality"

means "denying that phenomena have any connexion with unification or that they can possibly attain to His holy essence"; "affirmation of eternity" means that the muwahhid is convinced that "God always existed"; "departure from familiar haunts" implies, for the adept, abandoning of "lofty stations and glorious states and exalted miracles (karāmāt)"; "separation from brethren" consists in

turning away from the society of mankind and turning towards the society of God, since any thought of other than God is a veil and an imperfection, and the more a man's thoughts are associated with other than God the more he is veiled from God;

and "forgetfulness of [a thing] what is known and unknown" means

the unification of that thing, for unification denies whatever the knowledge of mankind affirms about it; and whatever their ignorance affirms about it is merely contrary to their knowledge, for ignorance is not unification, and knowledge of the reality of unification cannot be attained without denying the personal initiative (tasarruf) in which knowledge and ignorance consist.⁴⁴

Let us now see what some later Ṣūfī writers have to say on tawhīd. While commenting on the saying of Ruwayn b. Ahmad (d. 303/915) that tawhīd is "the obliteration of the traces of humanity and changing the characteristics of the lower soul (nafs) since they claim mastery in respect to its activities..., (and) isolation of the Divine" al-Sarrāj says that the latter

phrase means the isolation of the Eternal (al-Qadīm) from that which is phenomenal (al-muḥdath).⁴⁵

According to al-Kalābādhī, tawḥīd has seven elements. These are:

The isolation of the Eternal from the contingents, raising the Eternal above the perception of created beings, abandoning of the equation of the attributes, abolishing causal relation from divinity, exalting God above the capacity of the contingents to change Him, exalting Him above all discrimination and consideration, and freeing Him of all relation of analogy.⁴⁶

Again, in the chapter on "Union", he says, "The meaning of union is that the heart (sirr) should be separated from all but God and it should glorify none save Him and listen to none other than Him".⁴⁷

Al-Hujwīrī says:

Substances, accidents, elements, bodies, forms and properties -- all these are veils of Divine mysteries. From the standpoint of Unification (tawḥīd) it is polytheism to assert that any such veils exist, but in this world everything is veiled, by its being, from Unification, and the spirit is held captive by admixture and association with phenomenal being.⁴⁸

In order to attain unification, therefore, one has to rid himself of all these veils; he must give up all human volition and all personal initiative;⁴⁹ then and then alone will he realize God in His absolute purity.

The above examples⁵⁰ show the correctness of our contention that the views of many Ṣūfīs and Ṣūfī

writers on tawhīd after al-Junayd are, in essence, his view contained in his famous saying that "tawhīd is the isolation of the Eternal from the contingents".

So far we have discussed al-Junayd's most important definition of tawhīd which contains the gist of his whole mystical position. But the following saying of al-Junayd on tawhīd is very comprehensive and includes many aspects of his conception of tawhīd some of which we shall discuss in later chapters. It describes tawhīd thus:

Unification is this, that one should be a figure (shakhs) in the hands of God, a figure over which His decrees pass according as He in His omnipotence determines, and that one should be sunk in the seas of His unity, self-annihilated and dead alike to the call of mankind to him and his answer to them, absorbed by the reality of the Divine unity in true proximity, and lost to sense and action, because God fulfils in him what He hath willed of him, namely, that his last state should become his first state, and that he should be as he was before he existed.⁵¹

Al-Hujwiri has explained the above definition very clearly. Though lengthy, it will perhaps be worthwhile to quote his interpretation here. He says:

All this means that the Unitarian in the will of God has no more a will of his own, and in the unity of God no regard to himself, so that he becomes like an atom as he was in the eternal past when the covenant of unification was made, and God answered the question which He Himself had asked, and that atom was only the object of His speech. Mankind have no joy in such a one that they should call him to anything, and he

has no friendship with anyone that he should respond to their call. This saying indicates the annihilation of human attributes and perfect resignation to God in the state when a man is overpowered by the revelation of His majesty, so that he becomes a passive instrument and a subtle substance that feels nothing, and his body is a repository for the mysteries of God, to whom his speech and actions are attributed; but, unconscious of all as he is, he remains subject to the ordinances of the religious law, to the end that the proof of God may be established. Such was the Apostle when on the night of the Ascension he was borne to the station of proximity; he desired that his body should be destroyed and his personality be dissolved, but God's purpose was to establish His proof. He bade the Apostle remain in the state that he was in; whereupon he gained strength and displayed the existence of God from out of his own non-existence and said, "I am not as one of you. Verily, I pass the night with my Lord, and he gives me food and drink", and he also said, "I am with God in a state in which none of the cherubim nor any prophet is capable of being contained with me."⁵²

To understand al-Junayd's conception of tawhīd more clearly, let us now discuss his classification of the muwahhidūn and the different levels of tawhīd manifested in them. According to him, there are four levels or phases of tawhīd represented by four classes of people: the first is represented by the ordinary Muslims, the second by those possessed of exoteric knowledge ('ilm), i.e., the mutakallimūn, and the third and the fourth by the elect (al-khawās) endowed with esoteric knowledge (ma'rifah).⁵³ We shall now see how these levels of tawhīd represented by them

are distinguished from each other. Al-Junayd says:

As for the tawhīd of the ordinary people (ordinary Muslims), it consists in the affirmation of the unity of God by the negation of all other gods, all opposites, equals, similars, and likes (to Him), but yielding (at the same time) to the feelings of desire and fear arising from other (sources) than Him. This kind of tawhīd has some reality of realization in the fulfilment of actions since the assertion (of the unity of God) persists.⁵⁴

The quotation of al-Sarrāj and al-Qushayrī from al-Junayd on this point contains the same idea, though the language is different. It says that tawhīd is

the isolation of the Unified One by realizing His unity in perfect oneness that He is the one who neither begets nor is begotten, by negation of opposites, similars and whatever is worshipped other than Him, without any resemblance or qualification or conceptualization or comparison (to Him), God being one eternal individual Being, the Hearing and the Seeing.⁵⁵

The tawhīd of the mutakallimūn, says al-Junayd, consists in

the affirmation of the unity of God by the negation of all other gods, all equals, opposites, similars and likes (to Him), together with the performance of (His) commands and abstention from (His) prohibitions in matters of external actions, all these being the result of fear, hope and greed. The establishment of the truth of realization in (external) actions is the result of the establishment of true belief by assertion.⁵⁶

Then comes esoteric tawhīd which, as we have seen, has two phases according to al-Junayd. The first

phase of it consists in

the affirmation of the unity of God by the negation of all other things (referred to above), together with the performance of (His) commands, both externally and internally, by eliminating the fear of anything other than God. All these originate from real conformity (with God's demand) by the existence of God's presence with him, together with the existence of the presence of God's call to him and his response to God.⁵⁷

The second phase of esoteric tawhīd, tawhīd in its highest stage, is attained when the muwahhid becomes

a figure (shakhs) in the hands of God, a figure over which His decrees pass according as He in His omnipotence determines, and that one should be sunk in the seas of His unity, self-annihilated and dead alike to the call of mankind to him and his answer to them, absorbed by the reality of the Divine unity in true proximity, and lost to sense and action, because God fulfils in him what He hath willed of him, namely that his last state should become his first state, and that he should be as he was before he existed.⁵⁸

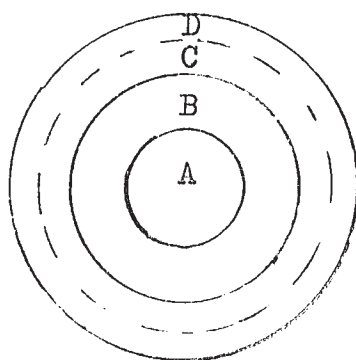
Thus we find that the ordinary Muslims confess the unity of God, the most fundamental principle of Islām. But their activities are guided by fear of Hell and hope for Paradise. But the mutakallimūn have the virtues of the ordinary Muslims plus reason and knowledge which the ordinary Muslims do not possess. Reason and knowledge enable the mutakallimūn to distinguish clearly between the right and the wrong and act properly according to the commands and prohibitions (al-amr wa al-nahī) laid down by God. Nevertheless, the mutakallimūn have not been able to overcome the forces of fear and

hope as motivating factors of their activities. But at the third stage, the Ṣūfī overcomes these negative qualities of fear and hope as motivating factors, and he becomes aware of God's presence in and with him, while at the same time he possesses the positive qualities of the other two. But even now, he has not reached his goal -- the highest stage of tawḥīd. This he does at the fourth stage when he experiences a lifting of the veils of God's mysteries; now there occurs a merger of the individual will with the will of God. The Ṣūfī is now a completely passive instrument in the hands of God; he is like a corpse in the hands of the washer who prepares the body for burial. When he acts and moves and speaks, it is God who is doing all these through him.⁵⁹

In al-Junayd's classification of the muwahhidūn and the different levels of tawḥīd represented by them, we come upon his conception of the degrees of belief and the corresponding degrees of truth revealed to the believers. According to this conception, we find a gradual movement of the soul, step by step, from the stage of mere belief (shahādah) of the ordinary Muslims up to the stage where the goal of the mystic -- tawḥīd in its highest degree -- is attained.

These different stages through which the soul passes are not mutually exclusive; there is no essential cleavage between them; they all constitute one

continuous process. Every higher stage manifests a novel character, a new quality which was not present in the previous stage. This new quality has arisen out of the previous stage and remains with it. In a sense, therefore, this process of emergence of new qualities at every higher stage is characterised by inclusion⁶⁰ and transcendence at the same time. A higher stage transcends a lower in so far as it has something new in it; but at the same time it includes the lower, in so far as it has in it all the positive characteristics of the latter. That is to say, these stages are characterised by togetherness. It follows, therefore, that continuity and emergence are the twin characteristics of the movement of the soul towards the goal. The highest stage, for example, though unique by virtue of its possession of the new quality which is absent in all lower stages, includes within itself all the positive characteristics of the latter. We may illustrate this process in the following diagram:



In the above diagram, B includes A and yet B is more than A. So also is the case with C in relation to B

and A, and D in relation to C, B and A.

This example, however, should not be carried too far, for, as we have already pointed out, the higher stages do not possess all the characteristics of the lower stages as is shown in the diagram. For example, D does not include the negative qualities of fear and hope belonging to A; it includes only its positive quality, viz., assertion of the oneness of God.

In the diagram, we have not shown the circle between C and D as distinctly as we have shown the ones between C and B, and B and A. The reason for this is that we feel that al-Junayd has not made a sharp distinction between the two phases of esoteric tawhīd. In fact, he calls them both 'esoteric tawhīd'. Perhaps by the first stage of esoteric tawhīd he means the stage of fanā' and by the second stage of esoteric tawhīd, baqā'. But these two stages, as we shall see later, are two aspects of the same state. Hence, from this point on in our discussion, we shall regard the muwahhidūn as constituting three classes according to al-Junayd: ordinary Muslims, mutakallimūn and the Ṣūfīs.

Al-Junayd's conception of degrees of belief is very significant. This shows his strict loyalty to Shari'ah and Kalam. The ordinary Muslims, the mutakallimūn and the Ṣūfīs are all on the right path, the only

difference between them being the difference in degrees of truth attained by them. The Ṣūfī, when he experiences the highest state of tawḥīd, may have attained higher truth than the ordinary Muslim, but the foundation of the belief of them both is the same: Lā ilāha illā Allāh -- "there is no god but God."

III

TAWHĪD (CONTINUED)

We have discussed al-Junayd's conception of tawhīd in some detail. Let us now discuss some other ideas connected with this conception.

It is in this state of tawhīd that a vision of God occurs and this, say the Sūfīs, is possible, for otherwise, Moses' petition to God, "Show Thyself to me so that I can look upon Thee"¹, would have meant that he was either ignorant or an unbeliever.² Moreover, Muhammad's vision of God on the night of his journey to the heavens (mi'raj) shows the possibility of man's seeing God. On this night, Muhammad is believed to have seen God and had direct communion with Him. Abū Yazīd experienced a sort of mi'raj himself in which he had a vision of God. He says:

Once He lifted me and placed me in front of Him and said to me, "Oh Abū Yazīd, indeed My creatures want to see you." I answered, "Adorn me with your unity and clothe me in your selfhood and elevate me to your oneness so that when your creatures see me, they will say, 'We have seen You'. Thus You will be that and I shall not be there."³

Al-Junayd also speaks of the vision of God and direct communion with Him. In one of his letters to a fellow

mystic, he expresses his wish that God bring him (the friend) in proximity to God and grant him the favour of communion with Him.⁴

Now what do the Sūfīs mean by vision of God? Do they mean that they have an actual vision of God with their physical eyes? Some Sūfīs will answer in the affirmative.⁵ For them, Moses' desire to see God was that of seeing Him with physical eyes. Moreover, Ibn 'Abbās is reported to have heard Muḥammad saying that he had actually seen God on the night of the journey.⁶

But the majority of the Sūfīs do not believe in the possibility of man's seeing God with physical eyes. According to them, when Moses wanted to see God, he wanted to see God's signs and not God Himself.⁷ Muḥammad, too, did not see God on the night of his journey to the heavens. To support this view, they refer to the fact that Muḥammad told 'Ā'ishah that he did not see God.⁸ They also quote 'Ā'ishah's saying, "Whoever claims that Muḥammad saw God lies."⁹ But the fact remains that Muḥammad is reported to have told Ibn 'Abbās that he had seen God. How can we explain this riddle? Al-Hujwīrī answers this question thus:

... in saying that he did not see God the Apostle was referring to his bodily eye, whereas in saying the contrary he was referring to his spiritual eye. Since 'Ā'ishah was a formalist and Ibn 'Abbās a spiritualist, the Apostle spoke with each of them according to their insight.¹⁰

Al-Junayd holds the latter view, that is, that God cannot be seen with physical eyes in this world.¹¹

Al-Junayd would not even like to see God with physical eyes in the next world even if it were possible. He says,

If God should say to me, "Behold Me", I should reply, "I will not behold Thee," because in love the eye is other (than God) and alien: the jealousy of otherness would prevent me from beholding Him. Since in this world I was wont to behold Him without the mediation of the eye, how should I use such mediation in the next world?

...

Truly, I envy mine eye the sight of Thee,
And I close mine eye when I look on Thee.¹²

Now, if physical vision of God is not possible in this world, what kind of vision is possible? According to al-Hujwiri, it is vision by the heart (sirr) or by contemplation (mushāhadah) that is possible for man.¹³

The meaning of contemplation defies adequate expression in language. It is for this reason that

the Apostle, when he attained proximity to God, said: "I cannot tell Thy praise," because he was in contemplation, and contemplation in the degree of love is perfect unity (yagānagī), and any outward expression in unity is otherness (bogānagī). Then he said: "Thou hast praised Thyself," i.e. Thy words are mine, and Thy praise is mine, and I do not deem my tongue capable of expressing what I feel.¹⁴

Though al-Hujwiri admits of the possibility of vision of God by the heart through contemplation, he warns that no one should think that one can form an idea of God in one's mind either by memory or imagination.

For God is infinite while reflection and imagination are finite.¹⁵

Al-Kalābādhī, however, does not admit of the possibility of vision of God even by the heart. What is possible, according to him, is only vision from the point of view of faith. He gives several reasons for this. First, the vision of God has been reserved for the next world; if God were seen in this world, no difference would be left between this world and the next in this respect. Secondly, God is Eternal and the world is evanescent. Thirdly, if God were seen in this world, belief in Him would be axiomatic; that is to say, if God were seen, there would have been no choice left for any one to believe or not to believe in Him; God's existence would be a fact to every one. Moreover, God Himself has not stated anywhere that vision occurs in this world.¹⁶

So far as al-Junayd is concerned, perhaps he goes along with al-Hujwīrī in his assertion that vision of God is possible by means of contemplation. Perhaps his sayings such as "in this world I was wont to behold Him" and "I close mine eye when I look on Thee"¹⁷ mean the vision of God through contemplation, vision of God by means of the heart.

Another idea that is connected with the conception of tawhīd is that of tawakkul, trust in God or complete dependence on Him.¹⁸ We have seen already that in the

highest stage of tawhīd, the will of the Ṣūfī merges completely with the will of God; he loses all personal initiative and volition and becomes as passive as a corpse in the hands of the washer who prepares it for burial.¹⁹ This, in fact, is another way of saying that the individual is in a state of tawakkul. In this state, the individual abandons himself completely to God with the belief that He will provide all that is needed by him. For, does He not provide for the needs of the birds in the wilderness, the child in the womb of the mother and the fish at the bottom of the sea?

Dhū al-Nūn defines tawakkul as "renunciation of all means and efforts."²⁰ According to Ābū 'Abd Allāh al-Qurashī, tawakkul consists in giving up all refuge except God.²¹ To Sarī al-Saqatī, tawakkul is the "removal of all power and strength."²²

There are many anecdotes which illustrate how completely the Ṣūfīs abandon themselves to God's will. A certain Ṣūfī became extremely hungry one day, and, therefore, wanted to ask God for food. But at once the inner voice told him that it was not the act of a mutawakkil to do so, and thus he refrained from asking.²³ Another Ṣūfī once fell into the Tigris. When asked if he would like to be brought ashore, he replied in the negative. When asked if he wished to be drowned, he answered again in the negative. Then he was asked what

he wished, and the reply was, "God's will be done! What have I to do with wishing?"²⁴ According to another Ṣūfī, to regard something other than God as the cause of anything is polytheism. He says:

Once our companion brought some milk. I said, "This will harm me." After that, one day while praying to God, I said, "Oh God! forgive me, for you know that I never associated any partner with you for the twinkling of an eye." Then I heard a voice saying, "Not even the night of the milk?"²⁵

We find similar ideas of tawakkul in al-Junayd. According to him, in tawakkul, "one should be God's as he has never been and God should be his as He has always been."²⁶ This means that one should be completely satisfied with what God does, for satisfaction consists in the abandonment of one's choice altogether.²⁷ Al-Junayd's disciple Shiblī speaks of the state of tawakkul in exactly the same terms. He says, "You shall be to God as you have never been and God should be to you as He has always been."²⁸ In reply to a question regarding the conduct of the one who is dependent on God, al-Junayd says, "That you should be satisfied with God, the Most High in all conditions and that you will not ask anyone except Him."²⁹ It is reported that once he fell sick and, therefore, asked God to cure him. At once came the voice of God to his inner self (sirr), "Do not enter between Me and yourself."³⁰ According to another story, a disciple of al-Junayd accompanied him

to a jungle one day. Due to excessive heat, blood started coming out of his nose. So he said, "How terrible is the heat!" Al-Junayd scolded him saying, "You complain against an act of God. Get away from my company."³¹ All this means that one should be completely satisfied with what God wills and depend on Him for whatever one needs, giving up all efforts and all volition.

We should mention in this connection that tawhīd and tawakkul imply predestination. God is the only doer; He is the sole agent of all action, all motion, all volition. The Qur'ān, referring to Muhammad in the Battle of Badr, says, "You did not throw when you threw, but God threw."³² Man's part, therefore, is only to receive passively all that comes from God. Thus we find that the fatalistic spirit which reigned supreme in early Islām found a strong foothold again in the minds of the Sūfīs.³³

Another idea that we want to discuss in connection with tawhīd is that of love. In tawhīd, as we have already seen, the Sūfī gives himself up completely to God; his will merges with God's will and he feels himself unified with Him. This implies that the Sūfī is in love with God, the Beloved.

The word mahabbah (love) is variously derived. According to some, it is derived from hubb,

meaning "a jar full of water", because when love is collected in the heart and fills it, there is no room there for any thought except of the beloved, as Shiblī says: "Love is called mahabbat because it obliterates (tamhū) from the heart everything except the beloved."³⁴

According to others, it is derived from the same root ḥubb but meaning "the four conjoined pieces of wood on which a water-jug is placed, because a lover lightly bears whatever his beloved metes out to him -- honour or disgrace, pain or pleasure, fair treatment or foul."³⁵ That is to say, real love is not affected by anything coming from the beloved. In fact, the lover delights in miseries and afflictions, and suffering becomes his pleasure. When Shiblī, on suspicion of being insane, was confined to a home for the lunatics, some people came to visit him. On being asked who they were, they replied that they were his friends. Thereupon, Shiblī pelted them with stones which put them to flight. On seeing this, he remarked, "Had you been my friends you would not have fled from my affliction [stoning]."³⁶

When the Ṣūfī is in love with God, he is completely consumed by the fire of love; all sense of multiplicity disappears from him and he becomes completely oblivious to the world about him. In this state, he sees nothing but God.

According to Sarī al-Saqatī, "the lover of God never craves for the world"³⁷ and there can never be

real love between two until one can say, "Oh thou I."³⁸
 He further says, "Love turns the devotee into such a plight that if he be struck with naked sword he feels no agony or pain."³⁹

Abū Yazīd, when asked about the nature of a Ṣūfī, replied that the Ṣūfī is the one who loves nothing besides God.⁴⁰ On being further questioned as to what caution one has to take in matters of spiritual exercises, he said, "Keep your attention fixed on the Lord and not on the spiritual effort you make."⁴¹ On another occasion, he said, "Love consists in regarding your own much as little and your Beloved's little as much."⁴² Commenting on this, al-Hujwīrī says that God himself deals with His servants in this way, for he regards as little what He has given them and calls their praise of Him much.⁴³

The nature of Abū Yazīd's love for God was one of intoxication. He was asked, "What do you say of one who drinks a single drop of the ocean of love and becomes intoxicated?" His reply was in the form of a question, "What do you say of one who, if all the oceans in the world were filled with the wine of love, would drink them all and still cry for more to slake his thirst?"⁴⁴ Al-Hujwīrī explains this idea saying that the one who is unable to drink even one drop is sober and the one who drinks all and yet craves for more is intoxicated.⁴⁵

Rābi'ah was completely overpowered by the love of God, with the result that she did not have any room in her heart to love the Prophet, for it was full to the brim with the love of God.⁴⁶ Her love of God was completely disinterested. She would not love God either for fear of Hell or for hope for Paradise. Hence, as we pointed out elsewhere,⁴⁷ she wanted to put out the fire of Hell with water and set Paradise on fire.

Coming to al-Junayd, we find that he defines love as a "substitution of the qualities of the lover for those of the Beloved."⁴⁸ Al-Qushayrī means the same thing when he says, "Love is the effacement of the lover's attributes and the establishment of the Beloved's essence."⁴⁹ Al-Hujwīrī explains al-Qushayrī's statement thus:

... since the Beloved is subsistent (bāqī) and the lover is annihilated (fānī) the jealousy of love requires that the lover should make the subsistence of the Beloved absolute by negating himself, and he cannot negate his own attributes except by affirming the essence of the Beloved. No lover can stand by his own attributes, for in that case he would not need the Beloved's beauty; but when he knows that his life depends on the Beloved's beauty, he necessarily seeks to annihilate his own attributes, which veil him from his Beloved; and thus in love for his Friend he becomes an enemy to himself.⁵⁰

Again, al-Junayd defines love as the "leaning of the hearts."⁵¹ According to al-Kalābādhī, this means

that the hearts are inclined to God and to all that is from God without effort.⁵² That is to say, the hearts, when they are occupied with the love of God, find it very easy to obey God's commands, to refrain from what He has prohibited and to accept whatever comes from God.

The following description of the attributes of the lover of God gives a comprehensive idea of al-Junayd's view on love. According to him, the lover is

a servant (of God) who departs from himself; he remains attached to the recollection of his Lord; he is steadfast in the performance of his duties to Him; he contemplates Him by his heart; his heart has been consumed by the lights of His essence (huwiyah); he drinks His pure love; to him the Almighty reveals Himself from within the veils that conceal Him. And if he speaks, he speaks by God, and if he utters anything, it is from God; and if he moves, he moves by God's command, and if he keeps silent, he is with God. Thus, he (exists) through God, belongs to God and (lives) with God.⁵³

So far we have been considering man's love for God. But there is also another kind of love --- God's love for man. According to al-Junayd, God's love for man consists in His good will and mercy toward man. It is one of the attributes of God by which He wills action. Thus

God's love towards Man consists in showing much favour to him, giving him a recompense in this world and the next, and making him secure from punishment and keeping him safe from sin, and bestowing on him lofty "states" and exalted "stations" and causing him to

turn his thoughts away from all that is other than God. When God peculiarly distinguishes anyone in this way, that specialization of His will is called love.⁵⁴

We would, however, like to mention in this connection that al-Junayd's conception of love has little of tenderness in it. He calls the lover a servant obeying the Master's command without any effort and never for a moment does he forget the tremendum and majestas aspects of the nature of the Master. All the time, he is afraid of the Master and cautious about his dealings with Him.⁵⁵ Naturally, therefore, his reaction to him is one of awe. As he says, "Deep awe has concealed Your face."⁵⁶ He defines uns (intimacy) as the "lifting of shyness with the persistence of awe."⁵⁷ Moreover, we have already seen that God's love for man, according to him, is one of favour, mercy, good will, and not one of affection and tenderness. Over and above this, we shall see in a later Chapter that God, according to al-Junayd, conquers, overpowers, annihilates and bewilders the lover.

We want to mention one more point in connection with our analysis of al-Junayd's conception of tawhīd and that is this that tawhīd cannot be attained by any human effort; God's companionship is a gift from Him which He offers to His elect out of grace (luṭf). The individual is his own veil and this conceals him from God. The only way to God, therefore, is through God Himself. Asked about the greatest obstacle in the way to God, Abū Yazīd

replied, "Without His grace it is difficult to turn the heart to Him, and with His grace, it turns effortlessly in the Path."⁵⁸ Again, he says, "Depend not on your effort, but on His grace."⁵⁹ In fact, according to Abū Yazīd, God Himself is the seeker and not the individual. As he says, "For thirty years I sought God. But when I looked carefully I found that in reality God was the seeker and I the sought."⁶⁰

Abū Sa'īd al-Kharrāz (d. 286/899) expresses the same idea when he says,

If God desires to be united with a servant of His, he opens to him the gate of worship, and if he delights in worship, He opens to him the gate of proximity, then He raises him to the station of fellowship, then He seats him on the throne of unification (tawhīd).⁶¹

Al-Junayd is very emphatic on this point. According to him, it is God who chooses man for the favour of His gift and endows him with the blessing of tawhīd; man has absolutely no hand in receiving His companionship; it is an act of God in the heart of his servants. He says, "The noblest saying concerning unification is that of Abū Bakr: 'Glory to God, who has not vouchsafed to His creatures any means of attaining unto knowledge of Him except through impotence to attain unto knowledge of Him.'"⁶²

Al-Junayd quotes the tradition,

God has said, "When my servant draws ever nearer to me by performing works of supererogation, than do I begin to love him; and once I have started to love him, I

become his hearing by which he hears and his sight with which he sees."⁶³

He then interprets it thus:

The real meaning of this tradition is that God strengthens man, helps him, guides him and reveals to him whatever He wants to reveal and in whatever way He likes, in reaching the right goal and attaining the truth. This is God's action in man, His gifts bestowed on him. These are derived from God rather than from the one (the Sūfī) who experiences them; they do not proceed from him, nor through him, nor by him. They fall on him from (a source) other than himself, for these gifts are more suitably and appropriately to be ascribed to what is other than him.⁶⁴

The concept of grace (lutf) is very important in al-Junayd's theosophy. We shall discuss this concept in more detail in the chapter on ma'rifah.

IV

HOW TAWHĪD IS ATTAINED

In the state of tawhīd, we have seen, the human will merges completely in the will of God and the Ṣūfī behaves like a ball in the hands of the polo-player who moves it to and fro at will, or like a corpse in the hands of the washer who prepares the burial; he loses all personal initiative, all effort, all volition. Now, the question is: how, by what process, does the Ṣūfī attain this state? According to al-Junayd, this is attained by the passing-away of the phenomenal attributes of the individual altogether. This he calls fanā', i.e., passing-away or obliteration.

The Arabic word, fanā' is derived from the root فنى which, in the verb form I, means to disappear, perish or vanish. Hence, the Ṣūfīs take it to mean the disappearance of all that is evanescent in order that the Everlasting, the Eternal, may take its place.

The self, with all its attributes of pleasure and passion, is a great veil. This constitutes an obstacle in the way of attaining the summit of unification. Hence, the self has to be obliterated completely; the Ṣūfī has to

detach himself completely from himself and the world in order that he can be attached to God. For the participation in divine life, creaturely life must vanish altogether. All that is other than God has to be swept clean so that God can enter the secret chamber of the heart. This is fanā' or passing-away of the self.

When the obliteration of the attributes of the self occurs, the will of the Ṣūfī gets completely absorbed in the Divine. He is completely detached from himself and the world, completely oblivious to what is happening within or without. He does not see anything in the surroundings, although his eyes are open; he does not hear anything, although he is not deaf. He no longer says, "So and so has done this"; nor does he seek benefit from any, for he is entirely committed to God. For him, God is now the only agent of all activities and he is only a mirror in which God's activities are manifested. Referring to Abū Yazīd's saying, "Glory to me! How great is my majesty!", al-Hujwīrī says that these words were only the outward signs of his speech; the real speaker was God who spoke through the mouth of Abū Yazīd. To support this interpretation of Abū Yazīd's saying, al-Hujwīrī cites the tradition of the Prophet, "God speaks by the tongue of 'Umar."¹

Thus fanā' involves renunciation or mortification of the self. It is like the polishing of a rusty mirror and

making it clear so that the face can be reflected in it. The human soul is rusted with passions, desires, volitions, etc.; and these must be polished away so that God's face may be reflected in it.

There are three stages of fanā'. First, the Ṣūfī has to mortify the low desires and passions arising out of the lower soul (nafs), e.g., sexual lust, desire for honour, pride, etc. This has to be attained by means of resistance to the nafs and doing the opposite of what it wants. Then comes obliteration of the consciousness of the world around him; the Ṣūfī becomes dead to all that is around him. The third and the highest stage is the obliteration of consciousness of the consciousness of passing-away from the self and the world; he is not even conscious of his loss of consciousness. This is called fanā' al-fanā', passing-away of passing-away.

In their concept of fanā', the Ṣūfīs have drawn inspiration from the Qur'ān and the traditions. The Qur'ān says, "All things perish save His face."² The Ṣūfīs only experience the truth of this in their hearts in the state of complete obliteration. In renouncing the self they also follow the command of God. The Qur'ān says, "Whosoever refrains his lower soul from passions, verily Paradise shall be his abode."³ Further, according to the Ṣūfīs, the story of Yūsuf's meeting the women of Egypt

contains the idea of fanā'. Human attributes (basharīyah) prevailed in the women of Egypt as they gazed, enraptured, on the wondrous beauty of Yūsuf (Joseph), on whom be peace! But afterwards the preponderance was reversed, until at last they beheld him with their human nature annihilated (ba-fanā-yī bashariyyat) and cried: This is no human being (Kor. XII, 31). They made him their object and gave expression to their own state.⁴

There is also material in the traditions from which the Ṣūfīs have drawn inspiration. The Prophet is reported to have said, "May the dinār-worshipper perish, may the dirham-worshipper perish, may the stomach-worshipper perish, may the sex-worshipper perish, may the clothes-worshipper perish."⁵ According to another tradition, the Prophet asked Hāritha, his companion, "What is the reality of thy faith?" The reply was:

I have cut off and turned myself away from this world, so that its stones and its gold and its silver and its clay are equal in my sight. And I have passed my nights in wakefulness and my days in thirst until methinks I see the Throne of my Lord manifest, and the people of Paradise visiting one another, and the people of Hell wrestling with one another.⁶

On hearing this, the Prophet is reported to have said thrice: "Thou knowest, therefore persevere."⁷

Moreover, Abū Bakr, the first caliph in Islām, is said to have given away all his wealth and his clients (mawālī). Then he came to the Prophet who asked him what he left for his family. The reply was, "Only God and his Apostle."⁸

We have seen above what fanā' means and how Ṣūfīs find its basis in the Qur'ān and traditions. Let us now see what some individual Ṣūfīs have to say about fanā' and renunciation.

Ibrāhīm b. Adham (d. 160/776) advises man to shun the world, for love of the world makes one blind and enslaves one. Unless one is separated from the world, one can never find a dwelling with God.⁹ On being told by a certain man that he wanted to be a Ṣūfī, Ibrāhīm said, "Do not covet anything in this world or the next, and devote thyself entirely to God, and turn to God with all thy heart." Commenting on this, al-Hujwīrī says,

To covet this world is to turn away from God for the sake of that which is transitory, and to covet the next world is to turn away from God for the sake of that which is everlasting: that which is transitory perishes and its renunciation becomes naught, but that which is everlasting cannot perish, hence its renunciation also is imperishable.¹⁰

Bishr al-Hāfī (d. ca. 227/841) compares the world to a woman. The relationship with her begins on a cordial note, but one day she turns her face and kills you.¹¹ The only way to God, therefore, is through flight from the world and not through love of it.¹²

In Abū Yazīd for the first time we find a well-developed concept of fanā'. According to him, "Love of God is that which makes thee forget this world and the next."¹³ Once he was asked as to how God could be reached.

His reply was: "Look not at the world. Hear not the talk about the world and talk not with worldly persons."¹⁴

Another answer to the same question was: "Abandon your ego; therein lies the way to God. Whosoever has annihilated his self in the Lord, he finds that He is everything."¹⁵

Asked about the nature of a Ṣūfī, he said, "Who loves nothing besides God."¹⁶ It is in the state of fanā' that he realized that "the real Doer of all acts is God."¹⁷

Describing this spiritual state, Abū Yazīd says,

When the Lord annihilated my ego, and enlivened [enlivened] me with His eternity and revealed His unveiled Self to me, I saw the Lord through His instrumentality, and at that moment I turned mute, devoid of the sense of hearing and was totally illiterate. The curtain of ego being removed, I stayed in that state for long without the help of any organs of sense. Then the Lord bestowed on me divine eyes and divine ears and I found everything was in Him.¹⁸

In this account of the experience of his ascension to the Heavens in the pattern of the miṭrāj of the Prophet, we find a description of this spiritual state. He says,

I saw that my spirit (sirr) was borne to the heavens. It looked at nothing and gave no heed, though Paradise and Hell were displayed to it, for it was freed from phenomena and veils. Then I became a bird, whose body was of Oneness and whose wings were of Everlastingness, and I continued to fly in the air of the Absolute (huwīyyat), until I passed into the sphere of Purification (tanzīh), and gazed upon the field of Eternity (azaliyyat) and beheld there the tree of Oneness. When I looked I myself was all those. I

cried: 'O Lord, with my egoism (manī-yi man) I cannot attain to Thee, and I cannot escape from my selfhood. What am I to do?' God spake: 'O Abū Yazīd, thou must win release from thy "thouness"...'19

According to al-Nūrī, the very essence of Ṣūfīsm is the renunciation of the world for the sake of the Divine. The Ṣūfīs, he says,

are they whose spirits have been freed from the pollution of humanity, purified from carnal taint, and released from concupiscence, so that they have found rest with God in the first rank and the highest degree, and have fled from all save Him.²⁰

Describing the nature of the Ṣūfī, he further says, "The Ṣūfī is he that has nothing in his possession nor is himself possessed by anything." This means that the personal qualities of the Ṣūfī become completely annihilated, for the term 'possession' can be applied to things which are existent. But the Ṣūfī no longer makes

his own any good of this world or any glory of the next world, for he is not even in the possession and control of himself: he refrains from desiring authority over others, in order that others may not desire submission from him. This saying refers to a mystery of the Ṣūfīs which they call "complete annihilation" (fanā-yi kullī).²¹

Let us now come to al-Junayd who has developed the doctrine of fanā as an essential part of a well co-ordinated theosophy. We have already seen that the very essence of Ṣūfīsm, according to him, consists in the annihilation of human qualities and their substitution

by the everlasting qualities of the Divine, for human attributes are only evanescent shadows while those of the Divine are permanent. This annihilation involves self-mortification. "Empty your hands of the possessions", says al-Junayd, "and free your heart of the desires."²² To him, the tradition, "Your love for anything makes you blind and deaf" means that man's love for the world makes him blind and deafens him to the hereafter.²³ The Ṣūfī turns his back on all that is not God; he is cut off from all worldly things, for he sees the imperfection of their phenomenal character. He shuns his desire for anything either in this world or in the next. In fact, he does not have any wish whatsoever except God. He becomes completely blind to the self and sees everything by means of God; he no longer regards things as causes, for to him this is polytheism; he turns to God for everything, for He is the real cause of things. To al-Junayd, Abū Yazīd's ecstatic utterances, "Glory be to me, I am the Lord, Most High" means that he was completely annihilated by the vision of God's glory and that he was speaking according to that which annihilated him; he was in God and therefore "diverted from the contemplation of him [Him]". He bore witness to none other than God, described him [Him], and spoke through him [Him]."²⁴

Shiblī has expressed the state of fanā' thus:

I am lost to myself and unconscious,
And my attributes are annihilated.

To-day I am lost to all things:
Naught remains but a forced expression.²⁵

Just as al-Junayd speaks of the degrees of tawhīd, he now speaks of the degrees of fanā' attainable at different stages of the journey to God.

The first stage of fanā', according to al-Junayd, is "annihilation of natural attributes, qualities and characteristics through the proofs of your actions (religious duties), exerting efforts and disobeying the lower soul, and by preventing it from attaining its goal."²⁶

This is the lowest stage of fanā' which is the goal of the ordinary Muslims. This goal can be achieved by acting according to the commands and prohibitions of God as laid down in the Qur'ān and Sunnah, and at the same time, waging war against the passions and desires arising from the lower soul (nafs). The war against the lower soul consists in doing exactly the opposite of what it demands. Thus, fanā' for the ordinary believer consists in his moral purification.

At the second stage of fanā', there occurs an "annihilation of enjoying pleasures arising from obedience (to God), by conforming to God's call to you and by being exclusively with Him, so that there will not remain any

intermediary between you and Him".²⁷

This is the stage of fanā' which is the goal of the mutakallimūn. This goal is attained by means of refraining not only from the pleasures originating from the lower soul but also from those resulting from the performance of God's commands and avoidance of His prohibitions. Whatever the mutakallimūn do now, they should do it for the sake of God and not for anything other than God.

Annihilation of the worldly pleasures and those originating from obedience to Shari'ah is not all. There is still another stage of fanā' which consists in the obliteration

of the realities of your states by the overwhelming presence of God over you. Thus you are then annihilated and persistent, existing by realizing your annihilation through the existence of God at the stage of persistence of your physical being and disappearance of your will.²⁸

This is the highest stage of fanā' which is the goal of the Ṣūfīs. At this stage, the individual is completely overwhelmed and conquered by God; he even loses the consciousness of having attained God's nearness. This is fanā' al-fanā', obliteration of obliteration. The soul is now completely isolated from all that is not God and it enters into an eternal life. Hence it has no longer any consciousness of time.

Al-Junayd prays for one of his friends thus:

Then may He perpetuate for you the life which is extracted from the eternity of life everlasting, and may He isolate you from what is yours by what is His, from what is His to what is yours, so that you are alone with Him for all eternity. Then there shall remain neither you nor yours, nor your knowledge of Him, but God will be alone.²⁹

These three stages of fanā' fit very well into our diagram which represents the three stages of tawhīd. The lowest stage of fanā' corresponds to A which represents the first stage of tawhīd; the second stage of fanā' corresponds to B which represents the second stage of tawhīd, and the last stage of fanā' corresponds to C D which represents the highest stage of tawhīd.

Here again, we find that the movement of the soul in its journey towards God is characterised by the twin characteristics of continuity of different stages and emergence of novel qualities at every higher stage. At the highest stage of fanā', for example, the Ṣūfī loses consciousness of having attained God, but at the same time he does not derive pleasure by obeying the Shari'ah, nor does he seek pleasures arising out of the lower soul. But on the other hand, the fact that the Ṣūfī loses consciousness of his nearness to God is a unique feature of this stage which is not the goal of any of the two lower stages.

We should remember in this connection that fanā', at the highest stage of Ṣūfī experience, has a double aspect -- negative and positive. In so far as the Ṣūfī's relationship to this world is concerned, it is fanā', passing-away, obliteration; there remains in him no feeling towards anything worldly and he loses all sense of discrimination so that a wall and a woman are the same to him. He is withdrawn from all opposition to God and even he loses the means to oppose Him.³⁰ This is the negative aspect. But considered from the point of view of his nearness to God, it is baqā', continuance, persistence. If the Ṣūfī is lost to the world, he exists in God. As al-Kalābādhī says, "Persistence which follows passing-away, consists in passing-away of the Ṣūfī from what belongs to himself and persisting through what belongs to God."³¹

In the state of fanā', the Ṣūfī's relationship to the world and God can be compared to that between ignorance and knowledge, or between sin and piety. For,

when ignorance is annihilated knowledge is necessarily subsistent, ... when sin is annihilated piety is subsistent, ... when a man acquires knowledge of his piety his forgetfulness (ghaflat) is annihilated by remembrance of God (dhikr), i.e., when anyone gains knowledge of God and becomes subsistent in knowledge of Him he is annihilated from (entirely loses) ignorance of Him, and when he is annihilated from forgetfulness he becomes subsistent in remembrance

of Him, and this involves the discarding of blameworthy attributes and the substitution of praiseworthy attributes.³²

Thus we find that fanā', though negative in meaning, has a positive implication. Herein lies the difference between the Ṣūfī conception of fanā' and the Buddhist conception of Nirvāṇa (extinction) which has a purely negative content. Hence Nicholson has rightly remarked,

Unlike Nirvāṇa, which is merely the cessation of individuality, fanā [fanā'], the passing-away of the Ṣūfī from his phenomenal existence, involves baqā [baqā'], the continuance of his real existence. He who dies to self lives in God, and fanā [fanā'], the consummation of this death, marks the attainment of baqā [baqā'], or union with the divine life.³³

There are two other concepts related to fanā' and baqā'. These are ghaybah, 'absence', and hudūr, 'presence'. 'Absence' means "absence of the heart from all things except God" to such an extent that it becomes absent from itself and absent even from its absence, so that it no longer regards itself..³⁴

The absent' one is not he who is absent from
his country,
But he who is absent from all desire.³⁵

It is in this state of absence that one Ṣūfī, when told about his blue-eyed handmaid, expressed his surprise saying, "Is she blue-eyed?",³⁶ for though his

physical eyes were open, his heart's eye was absent from all that is worldly so that he did not know if the maid was blue-eyed or not. When someone came to see Abū Yazīd, he (Abū Yazīd) said, "Who is Abū Yazīd, and where is he, and what thing is he? I have been seeking Abū Yazīd for a long while, but I have not found him."³⁷ On being asked by some one to be present with him, al-Junayd replied, "For many years I have been wishing to become present with myself a moment, but I cannot; how, then, can I become present with you just now?"³⁸

'Presence' means presence of the heart with God. In this state, the Ṣūfī sees everything in the light of God and does nothing except for the sake of God.

The 'present' one is not he who hath no desire,
But he who hath no heart (no thought of
worldly things),
So that his desire is ever fixed on God.³⁹

Al-Nūrī describes this state thus:

I am present, but I do not regard my eyes seeing Him;
It is enough for the eyes to witness the unseen.⁴⁰

Al-Hujwīrī tells us that one group of Ṣūfīs, Shiblī being one of this group, considers 'absence' superior to 'presence', while another group, of which al-Junayd is one, considers 'presence' superior to 'absence'.⁴¹ But from our point of view, 'presence' and 'absence' are only two aspects of the same state. The same state can be characterised either as one of

'absence' or one of 'presence' depending on from which standpoint we look at it. If we look at it from the standpoint of the world, it is certainly one of 'absence', but considered from the point of view of God, it is 'presence'. In fact, 'absence' signifies the relationship of the soul with the world in fanā', while 'presence' shows its relationship with God in baqā'.

Al-Hujwīrī also does not think this distinction between 'absence' and 'presence' to be of any importance. He says that

absence from one's self is presence with God, and vice versa. God is the lord of the human heart: when a divine rapture (jadhbat) overpowers the heart of the seeker, the absence of his heart becomes equivalent to its presence (with God) ...⁴²

He says further, "To be present with God is to be absent from one's self -- what is the difference? --and one who is not absent from himself is not present with God."⁴³

We can ask: if the Ṣūfī, in the highest state of fanā', is completely unconscious of what happens within and without, and even sometimes loses the capacity to react to external physical stimuli,⁴⁴ how is it possible for him to act according to the behests of God as embodied in the Qur'ān and the Sunnah? The answer is that God protects His friends (awliyā) in this state: they are preserved in their duties to God by God Himself. As

al-Kalābādhī says,

Then God Himself becomes his disposer, leads him and conforms him to the performance of his duties to God. Thus he becomes wholly preserved in paying God's due ... This is called infallibility, and this is the meaning of the tradition, "I (God) become his hearing and seeing, etc."⁴⁵

It is said that some Ṣūfīs, Abū Yazīd and Shiblī for example, used to be in a continued state of rapture, but this only until the time of prayer would arrive. Then they would be returned to consciousness. But immediately after the prayer was over, they would become enraptured again.⁴⁶ According to a story, al-Junayd was informed that al-Nūrī had been standing in a certain mosque for days without eating, drinking or sleeping, and that he was constantly remembering God, saying, "Allāh, Allāh" and performing prayers in proper times. Someone present suggested that al-Nūrī was in a state of sobriety, that is, he was not in a state of fanā'. Al-Junayd disagreed with him, saying, "No, but the possessors of ecstasy are preserved before God in their states of ecstasies."⁴⁷

We have seen that in the highest stage of fanā', according to al-Junayd, all the desires, interests and affections of the Ṣūfī are annihilated and his will becomes completely absorbed in the will of God. From this, one might get the impression that the soul of the Ṣūfī

loses its individuality altogether and becomes identical with the spirit of God, just as a drop of rain merges with the waters of the sea and becomes one with it. This is what Massignon thinks to be the case with al-Junayd's doctrine. Hence he characterises it as 'monism'.⁴⁸ But this is not correct at all. The Ṣūfī loses consciousness of his self and becomes liberated from dependence on anything other than God. But this does not mean that his individuality sinks into nothingness. What merges in God is the will of the Ṣūfī, his individuality remaining intact. It is true that al-Junayd wants to bridge the gap between man and God as far as possible, but this definitely not at the cost of the individuality of man. An orthodox Ṣūfī, he maintains that the essential separation between the khālīq and makhluq persists forever. For, at the highest stage of fanā', balā', spiritual suffering, overcomes him and this constitutes a veil between the Ṣūfī and God. He says,

When they seek Him by responding to His will and yet they repulse Him from themselves, they seek the garment of suffering on their attributes, for delight in things is present with them. God thus makes it a veil between Him and them, so that they submit to their ego (annīyyah), busy themselves with the senses, and delight in the contemplation of themselves in the state of pride, enjoying the fruits of their recollection, overcome by omnipotence.⁴⁹

Thus we find that in the highest stage of fanā', according to al-Junayd, God Himself draws a veil between

the lover and the Beloved so that complete identification of the former with the latter is never achieved. God does this by means of making the Ṣūfī delight in the contemplation of the self, dwell on pride, etc. In other words, God endows him with some of the human attributes which constitute a veil between him and God.

In this state, the soul of the Ṣūfī is in a very precarious position, for it neither possesses all its phenomenal attributes, nor can it attain God completely; it is neither here nor there. This is a spiritual test (balā') given to it by God. It is a state of deep anguish, for the soul is overcome by an increasing thirst for attaining consummation with the Beloved, but it has no power to penetrate the veil between itself and its object of love. In al-Junayd's words,

They yearn for Him strongly, the Ōne who causes them to suffer and bitterly do they mourn at the loss of Him who is far from them. The loss stirs them and finding (God) humbles them, yearning for Him and suffering the pain near Him and eager to find Him in their ecstasy. Their yearning is followed by an ever-increasing thirst in their heart. Thus they are very eager to acquire knowledge and are ready to lose it. He causes in them a thirst for Him as a cause for mourning all the time.⁵⁰

However deep the anguish of the soul may be, the soul undergoes the suffering with all composure and equanimity. For it knows that this is a test given by the Beloved and God Himself gives it the power to bear the

burden. It knows that God does not inflict the suffering in order to punish it, but this infliction arises out of pure love existing between it and God.⁵¹ Moreover, the soul may not have achieved complete fusion in God, but nevertheless, it enjoys proximity to God. This fact makes the soul delight in suffering the agony. Al-Junayd says,

Everywhere He raises for them signs of Him causing them to taste poverty, renewing in them the hopes of ending the suffering, inclining to Him in spite of the effects of the trouble, longing for the cause of pain, seeking to be cured, clinging to the traces of the Beloved as He appears to them, viewing what is far with the eye of proximity. They never intend to care for themselves, feeling satisfied with His love and clinging to Him in His nearness. They no longer refrain from suffering it out of exhaustion. They are the heroes of what has been destined for them because of what has been revealed to them. They remain under His overwhelming power, awaiting His decree that God would fulfil what must be fulfilled.⁵²

Most Sūfī writers agree with al-Junayd in his view that complete identification of the human spirit with the spirit of God is never possible. According to al-Sarrāj, for example, it is wrong to think that in the state of fanā', human nature disappears completely. Those who believe in the doctrine of fusion, says he, are ignorant of the distinction between human qualities and human nature. What is obliterated in man are human attributes, but the human nature is completely inseparable

from him.⁵³ Al-Hujwīrī is also very emphatic on this point. He says,

Some wrongly imagine that annihilation signifies loss of essence and destruction of personality, and that subsistence indicates the subsistence of God in man; both these notions are absurd ... Many ignorant Sūfīs consider that total annihilation (fanā-yi kulliyāt) is possible, but this is a manifest error, for annihilation of the different parts of a material substance (tīnatī) can never take place.⁵⁴

He further says,

Whoever is annihilated from his own will subsists in the will of God, because thy will is perishable and the will of God is everlasting: when thou standest by thine own will thou standest by annihilation, but when thou art absolutely controlled by the will of God thou standest by subsistence. Similarly, the power of fire transmutes to its own quality anything that falls into it, and surely the power of God's will is greater than that of fire; but fire affects only the quality of iron without changing its substance, for iron can never become fire.⁵⁵

Most Sūfīs, in spite of their experience of obliteration of the consciousness of self in the state of fanā', have, at the same time, been aware of God's transcendence. According to Nicholson, even al-Hallāj who declares, Anā al-Haqq, "I am the Truth", "asserts in the strongest terms that God is transcendent and that the Creator must always remain other than the creature."⁵⁶ Nicholson further says,

It would be a mistake to suppose that utterances like Subhānī, "Glory to me," of Bāyazīd, the

Ana'l-Haqq, "I am God," of Hallāj, and the Ana Hiya, "I am She," of Ibnu'l-Fārid are in themselves evidence of pantheism. So long as transcendence is recognized, the most emphatic assertion of immanence is not pantheism but panentheism -- not the doctrine that all is God but the doctrine that all is in God, who is also above all.⁵⁷

We have mentioned in the last chapter that according to al-Junayd, tawhīd cannot be attained by means of human efforts, for it is a gift of God given to the elect. In the case of fanā', too, the passing-away of the human attributes and merging of the human will with the Divine will, is possible only through God's grace and not by human efforts. It is God who causes man to die to himself and live in Him; man has no hand in it.

V

THE STATE OF THE SOUL IN TAWHĪD

In the highest state of tawhīd, as we have seen before, the Ṣūfī, having passed away from his own desires and volitions and the demands of the creatures on him, passes into a direct experience of God's presence. In this, "God fulfils in him what He hath willed of him, namely, that his last state should become his first state, and that he should be as he was before he existed."¹ That is to say, in the state of tawhīd, according to al-Junayd, the soul of the Ṣūfī returns to that state in which it was with God before it was joined with the material body.

Al-Junayd bases this conception on the famous verse of the Qur'ān: "When your Lord took from the children of Adam -- from their loins -- their posterity and made them testify as to themselves: 'Am I not your Lord?' They replied, 'Yes.'"²

This verse refers to the first encounter of the human soul with God when the former accepted the latter as its Lord and thus promised to obey Him as servant. As an explanation, the Qur'ān mentions that God had this

covenant made so that the posterity of Adam could not put up an excuse on the Day of Judgement saying that they did not know that God was their Lord, and that their forefathers did not believe in God, and therefore they did not believe in Him.³

One of the ideas that al-Junayd derives from this verse is that the human soul existed before its entrance into the spatio-temporal body. As he says, "God informs you that He addressed them when they did not (yet) exist except in so far as He caused them to exist."⁴ Al-Junayd seems to be right in this respect, for it is most probable that the idea of the pre-existence of the soul is contained in this verse. Perhaps the same is implied in the verse of the Qur'ān, "Has there come upon man a period of time when he was not a thing mentioned?"⁵ We can say with more definiteness that the verse implies the idea of the pre-existence of the soul if we connect it with the verses of the Qur'ān referring to Adam's creation, according to which God first fashioned Adam out of clay and then breathed the spirit into him.⁶

Another idea that al-Junayd derives from this verse is that in this state there was communion between God and the soul; God talked to man and man talked to God in a state of intimacy. God asked if He were the Lord and the reply came, "Yes". Al-Junayd goes further than this and says that the very answer "Yes" was an

answer given by God Himself on behalf of the soul. God did it out of grace. He says,

When He called those whom He caused to exist in His presence in the state of timelessness and in the state of unity with Him, they answered quickly. But God gave the answer on their behalf out of generosity when He caused them to exist.⁷

It should, however, be noted in this connection that though the soul lived with God and had communion with Him, the very fact that it accepted God as Lord shows that there was an essential separation between the Master and the servant. This view of al-Junayd, therefore, preserves the unity of God and at the same time makes intimate communion with God possible. As he says, "Then you are in the state in which you were before you had existed. There you were in unification with God but separate, and in that unification you were supported by God with no witness to see you."⁸

Now the question is: what is the nature of the soul in its existence with God? Al-Junayd's answer is that this type of existence God alone knows and He alone can find out. He says,

The soul is a thing the knowledge of which God has reserved to Himself. He did not cause anyone of His creatures to know it. It is not possible to describe it in any other way than as being existent, because God says, "Say, the soul is an affair of my Lord."⁹

In spite of this, al-Junayd speaks of some general characteristics of the soul. He speaks of it as being timeless,¹⁰ for the covenant was made when there was neither "before", nor "when" nor "now", nor "not-before" nor "not-when" nor "not-now". Besides this, the soul was non-spatial, for it existed with God when there was neither "where", nor "there", nor "not-where" nor "not-there".¹¹ It follows therefore that the soul had pure spiritual existence devoid of any spatio-temporal characteristic.

Al-Junayd further says that this existence of the soul was divine (rabbani). God was "existing" the soul, encompassing it, witnessing it and overwhelming it in the beginning when it was nothing apart from its eternal being.¹² This is divine existence and divine awareness which is proper only to God. He says,

The first appearance of God's visitation was when He showed them the evidences of His causing them to appear and caused them to dwell in divinity from the beginning... This is the first evidence of His causing them to dwell in Him, overcome by His oneness and endowed with nearness to Him. Moreover God made them know His names which had been preserved by Himself.¹³

Further, this existence, according to al-Junayd, is more perfect and victorious than any of its conditions in this present world, and it is completely devoid of the attributes as we understand them. This kind of

existence, he says,

was definitely more perfect, more efficacious, more victorious, better, more triumphant, more overpowering and more overwhelming than whatever its condition is (in this world), so that all trace of creatureliness was annihilated and his (creaturely) existence disappeared since no human attribute can stand by God.¹⁴

These characteristics, however, do not belong to the soul but have been derived from God Himself. Hence al-Junayd says that the soul is "clad" with them. This again is an act of grace on the part of God.

Thus we find that the soul, in its pristine state before its association with the phenomenal body, was drinking from the cups of bliss in a state of unification with the Beloved. Then occurred a tragedy -- a Paradise lost -- and it entered the temporal body. During its imprisonment in this iron cage, it suffers like a moaning dove who has lost her mate. Hence it constantly pines to return to the original home. This return, according to al-Junayd, occurs when tawhīd is attained. Thus in the state of tawhīd, the soul returns to the ideal that the Creator had for it in the beginning; it is reborn and reunited with the Beloved and thus enters upon a new life in God. It is in this way that the last state of the ṣūfī becomes the first.

One may ask: what is the reason for the soul's loss of proximity with God and then regaining it? That is

to say, why should there be separation of the soul from union with God and its reunion with Him? The answer is: "God's will." It is God who causes His desire to flow over it according to His will;¹⁵ it is He who is behind this whole process.

Massignon and Zaehner think that the soul, according to al-Junayd, was a divine idea, a concept in the Mind of God.¹⁶ Perhaps they base their view on the interpretation of al-Junayd's saying, "And He made them know Himself when they were only (objects of His) will placed before Him" (Wa 'arrafa'ahum nafsahu hīna lam yakūnū illā mashī'atan aqāmahā bayna yadayhi).¹⁷ It is most probable that this interpretation of Massignon and Zaehner is not correct. The word mashī'ah means will, irādah, and not concept. Moreover, if the soul were an idea in the Divine Mind, this would mean that the soul was in God and perhaps identical with Him. But this is contrary to al-Junayd's view. The soul, according to him, was brought into existence by God and placed before Him. Moreover, God put a question to the soul from the position of the Master and the soul answered it from the position of a servant. All these mean that the soul was separate from God.¹⁸ Hence we can say that the soul in its original state, according to al-Junayd, was an object of God's will and not an idea of His Mind.

Abdel-Kader thinks that al-Junayd's conception of the pre-existence of the soul has been influenced by Neo-platonic thought. He says,

This idea of al-Junayd of a pre-existence of the soul, real existence before our becoming here, and existence different from our "secondary," derived existence as created beings, seems to echo Neo-platonic ideas and is similar to what Plotinus says in the Enneads.¹⁹

To show the similarity between al-Junayd's ideas and those of Plotinus, he quotes the following paragraphs from the Enneads:

Before we had our becoming here, we existed There, men other than now; we were pure souls. Intelligence inbound with the entire of reality, not fenced off, integral to that All... Then it was as if One voice sounded. One word was uttered and from every side an ear attended and received and there was an effective hearing; now we are become a dual thing, no longer that which we were at first, dormant, and in a sense no longer present.²⁰

...

By this non-being of course we are not to understand something that does not exist, but only something of an utterly different ~~form~~ from Authentic-Being; the non-being we are thinking of is, rather, an image of Being or perhaps something still more removed than even an image.²¹

Finally Abdel-Kader says that in his opinion, al-Junayd "interpreted the Qu'rān [Qur'ānic] verse on the Mithāq through the Neo-platonic doctrine of the pre-existence of the soul."²²

It is quite probable that Abdel-Kader's view is incorrect and this for various reasons. First,

there seems to be room for doubting whether Plotinus' doctrine of the pre-existence of the soul... is in fact identical with the Sufi [ṣūfī] conception of man existing in God before his birth in time. The distinction is perhaps a fine one, but it is not unimportant...²³

Secondly, the presence of mere similarity between two events does not necessarily imply causal relationship between the one and the other, for these may be the effects of similar causes. The same is the case with Plotinus' conception of the pre-existence of the soul and that of al-Junayd. Mere similarity between these two does not allow us to conclude that the former influenced the latter.

Thirdly, we have seen that the idea of the pre-existence of the soul is contained in the other verses of the Qur'ān. There is also a tradition according to which the Prophet is reported to have said that God created the soul before the body.²⁴ In addition, it is a belief of the common Muslims that the soul of Adam existed with God before it entered the body. This belief is perhaps based on the verses of the Qur'ān referring to Adam's creation. Thus, one does not have to derive inspiration from Greek philosophy to interpret the mīthāq verse as referring to the pre-existence of the soul.

Last of all, we find the idea of the pre-existence of the soul in many Sūfīs before al-Junayd. The following examples will substantiate this statement.

Perhaps keeping in mind the verse of the Qur'ān, "Has there come upon man a period of time when he was not a thing mentioned?"²⁵, Dhū al-Nūn says, "You originated me with mercy before I was a thing mentioned; You created me out of earth; then you placed me in the loins and transferred me to the wombs".²⁶

Al-Muhāsibī, al-Junayd's master, also speaks of this idea. He, however, has emphasized the relationship of love between the soul and God. He says,

Indeed, the first love is obedience and this is derived from the love of the Master (God) since He is the one who originated (the soul) with it (love). This is because He made Himself known to them and showed them love, in spite of His independence from them. Thus He deposited the love for Him in the heart of His lovers. Then He clothed them with shining light in their words out of strong light of love in their hearts. When He had done this to them, He showed them to the angels with joy.²⁷

Abū Yazīd expresses the idea of the pre-existence of the soul thus: "I [God] was thine when thou wast not, so be thou Mine when thou art not."²⁸ Here again, the reference is to the covenant that the human soul made with God in the life before this present existence.

The same idea is also present in the contemporary and later Sūfīs. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān al-Makkī, al-Junayd's disciple, for example, speaks of the pre-existence of the soul. According to him,

God created the souls (dilhā) seven thousand years before the bodies and kept them in the station of proximity (qurb), and that he created the spirits (jānhā) seven thousand years before the souls and kept them in the degree of intimacy (uns), and that he created the hearts (sirrā) seven thousand years before the spirits and kept them in the degree of union (wasl)...²⁹

According to al-Hallāj, the soul, before this earthly existence, had complete trust in God. This state was characterised not only by abandonment of trust in anything other than God but also by abandonment of trust itself. Hence he defines trust thus: "The reality of trust is the abandonment of trust, and this means that God should be to them as He was when they were not yet brought into existence."³⁰

About one century and a half after al-Junayd, Abū al-Khayr expresses the idea of the pre-existence of the soul as follows:

God created the souls four thousand years before He created their bodies and placed them near to Himself, and there He shed His Light upon them. He knew how much each soul received as its share from that Light and He bestowed favours on the souls in proportion to the light they received, so that they remained tranquil in that light and became nourished thereby.³¹

He says further:

What time the stars and circling spheres of
Heaven were not,
While water, air and fire and earth as yet were not,
The secrets of God's Unity had I revealed
When still my fleshy form and voice and
mind were not.³²

In the light of the above discussion we are perhaps right to say that in his conception of the pre-existence of the soul, al-Junayd was not influenced by Neo-platonism. It is, however, likely that in the interpretation of the mīthāq verse, he was influenced by his predecessors like Abū Yazīd and others.³³ We can also assume that later Ṣūfīs like ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān al-Makī and Abū al-Khayr have been influenced by al-Junayd in this respect.

The idea that in the state of tawhīd the soul returns to the state in which it was before it was joined with the body is also not new in al-Junayd. We find it present in Ṣūfīs and Ṣūfī writers before and after him.

Referring to the original state of the soul, Dhū al-Nūn says that the goal of the ʿarīf is to be "as he was where he was before he was."³⁴

In Abū Yazīd's experience of tawhīd, we find the same idea of the return of the soul to that state in which

it was before God created the world. He says,

And thereat [sic] I was melting as lead melts... then He changed me to a state which I have no power to describe; then He brought me nigh unto Him and brought me so nigh that I became nigher to Him than the spirit to the body... Then I continued on that wise until I became even as he (the worshipper of God) was before anything was brought into existence, while God remained without created existence or diremption [direction] or space or relation or quality -- great is His glory and holy are His names!³⁵

The above quotation shows that there is a great similarity between Abū Yazīd's idea of return of the soul to its original state and that of al-Junayd. It is therefore probable that al-Junayd was influenced by Abū Yazīd in this respect.

Coming to the Ṣūfīs and Ṣūfī writers after al-Junayd, we find that al-Qushayrī speaks of the idea of the return of the soul to its original state in a state of tawḥīd in exactly the same terms as al-Junayd does. According to him, the Ṣūfī, having passed away from creaturely attributes, attains the state of tawḥīd, and in this state he becomes as he was before he was. He says,

The servant is like a body in the hands of God, plunged in the depths of the ocean of the Unity, having passed away from the self and from the claims of created things, so that at the last the servant returns to what he was at first, before he had begun to be.³⁶

According to al-Ghazzālī, the soul seeks to go back to the original home, for that is from where it has come to this world to acquire experience and knowledge. He says,

The reason of the human spirit seeking to return to that upper world is that its origin was from thence, and that it is of angelic nature. It was sent down into this lower sphere against its will to acquire knowledge and experience...³⁷

Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī considers the place where he was before he was as the real dwelling place. Hence he is eager to return to it quickly. He says,

At one time our home was in heaven, there we were in companionship with the angels. Let us go back to that abode, O Lord, for that is our dwelling place. We are above the heavens and greater than the angels... Whence is this earthly world, whence is the pure gem? Although we have descended thereto: let us hasten to return, for what place is this? ... Mortals, like water-birds are born of the sea of spirit: why should a bird who has risen from that sea make his abode in this place?³⁸

VI

ILLUMINATION IN THE STATE OF TAWHĪD

We have seen that at the highest stage of tawhīd the Ṣūfī loses consciousness of himself, of the world, and even of the consciousness of the loss of consciousness of himself and the world. But at this stage, according to al-Junayd, there occurs a kind of awareness or enlightenment -- an illumination of a specific category which he and most other Ṣūfīs call maʿrifah.¹ To understand the nature of maʿrifah clearly, let us first of all distinguish it from knowledge by intellect (ʿaql) and knowledge through faith (īmān).

Knowledge of God by mere faith consists in knowing Him as One through the Qurʾān and the Sunnah. This knowledge belongs to the common run of the Muslims. Next comes knowledge by means of intellect; this is ʿilm, knowledge through proof and demonstration which belongs to the philosophers and the mutakallimūn. The third is maʿrifah -- a direct and immediate awareness of God Himself; it is granted by God only to His elect by means of self-revelation. Dhū al-Nūn has distinguished maʿrifah from knowledge by mere faith and knowledge by

intellect thus:

Knowledge is of three kinds: first, the knowledge of the Unity of God and this is common to all believers; second, knowledge gained by proof and demonstration, and this belongs to the wise and the eloquent and the learned, and third, knowledge of the attributes of the Unity, and this belongs to the saints, those who contemplate the Face of God within their hearts, so that God reveals Himself to them in a way in which He is not revealed to any others in the world.²

The mutakallimūn, however, do not make any distinction between 'ilm and ma'rifah. To them, all certain knowledge is 'ilm, and, therefore, what the Ṣūfīs call ma'rifah is no other than 'ilm. But al-Hujwīrī argues that knowledge acquired by intellect is 'ilm, and this is "stripped of spiritual meaning and devoid of religious practice, and one who has such knowledge they call 'ālim".³ The 'ālim knows merely the verbal expression and keeps it in his memory without keeping the spiritual reality.⁴ Hence the Ṣūfīs call him a possessor of knowledge in a sense of disparagement, for he does not stick to religious practices.⁵ Ma'rifah, on the other hand, is "allied with (religious) practice and feeling (ḥāl), and the knower of which expresses his feeling; and the knower thereof they call 'ārif."⁶

According to the Mu'tazilites, intellect is the means of knowing God. But the Ṣūfīs oppose this view. Al-Hujwīrī refutes the Mu'tazilite view saying that if

this were the case, it would have been impossible for madmen to have received ma'rifah since they are unreasonable. But according to Islām, madmen may be endowed with the knowledge of God. Moreover, says al-Hujwīrī, knowledge by intellect is knowledge through proof or demonstration. But demonstration, unaided by God, can never bring us the knowledge of God. Iblīs was shown many evidences, e.g., Hell, Paradise, etc; yet he did not have ma'rifah of God.⁷ Abū Ṭālib, the Prophet's uncle, was a reasonable man and there could have been no better guide for him than Muḥammad. But neither reason nor the Prophet's guidance was of any avail to him so far as God's knowledge is concerned.⁸ In fact, by its very nature, demonstration is defective, for

demonstration involves the consideration of some other thing, whereas gnosis is a turning away from all that is not God. Ordinary objects of search are found by means of demonstration, but knowledge of God is extraordinary. Therefore, knowledge of Him is attained only by unceasing bewilderment of the reason... gnosis involves the negation of whatever is affirmed by reason, i.e. whatever notion of God can be formed by reason, God is in reality something different. How, then, is there any room for reason to arrive at gnosis by means of demonstration? Reason and imagination are homogeneous, and where genus is affirmed gnosis is denied. To infer the existence of God from intellectual proofs is assimilation (tashbīh), and to deny it on the same grounds is nullification (ta'tīl). Reason cannot pass beyond these two principles, which in regard to gnosis are agnosticism, since neither of the parties professing them is Unitarian (muwahhid).⁹

Thus the intellect is in need of a guide to show the way to God, for the intellect is a contingent and therefore it can lead us only to something like itself.¹⁰ Al-Nūrī says that the intellect is weak and therefore it leads us to something which is weak like itself.¹¹ Hence, it cannot be a guide to God. Al-Hallāj expresses the defectiveness of the intellect thus:

One who seeks God and takes the intellect as a guide,
God leaves him to play in bewilderment;
He confounds his heart with confusion
So that he says out of bewilderment, "Is it He?"¹²

He further says that the intellect knows the material objects by overcoming them, but God is too great to be overcome by it. When the soul was first created, God asked, "Am I not your Lord?" and not "Who am I?", for it would never have been possible for the intellect to answer the latter question. Thus "God has isolated Himself from the intellect and exalted Himself above comprehension."¹³ Ṭattār puts the idea in verse beautifully:

This reason of mine, which for long
I made my guide,
I have consumed in the effort to know God.
My whole life has been spent and with this weak reason
I have learnt
This much alone: that I shall know Him not.¹⁴

Intellect, however, has one function, and that is one of servanthood (ʿubūdiyyah). It postulates the unity

of God and helps one to obey the commands of God and refrain from His prohibitions. As Ibn 'Atā' (d. 309/921) has said, "Intellect is an instrument of servanthood and not one to look upon Divinity."¹⁵

Let us now try to understand the nature of ma'rifah in more detail. In the highest state of fanā' when the Ṣūfī is nearer to God than everything else, when his spiritual eye is stripped of all that obstructs the vision of God, God's mysteries are unveiled to him and he experiences God with the eye of certainty. That is to say, when the heart of the Ṣūfī is emptied of all that is other than God, it is endowed with ma'rifah. Unlike knowledge by mere faith and knowledge by means of intellect, as we have already seen, ma'rifah is a direct and immediate experience of God. If we characterise knowledge by mere faith as knowledge from God and knowledge by intellect as knowledge about God, we can characterise ma'rifah as knowledge of God. It is 'ilm ladunni, knowledge of the Divine presence itself. Hence the Irānian Ṣūfī of the eighth century A. H. 'Alā al-Dawlah Simnānī (d. 736/1336) says that the philosopher Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037) could see by means of intellect the hands of the Writer but not the Writer Himself; he was unable to see the cause of the movement of things which is God. Reason, unless illuminated by the light of Muhammad's prophecy and by theophany (tajallī-i Haqq), is, according

to Simnānī, quite incapable of knowing things as they really are.¹⁶ 'Attār says,

Tear aside the veils of all you see in this world and you will find yourself apart in solitude with God... If you draw aside the veil from the Face of the Beloved, all that is hidden will be made manifest and you will become one with God..¹⁷

Dhū al-Nūn, though not perhaps the first to introduce the idea of ma'rifah,¹⁸ was the first to develop it and present it clearly. According to him, the

gnostics see without knowledge, without sight, without information received, and without observation, without description, without veiling and without veil. They are not themselves, but in so far as they exist at all, they exist in God. Their movements are caused by God and their words are the words of God which are uttered by their tongues, and their sight is the sight of God, which has entered into their eyes. So God Most High has said, "When I love a servant, I, the Lord, am his ear, so that he hears by Me; I am his eye, so that he sees by Me, and I am his tongue so that he speaks by Me, and I am his hand, so that he takes by Me."¹⁹

He further says, "Gnosis is in reality God's providential communication of the spiritual light to our inmost hearts."²⁰
This means that

until God, in His providence, illuminates the heart of Man and keeps it from contamination, so that all created things have not even the worth of a mustard-seed in his heart, the contemplation of Divine mysteries, both inward and outward, does not overwhelm him with rapture; but when God has done this, his every look becomes an act of contemplation (mushāhat).²¹

On being asked about ma'rifah, Abū Yazīd replied quoting the verse of the Qur'ān, "Indeed, when kings enter a city, they destroy it and put the mighty men of its people to humiliation."²² Here Abū Yazīd means to say that just as the kings, when they conquer a city, enslave its people and debase them in such a manner that they lose all power to do anything except in accordance with the commands of the conquerors, so also when ma'rifah enters the heart, it casts out everything from the heart other than God and nothing moves in it except what is moved by Him.²³ The idea, that when ma'rifah enters the heart the Ṣūfī realizes his absolute dependence on God, is further expressed by Abū Yazīd when he says,

"Gnosis consists in knowing that the motion and rest of mankind depend on God," and that without His permission no one has the least control of His kingdom, and that no one can perform any action until He creates the ability to act and puts the will to act in his heart, and that human actions are metaphorical and that God is the real agent.²⁴

According to Abū Saḥd Allāh al-Jallā, an associate of both al-Junayd and al-Nūrī, the "mind of the gnostic is fixed on his Lord; he does not pay attention to anything else."²⁵ This means that the heart of the ṭarīf is completely occupied by ma'rifah, and it does not hear or see anything other than God. The ṭarīf now considers himself as existing through God; to him, God predominates over all that is not God and the latter

passes away from him altogether, for any thought of anything other than God "produces cares, and cares keep one back from God."²⁶ Al-Hujwīrī means the same thing when he says, "The gnostic is not a gnostic until he turns aside from all that is not God."²⁷ To support this view, he brings in the saying of Abū Ḥafṣ Ḥaddād (d. 260/873): "Since I have known God, neither truth nor falsehood has entered my heart."²⁸ This reminds us of the Qur'ānic verse: "And say, 'The truth has come and falsehood has vanished away. Surely, falsehood is very certain to vanish.'"²⁹ Though this verse refers to the Prophet's entrance into Mecca, we can interpret it to mean from a mystical point of view that when ma'rifah comes, the 'Arif sees God as the only truth, the only real power, and all that is other than Him vanishes away from him.³⁰

Coming to al-Junayd, we find that he too, like other Ṣūfīs we have mentioned above, maintains that when the Ṣūfī is endowed with ma'rifah, he is completely subdued by Divine omnipotence and his attributes are annihilated altogether; his heart is now preoccupied with God to the exclusion of all else. When the heart is filled with ma'rifah, says he, "Your phenomenal attributes have disappeared, your human qualities have vanished and your knowledge has been enlightened by God. In this state, God's knowledge ('ilm al-Haqq) is

manifested to you."³¹ According to one story, once al-Jallā, amazed at the sight of a handsome Christian boy, said to al-Junayd, "O master, will God burn a face like this in Hell-fire?" To al-Junayd, this meant distraction of the heart from God on the part of al-Jallā. So, he answered, "O my son, this is a trick of the flesh, not a look by which one takes warning... You will soon be punished for this want of respect." Al-Jallā is said to have received the punishment from God immediately after that. Later, he repented and God lifted the punishment from him. Then he remarked, "Now I dare not pay heed to any created object or waste my time by looking at things."³²

Further, ma'rifah, according to al-Junayd, belongs to God; it is "His, through Him and with Him".³³ God is the subject as well as the object of ma'rifah; God is the 'ārif and the ma'rūf at the same time.³⁴ This means that it is impossible for man to attain ma'rifah by his own efforts. God is the sole possessor of it; He did not make any other means of attaining ma'rifah except through impotence to attain it.³⁵ Thus ma'rifah comes from God Himself and the 'ārif receives it only passively. "Ma'rifah is the realization of your ignorance when God's knowledge [meaning ma'rifah] comes."³⁶ That is, when ma'rifah is given, the Ṣūfī realizes that in respect to

ma'rifah, he has nothing and God has everything; all ma'rifah belongs to God and not a whit of it belongs to him; God is the best 'arif and he is the most jāhil.³⁷

A similar idea is expressed by Sahl al-Tustarī (d. ca. 283/896) when he says, "'ilm stands firm on ma'rifah, 'aql stands firm on 'ilm, but as regards ma'rifah, it stands firm on its own essence."³⁸ Here we find a three-stage pyramid: at the apex is 'aql; immediately below it is 'ilm and the bottom, the foundation, is constituted by ma'rifah which stands by itself. 'Aql needs the support of 'ilm, 'ilm needs the support of ma'rifah, but ma'rifah needs no support at all. Ma'rifah is God's and He makes it known by self-revelation.

Now, if ma'rifah is God's and it remains with Him, how can man be endowed with it at all? Al-Junayd answers that God selects a few from among His worshippers for this special gift. He selects them for Himself and throws over them His own mantle of love. To support this thesis, al-Junayd brings in the Qur'ānic verse according to which God chose Moses for Himself³⁹ by a special act of favour and threw over him His own love.⁴⁰ Thus, it is only the chosen friends of God who are endowed with the special gift of ma'rifah, and this is done by Him out of grace (luṭf). After having chosen His friends, God causes

to appear before them what He wants to endow them with.⁴¹ Thus He enables them to see past the veils which conceal His face and grants them freedom of access to the hidden corners of His kingdom.

But the force of ma'rifah is overwhelming, so much so that it stupifies and shatters the recipient completely. Its effect is bewilderment, amazement absolute. When ma'rifah comes, "intellects shrink, minds perish... times pass away, bewilderment (hayrah) wanders in bewilderment."⁴² This force of ma'rifah, according to al-Junayd, has been demonstrated in God's revelation to Moses. When God revealed Himself to the mountain, "He made it dust and Moses fell swooning."⁴³

This idea that the Ṣūfī is bewildered when ma'rifah enters the heart is also shared by other Ṣūfīs. Shiblī, for example, regards ma'rifah as "continual amazement (hayrat)."⁴⁴ Another Ṣūfī prays to God saying, "O Guide of the amazed, increase my amazement!"⁴⁵ While interpreting this, al-Hujwīrī, says that

when a man knows God he sees himself entirely subdued by the Divine omnipotence; and since his existence depends on God and his non-existence proceeds from God, and his rest and motion are produced by the power of God, he becomes amazed, saying, "Who and what am I?"⁴⁶

According to Dhū al-Nūn, the ṭarīf ends up in bewilderment, for first comes "bewilderment, then need, then union (and)

then bewilderment."⁴⁷ Al-Kalābādhī reports another Ṣūfī⁴⁸ as saying, "The man who knows God is the most bewildered."

Now, if ma'rifah has such an extraordinary force, how is it possible for the recipient to bear the burden? Al-Junayd replies that God, having chosen His friend, makes him ready, trains him under His own eyes⁴⁹ so as to enable him to "bear the burden that he has to bear."⁵⁰ In al-Junayd's words, "He made his understanding ready for what He bestowed on him when He took him to Himself..."⁵¹ Here he refers to the example of God's throwing Moses into the river and getting him picked up by an "enemy to Me and an enemy to him"⁵² -- all in order to prepare him under His own eyes,⁵³ so that he might be able to carry the burden of His special gift.

When are the friends chosen, prepared and endowed with the special gift by God? Not in this temporal world of ours, says al-Junayd. All this, according to him, took place when the soul was in communion with God in pre-eternal eternity when there was neither "before", nor "when" nor "where" nor "now" nor "there", and when there was neither "not-when", nor "not-where" nor "not-before" nor "not-where" nor "not-now" nor "not-there".⁵⁴ That is to say, God chose his friends and laid bare to them the veils which conceal His magnificence before the souls entered the physical body.

But we have mentioned that ma'rifah involves fixing of the heart on God to the exclusion of all else, obliteration of all personal characteristics, etc. All these refer to our activities in the present world and not to the state of the soul before its earthly existence. Al-Junayd also gives the example of Moses' swooning when ma'rifah was granted to him in this world. The state of fanā' in which ma'rifah is given is also a state attainable in this life. But all these seem to be meaningless if he says that the elect are chosen and given ma'rifah in their previous existence. Does it mean that al-Junayd is inconsistent in this respect? No. This inconsistency is only apparent but not real. We have seen that in the highest state of tawhīd, the Ṣūfī returns to the state in which it was before. That is, the soul was already in the state of tawhīd in its previous existence, and when tawhīd is attained in this world, the soul regains the state in which it was before. Exactly in the same way, ma'rifah was given to the elect when they were with God before this earthly existence. Therefore, when they experience ma'rifah in this world, they only re-experience what they had already experienced previously.

We can interpret this view of al-Junayd as referring to the famous conception of "the Perfect Man" (al-insān al-kāmil). According to this conception, God

chooses man, endows him with His own mysteries and makes him His vicegerent on earth. Hence the Perfect Man alone manifests the Divine Essence together with its names and attributes. He is the pole (qutb) of the universe and the medium through which it is preserved; he is the mirror through which God reveals Himself; he is the final cause of everything. He is Divine as well as human. For this reason, he is the connecting link between God and His creation.⁵⁵

Thus, we will perhaps not be wrong in saying that the man who, according to al-Junayd, is chosen, trained and given His ma'rifah is no other than the Perfect Man. But we cannot say this with emphasis, for though this conception was present in Shī'ī thought in the pre-Junaydian period, the phrase al-insān al-kāmil occurs for the first time in 'Abd al-Karīm al-Jīlī (d. 832/1428) in his famous work Al-insān al-Kāmil fī ma'rifat al-awākhir wa al-awā'il.⁵⁶

How does God reveal Himself to His friends? Al-Junayd says that He reveals Himself by means of wahī, inspiration or revelation. Referring to the example of God's revelation to Muhammad, he quotes from the Qur'ān, "He revealed to His servant what He revealed; the heart belied not what he saw."⁵⁷ This revelation is not the result of asking (mas'alah); it is a gift of God given at

His own initiative. But once someone is chosen for this gift, he can no longer escape from it. It is an imposition from God and hence there is no way out of it. In this respect, al-Junayd refers to the Qur'ān which says, "Where shall you depart?"⁵⁸

By making wahī the means of God's revelation to His friends, al-Junayd seems to have raised the position of the Sūfīs to that of the Prophets.⁵⁹ While discussing this, he seems to have made a distinction between the stages of the prophethood of Moses and that of Muhammad.⁶⁰ First of all, Moses asks for God's vision while Muhammad does not. When asked if he wished to see God, al-Junayd replied in the negative. He said, "When Moses wished, he did not see Him, and when Muhammad did not wish, he saw Him."⁶¹ Al-Hujwīrī explains this attitude of al-Junayd by saying that our wishing is "the greatest of the veils that hinder us from seeing God, because in love the existence of self-will is disobedience and disobedience is a veil."⁶² Secondly, in the case of Moses, God reveals Himself on the earthly mountain with the result that it is reduced to dust, whereas in the case of Muhammad, He reveals Himself by the lote-tree in the highest horizons⁶³ which could stand the burden of revelation. In the former case, revelation comes on the Low (al-dunuw)⁶⁴ while in the latter, it comes on the High (al-ʿuluww).⁶⁵ Last of all, Moses is struck with

unconsciousness when revelation comes, whereas Muḥammad receives it with full composure of mind all the time. Moses is intoxicated and hence cannot endure the manifestation of God's magnificence. But Muḥammad is sober; he beholds "the same glory continuously, with ever-increasing consciousness, all the way from Mecca until he stood at the space of two bow-lengths from the Divine presence (Kor. liii, 9)."⁶⁶ Thus, Moses represents the stage of fanā',⁶⁷ while Muḥammad represents that of baqā', the former being a step towards the latter. The goal of the Ṣūfī is to reach the stage of Muḥammad through the state of Moses.

Al-Kalābādhi mentions al-Junayd's distinction between ma'rifah of instruction (ta'rīf) and ma'rifah of self-revelation (ta'arruf).⁶⁸ As regards ma'rifah of instruction, God shows the common believers the signs (āthar) of His Glory in the Heavens and the earth and through the medium of these signs they come to know God. The Qur'ān abounds in examples of these signs; it speaks of signs in the changing of day and night, in the camels and the bees, etc.⁶⁹ But even this knowledge through the medium of created things, according to al-Junayd, is not possible without the help of God. God implants in them His grace and thus enables them to be guided to Him through the signs in the creation. Hence, it is God who is the ultimate cause of ma'rifah of the general run of believers.

In ma'rifah of self-revelation, on the other hand, God reveals Himself directly to the elect by means of self-revelation (ta'arruf) and makes them know things as they really are. In this connection, al-Junayd cites the example of how Ibrāhīm rejected the created things such as the stars, the moon and the sun as the means of knowing God and received ma'rifah directly from Him. Hence he (Ibrāhīm) said, "I love not God that sets."⁷⁰ It is this kind of ma'rifah which God bestows only to a few.

In both these kinds of ma'rifah we find that the real cause is God Himself; it is by His grace that He makes Himself known both to the general run of Muslims as well as to the elect. But in the former case, He causes them to know Him through the medium of created things, whereas in the latter case He reveals Himself directly to them.

The above discussion shows that one of the central ideas connected with al-Junayd's conception of ma'rifah is that ma'rifah of the highest kind belongs to God alone and He, at his own initiative, endows His elect with it out of grace. But this idea is not peculiar to al-Junayd. In fact, this is one of the basic ideas of Sūfism itself. To illustrate our point, let us discuss the views of some of the Sūfīs on the subject.

We have already seen that according to Dhū al-Nūn, it is God who illumines the heart of the Ṣūfī and man does not have a whit of power in this respect.⁷¹ "Real knowledge," says he, "is God's illumination of the heart with the pure radiance of knowledge."⁷² Once he was asked as to how he knew God. The reply was: "I know Him through Himself."⁷³ Further, Dhū al-Nūn says that in answer to the prayers of the awliyā' "whom God has invested with the radiance of His love and adorned with the fair mantle of His grace,"⁷⁴ God said,

... upon you has My choice been laid, and you have I predestined for My work. You have I appointed to serve Me and you have I chosen and made to be Mine elect.
 -- To you have I given the most precious of rewards, the fairest of gifts, the greatest of graces.⁷⁵

In his spiritual vision. Abū Yazīd experienced God saying to him,

O chosen one, approach Me and look upon the belveders of My Glory and the spacious fields of My Splendour, and sit on the carpet of My Sanctity, that thou mayst behold the subtleties of My Doing in My (appointed) Times. Thou art My chosen and My beloved and My elect from amongst My creatures.⁷⁶

Al-Junayd's associates also emphasise the point under discussion. When al-Nūrī was asked about the guide to God, he replied, "God."⁷⁷ Ibn 'Atā' says that God reveals Himself to the Prophets through Himself.⁷⁸ To substantiate this view, he refers to the Qur'ānic verses, "And thus We have inspired you by a spirit of

Our command."⁷⁹ and "Have you not looked to your Lord, how He prolongs the shadow?"⁸⁰ According to al-Kharrāz, the 'arifs are God's treasure-houses. It is He who entrusts them with His mysteries, opens to them the gate of proximity to Him, brings them to the station of fellowship and unveils to them His glory and majesty.⁸¹ For Shiblī, real ma'rifah is the inability to attain ma'rifah, for man has no clue to it

except the impossibility of attaining it. Therefore, in attaining it, he will rightly take no credit to himself, because inability ('ajz) is search, and so long as he depends on his own faculties and attributes, he cannot properly be described by that term; and when these faculties and attributes depart, then his state is not inability, but annihilation.⁸²

Al-Hallāj expresses the idea thus:

No one can know God except by means of His
self-revelation,
For the Eternal cannot be known by the phenomenal.

...

The guide to Him is of Him, through Him and for Him,
By the sign of truth in the revelation of the Qur'ān.
The guide to Him is of Him, through Him and for Him,
That is the truth we have found, nay, the knowledge
through inspiration.⁸³

He says again, "God made us to know Himself through Himself; He guided us to know Himself through Himself. Thus the sign of ma'rifah arose out of ma'rifah through ma'rifah; the Possessor of ma'rifah bestows His own ma'rifah."⁸⁴ All this points to the idea that the sole

cause of all ma'rifah is God and it is He who grants it to His elect.

According to al-Ghazzālī, ma'rifah is a gift of God, a light which God Himself casts in the heart of the awliyā'. He says that the elect are those whom God

hath chosen for Himself that they might be devoted to the proclamation of His glory, to whom He hath revealed His Name and His Attributes, until they are illumined by the radiance of their knowledge of Him. To them hath He unveiled the splendour of His countenance until they were consumed by the fire of His love.⁸⁵

Rūmī expresses the idea in verses as follows:

In the last resort
Without the grace of God we are naught, naught.
Without the favours of God and of His familiars
Even an angel's page is smudged.⁸⁶

Let us come to al-Junayd again. According to him, the Ṣūfī, when he is granted ma'rifah, experiences a sense of blessedness and rejoices at God's nearness to him. As al-Junayd says,

Their spirits rejoice in communion with the Unseen, abiding in the presence of the All-glorious, the Pre-eminent, in the cloud of Glory which envelopes Him, in the shadow of His Holiness. They have attained to a high station and they pass on thence to yet greater perfection, to an absolute glory which is immaterial, and they walk, clad in the mantle of Unification.⁸⁷

Perhaps overwhelmed by this sense of blessedness Abū Yazīd declared himself to be of four years of age,

even though his actual age was seventy-four.⁸⁸ For four years he enjoyed the sense of bliss; and therefore this period constituted his real life. But the seventy years before this did not constitute a part of this real life, for he was veiled from God's presence.

We have seen before that ma'rifah results in amazement, stupefaction. It follows, therefore, that ma'rifah, like tawhīd, cannot be properly described in language. Muḥammad b. Wāsi^ḥ says of the one who is granted ma'rifah: "His words are few and his amazement perpetual,"⁸⁹ for "only finite things admit of being expressed in words, and since the infinite cannot be expressed it leaves no resource except perpetual amazement."⁹⁰ Referring to the 'arīf, Abū Bakr Wāsitī (d. ca. 320/932) says, "He who knows God is cut off from all things, nay, he is dumb and abject (kharīṣa wa-'nqama'a)."⁹¹ While explaining this, al-Hujwīrī says that the 'arīf is unable to express anything of ma'rifah. To support this interpretation, he says that

the Apostle, while he was in the state of absence, said: "I am the most eloquent of the Arabs and non-Arabs"; but when he was borne to the presence of God, he said: "I know not how to utter Thy praise." Answer came: "O Muḥammad, if thou speakest not, I will speak; if thou deemest thyself unworthy to praise Me, I will make the universe thy deputy, that all its atoms may praise Me in thy name."⁹²

We find the same idea in al-Junayd. According to him, when a man comes to know God, he is dumb.⁹³ He says, "This is a secret that bewilders the intellects so that they cannot express it."⁹⁴

Moreover, al-Junayd believes that ma'rifah is a secret given to God's elect. So it should not be divulged to those who are not fit for it. He says that ma'rifah is a thing to be preserved inviolate, a pearl not to be cast before swine: to be given to those of God's servants, who are worthy to receive it, but to be withheld from the unworthy. It is "the mystery of God" and those who possess it must regard it as such.⁹⁵

The idea of degrees permeates al-Junayd's system. Just as he admits of degrees of tawhīd and fanā', he now admits of the degrees of the knowledge of God. God, according to him, is the one and the same. But as individuals differ in their capacities to know Him, their knowledge exhibits different degrees of depth. Complete knowledge of God, however, is never possible, for the knower is finite and the object of his knowledge is infinite. As he says,

... the object of ma'rifah is one, but it (ma'rifah) has a lower and a higher degrees. The elect enjoy ma'rifah of the higher degree, though they can never reach the end of it since the object of ma'rifah is infinite... They are unable to comprehend Him fully... because He is the Eternal and others are contingents.⁹⁶

To distinguish between the knowledge of the ordinary Muslims and that of the devout Muslims, al-Junayd says that the former expresses itself in the proclamation of His unity, the affirmation of absolute monotheism, belief in His existence, acceptance of the Qur'ān and the ordinances contained therein,⁹⁷ whereas the latter is expressed in "paying God His due, fearing Him at all times, recognizing Him in all creatures, observing a high moral standard and avoiding what makes man far from Him."⁹⁸ The ordinary Muslim is called 'ālim bi-Allāh and the devout Muslim is called 'arīf bi-Allāh.⁹⁹ The knowledge of the former is "first knowledge" and that of the latter is "second knowledge." Thus the "first knowledge" is represented by the ordinary Muslims with shahādah and the "second knowledge" by the mutakallimūn who, in addition to shahādah, have the capacity to distinguish between the right and the wrong with the help of reason and understanding. The second knowledge al-Junayd calls ma'rifah.

But there is, according to al-Junayd, still another degree of knowledge higher than the "second knowledge." This is the highest degree of knowledge that God grants to His chosen ones. This also he calls ma'rifah, in the absence of better terminology. It is this kind of ma'rifah which is given to man by God by means of self-revelation in the state of tawhīd.

We can compare al-Junayd's conception of the degrees of the knowledge of God to a journey into the shoreless ocean. However short it may be, we can cover some distance by swimming. But someone who possesses a dinghy will be able to cover a distance greater than that of the swimmer. Then there may be a third person who has been given a bigger water-craft by a divine miracle. He can go further and further into the ocean. As he proceeds, he covers more and more distance and gets further away from his point of departure, but he can never cross the ocean, for it is shoreless.

In the same way, the ordinary Muslims have some knowledge of God, however meagre it may be, by virtue of their confession of the unity of God; the mutakallimūn, the possessors of the dinghy of intellect, can go further ahead and know more about God by means of intellect. But the ʿarīf goes further still, for he is enabled to do so by God Himself. Nevertheless, he can never exhaust God's maʿrifah, for it has no end.

Here again, we find the idea of continuity. Shahādah takes us to a certain distance in our journey, and then comes intellect, and last of all maʿrifah; but the mutakallimūn who possess reason and understanding also have shahādah, and the ʿarīfs have both shahādah and reason, plus maʿrifah. But on the other hand, reason is a new quality in the mutakallimūn which is not present

in the ordinary Muslims, just as ma'rifah is a new quality in the 'arifs which is not present either in the mutakallimūn or in the ordinary believers. So, this process of knowing God is also characterized by emergence.

We should also point out another implication of this idea, that knowledge of everyone in the journey towards God is true, the only difference being the difference in the degrees of knowledge received by individuals. This again shows al-Junayd's loyalty to Shari'ah and ^{the tradition of} theology.

Al-Junayd's idea that ma'rifah has no limit is also present in other Sūfīs and Sūfī writers. Shiblī says, "There is beginning (first taste) in God-realization, but there is no end to it (infinite is that experiential field)." ¹⁰⁰ According to al-Ghazzālī, 'arifs differ in the degree of ma'rifah they receive, for ma'rifah

is a "shoreless sea," the depths of which cannot be fathomed, since none can comprehend the greatness of the Divine Majesty, and those who plunge into the sea do so in accordance with their strength and precedence which God granted unto them before time was. ¹⁰¹

'Aṭṭār also has expressed this idea very clearly in the following words:

The Valley of Gnosis has neither beginning nor end... the road is revealed to each one according to his capacity for that revelation... The progress of each

will be in accordance with his spiritual state...
When the Sun of Gnosis shines forth from the heaven
above, on to this most blessed road, each is
enlightened according to his capacity and finds his
own place in the knowledge of the Truth.¹⁰³

VII

JOURNEY BACK TO THE WORLD

What should the Ṣūfī do after he has been granted the state of tawḥīd? Should he leave the society as some Hindu Sanyasi's do and live in the caves of the Himalayas? Or, should he consider himself outside the Shari'ah and live a life drunken and intoxicated? Any of these two reactions is possible, for the mystic is in a highly ecstatic state, and it is very easy for him to give in to excesses. But the experience of the sober al-Junayd is different. He disapproves both of hermit life and of an attitude of non-conformity to the Shari'ah. According to him, the state of fanā' is a state of intoxication (sukr), but this is not the final stage of the Ṣūfī journey. There is still another stage in which the Ṣūfī comes to the life of a normal Muslim and guides the people on the right path. This state of return of the soul from the state of ecstatic drunkenness al-Junayd calls "sobriety" (ṣaḥw).

Al-Kalābādhī has clearly explained the distinction between the states of intoxication and sobriety. In the

state of intoxication, according to him, the *Ṣūfī*, though not completely unaware of things around him, is quite incapable of distinguishing between what is agreeable and what is disagreeable, what is painful and what is pleasant. He illustrates this by citing the tradition of *Hārithah*: "Same to me are its stone and clay, its gold and silver." He also quotes 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd saying, "I do not care in which state I happen to be -- in one of richness or one of poverty; if it is one of poverty, it will need patience, and if it is one of richness, it will need gratefulness."¹

The state of sobriety, says al-Kalābādhī, follows that of intoxication. In this state, according to him, the *Ṣūfī* regains the power of discrimination between the painful and the pleasant, but chooses the former in preference to the latter if it is in conformity with God's will, and derives pleasure out of the painful. To illustrate, he quotes the saying of al-Hallāj: "If you cut me up with affliction piece by piece, my love (for You) will only become stronger and stronger."²

Thus in the state of sobriety, the *Ṣūfī*, after having made the ascent to the Divine, now makes a descent to normal life. Al-Junayd describes this state thus:

He is then himself after he has not been himself. Now he is an existent being after he had been absent. This

is because he has come out of intoxication of overwhelmingness to the clarity of sobriety, and wakefulness is again restored to him so that he can judge things as they are and put them in their right place as a result of his assuming personal attributes. Thus through the persistence of his personal attributes, his actions are a guide to his fellow men after he had achieved the zenith of what was granted to him.³

Thus once again, the Ṣūfī is clothed with the garment of personal attributes. But this again is the result of God's will. It is God who returns to the Ṣūfī his own attributes and sends him back to the community, for he has since been shown the evidences of His glory, and thus the community will benefit from the gifts bestowed on him. Al-Junayd says,

God has some purpose in returning him to them (the people). He causes him to come to them making clear the evidences of His blessing to him so that the light of His gift is glimmering through the restoration of his personal qualities, with the result that the people are appreciative of and attracted to him.⁴

According to al-Junayd, the community is replete with people with sick souls, for the spirit is more prone to sickness than the body. The diseases of the soul are more difficult to cure than those of the body. Moreover, the diseases of the former kind are destructive, for they lead the victims to Hell-fire.⁵ To cure the souls of these destructive diseases, the Ṣūfī is needed, for he is now the physician of the heart and "indeed, the

physician knows better about the ailment of the sick than the sick man himself, and he is worthier to prescribe the medicine which will lead to his recovery."⁶

We have seen before that in the state of tawhīd, the Ṣūfī's relationship with God is characterized both by "presence" as well as "absence." The same is the case in the state of sobriety, though in an opposite way. The Ṣūfī is now present in the world, and in so far as he is present in the world, he is absent from God. As al-Junayd says,

Thus He separates them (from Himself). He makes them absent (from themselves) when they are in union (with God) and makes them present (in themselves) when He has separated them from Himself. Thus their absence is the cause of their presence (with God) and their presence (in themselves) is the cause of their absence (from God).⁷

It should, however, be mentioned in this connection that in the state of sobriety, according to al-Junayd, the Ṣūfī, in so far as his relationship with God is concerned, is not altogether absent; he does not leave the state of fanā' altogether. It is true that he now lives the life of an ordinary Muslim and acts as a guide to the community, but the mystical illumination remains concealed within him, and it is manifested through his movements, actions and speech. It is this mystical illumination which now distinguishes him from the rest of the Muslims. In fact, this state of the Ṣūfī

stands mid-way between the state of complete fanā' and that of complete "absence" from God. The Ṣūfī is now here as well as there; he is in the world and in God at the same time. This state, as experienced by al-Junayd, has been described by him thus:

I have realized that which is within me and my
tongue has conversed with Thee in secret,
And we are united in one respect, but we are
separated in another.
Although awe has hidden Thee from the glances
of mine eye,
Ecstasy has made Thee near to my inmost parts.⁸

When the spirit is first brought back to its temporal attributes, it feels the pangs of separation; it is anguished at the loss of the state of bliss. Hence it feels a strong longing to go back to its previous state. This sense of anguish and the consequent longing to return to God have been described by al-Junayd as follows:

When God restores their egos (anniyvah), He causes them to find their nature. The souls are then veiled from what they had been associated with and from what had been associated with them. Now they feel choked by themselves and they disdain their nature because this has caused them to lose their first perfection and complete blessing. They are called back to discursive thought and ratiocination. But the grief is hidden in them and the pain of loss abides in them as they are present in themselves and in their contingent existence. So, they yearn for desire and return to the condition of need. For how should their banishment after their absence from themselves and their yearning after they have been satisfied not injure them?⁹

According to al-Junayd, all that is beautiful in this world is an echo of the Ṣūfī's experience of the bliss with God. Hence his soul always seeks after the beautiful things such as green meadows, etc. But the experience of anything else is a source of pain to him, for this makes him anxious to go back to the state of bliss. Al-Junayd says,

Thus the souls of those who have received ma'rifah long for the green meadows, beautiful scenes and green gardens. All things other than these are a source of pain for them because of their longing for their earlier state which is hidden in the unseen and permitted only by the Beloved.¹⁰

As this feeling of anguish is very painful, the Ṣūfī wants to get over it quickly and thus strives to go back to its previous state by his own efforts not unaided by God. His

own striving (or what he conceives to be such, for God controls him all the time) brings him to a point where he thinks he can do without God; both his sense of creatureliness and his judgement forsake him, and he prefers to enjoy the isolation of his own soul to the timeless relationship he had enjoyed with God. This is God's makr, the quality of guile by which he leads the mystic astray. The mystic thinks he has achieved all this by his own efforts, whereas it is really God putting him off the scent.¹¹

Al-Junayd has expressed this idea in the following passage:

They become satisfied with what has already appeared to them. They are relieved from the sense of destitution

and abandon the sense of judgement. (They think that) they have attained victory by their own efforts and by their power of pride. But in this they were regarding things in terms of what was theirs without regarding what is God's. This they do through their affirmation of distinction and separation because of what they see and experience with their own eyes. Thus God overwhelms them in both ways. When God's manifestations appear to them, He causes them to take refuge from what was theirs to what becomes theirs by way of isolation with power and pride. They come out of that without any complaint to Him preferring (to Him) their unique pleasure... They do not perceive any obligation on their part, nor any demand on them. Once this happens, it is God's guile (makr) that encompasses them in a way they do not understand.¹²

This state of spiritual pride in which the Ṣūfī considers himself independent of God al-Junayd calls "the first isolation of separation." (awwal tafrīd al-tajrīd). But this state does not continue long. God now intervenes and humbles the pride. He makes the soul not only to suffer the agonies of separation but also to feel a longing for God; it is now made to regard God as the true goal and satisfaction. The result is that the sufferings of the soul now turn into an experience of joy, an experience of "joy-in-agony", of loving and being loved by God.¹³ The Ṣūfī, however, has to go through an arduous journey to reach this state of satisfaction. Al-Junayd says,

The journey from the world to the hereafter is easy and simple for the believer, leaving the creatures for the

sake of God is hard, the journey from the self (nafs) to God Most High is very difficult, and to be patient with God the Glorious and the Lofty, is the hardest of all.¹⁴

It is clear from the above discussion that al-Junayd lays prime emphasis on sobriety. Perhaps one of the reasons for which he did not accept al-Hallāj as his associate was that the latter, according to him, was not sober. As the story goes, al-Hallāj, having cut off his relations with al-Makkī in a state of rapture, came to al-Junayd with a view to associating with him. But al-Junayd refused to accept him as his associate, saying: "I do not associate with madmen. Association demands sainty; if that is wanting, the result is such behaviour as yours in regard to Sahl b. 'Abdullāh Tustarī and 'Amr." In reply, al-Hallāj said, "O Shaykh, sobriety and intoxication are two attributes of Man, and Man is veiled from his Lord until his attributes are annihilated". But al-Junayd retorted,

O son of Manṣūr, you are in error concerning sobriety and intoxication. The former denotes soundness of one's spiritual state in relation to God, while the latter denotes excess of longing and extremity of love, and neither of them can be acquired by human effort. O son of Manṣūr, in your words I see much foolishness and nonsense.¹⁵

The controversy between al-Junayd and 'Alī b. Sahl al-Ispahānī on the subject of sleep also shows

the former's emphasis on sobriety. Al-Iṣṣpāhānī wrote to al-Junayd

that sleep is heedlessness and rest is a turning away from God: the lover must not sleep or rest by day or by night, otherwise he will lose the object of his desire and will forget himself and his state and will fail to attain to God as God said to David, "O David, he who pretends to love Me and sleeps when night covers him is a liar."¹⁶

Al-Junayd wrote in reply:

Our wakefulness consists in our acts of devotion to God, whereas our sleep is God's act towards us: that which proceeds from God to us without our will is more perfect than that which proceeds from us to God with our will. Sleep is a gift which God bestows on those who love Him.¹⁷

Al-Hujwīrī considers it remarkable that here the sober al-Junayd is supporting intoxication. This, according to him, can be explained by the fact that perhaps al-Junayd "was enraptured at the time when he wrote and his temporary state may have expressed itself by his tongue."¹⁸

From our point of view, al-Junayd's comments on the subject of sleep rather confirms his preference for sobriety than for its opposite as suggested by al-Hujwīrī. Sleep is a normal human attribute. So when al-Junayd advocates the retention of it, he is supporting sobriety and not intoxication. Al-Hujwīrī, however, has also mentioned that al-Junayd might have meant the opposite,

that is, he might have advocated sobriety by his comments on the subject of sleep. It is possible, says al-Hujwīrī, that to al-Junayd,

sleep is actually sobriety, while wakefulness is actually intoxication, because sleep is an attribute of humanity and man is "sober" so long as he is in the shadow of his attributes; wakefulness, on the other hand, is an attribute of God, and when a man transcends his own attribute he is enraptured.¹⁹

According to al-Hujwīrī, intoxication is an evil; hence sobriety is preferable to intoxication. He says that "the perfection of the state of the intoxicated man is sobriety. The lowest stage in sobriety consists in regarding the powerlessness of humanity; therefore, a sobriety that appears to be evil is better than an intoxication that is really evil."²⁰ Intoxication, he says again,

is to fancy one's self annihilated while the attributes really subsist; and this is a veil. Sobriety, on the other hand, is the vision of subsistence while the attributes are annihilated; and this is actual revelation. It is absurd for anyone to suppose that intoxication is nearer to annihilation than sobriety is, for intoxication is a quality that exceeds sobriety, and so long as a man's attributes tend to increase he is without knowledge; but when he begins to diminish them, seekers (of God) have some hope of him.²¹

According to al-Hujwīrī, the mystical experience that Abū Yazīd represents is one of intoxication. This is

evident from the correspondence between Yahyā b. Mu'adh (d. 258/871) and Abū Yazīd. The former wrote to the latter asking his opinion as to the "one who drinks a single drop of the ocean of love and becomes intoxicated." Abū Yazīd wrote a reply to this in the form of a question: "What do you say of one who, if all the oceans in the world were filled with the wine of love, would drink them all and still cry for more to slake his thirst?"²² Here, Abū Yazīd is speaking of intoxication and Yahyā of sobriety, for the

man of sobriety is he who is unable to drink even one drop, and the man of intoxication is he who drinks all and still desires more. Wine being the instrument of intoxication, but the enemy of sobriety, intoxication demands what is homogeneous with itself, whereas sobriety takes no pleasure in drinking.²³

In this respect, al-Hujwīrī has also contrasted the doctrine of Abū Yazīd with that of al-Junayd. According to him,

Abū Yazīd and his followers prefer intoxication to sobriety. They say that sobriety involves the fixity and equilibrium of human attributes, which are the greatest veil between God and Man, whereas intoxication involves the destruction of human attributes, like foresight and choice, and the annihilation of a man's self-control in God, so that only those faculties survive in him that do not belong to the human genus; and they are the most complete and perfect.²⁴

Al-Junayd and his followers, on the other hand,

says al-Hujwīrī,

prefer sobriety to intoxication. They say that intoxication is evil, because it involves the disturbance of one's normal state and loss of sanity and self-control; and inasmuch as the principle of all things is sought either by way of annihilation or subsistence, or of effacement or affirmation, the principle of verification cannot be attained unless the seeker is sane. Blindness will never release anyone from the bondage and corruption of phenomena. The fact that people remain in phenomena and forget God is due to their not seeing things as they really are; for if they saw, they would escape. Seeing is of two kinds: he who looks at anything sees it either with the eye of subsistence (baqā) or with the eye of annihilation (fanā). If with the eye of subsistence, he perceives that the whole universe is imperfect in comparison with his own subsistence, for he does not regard phenomena as self-subsistent; and if he looks with the eye of annihilation, he perceives that all created things are non-existent beside the subsistence of God. In either case he turns away from created things. On this account the Apostle said in his prayer: "O God, show us things as they are," because whoever thus sees them finds rest. Now, such vision cannot be properly attained except in the state of sobriety, and the intoxicated have no knowledge thereof. For example, Moses was intoxicated; he could not endure the manifestation of one epiphany, but fell in a swoon (Kor. vii, 139); but our Apostle was sober; he beheld the same glory continuously, with ever-increasing consciousness, all the way from Mecca, until he stood at the space of two bow-lengths from the Divine presence (Kor. liii, 9).²⁵

Al-Junayd's doctrine of sobriety clearly shows his attitude to Shari'ah. The Sūfī, in spite of his

intimate communion with God, must come back to the world, clinging strenuously to the observance of the Law and guide his fellow men on the right path. This, in fact, is one of the most significant aspects of al-Junayd's teaching.

It is true that al-Junayd praises Abū Yazīd and tries to defend him,²⁶ but he would never tolerate any infringement of the religious law. According to him, Ṣūfism is bound up with the traditions of the Prophet.²⁷ The Ṣūfī, therefore, has to be spiritually guided by Muhammad's prophecy. Describing the characteristics of the Ahl-i-Haqq, he says,

He is one of the best followers of the religious law, one of the best who know what is permitted and what is forbidden, and one of the best who understand the laws of Islām. He follows the footsteps of the Prophets and walks in the way of the awliya' and the righteous. He is never inclined to any innovation and never neglects the practice of the Sunnah.²⁸

Once a certain man, while discussing ma'rifah, said, "The possessors of ma'rifah reach such a stage that they give up good works and the fear of God." Al-Junayd commented on this, saying,

This is the doctrine of those who speak of abandoning religious duties. In my opinion, this is a great evil. The thief and the fornicator are better than those who say this. Indeed, the 'arif's accept the deeds from God and they refer them to Him. If I were to live for one thousand years, I would not have decreased my

good deeds by the measure of an atom unless I would be prevented from doing it. This gives assurance to my ma'rifah and strengthens my state.²⁹

In one of his letters, al-Junayd says again, Know that man's guide is his vision of the truth and his continuous efforts to uphold the precepts laid down by God, persisting in their devotion from stage to stage until he is led to the reality of the servanthood of God. This is done by abandoning choice on his part and accepting God's will.³⁰

According to al-Junayd, God has already promised the rewards for the obedient and punishment for the disobedient, and He will reward and punish accordingly. As he says, "Obedience will quickly bring good news according as God has decreed for them; the same will be the case with disobedience."³¹ He says further,

God will deal with His servants at last in the same way as He dealt with them in the beginning. He brought them into existence with grace, commanded them out of kindness and promised them out of compassion. He will give them increase out of generosity. Then whoever witnesses His goodness that was in the beginning, it will be easy for him to perform His command; and whoever follows His command, will enjoy His promise; and whoever wins His promise, God's grace will certainly be increased for him.³²

Al-Junayd condemns all forms of quietism. The Sūfī, according to him, must not keep sitting like a drone with the expectation that somebody else will drop food in his mouth; he has to earn from any means

permitted by the Law. It is obligatory on him to earn if he has dependents to support. The earning has to be spent not only for himself and his dependents but also for helping the neighbours and the needy.³³

But al-Junayd also practices what he preached. As a Muslim, he strictly followed the Qur'ān and the Sunnah. Even when he grew old, he

did not omit any item of the litanies (awrād) of his youth. When he was urged to refrain from some of these supererogatory acts of devotion to which his strength was unequal, he replied that he could not abandon at the last those exercises which had been the means of his acquiring spiritual welfare at the first.³⁴

Ṭaṭṭār relates that even when al-Junayd was lying on his death bed, he never forgot to pray with a rosary.³⁵

Moreover, perhaps al-Junayd married and had children, for his kunya Abū al-Qāsim, "the father of Qāsim," shows that he was a father. It is also quite likely that he had a business, for his title al-Khazzāz means a merchant in raw silk. Al-Junayd's family was a family of merchants: his father's title al-Qawāriri means a glass merchant and the title al-Saqāṭi, belonging to his famous uncle Sarī, means a merchant in spices.

According to al-Hujwiri, al-Junayd's doctrine of sobriety "is the best known and most celebrated of all doctrines, and all the Shaykhs have adopted it,

notwithstanding that there is much difference in their sayings on the ethics of Sūfism."³⁶ There is a lot of truth contained in this statement. We cannot say that all the shaykhs after al-Junayd have adopted this doctrine, but there is no doubt that many of them have.

We have already seen that al-Hujwīrī regards the doctrine of sobriety^{as} superior to that of intoxication. He mentions his own teacher as having adopted it too.³⁷

For al-Kalābādhī, the state of sobriety is more perfect than that of intoxication.

For the intoxicated man may fall into what is hateful without being aware of it, so that he is unconscious of the existence of evil (in it), whereas the other prefers pain to pleasure because he is overwhelmed by witnessing Him as the (real) cause of the pain.³⁸

The Persian Sūfī Abū al-Khayr describes the true Sūfī thus:

That is the true man of God who sits in the midst of his fellow-men, and rises up and eats and sleeps and buys and sells and gives and takes in the bazaars amongst other people, and who marries and has social intercourse with other folk, and yet is never for one moment forgetful of God.³⁹

Perhaps the Sūfī who understood the significance of al-Junayd's doctrine of sobriety thoroughly and adopted it wholly is al-Ghazzālī. He says,

It is for the saint to descend from the mountain of transfiguration to the lower levels of this world, so

that the weak may seek out his company and may kindle their lights at the radiance which the saint has brought from the heavenly places, just as bats find their light in what remains of the sunlight and are content with the light of the stars in the watches of the night and thereby live a life suited to their bodily state, though not the life of those who come and go in the full light of the sun. The saint is one whose eyes are open, so that he sees clearly and needs none to lead him, but it is his business to lead the blind or those weak of sight, for his relation to the weaker brethren is that of one who walks on water to those who walk on land. Some may learn to swim, but to walk on water is only given to those who have reached spiritual perfection... It is the glory of the saint to spend himself for those in need and to undertake the task of shepherding them into Paradise. Again, it is the mark of saintship to show compassion to all God's servants, to be pitiful towards them, and to fight for them, and with them, against the forces of evil.⁴⁰

CONCLUSION

Ṣūfīs are inspired people. For them, experience is the key to the mysteries of God. They are not logicians or metaphysicians. Their objective is the varification of religious truth by personal experience and not the intellectualization of it. They are scarcely bothered by what may appear contradictory to us. For this reason, it is sometimes very difficult to construct a logically consistent system out of their sayings and writings.

But this is not true in the case of al-Junayd. There is no doubt that he was a man with profound mystical inspiration. It is reported that when someone asked him a question relating to some aspect of Ṣūfīsm, he would retire to his house where he would concentrate in meditation, and later emerge and inform the questioner what he had experienced.¹ Thus while expounding a point, he did not enunciate a theory but expressed what had actually happened to him. He believed that when he spoke, God put the words into his mouth and caused the tongue to overflow. His words, he thought, were "not from books or from learning, but only

from the favour of God."² In spite of this, we find in al-Junayd a very coherent and well-knit system of ideas. Our discussions have shown that the ideas of mahabbah, fanā', baqā', ma'rifah, sahw, etc. are all very well threaded around his basic concept of tawhīd. Moreover, we have seen that he always speaks in terms of three levels of truth and of the corresponding classes of people representing these levels. He speaks of three levels of tawhīd, three levels of fanā', three levels of ma'rifah and three classes of people corresponding to these levels.

In al-Junayd we find a crystallization of all the Ṣūfī ideas of the pre-Junaydian period. In this respect, his relationship with early Ṣūfism can be compared to that of Aristotle with early Greek Philosophy. From al-Junayd in turn flowed the different thought-currents of later Ṣūfism. Thus his position is like that of a prism with convex and concave lenses: all the Ṣūfī trends of thought of the pre-Junaydian period converged in him and many thought-currents of later Ṣūfism radiated from him.

Al-Junayd forms a bridge between the period when the Ṣūfīs were primarily concerned with actual mystical experience and the practical methods of attaining it, and the period in which emerged the theorists of Ṣūfism.

Al-Junayd, a man of deep mystical experience, was nevertheless a kind of theorist of Ṣūfīsm. For the first time in the history of Ṣūfīsm we find him using terms like istinbāt, ẓāhir, bāṭin, etc. in a mystical sense. These terms enriched the language and constituted a valuable heritage for later generations. In the course of time, these became technical terms in mystical, theological and philosophical literature. It would be an interesting piece of research to compare the use of these terms in al-Junayd's works with their use by later Ṣūfīs and theorists of Ṣūfīsm. This would give us an insight into the way in which mystical terminologies have developed.

In addition to the notion of degrees of truth, there are other ideas in al-Junayd's theosophy which stand out prominently in our discussion. (1) Man has no hand in the attainment of the Ṣūfī goal; it is God who out of grace endows His elect with what He wants to endow them with. (2) In the highest stage of fanā', what is obliterated is the will of the worshipper and not his individuality. (3) The Ṣūfī, after having attained the highest state of unification, comes back to the world, guides the people on the right path and lives the life of an ordinary Muslim.

This last point brings us to another important aspect of al-Junayd's theosophy, viz., that he brought about a synthesis of the Shari'ah Islām and Ṣūfīsm. Ṣūfīsm, according to him, is bound up with the Qur'ān and the traditions of the Prophet. He considers the abandoning of religious duties as a great evil. Even after the attainment of the state of tawhīd, he exhibited complete obedience to the Shari'ah, for he did not want to quit the way which had led him to God. But according to him, the mere performance of external acts of devotion is not enough. In fact, he considers the spiritual aspect of the rites and rituals as being much more important than their external performance. The following story, for example, will show how he considers the performance of the acts and rituals of pilgrimage worthless when each of these is not accompanied by the corresponding movement of the soul:

A certain man came to Junayd. Junayd asked him whence he came. He replied: "I have been on the pilgrimage." Junayd said: "From the time when you first journeyed from your home have you also journeyed away from all sins?" He said: "No." "Then," said Junayd, "you have made no journey. At every stage where you halted for the night did you traverse a station on the way to God?" He said: "No." "Then," said Junayd, "you have not trodden the road stage by stage. When you put on the pilgrim's garb at the proper place did you discard the attributes of humanity as you cast off your ordinary clothes?" "No." "Then you have not put on the

pilgrim's garb. When you stood on 'Arafāt did you stand one instant in contemplation of God?" "No."
 "Then you have not stood on 'Arafāt. When you went to Muzdalifa and achieved your desire did you renounce all sensual desires?" "No." "Then you have not gone to Muzdalifa. When you circumambulated the Temple did you behold the immaterial beauty of God in the abode of purification?" "No." "Then you have not circumambulated the Temple. When you ran between Ṣafā and Marwa did you attain to the rank of purity (ṣafā) and virtue (muruwwat)?" "No." "Then you have not run. When you came to Minā did all your wishes (munyathā) cease?" "No." "Then you have not yet visited Minā. When you reached the slaughter-place and offered sacrifice did you sacrifice the objects of sensual desire?" "No." "Then you have not sacrificed. When you threw the stones did you throw away whatever sensual thoughts were accompanying you?" "No." "Then you have not yet thrown the stones, and you have not yet performed the pilgrimage. Return and perform the pilgrimage in the manner which I have described in order that you may arrive at the station of Abraham."³

Thus al-Junayd Islāmized mysticism. In this respect, he is the precursor of al-Ghazzālī, and it is quite likely that the latter drew inspiration from the former.

NOTES

Chapter I

1. Born about the year 210 A. H. (825 A. D.), al-Junayd was brought up in Baghdād under the care and guidance of his maternal uncle, Sarī al-Saqatī (d. ca. 253/867), the founder of the Baghdād school of Sūfism. He studied Fiqh, Hadīth and Kalām, and last of all turned to Sūfism. The most important of his Sūfī teachers were Sarī al-Saqatī and Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Hārith al-Muhāsibī (d. 243/857). He was also greatly influenced by Abū Yazīd al-Bistāmī (d. 261/875) whom he knew through his writings.

The most important of al-Junayd's writings that have come down to us are his letters (Rasā'il) addressed to his fellow mystics. They contain the most profound and original teachings of al-Junayd. These letters have been preserved in the Istanbul Manuscript Sehit 'Alī MS. No. 1374. Dr. 'Ali Hassan Abdel-Kader of the Faculty of Theology, Al-Azhar University, Cairo, has recently published an edition and translation of the Rasā'il in his The Life, Personality and Writings of al-Junayd, London, 1962.

Al-Junayd died about the year 298/910.

2. Al-Ghazzālī, al-Munqidh min al-Ḍalāl, Cairo, 1955, pp. 126-27; 130.
3. Quoted by W. T. Stace, Mysticism and Philosophy, London, 1961, p. 277.

The Upanishads are Sanskrit treatises which contain the philosophical speculations of the

Indian sages prior to sixth century B. C. The Mandukya is one of these treatises written in prose which approximates to the style of classical Sanskrit (The Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, ed. John Hastings, New York, 1955, Vol. 12, pp. 540-41.)

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

R. M. Bucke is a nineteenth century Canadian Psychiatrist. In his Cosmic Consciousness, a Study in the Evolution of the Human Mind, Philadelphia, 1905, he considers the experience of the deep realities of the world of Becoming as "Cosmic consciousness."

6. Al-Hujwīrī, Kashf al-Mahjūb, trans. R. A. Nicholson, London, 1911, p. 356.

7. Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, Mathnawī, abridged trans. E. H. Whinfield, London, 1898, p. 326.

8. Al-Hujwīrī, op. cit., p. 355.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid., p. 129.

11. Al-Kalābādhī, Kitāb al-Ta'arruf li-Madhhab Ahl al-Tasawwuf, Cairo, 1960, p. 145.

12. Quoted by Stace, op. cit., pp. 277-78.

Arthur Koestler is the author of The Invisible Writing, New York, 1954.

13. Ibid., p. 277.

M. Eckhart was a Christian mystic of Germany (1260-1327).

14. Risā'il al-Junayd, ed. Abdel-Kader, op. cit., Risalah No. 3, p. 3.

In referring to Rasā'il al-Junayd, we shall henceforth mention the number of the Risālah and the page number or numbers of the Arabic text in Abdel-Kader's book.

15. Risālah, No. 3, p. 5.
16. Al-Hujwīrī, op. cit., p. 138.
17. Ibid.
18. R. A. Nicholson, The Mystics of Islām, London, 1914, p. 103.

According to Nicholson, one reason for which the Ṣūfīs use figurative style is their desire to keep the mysteries secret. This desire, he says, "was natural in those who proudly claimed to possess an esoteric doctrine known only to themselves..." We do not think that Nicholson is correct here, for it is quite unlikely that the sense of pride for having possessed the secret was a factor determining their behaviour. Perhaps the case is exactly the opposite. Perhaps they thought that revelation of the secret to the public might elevate their position in the eyes of men, and this would make the Ṣūfīs feel proud of themselves, and pride of oneself is considered the greatest enemy by the Ṣūfīs.

19. Ibid.
20. Ibid., pp. 103-4.
21. Ibid., p. 148.
22. We have mentioned above Ibn al-ʿArabī's saying that the mystics can indicate their feelings symbolically to those who have begun to experience the same. Surpra, p. 4.
23. Risālah, No. 8, p. 45.

24. Risālah, No. 3, p. 4.
25. Al-Sarrāj, Kitāb al-Luma' fī al-Tasawwuf, ed. R. A. Nicholson, London, 1914, pp. 388-89.
26. 'Attār, Tadhkirat al-Awliyā', abridged trans. B. Behari, Lahore, 1961, p. 103.
27. Ibid., p. 179.
28. Al-Kalābādhī, op. cit., p. 145.
29. Abū Tālib al-Makkī, Qūt al-Qulūb, Cairo, 1932, Vol. 2, p. 31.
30. Al-Sarrāj, op. cit., pp. 240-41.
31. Al-Qushayrī, Risālah, Cairo, 1948, p. 8.
32. Ibid., p. 112.
33. Al-Hujwīrī, op. cit., p. 131.
34. Al-Sarrāj, Pages from the Kitāb al-Luma', ed. A. J. Arberry, London, 1947, p. 9.

Chapter II

1. Al-Qushayrī, op. cit., p. 127.
2. Al-Hujwīrī, op. cit., p. 36.
3. Ibid.
4. It is wrong to use an expression like "attaining" in this context, for al-Junayd, as also many other Ṣūfīs, will say, as we shall see later, that the goal is never attained by human endeavour; it is a gift from God given to those whom He chooses to become His companions. Nevertheless, we shall have to use expressions of this kind for the sake of convenience.

5. Al-Kalābādhī, op. cit., p. 25.
6. Al-Qushayrī, op. cit., p. 135

Abdel-Kader quotes al-Junayd's saying from al-Hujwīrī, "The noblest saying concerning unification is that of Abū Bakr: 'Glory to God, who has not vouchsafed to His creatures any means of attaining unto knowledge of Him except through impotence to attain unto knowledge of Him!'" (Al-Hujwīrī, p. 284. We are quoting directly from al-Hujwīrī) and says that this shows the inability of the intellect to grasp tawhīd (Abdel-Kader, p. 68). This, we think, is incorrect. For, by inability here al-Junayd means inability of any human effort, intellectual or otherwise, to attain tawhīd, for according to him, this is a gift from God and not attainable by any human effort.

7. S. Lane-Poole, An Arabic-English Lexicon, London, 1885, Bk. 1, Part 8, p. 2927.
8. Qur'ān, 112: 1-4.
9. Ibid., 4: 171.
10. Ibid., 55: 27.
11. Ibid., 33: 62.
12. 'Allāmah Hillī, Al-Bāb al-Hādī 'Ashar, commentary by Miqdād Fāḍil, Irān, pp. 27, 28.

This is the general position of the Mu'tazilites. For the views of the individual Mu'tazilites on the problem, please see D. B. Macdonald, Development of Muslim Theology, New York, 1903, pp. 135 ff; and D. L. O'leary, Arabic Thought and its Place in History, London, 1954, pp. 123 ff.

13. Al-Munawwar, Asrār al-Tawhīd, Petrograd, 1899, p. 371, trans. and quoted by M. Smith, Rābi'a the Mystic and Her fellow Saints in Islām, Cambridge, 1928, pp. 78-79.

14. Al-Qushayrī, op. cit., p. 3; Al-Hujwīrī, op. cit., p. 281.
15. Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 2986.
16. Risālah, No. 4, p. 22.

In this thesis we have used both 'soul' and 'spirit' in the same sense.
17. We shall discuss this point elaborately in Chapter V.
18. 'Attār, Tadhkirat Al-Awliyā', selections trans. M. Smith, The Persian Mystics: Attār, London, 1932, p. 80.
19. Al-Hujwīrī, op. cit., p. 158.
20. Risālah, No. 10, p. 51.
21. Aflākī, "Manāqib al-ʿArifīn", fol. 114 a, referred to by Smith, Rabīʿa., pp. 98-99.
22. Al-Qushayrī, op. cit., p. 5.
23. Al-Hujwīrī, op. cit., p. 254.
24. That tawhīd is isolation of the Eternal from the contingents.
25. H. Hirianna, The Essentials of Indian Philosophy, London, 1949, p. 122, quoted by R. C. Zaehner, Hindu and Muslim Mysticism, London, 1960, p. 136.
26. Al-Sarrāj, al-Lumaʿ., p. 388.
27. A drink which, according to Hindu mythology, makes one immortal.
28. Al-Sarrāj, al-Lumaʿ., p. 30.
29. Ibid.
30. Al-Hujwīrī, op. cit., p. 281.
31. Al-Qushayrī, op. cit., p. 3.
32. Ibid., p. 136.

33. Ibn-Taymīyah, Minhāj al-Sunnah, Cairo, 1938, Vol., 3, pp. 85-86.
34. Ibid., p. 86.
35. Ibid.
36. Al-Hujwīrī, op. cit., p. 131.

For another similar saying of al-Nūrī, see al-Hujwīrī, p. 132.

37. Ibid.
38. Al-Kalābādhi, op. cit., p. 135.
39. Ṭaṭṭār, trans. Behari, pp. 182-83.
40. Al-Hujwīrī, op. cit., p. 151.
41. Al-Kalābādhi, op. cit., p. 109.
42. Ibid., p. 135.
43. Al-Hujwīrī, op. cit., p. 281.
44. Ibid., pp. 281-82.
45. Al-Sarrāj, al-Lumaʿ, pp. 31-32.
46. Al-Kalābādhi, op. cit., p. 134.
47. Ibid., p. 107.
48. Al-Hujwīrī, op. cit., pp. 8-9.
49. Ibid., p. 252.
50. In this connection, we can also refer to Abū Saʿīd b. Abī al-Khayr's view which we have quoted on pp. 14-15. In fact, one can add many more examples of this kind.
51. Al-Sarrāj, al-Lumaʿ, p. 29; Al-Qushayrī, op. cit., p. 135; Al-Hujwīrī, op. cit., pp. 282-83.

Here we are quoting from al-Hujwīrī.

52. Al-Hujwīrī, op. cit., p. 283.

53. Risālah, No. 16, pp. 55-56.
54. Ibid.
55. Al-Sarrāj, al-Luma', pp. 28-29; al-Qushayrī, op. cit., p. 4.
56. Risālah, No. 16, p. 56.
57. Ibid.
58. Ibid.

We are quoting Nicholson's translation of the passage. We have quoted this once on p. 27.

59. We have quoted al-Hujwīrī's long interpretation of this last stage of tawhīd-on pp. 27-28.
60. This inclusion means inclusion only of the positive qualities congenial for the higher stages, and not of the negative ones.

Chapter III

1. Qur'ān, 7: 143.
2. Al-Kalābādhi, op. cit., p. 42.
3. Al-Sarrāj, al-Luma', p. 382.
4. Risālah, No. 1, p. 1.
5. Al-Kalābādhi, op. cit., p. 44.
6. Al-Hujwīrī, op. cit., p. 331.
7. Al-Kalābādhi, op. cit., pp. 42-43.
8. Al-Hujwīrī, op. cit., p. 331.
9. Al-Kalābādhi, op. cit., p. 43.

10. Al-Hujwīrī, op. cit., p. 331.
11. Al-Kalābādhī, op. cit., p. 44.
12. Al-Hujwīrī, op. cit., p. 331.
13. Ibid., pp. 332-333.
14. Ibid., p. 333.
15. Ibid., p. 332.
16. Al-Kalābādhī, op. cit., p. 43.
17. These are parts of our quotation on p. 37.
18. This is a Qur'ānic idea. The Qur'ān commands the faithful to have trust in God(5: 26; 14: 11; 14: 12, etc.).
19. Supra, p. 19.
20. 'Aṭṭār, Tadhkirat., trans. Behari, p. 57.
21. Al-Kalābādhī, op. cit., p. 101.
22. Ibid., p. 100.
23. Ibid., p. 150.
24. Nicholson, op. cit., p. 41.
25. Al-Kalābādhī, op. cit., p. 150.
26. Ibid., p. 101.
27. Ibid., p. 102.
28. Al-Sarrāj, al-Luma', p. 52.
29. Risālah, No. 18, p. 58.
30. Al-Kalābādhī, op. cit., p. 153.
31. 'Aṭṭār, Tadhkirat., trans. Behari, p. 112.
32. Qur'ān, 8: 17.
33. In fact, the common run of Muslims have never got over the fatalistic spirit. In East Pakistan, for example, many of the Muslims, especially the

illiterate peasants who, in fact, constitute more than 80% of the population, are overwhelmed by the fatalistic spirit. One finds Muslims refusing to be vaccinated against small-pox and cholera which take a big toll of lives every year, for these come from God and nothing in the world can prevent them. Moreover, they consider it sinful to try to do something against God's will. People can be found watching the crops dying owing to draught, without exerting any effort to save these by means of irrigation even though sometimes all facilities for irrigation are available. The reason? If God wants the crops to die, who in the world can save them?

Sometimes they even consider it shirk to regard cold or fever or any other disease as the cause of discomfort, for according to them, God is the sole cause of everything and nothing else can come between Him and an effect.

34. Al-Hujwiri, op. cit., p. 305.
35. Ibid., pp. 305-306.
36. Ibid., p. 313.
37. 'Aṭṭār, Tadhkirat., trans. Behari, p. 85.
38. Al-Qushayri, op. cit., p. 146.
39. 'Aṭṭār, Tadhkirat., trans. Behari, p. 86.
40. Ibid., p. 74.
41. Ibid.
42. Al-Hujwiri, op. cit., p. 311.
43. Ibid.
44. Ibid., p. 187.
45. Ibid.
46. Smith, Rābi'ah., p. 99.
47. Supra, p. 19.

48. Al-Sarrāj, al-Luma', p. 59.
49. Al-Hujwīrī, op. cit., p. 311.
50. Ibid.
51. Al-Kalābādhi, op. cit., p. 109.
52. Ibid.
53. Al-Qushayrī, op. cit., p. 147.
54. Al-Hujwīrī, op. cit., p. 307.
55. Risālah, No. 4, p. 22.
56. Al-Sarrāj, al-Luma', p. 212.
57. Ibid., p. 66.
58. Ṭaṭṭār, Tadhkirat, trans. Behari, p. 63.
59. Ibid., p. 73.
60. Ibid., p. 63.
61. Shaṭṭarī, Lawāqih al-Anwār, Cairo, 1881, Vol. 2, p. 79, trans. M. Smith, Readings from the Mystics of Islām, London, 1950, p. 31.
62. Al-Hujwīrī, op. cit., p. 284.

We have quoted this once on p.135 , note No. 6.
63. Risālah, No. 6, p. 33.
64. Ibid., p. 34.

Chapter IV

1. Al-Hujwīrī, op. cit., p. 254.
2. Qur'ān, 28: 88.
3. Ibid., 79: 40-41.

4. Al-Hujwīrī, op. cit., p. 32.
5. Al-Kalābādhī, op. cit., p. 83.
6. Al-Hujwīrī, op. cit., pp. 33-34.

This tradition has been often quoted and variously interpreted by the Sūfīs.

7. Ibid., p. 34.
8. Ibid., p. 32.
9. Al-Hujwīrī, op. cit., pp. 103-4.
10. Al-Hujwīrī, op. cit., p. 217.
11. Abū Nuʿaym, Hilyat al-Awliyāʾ, Egypt [Cairo], 1938, Vol. 8, p. 346.
12. Ibid., p. 347.
13. ʿAṭṭār, Tadhkirat., trans. Behari, p. 74.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid., p. 75.
16. Ibid., p. 74.
17. Ibid., p. 75.
18. Ibid.
19. Al-Hujwīrī, op. cit., p. 238.
20. Ibid., p. 37.
21. Ibid.
22. Al-Sarrāj, al-Lumaʾ, p. 46.
23. Ibid., p. 118.
24. Al-Sahlaǧī, Shataḥāt al-Sūfiyah, Pt. 1, containing the al-Nūr min Kalimāt Abī Tayfur, ed. A. Badawī, Cairo, 1949, p. 68; trans. and quoted by Zaehner, op. cit., p. 121.
25. Al-Hujwīrī, op. cit., p. 195.

26. Risālah, No. 14, p. 55.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid.
29. Al-Sarrāj, al-Luma', p. 243.
30. Al-Kalābādhi, op. cit., p. 123.
31. Ibid.
32. Al-Hujwīrī, op. cit., p. 242.
33. Nicholson, op. cit., p. 149.
34. Al-Hujwīrī, op. cit., p. 248.
35. Ibid., p. 250.
36. There is no indication as to whose verses these are.
36. Al-Kalābādhi, op. cit., p. 118.
37. Al-Hujwīrī, op. cit., p. 250.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid.
- Quoted from the same poem and mentioned in note No. 35.
40. Al-Kalābādhi, op. cit., p. 118.
41. Al-Hujwīrī, op. cit., pp. 248-49.
42. Ibid., p. 248.
43. Ibid., p. 251.
44. Nicholson mentions Sarī al-Saqatī's saying that in a state of fanā', one would not feel anything even if he were struck on the face by a sword (Nicholson, op. cit., p. 61.).
45. Al-Kalābādhi, op. cit., p. 123.
46. Nicholson, op. cit., p. 62.

47. Al-Kalābādhi, op. cit., p. 131.
48. L. Massignon, Al-Hallāj, Martyr Mystique de l'Islām, Paris, 1922, Vol. 1, p. 38.
49. Risālah, No. 6, p. 36.
50. Ibid., p. 37-38.
51. Ibid., p. 38.
52. Ibid.
53. Al-Sarrāj, al-Luma', p. 427.
54. Al-Hujwiri, op. cit., p. 243.
55. Ibid., p. 245.
56. Nicholson, The Idea of Personality in Sūfism, Lahore, 1964, p. 18.
57. Ibid., pp. 36-37.

Chapter V

1. Al-Hujwiri, op. cit., p. 283.
This is a part of our quotation on pp. 27, 30.
2. Qur'ān, 7: 172.
3. Ibid., 7: 172-73.
4. Risālah, No. 7, p. 41.
5. Qur'ān, 76: 1.
6. Ibid., 15: 28-29.
7. Risālah, No. 7, p. 40.

Here again we find al-Junayd's emphasis on God's grace.

8. Risālah, No. 2, p. 2.
9. Al-Kalābādhī, op. cit., p. 67.
10. Risālah, No. 7, p. 41.
11. Al-Junayd, Kitāb dawā' al-Arwāh, "The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society", 1937, p. 220.

This Risālah has been edited and translated by A. J. Arberry in the above journal, pp. 219-231. This edition is based on the Sehit 'Ali Ms. No. 1374, Istanbul (Abdel-Kader, op. cit., pp. 59-60). This Risālah has a second authority in the Cairo MS. Majmū'ī. 75 (Arberry JRAS, p. 219). Part of the Risālah has also been quoted by Abū Nu'aym, op. cit., Vol. 10, pp. 105-107. Abdel-Kader's reference to it (Abdel-Kader, op. cit., p. 60) is not correct. First, the quotation in Abū Nu'aym occurs on pp. 105-107 and not on pp. 103-107 as mentioned by Abdel-Kader; secondly, it is not the whole Risālah but a part of it, portions from the beginning and the end being excluded, is quoted by Abū Nu'aym.

There is also a controversy as to whether this Risālah really belongs to al-Junayd. We have, however, accepted it as al-Junayd's on the basis of the evidence given by Arberry (JRAS, p. 219) and Abdel-Kader (p. 60).

12. Risālah, No. 6, p. 32.
13. Risālah, No. 8, p. 44.
14. Risālah, No. 6, pp. 32-33.
15. Risālah, No. 6, p. 32.
16. Massignon, op. cit., p. 36; Zaehner, op. cit., pp. 139, 143.
17. Risālah, NO. 7, pp. 41-42.
18. Al-Junayd mentions very clearly that the soul in its original state, though unified with God, was separate from Him. Supra, p. 72.

19. Abdel-Kader, op. cit., p. 78.
20. Enneads, Vol. ., 1, 4, 14., quoted by Abdel-Kader, op. cit., p. 78.
21. Enneads, Vol. ., 1, 8, 3., quoted by Abdel-Kader, op. cit., p. 78.
22. Abdel-Kader, op. cit., p. 79.
23. A. J. Arberry, Revelation and Reason in Islām, London, 1957, pp. 104-105.
24. Quoted by 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Nasafī, Kashf al-Haqā'iq, Tehrān, 1965, p. 71.
25. Qur'ān, 76: 1.

We have quoted this once on p. 71.

26. Abū Nu'aym, op. cit., vol., 9, p. 332.
27. Ibid., Vol., 10, p. 76.
28. Al-Sahlaḡī, op. cit., p. 141; trans. and quoted by Arberry, op. cit., p. 103.
29. Al-Hujwīrī, op. cit., p. 309.
30. Al-Kalābādhi, op. cit., p. 101.
31. Al-Munawwar, op. cit., p. 399; selections trans. Smith, Readings., pp. 51-52.
32. Die Rubā'is des Abū Sa'īd, ed. Ethé, 1875, Nos. 82, 30, selections trans. Smith, Readings., p. 52.
33. Arberry believes that al-Junayd was influenced by Abū Yazīd (Arberry, op. cit., pp. 103-4).
34. Al-Kalābādhi, op. cit., p. 137.
35. Al-Qaṣd ilā Allāh, (Ch. IX), trans. R. A. Nicholson, Islāmica, No. 2, April/1926-January 1927, pp. 413-14.
36. This is a selection translated by Smith in her Readings., p. 55. We have, however, failed to discover it in al-Qushayrī's Risālah.

37. Al-Ghazzālī, The Alchemy of Happiness, trans. C. Field from the Hindustanī, Lahore, [n.d.], p. 60.
38. Rūmī, Dīwān Shams Tabrīz, Cambridge, 1898, pp. 32, 34; Mathnawī, 2, p. 317; selections trans. Smith, Readings., pp. 105-6.

Chapter VI

1. It is difficult to translate the word ma'rifah into English. Most orientalists, Nicholson and Arberry for example, have rendered it as "gnosis". But "gnosis" seems to have been pregnant with Greek gnostic meanings which do not seem to be contained in Islāmic ma'rifah. In fact, there is no English equivalent of this word. We shall, therefore, keep the word as it is and not translate it.
 2. Jāmī, Nafahāt al-Uns, Calcutta, 1859, p. 26; selections trans. Smith, Readings., pp. 22-23.
 3. Al-Hujwīrī, op. cit., p. 382.
 4. Ibid.
 5. Ibid., pp. 382-83.
 6. Ibid., p. 382.
 7. Ibid., p. 268.
 8. Ibid., p. 269.
- There is a controversy as to whether Abū Tālib was a believer. We shall, however, not enter into this controversy here.
9. Ibid., pp. 269-70.
 10. Al-Kalābādhī, op. cit., p. 63.
 11. Ibid.

12. Ibid.
13. Ibid., p. 65.
14. 'Aṭṭār, quoted by C. Rice, The Persian Sūfīs, London, 1964, p. 84.
15. Al-Kalābādhī, op. cit., p. 63.
16. Bodleian Ms. of Cihil Majlis, referred to by H. Landolt in his "Sketch for an Introductory Lecture on Sūfīsm", Vertical File of the Institute of Islāmic Studies Library, McGill University, 1964, p. 1.
17. 'Aṭṭār, Jawhar al-Dhāt, Kulliyāt, Tehrān, 1872, pp. 15, 16; selections trans. Smith, Readings, p. 90.
18. A. J. Arberry, Sūfīsm, London, 1950, p. 52.
19. 'Aṭṭār, Tadhkirat., Vol., 1, pp. 126, selections trans. Smith, Readings, pp. 23, 24.
20. Al-Hujwīrī, op. cit., p. 275.
21. Ibid.
22. Qur'ān, 27: 34.
23. Al-Sarrāj, al-Luma', p. 92.
24. Al-Hujwīrī, op. cit., pp. 275-76.
25. Ibid., p. 134.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid., p. 276.
28. Ibid., pp. 276-277.
29. Qur'ān, 17: 81.
30. A more or less similar interpretation has been mentioned by H. Landolt, op. cit., p. 6.
31. Abū Nu'aym, op. cit., Vol., 10, p. 281.
32. Al-Hujwīrī, op. cit., pp. 134-35.

- 33. Al-Junayd, Kitāb., JRAS, p. 221.
- 34. Al-Kalābādhī, op. cit., p. 66.
- 35. Al-Hujwīrī, op. cit., p. 284.

Abū Bakr is reported to have said this and al-Junayd agrees with him.

- 36. Al-Kalābādhī, op. cit., p. 66.
 - 37. In his The Idea of the Holy, Rudolf Otto says that when the mystic experiences the awful majesty (tremenda majestas) of the Numen, he feels that all power, all reality belongs to the Numen and he is but "dust and ashes"; hence the mystic cries: "I am naught, Thou art all ." Similarly, when he experiences the sanctus aspect of the Numen, he feels that he is absolutely "profane" and the Numen is absolutely "Holy"; he feels that all value, all worth belongs to the Numen and he is absolutely worthless. (The Idea of the Holy, New York, 1958, pp. 20, 21, 51, 52).
 - 38. Al-Kalābādhī, op. cit., p. 66
 - 39. Qur'ān, 20: 41.
 - 40. Ibid., 20: 37.
 - 41. Risālah, No. 3, p. 3.
 - 42. Al-Junayd, Kitāb., JRAS, pp. 220-21.
- Otto says that the experience of the Numen may "burst in sudden eruption up from the depths of the soul with spasms and convulsions, or lead to the strangest excitements, to intoxicated frenzy, to transport, and to ecstasy." (Otto, op. cit., pp. 12-13.
- 43. Qur'ān, 7: 143.
 - 44. Al-Hujwīrī, op. cit., p. 275.

45. Ibid.

Al-Hujwiri does not mention the name of the author of this saying.

46. Ibid.

47. Al-Kalābādhī, op. cit., p. 137.

48. Ibid.

There is no mention of the name of the Ṣūfī.

49. Qur'ān, 20: 39.

50. Ibid., 24: 54.

51. Al-Junayd, Kitāb, JRAS, p. 221.

52. Qur'ān, 20: 39.

53. Ibid.

54. Al-Junayd, Kitāb, JRAS, p. 220.

55. Encyclopaedia of Islām, Vol., 2-1, pp. 510-11.

56. Ibid.

57. Qur'ān, 53: 10-11 (al-Junayd, Kitāb, JRAS, p. 221).

58. Qur'ān, 81: 26.

59. This statement of ours is based exclusively on the saying of al-Junayd contained in Kitāb Dawā' al-Arwāh. But elsewhere, he has clearly distinguished the position of a nabī from that of a walī and shown the superiority of the former to the latter. As he says,

The speech of the prophets gives information concerning presence (ḥudūr) while the speech of the saints (ṣiddīqīn) alludes to contemplation (mushāhadat)... Hence the perfection and ultimate goal of the saints is the beginning of the state of the prophets.
(al-Hujwiri, p. 129)

60. Al-Junayd, Kitāb, JRAS, p. 221.

This interpretation of ours is based on a hypothesis which rejects Arberry's interpretation that the two revelations distinguished by al-Junayd refer to those of Muhammad -- the first when he was "two bow-lengths off or nearer still" and the second when God appeared "at the lote-tree" (JRAS, p. 228, note No. 11). This hypothesis has been suggested by Prof. H. Landolt of the Institute of Islāmic Studies, McGill University.

61. Al-Hujwīrī, op. cit., p. 332.
62. Ibid.
63. Qur'ān, 53: 14.
64. Al-Junayd, Kitāb., JRAS, p. 222.
65. Ibid.
66. Al-Hujwīrī, op. cit., p. 186.

We shall see in the next Chapter that on the parallel of this distinction of Moses' drunkenness and Muhammad's sobriety, al-Hujwīrī draws a distinction between the attitude of Abū Yazīd and that of al-Junayd.

67. It should be remembered, however, that Moses is also believed to have reached the stage of baqā' because he was a prophet. But he reached it only after he passed through the stage of fanā'. Yet the distinction holds good, for Moses reaches the stage of baqā' after having passed through fanā', whereas Muhammad is all the time in baqā'
68. Al-Kalābādhī, op. cit., p. 64.
69. Qur'ān, 88: 17, etc.
70. Ibid., 6: 76.
71. Supra, p. 88.
72. Ṭaṭṭār, Tadhkirat., Vol., 1, pp. 8, 127, trans. and quoted by Nicholson, The Idea of Personality., p. 12.

73. Quoted by Nicholson in The Legacy of Islām (ed. T. Arnold), London, 1931, p. 215.
74. Khaṭīb, Mishkāṭ al-Maṣābīḥ, Luchnow, 1901, Vol., 8, pp. 394ff; selections trans. Smith, Readings., p. 24.
75. Ibid., selections trans. Smith, Readings., p. 25.
76. Al-Qaṣd ilā Allāh, "Islāmica", p. 413.
77. Al-Kalābādhī, op. cit., p. 63.
78. Ibid., p. 64.
79. Qur'ān, 42: 52.
80. Ibid., 25: 45.
81. Al-Sarrāj, al-Luma', p. 33.
82. Al-Hujwīrī, op. cit., p. 276.
83. Al-Kalābādhī, op. cit., p. 65.
84. Ibid., p. 49.
85. Al-Ghazzālī, Iḥyā 'Ulūm al-Dīn, Cairo, 1923, Vol., 4, p. 252; selections trans. Smith, Readings., p. 73.
86. Rūmī, Mathnawī, Book 1, quoted by Rice, op. cit., pp. 79-80.
87. Al-Ghazzālī, Yḥyā., Vol., 4, p. 288; trans. and quoted by Smith, Al-Ghazzālī, the Mystic, London, 1944, pp. 185-86.
88. Referred to by Rice, op. cit., p. 86.
89. Al-Hujwīrī, op. cit., p. 276.
90. Ibid.
91. Ibid., p. 277.
92. Ibid.
93. Supra, p. 2.
94. Risālah, No. 4, p. 7.

95. Smith, Al-Ghazzālī, p. 186.
96. Abū Nu'aym, op. cit., Vol., 10, pp. 257-58.
97. Ibid.
98. Ibid., p. 258.
99. Ibid.
100. 'Aṭṭār, Tadhkirat., trans. Behari, p. 183.
101. Smith, Al-Ghazzālī, p. 185.
102. 'Aṭṭār, Mantiq al-Tayr, p. 137, selections trans. Smith, Readings., pp. 85-86.

Chapter VII

1. Al-Kalābādhi, op. cit., p. 116.
2. Ibid., p. 117.
3. Risālah, No. 10, p. 52.
4. Risālah, No. 13, p. 54.
5. Risālah, No. 4, p. 10.
6. Ibid.
7. Risālah, No. 7, p. 41.
8. Al-Sarrāj, al-Luma', p. 212; al-Hujwīrī, op. cit., p. 255.

Here we are quoting from Nicholson's translation of al-Hujwīrī's book. Al-Hujwīrī does not identify the author of this saying, but al-Sarrāj quotes it as al-Junayd's saying.

9. Risālah, No. 6, p. 35.
10. Ibid.

11. Zaehner, op. cit., pp. 150-51.
12. Risālah, No. 6, p. 37.
13. Zaehner, op. cit., pp. 152-53.
14. Al-Qushayrī, op. cit., p. 85.
15. Al-Hujwīrī, op. cit., p. 189.
16. Ibid., p. 352.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid., p. 186.
21. Ibid., p. 187.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid., p. 185.
25. Ibid., pp. 185-86.
26. Al-Sarrāj, al-Lumaʿ, pp. 380-89.
27. Ibid., p. 103.
28. Risālah, No. 4, p. 22.
29. Al-Sulamī, Tabaqāt al-Ṣūfiyah, Cairo, 1935, p. 159;
al-Qushayrī, op. cit., p. 19.
30. Risālah, No. 13, p. 53.
31. Al-Kalābādhi, op. cit., p. 62.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid., p. 85.
34. Al-Hujwīrī, op. cit., p. 303.
35. ʿAṭṭār, Tadhkirat, trans. Behari, p. 113.
36. Al-Hujwīrī, op. cit., p. 189.

37. Ibid., p. 186.
38. Al-Kalābādhi, op. cit., p. 117.
39. Die Rubā'is des Abū Sa'īd, No. 41; al-Munawwar, op. cit., p. 259; selections trans. Smith, Readings., p. 49.
40. Al-Ghazzālī, Ihyā., Vol., 4, pp. 84, 286, selections trans. Smith, Readings., p. 72.

Conclusion

1. Al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī, Ta'rikh Baghdād, Cairo, 1931, Vol., 5, p. 246.
2. Ibn Kathīr, Al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah, Cairo, 1932, Vol., 11, p. 114; quoted by Abdel-Kader, op. cit., p. 54.
3. Al-Hujwiri, op. cit., p. 328.

Nāṣir Khusraw was greatly influenced by this story (Nāṣir Khusraw, Diwān, Tehrān, 1886-87, pp. 258-60).

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