

STRUGGLE AGAINST SOUL (JIHĀD-I AKBAR):

AN INVESTIGATION BASED ON *CHIHIL ḤADĪTH*

of

ĀYATULLĀH KHOMEINI

1902-1990

By

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A thesis submitted to
the faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Art



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بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

IN THE NAME OF ALLAH
THE MOST BENEFICENT THE
MOST MERCIFUL

ABSTRACT

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TITLE OF THESIS:	STRUGGLE AGAINST SOUL (JIHĀD-I AKBAR): AN INVESTIGATION BASED ON <i>CHIHIL ḤADĪTH</i> OF ĀYATULLĀH KHOMEINI
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This thesis attempts to explain the concept of *JIHĀD-I AKBAR* (struggle against the self or soul) through an analysis of the mystical thought and activities of the great religious scholar Āyatullāh Rūḥullāh Khomeini (1902-1990). He was a comprehensive religious scholar who was in addition a political leader and a well-known mystic.

This study also analyzes, through a study of Āyatullāh Khomeini's *Chihil Ḥadīth* (forty traditions), the relationship between *'irfān* (mysticism) and social activities and shows how he was able to combine several dimensions of Islam in his public and private life.

RÉSUMÉ

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DÉPARTMENT:	INSTITUT DES ÉTUDES ISLAMIQUES UNIVERSITÉ MCGILL
GRADE:	MAITRISE ES ARTS (M.A.)

Cette thèse vise à une explication du concept de *JIHĀD-I AKBAR* (lutte contre le soi ou son âme) en analysant la pensée mystique ainsi que la vie du grand érudit religieux Āyatullāh Rūḥullāh Khomeini (1902-1990). En plus d'avoir une connaissance profonde des sciences religieuses islamiques, il était aussi un figure politique et un mystique bien connu.

L'étude tente aussi à analyser, à travers l'étude de l'oeuvre d'Āyatullāh Khomeini *Chihil Ḥadīth* (quarante traditions), la relation entre '*irfān* (mysticisme) et les activités dans la société, et démontre comment il a su combiner les différentes dimensions de l'Islam dans sa vie publique et privée.

Notes on Translation & Abbreviation

The system of transliteration used in this thesis is the system employed by the Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University.

Arabic Persian

ب	b	b
پ		p
ت	t	t
ث	th	s
ج	j	j
چ		ch
ح	ḥ	ḥ
خ	kh	kh
د	d	d
ذ	dh	z
ر	r	r
ز	z	z
س	s	s
ش	sh	sh
ص	ṣ	ṣ

Arabic Persian

ض	ḍ	z
ط	ṭ	ṭ
ظ	ẓ	ẓ
ع	c	c
غ	gh	gh
ف	f	f
ق	q	q
ك	k	k
گ		g
ل	l	l
م	m	m
ن	n	n
ه	h	h
و	w	v
ي	y	y

short vowels	— a — i — u
alif maqṣūrah	ى á
long vowels with	īya
<i>tashdīd</i>	و ūwa

long vowels	ا ā ي ī و ū
diphthongs	ي ay و aw
tā marbūṭah	ah
in idāfah	at

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**IN THE NAME OF ALLĀH THE BENEFICENT THE
MERCIFUL**

Boundless thanks to the Wise and Powerful God who is the Creator of all existence. Greetings to the Holy Apostles who were selected by the Lord for the guidance of mankind, especially the Prophet of Islam Hazrat Muhammad (p.b.u.h). Greetings and praise to the successors of the dignified Prophet and the guardians of the humanizing school of Islam.

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INTRODUCTION

THE PURPOSE OF THIS THESIS

The purpose of this work is to expound upon and analyze the relationship between mystical and social activities from the point of view of a prominent *'ālim*, Āyatullāh Rūḥullāh Khomeini (1902-1990). Āyatullāh Khomeini was a major political figure and mystic among the *'ulamā* (religious scholars) of Iran. While many *'ulamā* are neither politically nor socially active, and concentrate on the mystical life, nevertheless, a number of them do not practice mysticism, but become involved in politics and society. Āyatullāh Khomeini was one who combined both social and mystical activities.

The thesis is organized into four chapters. In the first chapter we will give a biographical sketch of Āyatullāh Khomeini, concentrating especially on his mystical life.

Chapter two provides definitions of certain terms which are discussed in this work. Since some terms and words such as *naḥs* or *jihād-i akbar* have different meanings, it will be necessary to investigate how they have been interpreted by various scholars.

In chapter three of this thesis, there is a discussion of Āyatullāh Khomeini's view of certain ethical and mystical concepts.

Chapter four deals with the question: Is it possible to combine seclusion and life within society?

The bulk of our information has come from Arabic and Persian sources, including such primary sources on ethics and morality as have been written by Ghazālī (d.505/1111) and Āyatullāh Khomeini. For our supplementary sources we have relied upon the writings and personal notes of various *'ulamā*. All citations made from these Arabic and Persian sources have been translated into English by this author unless otherwise mentioned in the notes.

Among the English sources are works by such scholars as Hamid Algar, Seyyed Hossein Nasr, R. A. Nicholson, Duncan Black Macdonald, Alexander Knish, Michael M. J. Fischer, J. Spencer Trimingham and Moojan Momen.

With regard to the problem of transliteration, we have followed the convention of transliteration adopted by the Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University. All the dates mentioned correspond to the Gregorian calendar unless otherwise specified.

‘IRFĀN AND JIHĀD-I AKBAR

Nowadays, with the help of science and technology, life has been made easier, and material complications have been overcome by modern civilization. All

activities are directed toward human welfare; inventions and discoveries are made to advance civilization. But none of these activities have in fact given satisfaction to humanity.¹ For, in addition to bodily needs, man has a moral urge, which is the real goal for ultimate happiness.

The moral defects and vices of society show that humanity has been unable to discover some of the ways to overcome imperfection which the prophets tried to teach; the Prophet Mohammad states: “I was delegated as a prophet in order to perfect moral virtues.”² Therefore, showing the best way for humanity to perfect itself is the true goal of prophets and religions. “The role of the religious sense in the development and advancement of man’s lofty qualities, in modifying his instincts and fructifying his sense of morality and virtue, is undeniable.”³

Islam, like other religions, has tried to provide a system in which people might live virtuously and many *‘ulamā* have explained in their works the various ways in which a human being can achieve perfection. They have specialized in this

¹ “The world we live in has been making giant strides, entailing a revolution in thought because of science’s daily advance in the study and the satisfying of man’s needs. Science and industry have unloaded the work that yesterday imprisoned man in hard labor onto machine-tools. These set man free to enjoy life’s luxuries in ease and leisure. They liberated his mind and spirit from the bonds of business to expand into limitless research into Creation’s mysteries.” Sayyid Muḥtabā Mūsavī Lārī, *Western Civilization Through Muslim Eyes*, trans. F. J. Goulding (Qum: Ansariyan Publications, 1977), 5.

² See: Hindī, *Kanz al-‘Ummāl*, 3:18, and Muḥammad Muḥammadi, *Mizān al-Ḥikmah*, 3:149:

اني بعثت لاتيكم مكارم الاخلاق

³ Muḥtabā Mūsavī Lārī, *God and His Attributes*, trans. Hamid Algar (Qum: Islamic Education Center, 1989), 27.

field and have produced significant and valuable works dealing with this subject. Although their goal has been the same, individual '*ulamā*' have offered various ways which sometimes seem to conflict with each other. For example, some '*ulamā*' have emphasized that the best and real way to achieve perfection is to worship God without engaging in any social activities, while other '*ulamā*' believe that this way is not enough.

'*Irfān* and *jihād-i akbar*'⁴ should play an important role in the life of every human being according to the many '*ulamā*' who have written books on the subject of moral virtue. Among the works which address this important issue there are ibn Miskawayh's *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq*, Ghazālī's *Iḥyā 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, Narāqī's *Jāmi' al-Sa'āda*, Baḥr al-'Ulūm's *Risālah-i Sayr va Sulūk* and Āyatullāh Khomeini's *Chihil Ḥadīth*.⁵

IBN MISKAWAYH

Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ya'qūb ibn Miskawayh (d.421/1030)⁶ was an important figure in the Islamic philosophical tradition.⁷ One of his major works is

⁴ The meanings of these terms are explained below in chapter 2.

⁵ Other '*ulamā*' who have written works about *akhlāq* or '*irfān*' are Ibn Ḥazm, Ṭūsī, Fayḍ-i Kāshāni and Shubbar. etc.

⁶ "He is rather a philosopher by conviction than an independent critical thinker like Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā al-Rāzī. He evidently united materials of quite different origins in the seven chapters of his treatise, and used some discretion in selecting the most convenient texts from the tradition at his disposal and relating that tradition to the moderate Neoplatonic worldview which permeates the whole work. It is, as always in an inquiry of this kind, worth our while to consider at the same time whether

a work on ethics (*akhlāq*) entitled *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq wa Ta'thīr al-A'rāq* (The Refinement of Character). Miskawayh's influence is evident on such figures as Abū Ḥāmid Ghazālī especially in the latter's *Iḥyā 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, and Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, whose *Akhlāq-i Nāṣirī* owes much to Miskawayh's thought. Richard Walzer says:

Miskawaih's work was followed closely in Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī's *Akhlāq-i Nāṣirī* and Ḡalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn As'ad ad-Dawwānī's *Akhlāq-i Ḡalālī*; Ghazzālī incorporated the greater part of Miskawaih's treatise in his *Revivification of the Religious Sciences*.⁸

GHAZĀLĪ

Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad Ghazālī⁹ was known by the honorific title of Ḥujjat al-Islām (the Proof of Islam). A student of many disciplines¹⁰, his works

an analysis of the sources of the *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq* yields some new information about the teaching of ethics in the late Greek philosophical schools- especially since the available Greek evidence is particularly scanty and unsatisfactory." See: Richard Walzer, "Some Aspects of Miskawaih's *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq*" in Richard Walzer, *Greek into Arabic; Essays on Islamic Philosophy* (Oxford: Bruno Cassirer (Publisher) Ltd., 1963), 220.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid., 232.

⁹ Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad B. Muḥammad Ṭūsī (d.505/1111), an outstanding theologian, jurist, original thinker, mystic and religious reformer. He was born at Ṭūs in Khurāsān, near the modern Meshhed, in 450/1058. On him see: W. Montgomery Watt, art. "Ghazālī," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed. 1978.

¹⁰ Ghazālī admits that his studies were motivated by worldly desires. After self-examination, he says: "I realized that it was not a pure desire for the things of God, but that the impulse moving was the desire for an influential position and public recognition." See: Hendrik De Waard, *The Spiritual Experience of Ghazzālī: A Christian Response* (London: University Microfilms International, 1981), 14.

cover a broad range of subjects, among them theology, jurisprudence, logic, philosophy, scholastic theology, spirituality and morality, and on the Qur'ān.¹¹

Ghazālī divided his major work *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* into four sections:

I have divided this *Iḥyā'* into four books: 1. the Book of worship [*ʿIbādāt*], 2. the Book of worldly usages, [*ʿĀdāt*], 3. the Book of destructive evils [*Muhlikāt*], and 4. the Book of constructive virtues [*Munjiyāt*]. I have discussed the chapter of knowledge at the very beginning as it is of extreme importance. It is necessary to discuss such learning at the outset which is a great help towards divine service according to a saying of the Holy Prophet.¹²

BAḤR AL-'ULŪM

Āyatullāh Sayyid Mahdī ibn Murtaḍā al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī, known as Baḥr al-'Ulūm (d.1212/1797), was an important figure in Islamic mysticism, and a great influence on mystics who lived after him.¹³ Some '*ulamā*' such as 'Allāmah Ṭabāṭabā'ī, Āyatullāh Khomeini and their master Mīrzā 'Alī Āqā Qāḍī have made

¹¹ Ibid., 240-268.

¹² Ghazālī, *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, 1:10. The Prophet Mohammad states: To seek learning is compulsory on every Muslim. (طلب العلم فريضة على كل مسلم) See: Majlsī, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, 1: 171, and Hindī, *Kanz al-'Ummāl*, 6: 463. Ghazālī continues: I began with the chapter on knowledge in order to separate the useful knowledge from the harmful knowledge as the Prophet said: We seek refuge to God from knowledge which is not useful." Ibid. (نعوذ بالله من علم لا ينفع). Imām 'Alī Says to his son Imām Ḥasan: "Know that there is no good in that knowledge which does not benefit" Imām 'Alī, *Nahj al-Balāghah*, trans. Muftī Ja'far Ḥusayn, (Qum: Center Islamic of Studies, 1395/1975), 499: اعلم لا خير في علم لا ينفع

¹³ Among them are Mīrzā 'Alī Qāḍī, 'Allāmah Ṭabāṭabā'ī, and Āyatullāh Khomeini. See: Baḥr al-'Ulūm, *Risālah-i Sayr va Sulūk*, ed. Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ḥusaynī (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Hikmat, 1360s./1981), 9-17.

reference to his book, *Risālah-i Sayr va Sulūk*.¹⁴ Baḥr al-‘Ulūm explains in his work the various degrees of mystical perfection in the spiritual journey. In addition to being a famous mystic, he was a political leader in Iraq.¹⁵ He was also one of the chain of transmitters of traditions which Āyatullāh Khomeini has quoted in his work *Chihil Ḥadīth*.¹⁶

ĀYATULLĀH KHOMEINI

Āyatullāh Khomeini’s well-known work *Chihil Ḥadīth* is an important work in the field of ethics and mysticism. The number forty (*chihil*) is sacred in Islam.¹⁷ This can be seen in the number of works belonging to the genre of “forty traditions” which it is recommended to Muslims to observe. Some ‘ulamā such as Jāmī,¹⁸ al-Bakrī,¹⁹ al-Fādānī²⁰ and Āyatullāh Khomeini have written such works, and in important bibliographies many books of forty traditions are found.²¹

¹⁴ See Ibid.

¹⁵ Āyatullāh Khomeini, *Chihil Ḥadīth* (Tehran: Mu’assasah-i Tanzī va Nashr-i Āthār-i Imām Khomeini, 1371s./1992), 29.

¹⁶ Ibid., 3.

¹⁷ See: Muḥammad ibn Jurayr-i Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh-i Ṭabarī*, trans. Abū Abulqāsim Pāyandah (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Asāṭir, 1362s./1983), 3: 842; ‘Abdu al-Salām Hārūn, *Tahdhīb Sīrat ibn Hishām*, (Beirut: Mu’assasat al-Rasālah, 1399/1979), 49-50; Rafī‘ al-Dīn Hamadānī, *Sīrat-i Rasūl allah*, ed. Aṣghar-i Mahdavi (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Bunyād-i Farhang-i Iran, 1360s./1981), 1: 206; and Javād Nūrbākhsh, *Traditions of the Prophet* (New York: Khāniqāh-i Nimatullahī Publications, 1981), 1: 69. For more information see: Baḥr al-‘Ulūm, *Risālah-i Sayr va Sulūk*, 21-36.

¹⁸ Nūr al-Dīn ‘Abdu al-Raḥmān Jāmī, *Arba‘īn-i Jāmī*, ed. Kāzīm Mudīr Shānahchī (Mashhad: Mu’assasah-i Chāp va Intishārāt-i Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī, 1363s./1984).

Chihil Ḥadīth was written during the period when Āyatullāh Khomeini was occupied with studying as well as teaching. It contains forty ethical and mystical traditions which were collected by him and his commentaries on them.²² Of these, 33 traditions are about ethics (*akhlāq*) and 7 about faith and mysticism.²³

¹⁹ Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Bakrī, *Kitāb al-Arbaʿīn Ḥadīth*, ed. Muḥammad Maḥfūz (Beirut: Dār al-Maghrib al-Islāmī, 1400/1980).

²⁰ Muḥammad al-Fādānī, *al-Arbaʿūn Ḥadīth* (Beirut: Dār al-Bashāʾir, 1403/1983).

²¹ For example, Shaykh Āqā Buzurg Tihrānī lists 76 books entitled “forty traditions.” Shaykh Āqā Buzurg Tihrānī, *Al-Dharīʾah*, 1:409-434 & 3:315. For more information see: Nur al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī, *Arbaʿīn-i Jāmī* (Mashhad: Muʾassasah-i Chāp va Intishārāt-i Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍavī, 1363s./1984), 3-15.

²² He taught morals and ethics in the Fayḍīyah and Mullā Ṣādiq schools in Qum, then decided to write a book about ethics, which he finished in 1358/1939. See: Āyatullāh Khomeini, *Chihil Ḥadīth* (Tehran: Muʾassasah Tanzīm va Nashr-i Āthār-i Imām Khomeini, 1371s./1992), 1. See also chapter one of this thesis.

²³ For more information see chapter three below.

CHAPTER ONE

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

EARLY LIFE

Āyatullāh Khomeini's official name is Rūhullāh Muṣṭafavī,²⁴ but he was better known as Āyatullāh Rūhullāh Mūsavī Khomeini.²⁵ Several times before the Revolution the title "*Imām*" was applied to him.²⁶

²⁴ Rūhullāh Khomeini, "Zindagī-i Imām bi Ravāyat-i Imām," *Huḍūr*, (Tehran), no. 1 (Khurdād 1370, [May 1991]: 5, and Murtaḍā Pasandīdah, "Tārīkhchah-i Khāndān-i Ḥaḍrat-i Imām," *Pāsdār-i Islam* (Tehran,), no. 86: 27.

²⁵ Sayyid Rūhullāh Muṣṭafavī was Imām Khomeini's official name, that is, on his birth certificate, passport, etc. He is better known by the name derived from his place of origin, Khumayn. Farhang Rajaei, *Islamic Values and World View*, American Values Projected Abroad, v.13 (New York: University Press of America Inc., 1983), 114.

²⁶ Because of his unique leadership with respect to the Islamic Revolution in Iran, his commitment to the ideal of Islam, and his ability to lead the way to a true Islamic political society, Āyatullāh Khomeini has received the title of *Imām* from the people of Iran, and from some Muslims of the other Islamic nations. Imam 'Alī said: "The most distinguished person before Allāh is the just *Imām* (leader) who has been guided and guides others" See: 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, *Nahj al-Balāghah*, trans. Muftī Ja'far Ḥusayn (Qum: Center of Islamic Studies, 1395/1975), 344 - 345.

Āyatullāh Khomeini was born on September 21 1902,²⁷ which corresponds to Shahrivar 30 of the solar year 1279 A.H., and Jumādā al-Thānī 20 of the lunar year, 1320 A.H.²⁸ He was the sixth and the last child in a religious family claiming descent from the Prophet. His family resided in the town of Khumayn, a small town about two hundred miles southwest of Tehran. His date of birth coincides with the anniversary of the auspicious birthday of Ḥadrat Faṭīma Zahrā,²⁹ the most revered woman in Islam and the holy and exalted daughter of the Prophet Mohammad.

Between 1861 and 1871 his grandfather Sayyid Aḥmad Mūsavī was living in Najaf.³⁰ At the invitation of Yūsuf Khān Kamarah'ī, he went to Khumayn to guide the people there. There he married Sukaynah Khānum, Yūsuf's daughter, and had one daughter, Ṣāhibah, and one son, Muṣṭafā, (d. 1902) who was the father of Āyatullāh Khomeini. Āyatullāh Sayyid Muṣṭafā Mūsavī, who was one of

²⁷ Different sources give conflicting information with respect to his date of birth, e.g. August 28, according to Rajaei, *Islamic Values*, 35. or September 24, according to Alexander Knysh, " 'Irfān Revisited: Khomeini And The Legacy of Islamic Mystical Philosophy," *Middle East Journal*, 46, (1992): 633. But according to the Imām's statement, the true date is 30 Shahrivar (September 21).

²⁸ Āyatullāh Khomeini, "Zindagī-i Imām," 5, and Pasandidah, "Tārikhchah," 27.

²⁹ She was born in 20 Jumādā al-Thānī 2 A.H.; see Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār* (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Wafā, 1403/1983), 43: 9-230. Regarding her, Algar says: " Faṭīma, the daughter of the Prophet, shared in the exalted states of the Prophet and the Twelve Imams in that she possessed the same quality of 'iṣmāt (divinely bestowed freedom from error and sin) that they did. As daughter of the Prophet and wife of the first Imam, she served, moreover, as a link between the Prophet and his successors. Hamid Algar, *Islam and Revolution* (London: Mizan Press, 1985), 156.

³⁰ Najaf is one of the holy cities of Iraq, which is revered as containing the tomb of Imam 'Alī, the first Imam of Shi'a.

the best known and most beloved scholars of his day, was killed by bandits on his way from Khumayn to Arāk³¹ in 1902, exactly four months and twenty two days³² after the of his youngest son birth. He left three sons and three daughters, of whom the youngest was Āyatullāh Khomeini. Āyatullāh Khomeini's mother Hājar Aḥmadī was also the descendant of a clergyman. She was the daughter of Āyatullāh Āqā Mīrzā Aḥmad Mujtahid.³³

After the death of his father, Āyatullāh Khomeini's mother and paternal aunt raised him with the help of his nurse, a brave and capable woman. He suffered many hardships³⁴ because he was bereaved of his father in his infancy. When he was fifteen years old his aunt passed away, and shortly afterwards he also lost his mother, who died while on a visit to Tehran to seek justice at the Qājār court.³⁵

His brother, Āyatullāh Pasandīdah,³⁶ recalls that Āyatullāh Khomeini showed surprising capacity and talent even in his childhood. Not only in his

³¹ Arāk is a town in western Iran, 284 km southwest of Tehran.

³² Rajaei puts the event six months afterward; see Rajaei, *Islamic Values*, 25.

³³ Pasandīdah, "Tārīkhchah-i Khāndān-i Ḥaḍrat-i Imām," *Pāsdār-i Islām*, 1359s./1980): 28.

³⁴ Ibid., 27.

³⁵ Ibid., and Sa'īd Najafiyān, "Imām Khomeini (pt. 1)," *Al-Tawḥīd*, v. 7, no. 4, (1410/1990): 119.

³⁶ He was born in 1313/1895 in Khumayn, and after a short stay in Iṣfahān, he went to Qum, where he has lived until the present day. See: Muḥammad Sharīf Rāzī, *Ganjīnah-i Dānishmandān* (Tehran: Kitābfurūshī-i Islāmīyah 1352s./1973), 2: 91.

studies but also in sports was he the most outstanding among the boys of his age.³⁷

EARLY EDUCATION

During his childhood, he began to learn to read and write at home.

Āyatullāh Khomeini writes of his earliest formal education:

I began to learn in Mullā Qāsim's traditional elementary school (*Maktab Khānah*). I learned elementary lessons under Āqā Shaykh Ja'far, paternal cousin, and Mīrzā Maḥmūd, and during these lessons I was learning *muqaddamāt* (a common textbook of elementary grammar, Arabic and logic) under Mr. Najafi Khomeini.³⁸

He went to a newly established school, Aḥmadīyah, and learned Arabic grammar, logic and other introductory Islamic sciences under his elder brother Āyatullāh Pasandīdah. He continued studying under his elder brother, until 1338/1919, when he went to Iṣfahān. One year later he went to Arāk³⁹ to be with Āyatullāh Ḥā'irī.⁴⁰

³⁷ Najafiyan, "Imām Khomeini (pt. 1)," *Al-Tawḥīd*, v. 7, no. 4, (1410/1990): 120.

³⁸ Āyatullāh Khomeini, "Zindagī-i Imām bi Ravāyat-i Imām," *Huḍūr*, (Tehran), no. 1 (Khurdād 1370, [May 1991]: 5,

³⁹ Refer to footnote no. 31, above.

⁴⁰ Sayyid Ḥamīd Rawḥānī, *Barrasi va Taḥlīl-i Nihāḍati-i Imām Khomeini* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Rāh-i Imām, 1360/1981), 1: 26, and Bāqirī, "Nujūm-i Ummat," *Nūr-i 'Ilm*, Qum, 31, (1990): 83.

STUDY IN ARĀK AND QUM

Āyatullāh Shaykh ‘Abd al-Karīm Ḥā’irī Yazdī⁴¹ (d. 1355/1936) was one of the greatest Shī‘a scholars (*Marja’i Taqlīd*) of his time.⁴² He had been a pupil of Mīrzā Ḥasan Shīrāzī,⁴³ (d. 1312/1894) an Iranian Muslim scholar who managed to cancel the tobacco concession given to an English company in 1891.⁴⁴ Because Āyatullāh Ḥā’irī went to Qum⁴⁵ to teach in 1339/1920, Āyatullāh Khomeini followed him there.

⁴¹ On Ḥā’irī Yazdī, see: ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ‘Aqīqī Bakhshāyishī, *Fuqahā-yi Nāmdār-i Shī‘ah* (Qum: Kitābkānah-i Āyatullāh Najafī, 1405/1984), 435, and Hamid Algar, *The Roots of the Islamic Revolution* (London: Open Press, 1983), 40-41, and ‘Abd al-Ḥādī Ḥā’irī, *Tashayyu’ va Mashrū‘īyat Dar Iran va Naqsh-i Irānīyān-i Muqīm-i ‘Irāq* (Tehran: Mu’assasat Intishārāt Amīr Kabīr, 1364s./1985), 179, and Michael M. J. Fischer, *Iran From Religious Dispute to Revolution* (London: Harvard University Press, 1980), 89-109.

⁴² “In 1922 he founded in the city what is known as the *Ḥauze-ye ‘Ilmiye*, which roughly translated is the teaching institution.” Algar, *The Roots of the Islamic Revolution*, 41. ‘Abd al-Ḥādī Ḥā’irī, *Tashayyu’ va Mashrū‘īyat Dar Iran*, 155, and Michael M. J. Fischer, *Iran From Religious Dispute to Revolution*, 274 n7.

⁴³ On Mīrzā Shīrāzī, see: Murtaḍā Muṭahharī, *Āshnā’i Bā ‘Ulūm-i Islāmī* (Tehran: Ṣadrā, 1258s./1979), 6:83, and Algar, *The Roots of the Islamic Revolution*, 19.

⁴⁴ Aḥmad Doost Mohammadi, “The Line of The Imām,” Thesis (Ph.D.)-Claremont Graduate School, 1984, 2.

⁴⁵ Algar says: “it is a conglomerate of different colleges and institutions of learning, informally organized and containing a number of teachers, offering the entire spectrum of the traditional religious sciences, joined by philosophy and mysticism. There is a tradition, attributed to the sixth imam of the Shī‘a, that in latter times knowledge would arise in Qum and be distributed from there to the rest of Iran and to the Islamic world.” Algar, *The Roots of the Islamic Revolution*, 41.

In 1914 Āyatullāh Khomeini had begun teaching at the religious center at Arāk. He went to Qum at the insistence of its scholars, following which his pupils in Arāk also joined him. Although Qum had always been an important *shī'ā* center, Āyatullāh Ḥā'irī's going there, followed by his reorganization of the teaching institution, gradually elevated its status to that of a major center of religious learning.⁴⁶ Āyatullāh Khomeini resumed his studies at a new school, Dār al-Shafā, and after five years he finished the highest level and was able to participate in Āyatullāh Ḥā'irī's classes.⁴⁷

Āyatullāh Khomeini states:

After the death of the late Mr. Ḥā'irī I continued to participate in discussions with some friends until the late Mr. Burūjirdī came to Qum. We attended his class and encouraged others to participate, while I also took advantage of his lectures. A long time before his coming I was mostly involved with the teaching of *ma'qūl* (rational sciences), *'irfān*⁴⁸ (mystically attained knowledge; gnosis) and the higher levels of *fiqh* (jurisprudence) and *uṣūl*

⁴⁶ Najafiyan, "Imām Khomeini (pt. 1)," *Al-Tawhīd*, v. 7, no. 4, (1410/1990): 121.

⁴⁷ Rawhānī, *Barrasī va Taḥlīl*, 26. In this regard, Algar says: "The learned and religious career of Āyatullāh Khomeini began when he was 17, in the year 1919, when he went to study in the city of Arāk. After a brief stay, he left this relatively small and unimportant city to go to the main center of religious learning in Iran, namely, Qum. His arrival shortly preceded the establishment there of the *Hauze-ye 'Ilmiye* by Shaykh 'Abd al-Karīm Ḥā'irī. Āyatullāh Khomeini swiftly emerged as one of his most prominent and important pupils. Under his guidance, Āyatullāh Khomeini studied the disciplines of *Fiqh* and *uṣūl al-fiqh*. Algar, *The Roots of the Islamic Revolution*, 43.

⁴⁸ This term is used in the context of the Islamic culture of Iran to describe a synthesis of philosophy, speculative theology, and mystical thought that emerged in the later medieval period and which has persisted until today. This peculiar type of later Islamic thought, combining in itself the elements of scholasticism, rational philosophy, and mysticism, has also been known in Iran as *ḥikmat* (wisdom). Knysh, " 'Irfān Revisited," 632.

(principles). However after his coming, at the request of some gentlemen like the late Mr. Muṭahharī, I began to teach *dars-i khārij-i fiqh*;⁴⁹ therefore, I was hindered in [my study of] the rational sciences, and the same schedule continued during my stay in Qum and Najaf. By going to Paris I was prevented from [studying] everything and was engaged with other things.⁵⁰

In the traditional educational institutions, learning and teaching go on side by side for many students. A pupil studying at the higher levels (such as *dars-i khārij*) may instruct junior pupils. It is not clear when Āyatullāh Khomeini started giving instruction in *fiqh* and *uṣūl* at the *suṭūḥ* level. (the level before *dars-i khārij*).⁵¹ Apparently he began teaching *suṭūḥ* by the time he began attending

⁴⁹ *Khārij-i fiqh* and *Khārij-i uṣūl* are the highest levels of instruction in the 'Ilmiyah seminary.

⁵⁰ Āyatullāh Khomeini, "Zindagi-i Imām," 5.

⁵¹ At the *suṭūḥ* level, the students begin with study of certain textbooks on *uṣūl* and *fiqh* such as Abū Maṣṣūr Jamāl al-Dīn's *Ma'ālim al-Uṣūl* (The Methods of the Principles); (on Jamāl al-Dīn (d. 1011/1602) see Mohammad Bāqir Mūsavī Kh^wansārī, *Rawḍāt al-Jannāt fī Aḥwāl al-'Ulamā* (Qum: Ismā'īliyyān, nd.), 2: 296-302), and Shahīd-i Thānī's *Sharḥ-i Lum'ah* (Commentary on the book of *Lum'ah*), a work written by Shahīd-i Avval d. 786 A.H (for him and Shahī-i Thānī d. 965 A.H see Mūsavī Kh^wansārī, *Rawḍāt al-Jannāt*, 3: 7-352); they then go on to study more advanced textbooks such as Murtaḍā Anṣārī's *al-Rasā'il* and *Makāsib* (Treatises and Businesses), and Ākhūnd-i Khurāsānī's *Kifāyah al-Uṣūl* (Sufficiency of the Principles (on Anṣārī (d. 1381/1961) and Ākhūnd-i Khurāsānī (d. 1329/1911) see Muṭahharī, *Āshnā'ī*, 82-83), after which they can attend *Dars-i Khārij*, the advanced lectures of the leading *fuqahā* (pl. of *faqīh* jurisprudents) in *uṣūl* and *fiqh*.

It would not be out of place here to give a description of the academic curriculum of theological students which aims at training chaste and learned scholars for Islamic societies. There are three courses in the 'Ilmiyah seminary of Iran:

I. Preliminaries course: (*Muqaddamāt*)

The course begins with a basic course of Arabic grammar and composition, to be followed by elementary syntax and logic.

II. Intermediate Course: (*Suṭūḥ*)

Āyatullāh Ḥā'irī's *dars-i khārij* in 1345/1926,⁵² and also began the teaching of *manqūl* (traditional subjects) and *fiqh* and *uṣūl* in 1362/1943. Before teaching the above subjects, he had for many years taught the intermediate course, expounding the books of *fiqh* and *uṣūl* in an attractive and eloquent manner to Islamic scholars and students.

When he started teaching the more advanced courses, he brought about a great change in the theological center of Qum, and his wide and abundant knowledge made this center a cradle of learning for his following. His teaching method in dealing with academic questions, his careful analysis of them, and his

This course consists mainly of reading. After the beginner has completed the elementary course, he enters the intermediate course and his task is mostly that of learning *fiqh* and *uṣūl* (jurisprudence & its principles) from related text books.

III. Advanced Course: (*Dars-i Khārij*)

This course consists of discussing matters related to *uṣūl* and *fiqh* outside textbooks. As the student has in previous courses grasped the concepts presented in textbooks of jurisprudence, annals and traditions, he attends the master's class to discuss either questions of jurisprudence or principles, as the case may be. The discussion is begun by the master, and students express their views. See: 'Aqīqī Bakhshāyishī, *Ten Decades of 'Ulamā's Struggle*, trans. Alaedin Pazargadi (Tehran, Islamic Propagation Organization, 1985), 175-179.

Fischer has written, elaborately, of the various schedules of *hawzah-i 'Imīyah* of Qum such as Golpāyighānī's Madrasa or Ḥaqqānī's Madrasa (Muntazariyah); nevertheless, he makes mistakes and mixes some courses and books with each other; for example, for level II he says: "*Rasā'il-i Jadīd* is an abridged edition by 'Alī Mishkinī, containing only those parts normally read. *Kifāya* of Shaykh Mullā Kāzīm Ākhūnd-i Khurāsānī (d. 1329/1911) is read together with *Rasā'el*; does contain *alfāz...al-'Urwat al-Wuthqā* of Sayyid Kāzīm Yazdī." In fact, *Rasā'il-i Jadīd* was read for a short time in Madrasa Ḥaqqānī, but now nobody reads it; and *Kifāya* is read together with *Makāsib*, and after *Rasā'i*; also *al-'Urwat al-Wuthqā* is read in level I.

Fischer does not mention 'Allāma Ṭabāṭabā'i's works offered as electives at level III, the most important of his texts in this case being *Bidāyat al-Ḥikma* and *Nihāya al-Ḥikma*. See: Fischer, *Iran*, 247-248.

⁵² Najafiyān, "Imām Khomeini," 126.

deep investigation of matters of *uṣūl* and *fiqh* were most encouraging to those pursuing these fields of research.⁵³

In addition, he occupied the most distinguished chair as far as Islamic subjects were concerned, and his pupils exceeded those of other classes both in quantity and quality. In his thirty years as teacher, over a thousand scholars attended his classes to gather pearls from that sea of knowledge.⁵⁴

The most important of his colleagues among the masters were Āyatullāh Mīrzā Sayyid ‘Alī Yathribī Kāshānī,⁵⁵ (d.1379/1959), Āyatullāh Ḥā’irī (d.1355/1936) and Āyatullāh Burūjirdī⁵⁶ (d.1380/1960) in *fiqh*, and Mīrzā Muḥammad ‘Alī Shāh Ābādī⁵⁷ (1373/1953) in *irfān*. His most outstanding pupils were Muṭahharī,⁵⁸ (d.1358s./1979) Khāmana’ī⁵⁹ and Rafsanjānī⁶⁰ and his elder son

⁵³ ‘Aqīqī Bakhshāyishī, *Ten Decades of ‘Ulamā’s Struggle*, 196.

⁵⁴ Rawḥānī, *Barrasī va Taḥlīl*, 41-50.

⁵⁵ On Kāshānī see: M. Jirdifānī, *‘Ulamā’i Buzurg-i Shī’ah az Kulaynī tā Khomeini* (Qum: Intishārāt-i Ma‘ārif-i Islāmī, 1364s./1985), 417-418.

⁵⁶ He was *Marja’i Taqlīd*, source of imitation, after Āyatullāh Ḥā’irī and before Āyatullāh Khomeini. On him see: ‘Alī Davānī, *Zindagānī Āyatullāh Burūjirdī* (Qum, 1340s./1961).

⁵⁷ For Shāh Ābādī’s life, which we will consider in more detail later, see: Mohammad Sharīf Razī, *Gangānah-i Dānishmandān-i Islāmī* (Tehran: Kitābforūshī Islāmīyah, 1353s./1974), 4: 483-485.

⁵⁸ He was the most devoted disciple of Āyatullāh Khomeini and ‘Allāmah Ṭabāṭabā’ī; see: Sayyid Ḥusayn Shafī’i Dārābī, *Yādvārah-i Ustād Shahīd Muṭahharī* (Qum, 1360s./1981), 10-95.

⁵⁹ After Āyatullāh Khomeini he was elected by the Assembly of Experts in 1989 as the New Leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran. See *idem*, *Iran 89/90*, 9-12.

⁶⁰ For Rafsanjānī see: *ibid.*, 9-15.

Muṣṭafā⁶¹ (d.1977) etc.⁶² Āyatullāh Khomeini, in addition to his knowledge of *uṣūl*, was a specialist in astronomy, philosophy, traditional philosophy, mysticism, and political science, and he also wrote over 90 works in various subject. Each one is incomparable in its own right.⁶³

Because of his opposition to the Pahlavī regime,⁶⁴ which governed before the Revolution, he was arrested in 1964 and then after a brief stay sent into exile in Bursa in Turkey.⁶⁵ In October 1965, he was enabled to leave his place of exile in Turkey to go to a more congenial environment, that of Najaf, one of the cities in Iraq that have traditionally been centers not only for the cultivation of Shī'a learning but places of refuge for Iranian religious leaders.⁶⁶ Algar relates:

Imām Khomeini established himself as a major presence in Najaf. More importantly, he maintained his influence and popularity in Iran. He issued

⁶¹ On him see: 'Alī Davānī, *Nihāḍat-i Rawḥānīyūn-i Iran* (Tehran: Bunyād-i Farhangī-i Imām Riḍā, nd), 6: 332-370.

⁶² Riḍā Ustādī, "Mashāyikh-i Imām," *Kayhān-i Farhangī*, 63 (June 1889): 8-10.

⁶³ Idem., "Kitābhā va Āthār-i 'Ilmī Imām Khomeini," *Kayhān-i Andīshah*, 29 (June 1990) 143-161.

⁶⁴ Algar says: "...Throughout the spring of 1963, Imam Khomeini continued to denounce the Shah's regime. He concentrated his attacks on its tyrannical nature, its subordination to the United States, and its expanding collaboration with Israel. The confrontation reached a new peak in June with the onset of Muḥarram, the month in the Muslim calendar when the martyrdom of Imam Ḥusayn, the grandson of the Prophet, is commemorated and aspirations to emulate his example, by struggling against contemporary manifestations of tyranny, are awakened. On the tenth day of the month, Imam Khomeini delivered a historic speech in Qum, repeating his denunciations of the Shah's regime and warning the Shah not to behave in such a way that the people would rejoice when he should ultimately be forced to leave the country. Two days later, he was arrested at his residence and taken to confinement in Tehran." See: Algar, *Islam and Revolution*, 17.

⁶⁵ Pasandīdah, "Tārīkhchah," 26, and Rawḥānī, *Barrasī va Taḥlīl*, 741.

⁶⁶ Pasandīdah, "Tārīkhchah," 27, and Rawḥānī, *Barrasī va Taḥlīl*, 870.

periodic proclamations concerning developments in Iran, that were smuggled into the country and clandestinely circulated at great risk⁶⁷

In 1978, he went to Kuwait and then after a short period he went to France taking up residence at the hamlet of Neauphle-le- Chateau near Paris. In early October 1978⁶⁸ he finally returned to Iran. Ten days after his return the Revolution succeeded in its goals. In 1990, after eleven years of leadership, he passed away. Professor Algar relates the reasons for Āyatullāh Khomeini's emergence into the limelight:

After the death of (the late) Burūjirdī no single successor to his position emerged. Khomeini was reluctant to allow his own name to be canvassed, but he ultimately yielded to the urgings of close associates that a collection of his rulings on matters of religious practice be published, thus implicitly declaring his availability as leader and authority. It was not, however, primarily through technical procedures such as this that the prominence of Imam Khomeini spread first within Qum, and then through the country. Of greater importance was his willingness to confront the Shāh's regime at a time when few dared to do so. For example, he was alone among the major religious scholars of Qum in extending support publicly to the students at the religious institution who were campaigning against the opening of liquor store in the city.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Āyatullāh Khomeini, *Islam and Revolution*, trans. Ḥamid Algar (London: Mizan Press, 1985), 18.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 15.

MYSTICAL LIFE

“Say: My prayer, my worship, my living, my dying, all are for God, The Lord of the worlds.” (Qur’ān, 16:62)

Āyatullāh Khomeini’s fame as a teacher spread very rapidly, and he was soon surrounded by talented disciples who sought spiritual enlightenment through benefiting from his personality and knowledge.⁷⁰ Although Āyatullāh Khomeini was himself an original and independent thinker in many fields, we will be concerned in this section with describing his mystical life.

In addition to *uṣūl* and *fiqh*, he studied Islamic philosophy and mysticism, but all these which are considered as ideals in some cases, were for his noble spirit only a brief introduction. What satisfied his lofty mind were his nightly vigils and endeavors for attaining spiritual exaltation and perfection. He was not content with being a distinguished teacher and master, and alongside these divine duties he was engaged in moral teachings.⁷¹

He began teaching philosophy in 1347/1928, when he was 27 years old, with some chosen students.⁷² His teaching of philosophy continued until 1946,

⁷⁰ ‘Aqīqī Bakhshāyishī, *Ten Decades of ‘Ulamā’s Struggle*, 196.

⁷¹ Ibid., 195.

⁷² Rawḥānī, *Barrasī va Taḥlīl*, 38.

when ‘Allāmah Ṭabāṭabā’ī⁷³(d.1402/1981) the great philosopher and exegete, arrived in Qum to relieve Āyatullāh Khomeini’s burden so that the latter could focus his energies teaching the *dars-i khārij* on *uṣūl* and *fiqh*, which he had begun in 1946 and which alone required at least five to six hours of daily preparation and study.⁷⁴

While he was teaching philosophy he began to study ‘*irfān* under Āyatullāh Shāh Ābādī. These lessons were first offered in one of the rooms bordering the larger compound of Ḥaḍrat Ma’sūmah’s shrine⁷⁵(d. 201/816) in Qum and later at his own home. He also began teaching *akhlāq* (ethics) to his students and as a result many people became interested in attending his class. Not only was the size of the audience increasing day by day, but also the number of sessions which were offered, forcing him to teach classes even on weekends.⁷⁶As the fame of these lectures spread to other parts of the country, listeners came from other towns on weekly visits to attend them.⁷⁷ Knysh says: “His biographers point out that his bent

⁷³ On him see: Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ṭabāṭabā’ī, *al-Mīzān*, trans. Sayyid Sa’id Akhtar Rizvi (Tehran: WOFIS, 1403/1982), 1: XV-XIX.

⁷⁴ Najafiyān, “Imam Khomeini (pt. 1),” *Al-Tawḥīd*, v. 7, no, 4, (1410/1990): 126.

⁷⁵ Faṭīma Ma’sūmah was the noble daughter of the seventh Imām of the Shī’a (Imām Mūsā Ibn-Ja’far). For her life see: Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, 48: 290.

⁷⁶ Bāqirī, “Nujūm-i Ummat,” 85-86.

⁷⁷ Najafiyān, “Imām Khomeini(pt. 1),” *Al-Tawḥīd*, v. 7, no, 4, (1410/1990): 127.

for simplicity and asceticism, acquired during his studies in Qum, remained unchanged when he became the leader of Iran.”⁷⁸

Even before the Revolution, therefore, he was famous not only among the *‘ulamā* of Qum but also among many *‘ulamā* elsewhere. They were already acquainted with his scientific and spiritual situation, and some of them wrote about him before the Revolution in 1979. We can name among them: Āqā Buzurg Tihranī, and Sayyid Rayhānullāh Yazdī(1389/1969).⁷⁹ In this regard, Knysh says:

The phases of Khomeini’s spiritual intellectual advancement, as well as his textbooks, were deeply traditional. He followed the steps of many a religious thinker as described in medieval biographical and autobiographical accounts: from a formal legal and theological training to a divine “illumination” and a direct vision of cosmic realities and God. A similar spiritual and intellectual evolution may be construed from the autobiography of the great Sunni theologian Mohammad Ghazālī⁸⁰ (d. 505-1111) and from the biographies of the two prominent representatives of Shī‘a esotericism, Ḥaydar Āmulī⁸¹ and Mullā Ṣadrā.⁸²

⁷⁸ Knysh, “‘Irfān Revisited,” 635-636.

⁷⁹ See, Āqā Buzurg, *al-Dharī‘ah ilā Taṣānif al-Shī‘a*, (Beirut: Dār al-Aḍwā, 1403/1983), 22: 152, and Khānbār Moshār, *Fihrist-i Kutub-i Mu‘allifīn-i Chāpī* (Tehran: 1342s./1963), 3: 232. For more information see Riḍā Ustādī, “Kitābhā va Āthār-i Imām,” 29.

⁸⁰ On Ghazālī see: Khalīl al-Jar & Ḥannā al-Fākhūrī, *Tārīkh-i Falsafah dar Jahān-i Islāmī*, trans. ‘Abdul Muḥammad Āyatī (Tehran: Kitāb-i Zamān, 1358s./1979), 2: 517-597.

⁸¹ On Āmulī see: Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī, *Asrār al-Sharī‘ah Aṭvār al-Ṭarīqah Anwār al-Ḥaqīqah*, ed. Mohammad Khājawī (Tehran: Mu‘assasat Muṭālī‘āt-i wa Taḥqīqāt-i Farhangī, 1362s./1983), .Haft-Shaṣt panj (7-65).

⁸² Knysh, “‘Irfān Revisited,” 636.

Although he followed the teachings of some major *'ulamā*, especially Āyatullāh Shāh Ābādī, he, like other mystics, relied primarily on the Qur'ān and the traditions of the *Ahl al-Bayt* (progeny of the Prophet). According to Shī'a thought the main methodology is to follow the Qur'ān and then the tradition of *Ahl al-Bayt*, and then the teachings of the *'ulamā* which is equivalent to following the Qur'ān and *Ahl al-Bayt*. Knysh does not mention how Āyatullāh Khomeini, while profiting from the teachings of ṣūfis always made reference to the Qur'ān and the *Ahl al-Bayt* in his work.⁸³ Algar makes the following remarks in this respect:

I would like to make a brief diversion to speak of the place of philosophy and mysticism in the learned and even the political career of Āyatullāh Khomeini. It is one of the remarkable facts about him that his political role in leading a revolution, unparalleled in recent history, has come totally to overshadow his achievements as a scholar, philosopher and mystic. All too frequently in the modernist Muslim mentality philosophy and mysticism are held to represent a retreat from reality, a total abdication of any kind of political and social role,

⁸³ Āyatullāh Khomeini, in his first testament, quotes one tradition respecting the *Thaqalayn* of the Prophet: "I leave two great and precious things among you: the Book of God and My Household. Verily, these two will never be separated from each other until they encounter me at the pool of *Kawthar* (in paradise). After this quotation, he continues about the *Ahl al-Bayt*: "We are honored that *Nahj al-Balāgha* which is the greatest manual of spiritual and material life after the Holy Qur'ān, is the greatest book of man's liberation and its spiritual governmental dictums offer the greatest path to salvation, belongs to our infallible Imām. We are honored that infallible Imāms from 'Alī Ibn-i Abīṭālib to the saviour of humanity, his Holiness Mahdī, the Master of Ages who lives by the power of Almighty and oversees our affairs, are our imāms (leaders)... and we pay our allegiances to them." See: *Imām's final Discourse* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Usvah, nd.), 5 & 10-12. For the tradition of the *Thaqalayn* and *Ahl al-Bayt* see: 'Allāmah Ṭabāṭabā'i, "Shī'a," *Maktab-i Tashayyu* (1960): v.2, and idem, *Shī'a in Islam*, trans. Seyyed Hossein Nasr (Albany: The State University of New York Press, 1975).

as if they were merely abstract matters that had no real connection with the existing problems of Muslims and the Islamic world. Āyatullāh Khomeini is living proof that these two subjects, correctly conceived and pursued, are, on the contrary, the mainspring for a form of activity that is profoundly correct, guided by a clear insight that is not merely political and strategic but is also at the same time an insight that is metaphysically correct and well-guided.⁸⁴

MYSTICAL MASTERS

Āyatullāh Khomeini had some famous masters in *'irfān*, who linked him to that long tradition of learning in Iranian Islam which combined mystical and metaphysical trends dating back to the teachings of such seminal figures in Shī'a intellectual history as Mīr Dāmād⁸⁵ (d.1040/1630) and Mullā Ṣadrā⁸⁶ (d.1050/1640).⁸⁷ A few of his masters will be enumerated below :

1. Āyatullāh Āqā Mīrzā Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh Ābādī⁸⁸ (d.1373/1953) a pupil of Mīrzā Hāshim Kh^wānsārī⁸⁹ (d.1318/1900), Ḥājj Mīrzā Ḥasan Āshtīyānī⁹⁰

⁸⁴ Algar, *The Roots of the Islamic Revolution*, 43-44.

⁸⁵ On Mīr Dāmād see: Mūsavī Kh^wānsārī, *Rawḍāt*, 2: 234-244.

⁸⁶ On Ṣadrā see: Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn Āshtīyānī, *Sharḥ-i Ḥāl wa Ārā'i Falsafī* (Tehran: Nihdat-i Zanān-i Musalmān, 1260s./1981).

⁸⁷ Knysh, " 'Irfān Revisited," 634.

⁸⁸ On him see: Rāzī, *Ganjīnah*, 2: 178 & 3: 483-485.

⁸⁹ On him see: Āqā Buzurg, *Al-Dharīah*, 2: 116 & 4:148.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 1: 122-27 & 4: 309.

(d.1319/1901), Mīrzā Hāshim Gīlānī⁹¹ (d.1332/1913), etc. Among his works are *Rashaḥāt al-Biḥār* (Secretion of the Seas), *Shadharāt al-Ma'ārif* (Particles of Knowledge) and *Miftāḥ al-Sa'ādah* (The Key of Happiness). During the seven years of his stay in Qum (1928-1935), Āyatullāh Khomeini studied such works of mysticism as Ibn-i 'Arabī's *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* (Bezels of Wisdom), Fanārī's *Miftāḥ al-Ghayb* (The Key of Hidden), and Anṣārī's *Manāzil al-Sā'irīn* (Stations of the Wayfarers) under Shāh Ābādī, who was the greatest master in the field of mysticism,⁹² and Āyatullāh Khomeini often mentions him with the great respect as *Shaykhunā* (Our Master) in his works such as *Chihil Ḥadīth*.⁹³ Knysh relates:

In the light of the foregoing, it seems quite natural that Sadra's *Kitāb al-Asfār* (book of journeys) was the first work on 'irfān that Khomeini studied under Shāh Ābādī's guidance....Khomeini's studies in Qum under the supervision of Shāh Ābādī lasted six years, until the 'irfān teacher moved to Tehran. Left more or less to his own devices, Khomeini apparently continued to read the work of medieval Muslim philosophers and mystics.⁹⁴

The available evidence cannot help us to establish whether *Asfār* was the first book which he studied under Shāh Ābādī. In addition, according to the

⁹¹ On him see: Āshtiyānī, *Sharḥ Ḥāl*, 222.

⁹² Riḍā Ustādī, "Mashāyikh-i Imām," 9.

⁹³ Āyatullāh Khomeini, *Chihil Ḥadīth* (Tehran: Markaz-i Nashr-i Farhangī-i Rajā, 1368/1989), pp. 56-94-144 etc., and also *Miṣbāḥ al-Hidāyah*, 53-95 & *Ta'līqāt 'alā Sharḥ-i Fuṣūṣ*, 98, etc.

⁹⁴ Knysh, " 'Irfān Revisited," 634 -635.

statement of his son Aḥmad, Āyatullāh Khomeini began to study under Āyatullāh Rafi'ī⁹⁵ (d.1396/1976), but after some days he saw that he could learn without any teacher, so he only engaged in discourse and consultation with him.⁹⁶

2. Āyatullāh Ḥājj Mīrzā Javād Malikī Tabrīzī⁹⁷ (d.1343/1924), a pupil of Āqā Riḍā Hamadānī⁹⁸ (d.1322/1904), and Ḥusayn Qulī Hamadānī⁹⁹ (d.1311/1893). He returned from Najaf to Tabrīz¹⁰⁰ and migrated to Qum in 1329/1911. Among his works are *Asrār al- Ṣalāt* (Secrets of Prayer), *Al-Murāqibāt* (Vigilances), *Liqā' Allāh* (Meeting God), etc. Āyatullāh Khomeini attended his lectures on ethics and morality that he held for a group of select pupils at his home.¹⁰¹

3. Āyatullāh Āqā Mīrzā 'Alī Akbar Ḥakamī Yazdī (d.1344/1925), a pupil of Jahāngīr Qashqāī and Āqā Mohammad Riḍā Qumshih'ī¹⁰² (d.1306/1888). For some time he taught philosophy, concentrating on such texts as Mullā Ṣadrā's *Asfār* and

⁹⁵ On him see: Rāzī, *Ganjīnah*, 4: 466.

⁹⁶ Riḍā Ustādī, "Mashāyikh-i Imām," 8.

⁹⁷ On him see: Rāzī, *Ganjīnah*, 1: 231-234.

⁹⁸ On Āqā Riḍā see: Jirfādiqānī, 327.

⁹⁹ On Hamadānī see: Āqā Buzurg, *al-Dharī'ah*, 7: 249 & 11: 311 & 15: 83.

¹⁰⁰ Tabrīz, the second largest city of Iran, is about 330m (530km) NW of Tehran, *Encyclopedia Britannica*, "Tabrīz," 21: 597.

¹⁰¹ Riḍā Ustādī, "Mashāyikh-i Imām," 8, and Najafiyān, "Imām Khomeini(pt. 1)," *Al-Tawḥīd*, v. 7, no, 4, (1410/1990): 123.

¹⁰² On him see: Khānbābā Mushār, *Fihrist-i Kutub*, 3: 190.

Sabzavārī's *Manẓūmah*¹⁰³ (Didactic Poem). He wrote three books : *Māhīyat va Wujūd* (Quiddity & Existence), *Ma'rifat al-Nafs wa Ma'rifat al-Rabb*, (Knowledge of Soul & Knowledge of the Lord), and *Fann-i Masāḥat* (The Science of Measurement).¹⁰⁴

These scholars may be considered to have been Āyatullāh Khomeini's direct teachers. It should be noted that Qāḍī Sa'īd Qumī, whom Knysh¹⁰⁵ includes erroneously among Āyatullāh Khomeini's teachers, lived during the period 1049-1103 A.H., that is, about 300 years before him.¹⁰⁶

MYSTICAL WORKS

As mentioned previously, Āyatullāh Khomeini's works cover a wide spectrum of topics such as *'irfān*, *fiqh*, *tafsīr* (exegesis), etc. In this section mention will be made only of mystical and moral works :

1. *Sharḥ-i Du'ā-i Saḥar* (Commentary on the Morning Prayer), a profound mystical and spiritual exposition in Arabic of one of the most inspiring of Islamic supplications, was the first work written by Āyatullāh Khomeini, completed in

¹⁰³ On Mullā Hādī Sabzavārī see: Sabzavārī, *Sharḥ-i Ghurar al-Farā'id*, ed. M. Muḥaghigh & T. Izutsu (Tehran: Institute of Islamic Studies, 1969), *Shish-Chihil Hasht* (6-48).

¹⁰⁴ Ridā Ustādī, "Mashāyikh-i Imām," 8.

¹⁰⁵ Knysh, " 'Irfān Revisited," 636.

¹⁰⁶ Āqā Buzurg-i Tihirānī, *al-Dharīrah*, 4: 479 & 6: 12 & 11: 264, etc.

1347/1928.¹⁰⁷ This book describes a Shī‘a litany which was attributed to Imām Riḍā, the eighth Imam of the Shī‘a. Many devoted Shī‘a read this litany in the morning during the month of Ramaḍān.¹⁰⁸ This book and *Miṣbāḥ al-Hidāya ilā al-Khilāfah wa al-Wilāyah* provide a summary of Khomeini’s philosophical studies and spiritual labors in Qum.¹⁰⁹

2. *Miṣbāḥ al-Hidāya ilā al-Khilāfah wa al-Wilāyah*. (Lamp [showing] the Right Way to vicegerency and Sainthood). This is one of the earliest of his works and at the same time the most obscure of his writings. It was written in Arabic when he was 29 years old, one year after he had written *Sharḥ Du‘āi Saḥar* (1349/1930).¹¹⁰ The book expounds upon the some profound mystical dimensions of the *khilāfah* and *wilāyah* of the Prophet Mohammad and Imām ‘Alī (the first Imām of Shī‘a) in terms couched in the mystical tradition established by Ibn ‘Arabī, who is often referred to in the book.¹¹¹

This book, like *Sharḥ Du‘āi Saḥar*, is comprehensible only to those who are familiar with the mystical idiom. Āyatullāh Khomeini says:

¹⁰⁷ Imām Khomeini, *Sharḥ Du‘āi Saḥar* (Qum: Dār al-Kitāb, 1984), 339.

¹⁰⁸ ‘Abbas Qumī, *Mafātīḥ al-jinān* (London: Religious Educational Center, nd.), 184.

¹⁰⁹ Knysh, “‘Irfān Revisited,” 636.

¹¹⁰ Āyatullāh Khomeini, *Miṣbāḥ al-Hidāyah Ilā al-Khilāfah wa al-Wilāyah* (Tehran: Piyām-i Āzādī, 1981), 214. Rawḥānī (*Barrasī va Taḥlīl*, 56-57) states that his first work was *Miṣbāḥ al-Hidāyah* written at the age of 27, and that at the age of 29 Āyatullāh Khomeini wrote *Sharḥ Du‘āi Saḥar*. In the light of Āyatullāh Khomeini’s statement, I think Rawḥānī’s information is incorrect.

¹¹¹ Najafiyān, “Imām Khomeini (pt. 3),” *Al-Tawḥīd*, v. 8, no. 2, (1411/1991): 143.

Please, my spiritual friend: ...Never give out the secrets to those who are not worthy of them; ...and never claim the understanding of these papers until you examine and research the words of the '*ulamā muta'allihīn*' from their original sources among the great masters (*mashāyikh*) and gnostics ('*urafā*'); otherwise, the mere referring to this knowledge increases only its loss and produces nothing except deprivation.¹¹²

Knysh also states:

Khomeini's *Miṣbāh al-Hidāyah* displays some features common to many others' early, but not yet mature, writing: a lack of compositional perfection which in Khomeini's case is the disparity of the parts constituting the discourse, an unnecessary repetition of rather trite metaphysical propositions, and the absence of a clearly defined approach. The impression of immaturity is reinforced by constant references to the Muslim thinkers whose writings determined the course Khomeini's reasoning and his overall attitude toward religion.¹¹³

This criticism refers to the method which is customary in some research centers such as the 'Ilmīyah Seminaries, and is not exclusively applicable to Āyatullāh Khomeini.

3. *Ta'līqāt 'alā Sharḥ Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* (Marginal Notes on the Commentary on Bezels of Wisdom). There appeared in the nineteenth-century a Egyptian

¹¹² Āyatullāh Khomeini, *Miṣbāh al- Hidāyah*, 213.

¹¹³ Knysh, " 'Irfān Revisited ," 636.

lithographed edition of the commentary on Ibn Arabī's *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* (Bezels of Wisdom) composed by Sharaf al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-Qaysarī (d. 751/1350), who was both an extraordinary mystical thinker in his own right and a widely known exponent of Ibn Arabī's doctrine.¹¹⁴ Āyatullāh Khomeini owned a copy, which he annotated and then mislaid. Fifteen years later was found by a student in Hamadān.¹¹⁵ In this regard, Knysh says:

Given the author's status the editor did not dare publish the commentaries without Khomeini's permission, and, thus, he sent to Khomeini a draft of the handsomely copied manuscript for correction and approval. Khomeini sanctioned its publication after making a few minor stylistic changes. To bypass the enormous difficulties involved in a critical edition of the voluminous texts that had been commented upon by young Khomeini, the editors chose to reproduce only his rather disparate remarks and elaborations. In order to provide his discourse with a minimum of integrity, they retained those phrases from the original lithographic editions that elicited his comments. Nevertheless, an attempt to grasp the author's complex reasoning without having recourse to the original texts on which they are based is a rather frustrating task.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 631.

¹¹⁵ See: Muḥammad Raḥīmīyān, introduction to Āyatullāh Khomeini; *Ta'liqāt 'alā Sharḥ "Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam" wa "Miṣbāḥ al-Uns"* (Qum: Pāsdār-i Islām, 1406/1995), 5. The story of how the book was discovered is an interesting one; see Knysh "Irfān Revisited," 631-632.

¹¹⁶ Knysh, "Irfān Revisited," 632-633.

3. *Chihil Ḥadīth* (Forty Traditions). In this book, the author describes forty traditions which are primarily of an ethical and mystical nature. These traditions are from the Prophet and the *Imāms* of the Shī'a. At the beginning of the book, Āyatullāh Khomeini names four masters (*mashāyikh*), who allowed him to quote the traditions in this work.¹¹⁷

4. *Liqā' Allāh* (Meeting God). A seven page work that Āyatullāh Khomeini wrote in Persian, it has been published at the end of Ḥājj Mīrzā Javād Malīkī's *Liqā' Allāh*.¹¹⁸

5. *Sirr al-Ṣalāh* or *Ṣalāt al-ʿArifīn wa Mi'rāj al-Sālikīn* (The Secret of Prayer or Prayers of the Knowers & Ascent of the Wayfarers). This book was written for a group of select mystics, and was completed by him in 1939.

6. *Ādāb al-Ṣalāh* (Correct Conduct of Prayer). This work, written in Persian, is a profound spiritual and mystical treatise on *Ṣalāh* (prayer) and its etiquette, rewards, significance and mysteries.¹¹⁹ Āyatullāh Khomeini wrote it before *Sirr al-Ṣalāh* in 1942, and at the beginning of this book he states:

¹¹⁷ These four people were: 1. 'Allāmah Shaykh Mohammad Taqī Iṣfahānī, (d.1332/1913), 2. Ḥājj Shaykh 'Abbās Qumī, (d.1359/1940), 3. Sayyid Aboul Qāsim Dihkurī, (d.1352/1933), 4. Sayyid Muḥsin Amīn 'Āmīlī, (d.1371/1951). See, Āyatullāh Khomeini, *Chihil Ḥadīth*, .3, and for more information about this book see chapter II.

¹¹⁸ Riḍā Ustādī, "Kitābhā va Āthār," 147. and Najafīyān, "Imām Khomeini(pt. 3)," *Al-Tawḥīd*, v. 8, no, 1, (1411/1991): 144.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 145.

“Beforehand I had written a book about prayer, but it is difficult for general people, so this book is useful for everybody.”¹²⁰

7. *Tafsīr Sūrah Ḥamd*. This is an exegetical discourse in Persian on the opening chapter of the Holy Qur’ān, which was originally broadcast in five sessions by the Islamic Revolution Television in 1980. Professor Algar says:

Although he never proceeds beyond the second verse of the chapter (and engages in what appear to be numerous lengthy digressions), the designation “On *Sūrat al-Fātiḥa*” is appropriate. The point of departure and return is always the opening chapter, and more importantly, the wide range of subjects evoked illustrates the fact that the chapter contains the whole of Islam compressed within it that is it is “the mother of the book,” as the Prophet designated it.¹²¹

8. *Jihād Akbar* or *Mubārizah Bā Nafs* (The Major Struggle). This is a compilation made by Sayyid Ḥamīd Rawḥānī of Āyatullāh Khomeini’s lectures on ethical and spiritual issues delivered during his stay in Najaf in 1974.

Other books are as follows :

9. *Sharḥ Ḥadīth Ra’s al-Jālūt* (a commentary on Qāḍī Sa’īd’s work).

10. *Ta’līqah ‘Alā Sharḥ Ḥadīth Ra’s al-Jālūt*.

11. *Ḥāshīyah ‘Alā al-Asfār*.

¹²⁰ Āyatullāh Khomeini, *Ādāb al-Ṣalāh*, 2.

¹²¹ Idem., *Islam and Revolution*, trans. Hamid Algar, 393.

12. Sharḥ Ḥadīth Junūd ‘Aql wa Jahl.¹²²

It would not be out of place here to mention a sentence from his last will and testament: “With a tranquil and confident heart and a conscience hopeful of God’s beneficence, I now take leave of my sisters and brothers for a journey to my eternal abode.”¹²³

¹²² See Riqā Ustādī, “Kitābhā va Āthār,” 148-149.

¹²³ *Imām’s Final Discourse*, 92.

CHAPTER TWO

JIHĀD-I AKBAR

The Prophet declared: "We have returned from the lesser holy war to the greater holy war(*jihād-i akbar*). They asked, "O Prophet of God, which is the greater war?" He replied: "Struggle against the lower self (*nafs*).

The subject of the present chapter is *jihād-i akbar*. Since the term *jihād-i akbar* denotes different meanings, it will be useful to discuss it in some detail and clarify the different nuances. Moreover, because of the close relationship between the terms *jihād al-akbar* and *nafs*, a clarification of the term *nafs* is perhaps necessary before entering upon a discussion of our main subject.

NAFS

As D. B. Macdonald points out, there are various meanings for *nafs*. According to him “ *Nafs* has the following meanings: the spirit (*rūḥ*), the blood (*dam*), the body (*jasad*), the evil eye (*‘ayn*), but Ibn Qayyim objects that it is really a case of *rūḥ*.”¹²⁴ Moreover, other meanings such as Soul, Psyche, Life, Animate, Living Creature, Human Being, Person, and Self are used in different contexts.¹²⁵ Tusī also defines *nafs* as follows:

The human soul is a simple substance, whose function is to perceive intelligibles by its own essence; and to regulate and control this sensible body, which the majority of mankind call ‘Man’ by means of faculties and organs. Such a substance is not a body, nor is it corporeal, nor is it sensed by any of the senses.¹²⁶

The Qur’ān also employs different meanings for the word *nafs*, of which the following have most often been applied:

1. Life. “The life for life”¹²⁷

¹²⁴ Duncan B. Macdonald, “ The Development of the Idea of Spirit in Islam” *The Moslem World*, 22 (1932): 37. Concerning the problem see: Ibn Qayyim, *Kitāb al-Rūḥ* (Haydar Ābād, Majlis Dā‘irah al-Ma‘ārif al-‘Uthmāniyyah, 1357/1938), 216-224, 264-279.

¹²⁵ See: Hans Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, ed. J. Milton Cowan (New York: Spoken Language Services Inc., 1976), 985.

¹²⁶ Naṣir al-Dīn Ṭūsī, *Nasirean ethics*, trans. G. M. Wickens (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1964), 36. For more information See: Sayyid Ja‘far Sajjādī, *Farhang-i ‘Ulūm-i ‘Aqlī* (Tehran: Kitābkhanah-i Ibn-i Sīnā, nd.), 2: 593-602.

¹²⁷ Qur’ān, 5:45:

ان النفس بالنفس

2. Self. “ I do not exculpate myself.”¹²⁸

3. Soul. “ Allāh receiveth (men’s) soul at the time of their death.”¹²⁹

It is possible to divide the meanings of *nafs* into three groups:

1. The literal meaning. According to this meaning *nafs* means essence, object or person.

2. The philosophical term. In considering the usage of the word *nafs*, it appears that it most often refers to the word it is used with in a construct. Thus, *nafs al-shay’* means the thing itself, *nafs al-insān* means man himself and *nafs al-ḥajar* means the stone itself. If separated from its position in the construct, it ceases to have that meaning. In some constructs it is used for emphasis, as when we say: “Zayd himself (*Zayd nafsuh*) came.”¹³⁰

The word *nafs* can be applied in this way to anything and anyone, even God, such as when He states: “He hath prescribed for Himself (*nafs*) mercy”¹³¹ or “Allah biddeth you beware (only) of Himself (*nafs*).”¹³² The word, however, can also be used for humans composed of body and spirit, and thereafter, it becomes

¹²⁸ Qur’ān, 12:53:

وما ابرى نفسي

¹²⁹ Qur’ān, 39:42:

الله يتوفى الانفس حين موتها

¹³⁰ “جاء زيد نفسه”

¹³¹ Qur’ān, 6:12:

كتب على نفسه الرحمة

¹³² Qur’ān, 3:28:

ويحذركم الله نفسه

endowed with meaning without any annexation.¹³³ This is the philosophical usage of the term to denote “soul” (as in *‘ilm al-nafs*).

3. The ethical term. According to this meaning, *nafs* is the source of the sensual desire of animality, as the Qur’ān states: “ They follow but a guess and that which (they) themselves (*anfus*) desire.”¹³⁴

Apart from the above mentioned literal meanings, the two other meanings are used which are contrary to each other. In ethics *nafs* is opposite to practical intellect, which distinguishes good and evil, while in philosophy *nafs* is opposite to body. In ethics *nafs* is not a substance, rather it is a potentiality, the source of animality, while in philosophy *nafs* is an immaterial substance.¹³⁵

The meaning which is most relevant to this study is provided in a passage from Āyatullāh Khomeini’s *Forty Ḥadīth*:

¹³³ Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ṭabāṭabā’ī, *Al-Mizān fī Tafsīr al-Qur’ān* (Beirut: Mu’assasah al-A’lamī lil-Maṭbūāt, 1392/1972), 14: 285. He mentions some verses: “ He it is Who did create you from a single soul, (*nafs-i wāḥda* means human) and therefrom did make his mate that he might rest in her” (Qur’ān, 7:189), and: “Whosoever killeth a human being (*insān*) for other than manslaughter or corruption in the earth, it shall be as if he had killed all mankind (*insān*), and whoso saveth the life (*nafs*) of one, it shall be as if he had saved the life (*nafs*) of all mankind.” (Qur’ān: 5:32). He also states: “The verse under discussion, (2:153-157) as well as those quoted above, points to another more comprehensive reality and that is the materiality of the soul. The soul is something other than matter and body; it is beyond the jurisdiction of the rules governing matter and body, or those affecting various material compounds and mixtures. Yet, it has a special relationship with the body keeping it alive, managing its multifarious functions and activities and enabling it to perceive and feel.” Ibid., 4: 201.

¹³⁴ Qur’ān, 53: 23: ان يتبعون الا الظن وما تهوى الانفس

¹³⁵ See: Sayyid Ja’far Sajjādī, *Farhang-i ‘Ulūm-i ‘Aqlī*, 2: 593-561.

and is associated with his body, and the other is 'inner life', the inward world, associated with the hidden, invisible, higher other world, his soul in short, which belongs to the realms of invisible and celestial world, and consists of several levels and grades. These levels are generally divided sometimes into seven sections and sometimes into four. They are sometimes divided into three, and sometimes into just two sections.¹³⁶

Although every human being has one *nafs* which does not change in this regard, nevertheless, due to various qualities of *nafs* at different times, there are different aspects of *nafs*. In other words, one *nafs* could have various qualities; three kinds are referred to in the Qur'ān:

1. *nafs al-lawwāmah* (the blaming soul),¹³⁷
2. *nafs al-ammārah* (the soul which inspires evil),¹³⁸
3. *nafs al muṭma'innah* (the soul at peace).¹³⁹

Indeed, these can be seen as three qualities of one soul in a process of purification. *Nafs al-ammārah* commands lust and vain desire; *nafs al-lawwāmah*, then, causes any deficiency in the soul to appear foul and invites one to repent,

¹³⁶ Rūḥullāh Khomeini, "Forty Hadith; An Exposition of Ethical and Mystical Traditions, (pt. 1)," trans. Qarā'ī 2, no. 3, (1405/1985): 20.

¹³⁷ A synonym is "reproachful." The Qur'ān states: "Nay, I swear by the accusing soul." 75:2.

¹³⁸ Other synonyms are: command, passion, addiction to evil (*Ammāratun bi-ssū*), The Qur'ān states: "Lo ! the (human) soul enjoineeth unto evil." 12:53.

¹³⁹ A synonym is "satisfied." The Qur'ān states: "But oh ! thou soul at peace." 89:27.

while *nafs al-muṭma'innah* is satisfied only with fair action and acceptable behavior operation.¹⁴⁰ In this regard, Āyatullāh Khomeini states:

For each of them [of man's levels]¹⁴¹ is a specific host of guardians. The host related with the divine and intellectual powers attracts him towards the sublime, heavenly spheres, and summons him to acts of virtue and goodness. The other host of guardians is the ignoble and satanic which attracts man towards the baser realms of darkness and shame, and invites him to acts of villainy and destruction. There is always a state of conflict and strife between these two forces, and human existence serves as the battleground of these two bands. When the divine forces of good become successful, man emerges as a virtuous and blessed being, and attains the high station of angels, and is congregated under the category of prophets, saints and the pious. When the satanic forces of darkness dominate, man becomes a rebellious and vicious being, and is flocked with the fiendish group of the infidels and cursed.¹⁴²

Therefore, *nafs* has several meanings; one of them is the human being himself, but this is described variously in accordance with a variety of conditions,

¹⁴⁰ See Ṭūsī, *Nasirean Ethics*, 57. Ṭūsī also states that: philosophers have said that of these three souls, only one possesses discipline and generosity in reality and in substance, and that is the Angelic Soul; the second, although not possessed of discipline is receptive thereof, and is submissive to the instructor at the time of schooling, and this is the Savage Soul; the third is devoid of discipline and unreceptive thereof, and this is the Bestial Soul. Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Refer to quotation on page 41 and footnote 137 thereto..

¹⁴² Āyatullāh Khomeini, "Forty Ḥadīth (pt. 1)," trans. Qarā'ī, *Al-Tawḥīd*, 2, no. 3, (1405/1985): 20.

while the second meaning is passion or the baser and lower self. Passion is a comprehensive word consisting of great anger and other evil attributes.¹⁴³

Concerning the meaning of *nafs*, Seyyed Hossein Nasr writes:

In Arabic the word *nafs* means at once soul, self and ego. As ordinarily understood, the *nafs* is the source of limitation, passion and gravity, the source of all that makes man selfish and self-centered. This *nafs* which is called the *al-nafs al-ammārah* (the soul which inspires evil), following the terminology of the Qur'ān, must be transfigured through death and purgation. It must be controlled by the higher self. With the help of the Spirit the *nafs al-ammārah* becomes transformed into the *nafs al-lawwāmah* (the blaming soul), gaining greater awareness of its own nature, an awareness that is made possible through the transmutation of its substance. In the further stage of inner alchemical transmutation, the *nafs al-lawwāmah* becomes transformed into the *nafs al-muṭma'innah* (the soul at peace), attaining a state in which it can gain knowledge with certainty and repose in peace because it has discovered its own center, which is the Self.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³ See: Ghazālī, *Iḥyā' Ulūm al-Dīn*, trans. Maulana Fazul-ul-Karīm (Lahore: Sind Sagar Academy, nd.), 3: 3.

¹⁴⁴ Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *The Need for a Sacred Science* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993), 18-19. In this regard Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī states: "The soul is one reality and multiplies in accordance with contingent phenomena. For every quality the soul acquires there is a corresponding name: by its detachment, it is called the human soul and by its attachment to the body, in the first instance, it is called the plant soul, and in the second, the animal soul, and in the third instance, the selfish soul. The *sharī'a* and the Qur'ān have described the four souls or selves as self-accusing, commanding to evil, the tranquil soul, and the inspired soul." Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī, *Inner Secrets of the Path*, ed. Muḥammad Khājawī, trans. Assadullah ad-Dhaakir Yate (Longmead: Element Books, 1989), 265-266. (*Asrār al-sharī'a wa Aṭwār al-Ṭarīqa wa Anwār al-Ḥaqīqa*, p. 219).

JIHĀD-I AKBAR

Literally, *jihād*,¹⁴⁵ which is the infinitive for the triliteral verb “*jahada*”,¹⁴⁶ means: to attempt, to strive, and to struggle, and implies the use of force. This meaning has repeatedly been applied in the Qur’ān: “As for those who strive in Us, we surely guide them to Our paths, and Lo! Allah is with the good.”¹⁴⁷ The second meaning or usage of the term denotes armed confrontation and war against one’s enemies in the cause of Allah, such as in the following: “So obey not the disbelievers, but strive against them herewith with a great endeavor.”¹⁴⁸ On the other hand, *jihād* is achieved sometimes by the heart, sometimes by the tongue, and sometimes by the hand. The *jihād* of the heart, i.e. against one’s own weaknesses and inner evil, is often described as the “*major jihād*”.

In this thesis we will discuss the second kind of *jihād* that is, struggle with the soul. Therefore, according to what has been said before, because human existence serves as the battleground of the two forces of good and evil, the meaning of *jihād-i nafs* (struggle with soul) will become clear. In other words, in

¹⁴⁵ See: Majid Khadduri, art. “Jihad.” in *Encyclopadia Britannica*, 1970.

¹⁴⁶ Although the term *jihād* is the infinitive of *jāhada*, its stem is from *jahd* or *juhd* which means: attempt, endeavor, exertion, ability, and capability. The Qur’ān states: “Lo! Those who believe ...and strive in the way of Allah.” (2:218). There is no difference between *jahd* and *juhd*. See: Rāzī, *Mukhtār al-Ṣiḥāḥ*, 114; Jamāl al-Dīn, *Lisān al-‘Arab*, 3: 134; Muṣṭafavī, *Al-Taḥqīq*, 2: 134.

¹⁴⁷ Qur’ān, 29:69.

¹⁴⁸ Qur’ān, 25:52.

any military confrontation or *jihād*, not all men are always a party to the conflict; however, a battleground is not the only place for humans to engage in *jihād*. There is another enemy that the human being fights with. This enemy is inside him and is called *nafs* (self or soul). Therefore, every force that corrupts humans, whether outside of a human being or inside, is a party to *jihād*, but the force which is most dangerous is the one which is the object of major *jihād*. There are many traditions that draw the attention of every Muslim to this important note. The Prophet Mohammad (p.b.u.h) states: “The most hostile of your enemies is your soul or self, enclosed between the two sides of you.”¹⁴⁹ Explaining this tradition, Āyatullāh Khomeini states:

Your self is worse than your enemies, worse than all idols. It is, in fact, the chief of all idols, compelling you to worship it with a greater force than that of other idols. Until one breaks this idol, one cannot turn to God; the idol and God, egoism and divinity, cannot coexist within you.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁹ Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār* (Beirut: Mu‘assasat al-Wafā, 1403/1983), 67: 64. This sentence “between the two sides” means this enemy is very near and is inside the human being, not outside. Muṭahharī said: “When a mystic was asked about this tradition, he said: “Because if you do good to any enemy and give him what he wants, then he will become your friend, but [if you give to] the soul whatever its wants, it will become your enemy, even more.” See Murtaḍā Muṭahharī, *Insān-i Kāmil* (Qum: Intishārāt-i Islāmī, 136s.2/1983), 174.

¹⁵⁰ He adds: “Unless we leave this idol temple, turn our backs on this idol, and set our faces toward God Almighty, we will in reality be idolators, even though we may outwardly worship God. We say “God” with our tongues, but our selves are what is in our hearts. When we stand in prayer we say, “You alone do we worship and from You alone do we seek help,” (Qur’an, 1:5) but in reality it is our selves that we are worshipping. I mean that we are exclusively concerned with ourselves, and desire everything for ourselves.” See: Algar, *Islam and revolution*, trans. Hamid Algar, 383-384.

Thus, the term *jihād-i akbar* (major struggle) is used in some traditions that are quoted from the Prophet Mohammad. Kulaynī quotes one of them in his work *Uṣūl al-Kāfī*:

Imām Ja‘far-i Ṣādiq states: The Prophet Mohammad sent an expedition (*sarīyah*),¹⁵¹ when they returned from the battleground, the Prophet of God said; “Blessed are (bravo!) those who have performed the minor *jihād* and have yet to perform the *major jihād* (major struggle). When they asked “what is the major struggle?” the Prophet replied “ the *jihād* of the self” (struggle against self or *nafs*).¹⁵²

According to this tradition, *jihād-i aṣghar* means to wage war or battle, in other words ‘Holy war,’ and *jihād-i akbar* is struggle against the *nafs* or the soul. These traditions are also the source for the term *jihād-i akbar* itself. The Prophet Mohammad called struggle against the soul (*nafs*) greater than the struggle against enemies. According to the *Baḥr al-Fawā'id*, a text from the mid-twelfth century, this is because we can see the infidel and enemy, but we cannot see Satan, and also because the enemy is only the enemy of our life, while Satan is the enemy of our faith. For this reason the Prophet Mohammad called the struggle against the soul “the major struggle,” the war against the infidel is limited, but the

¹⁵¹ *Sarīyah* is a military expedition comprised of nearly four hundred soldiers which the Prophet sent to war, but which he himself did not join.

¹⁵² Muḥammad Kulaynī, *Uṣūl al-Kāfī*, trans. Muḥammad Bāqir Kamarihi (Tehran: Dār al-Kutub al-Islāmiyah, 1378/1958), 5: 9-10; Nūrī, *Mustadrak al-Wasā'il* (Tehran: Mu'assasat Āhl al-Bayt, 1408/1988), 11: 26; and Hurr al-‘Āmilī, *Wasā'il al-Shī'ah* (Tehran: Maktabah al-Islāmiyah, 1398/1977), 11: 122-123.

battle against Satan eternal. The third difference is that if we fight with our enemy or if an infidel should fight us, Paradise is ours, but if Satan kills us, Hell is ours. The fourth difference is that the infidel may make peace or form an alliance, but Satan never makes peace or forms an alliance. The fifth and most important difference is that struggling with the enemy is much easier than struggling with Satan and *nafs*.¹⁵³ In concluding this section, we quote:

Know that holy war is twofold: *jihād* against the soul and *jihād* against the infidel. The greatest holy war is that against your soul, for it is friendly toward you though it is your enemy. The soul is like a hypocrite, outwardly friendly but inwardly an enemy. Men of perception call the soul “the greatest idol”; he who has conquered his soul has reached the degree of perfection and achieved nobility. God says in the pre-eternal Koran, “Neither slay yourselves,” that is, do not kill yourselves with your own hands, meaning, “Do not be in agreement with the soul or neglectful of its wiles,” for if one is heedless of the soul’s wiles it is as if he had killed himself.

When the Prophet returned from fighting the unbelievers he turned to the Companions and said, “I have returned from the lesser holy war to the greater.” This is because the soul is an enemy at home; the infidel seeks your life, while the soul, that enemy, seeks your faith. The deceits of an enemy at home are great, and guarding against it is difficult, for it knows the faults and

¹⁵³ *The Sea of Precious Virtues*, trans. and ed. M. T. Dānishpazhūh, Julie Scott Meisami (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1991), 14.

character of the owner of the house, who cannot avoid it. But one can avoid
an open enemy.¹⁵⁴

INVESTIGATION OF THE TRADITION

Because of the importance of the prophetic tradition cited above as one of the sources for our study, we should investigate it from a textual aspect and determine the chain of transmission.¹⁵⁵ In this case, according to some scholars and *'ulamā*, tradition of *jihād-i akbar* is reputable and creditable. It is repeated in the works of highly respected scholars such as 'Allāmah Majlisī, Shaykh Ṣadūq, Shaykh Bahā'ī, 'Alā' al-Dīn Hindī, Ghazālī, Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī, Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī,¹⁵⁶ etc., all of whom quote it, although occasionally with different chains of transmission.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁴ *The Sea of Precious Virtues*, ed. M. T. Dānishpazhūh, 14.

¹⁵⁵ For investigation of the tradition see: J. Robson, art. "Ḥadīth." in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1978; Shahīd-i Thānī, *Al-Ra'āyat fī 'Ilm al-Dirārah*, ed. Muḥammad 'Alī Baqqāl (Qum: Maktabah Āyatullāh al-Uḍmā Mar'ashī Najafī, 1408/1988), and Maḥmūd al-Ṭaḥān, *Taysī Muṣṭalaḥ al-Ḥadīth* (Riyāḍ: Maktabat al-Rushd, 1403/1983).

¹⁵⁶ Rūmī turns into poetry the tradition of the Prophet as he says:

ای شهان کشتیم ما خصم برون ماند خصمی ز ان بتر در اندرون
کشتن این کار عقل و هوش نیست شیر باطن سخره خرگوش نیست

...

قد رجعنا من جهاد الاصغیر با نبی اندر جهاد اکبریم

See: Jalāl al-Dīn, *Mathnavī-i Ma'navī-i Mawlavī*, ed. M. Darvish (Tehran: Sāzīmān-i Intishārāt-i Jāvidān, 1366s./1987), 85-86. ("...When I turned back from the outer warfare, I set my face towards the inner warfare. We have returned from the lesser Jihād, we are engaged along with the Prophet in

Hindī also mentions the tradition in other words: The prophet Mohammad states: “welcome from *jihād-i aṣghar* (the smaller struggle) to *jihād-i akbar* (the greater), that is, the struggling of the man (slave or servant) with his desire.”¹⁵⁸

Therefore, this tradition, seems to be a *ḥadīth-i mutawātir-i ma'nawī* (a repeatedly stated tradition),¹⁵⁹ because many transmitters, whether *Shī'a* or *Sunni* scholars of *ḥadīth*, have quoted it, albeit using different words. What is more, according to Tajlīl and Khū'ī, some books, such as *Kāfi* or *Kanz al-'Ummāl*, are of such a high status as sources of religious knowledge, and so sacred in Islam, that

the greater Jihād...” See Reynold A. Nicholson, *The Mathnawī of Jalālu'ddīn Rūmī* (London: Luzac), 1926, 1:76 (verses: 1374-1390).

¹⁵⁷ For example, Majlisī relates on the authority of Ibn Idrīs who relates on the authority of his father who relates on the authority of Ibn 'Īsā who relates on the authority of Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā al-Khazzār who relates on the authority of Mūsā ibn Ismā'il who relates on the authority of his father who relates on the authority of Mūsā ibn Ja'far who relates on the authority of his fathers who said: that Imam 'Alī (p.b.u.h) said: The Prophet (p.b.u.h) sent an expedition (*sarīyah*); when they returned from the battleground, the Prophet of God said; “Blessed are (bravo!) those who have performed the minor *jihād* and have yet to perform the *major jihād* (major struggle). When they asked “what is the major struggle?” the Prophet replied “the *jihād* of the self (struggle against self or *nafs*). Then the messenger of God said: The most excellent (meritorious) of *jihād* is struggle with soul (*nafs*) which is between two sides” Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, 67: 65:

ابن ادریس عن ابيه عن ابن عيسى عن محمد بن يحيى الخزاز عن موسى بن اسماعيل عن ابيه عن موسى بن جعفر عن ابيه (ع) قال: قال امير المؤمنين (ع) ان رسول الله (ص) بعث سريه فلما رجعوا قال مرحبا بكم فقوموا الجهاد الاصغر و بقي عليهم الجهاد الاكبر قيل يا رسول الله و ما الجهاد الاكبر ؟ قال: جهاد النفس ثم قال : افضل الجهاد من جاهد نفسه التي بين جنبيه

See also Mohammad Ghazālī, *Iḥyā al-'Ulūm al-Dīn* (Beirut: Dār al-Khayr, 1411/1990), 2: 348.

¹⁵⁸ 'Alā'ī al-Dīn Hindī, *Kanz al-'Ummāl* (Halab: Maktabah al-Turāth al-Islāmī, 1390/1970), 4: 430.

قدمتم خير مقدم و قنتم من الجهاد الاصغر الى الجهاد الاكبر مجاهدة العبد هواه

See also for the other traditions: Ibid. 430/616, Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī, *Inner Secrets of the Path*, ed. Muḥammad Khājawī, trans. Assadullah ad-Dhaakir Yate (Longmead: Element Books, 1889), 216. (*Asrār al-sharī'a wa Aṭwār al-Ṭarīqa wa Anwār al-Ḥaqīqa*, p. 177).

¹⁵⁹ See: J. Robson, art. “Ḥadīth.” in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1978.

the authors may be considered highly honest and highly reliable; all of the transmitters of the chain of transmission are just and trustworthy.¹⁶⁰

In our discussion, so far, we have seen that the text and the chains of transmission of the tradition are true and can be invoked. As far as the indication of the tradition (*dilālat al-ḥadīth*) is concerned, it is necessary to say that since this tradition is agreeable with the Qur'ān and is an acceptable tradition we have further proof that it is reliable. Therefore the tradition of *jihād-i akbar* is certainly a firm and valuable tradition that is agreeable with the Qur'ān. There are several traditions that reinforce this, such as:

The prophet Mohammad while addressing at Minā (in Mecca) observed:

O! People, every one of my tradition which you receive and which accords with the book of Allah undoubtedly emanates from me. And whichever of my tradition you receive and which is contrary to the book of Allah, surely does not emanate from me.¹⁶¹

Hindī also quoted some traditions in his book (*Kanz al-'Ummāl*) from the Prophet Mohammad, one of which reads:

¹⁶⁰ See: Abūṭālib Tajlīl Tabrizī, *Mu'jam al-Thiqāt Wa Tartīb al-ṭabaqāt* (Qum: Mu'assasat al-Nashr al-Islāmī, 1363/1984), and Abu al-Qāsim Khū'i, *Mu'jam Rijāl al-Ḥadīth wa Tafṣīl al-Ṭabaqāt al-Ruwāt* (Qum: Madinat al-'Ilm, 1403/1983).

¹⁶¹ Muḥammad Kulaynī, *Al-Kāfī*, trans. Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥasan Rizvi (Tehran: World Organization for Islamic Services, 1398/1978), 1/2, 180. Also see: Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, 2: 188-189.

“Assess my tradition with the Book of Allah, if it accords with it, so it is mine and I said it.”¹⁶²

From these traditions we can determine that the tradition of *jihād-i akbar* is a true tradition and that the Prophet Mohammad stated it.

So far, we have come to understand the meaning of *nafs* from a mystical point of view; furthermore, we have clarified the meaning of the tradition of *jihād-i akbar*, i.e. that it is a struggle against soul or *nafs*. Consequently, we should say that: *jihād-i akbar* or *tahdhīb-i nafs* (purification of the carnal soul) is the way in which one gains an intuition of the realities in mysticism. In other words, the way of mystical knowledge is not syllogism (*qiyās*) or rational demonstration (*istidlāl-i ‘aqlī*); rather, its way is purification of soul (*tazkiyah-i nafs*). Now, struggle against *nafs* is sometimes accompanied by physical practices, such as prayer and fasting and sometimes with moral acts¹⁶³ such as repentance (*tawbah*), trust in God (*tawkkul*) or sincerity (*ikhhlās*). In chapter three we will discuss these moral practices.

¹⁶² Hindī, *Kanz al-‘Ummāl*, 1:179.

¹⁶³ Rūmī explains about cordial actions in his *Mathnavī*; see Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, *Mathnavī-i Ma‘navī-i Mawlavī*, 192-194.

CHAPTER THREE

INVESTIGATION OF CHIHIL ḤADĪTH

I was delegated as a prophet in order to perfect virtues moral.

The Prophet Mohammad¹⁶⁴

INTRODUCTION

We learned in chapter two that the true meaning of *jihād al-akbar* is purification of soul (*tazkīyat al-nafs*). And also discovered that both physical and moral practices (such as prayer, fasting or fear and hope, and trust in God) can help one to achieve purification of soul. In this chapter, we will describe some of the implications of the concept of *jihād al-akbar* by investigating the work entitled *Chihil Ḥadīth*, written by Āyatullāh Khomeini.

¹⁶⁴ Hindī, *Kanz al-‘Ummāl*, 3:18, and Muḥammad Muḥammadī, *Mizān al-Ḥikmah* 3:149:

اني بعثت لاتمم مكارم الاخلاق

CHIHIL ḤADĪTH

Chihil Ḥadīth was written during the period when Āyatullāh Khomeini was occupied with studies as well as teaching. This book contains forty ethical and mystical traditions which were collected by him.¹⁶⁵ Of these, 33 traditions are about ethics (*akhlāq*) and 7 about faith and mysticism. Āyatullāh Khomeini's work *Chihil Ḥadīth* is a guide to ethical behavior, and discusses the many qualities which will help a Muslim to achieve *jihād-i akbar*.¹⁶⁶ In this regard, Āyatullāh Khomeini states:

I, a humble servant of God, was contemplating for some time, to select forty *ḥadīth* from among the *aḥādīth* [traditions] of members of the Household of the Prophet from the authentic books of the *Ṣaḥābah* [The Companions of the Prophet] and scholars, and was trying to compile them with an appropriate explanation of each of them that can be applied to the general conditions of the people... God willing, this compilation would be an attempt to serve the command of the Prophet who said: "From among my followers, one who shall preserve and protect forty traditions, so that my people may benefited

¹⁶⁵ He taught morals and ethics in the Fayḍiyah and Mullā Ṣādiq schools in Qum, then decided to write a book about ethics, which he finished in 1358/1939. See: Āyatullāh Khomeini, *Chihil Ḥadīth* (Tehran: Mu'assasah Tanzīm va Nashr-i Āthār-i Imām Khomeini, 1371/1992), 1. See chapter one of this thesis, below.

¹⁶⁶ He wrote *Chihil Ḥadīth* between 1317-1320 (1928-1931) in Qum. Aḥmad-i Fihri has commented on only four traditions. See: Āyatullāh Khomeini, *Arba'īn*, ed. Sayyid Aḥmad-i Fihri (Intishārāt-i Iṭlā'āt, 1365s./1986), 11-13.

from them, Almighty God will treat him the day of Resurrection as a great men of wisdom and learning (jurisprudence)".¹⁶⁷

TAWAKKUL

Trust (*tawakkul*) in God in all aspects of one's life is derived from the belief that God is the only effective force in the universe. There are several verses and traditions about trust that emphasize its importance. God states: "So put your trust (in Allah) if ye are indeed believers,"¹⁶⁸ and also the Prophet says: " Whosoever abandons hope in everything except God, He shall take care of his means of life and He shall provide him from such a source as is beyond his conception. He who is addicted to the world, God hands him over to the world."¹⁶⁹

I would like to quote a tradition¹⁷⁰ which Āyatullāh Khomeini quotes in his work, *Chihil Ḥadīth*:

¹⁶⁷ من حفظ على امتي اربعين حديثا ينتفعون بها بعثه الله يوم القيمة فقيها عالما

See: Āyatullāh Khomeini, "Forty Ḥadīth (pt. 1)," trans. Qarā'ī, *Al-Tawḥīd*, v. 2, no. 3, (1405/1985): 19-20. On this tradition see Hindī, *Kanzu al-'Ummāl*, v. 10, p. 158, and Abī Bakr Beihaqī, *Al-Arba'ūn al-Ṣughrā*, ed. Abū Hājar Zaghlūl (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyah, 1407/1987), 12-13, and Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, 2: 116-154.

¹⁶⁸ Qur'an, 5:23. (و على الله فتوكلوا ان كنتم مومنين), and another verse is "Will not Allāh defend His slave?" (Qur'an, 39:36. (لا ليس الله بكاف عبده)).

¹⁶⁹ See Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, 74:178, and Hindī, *Kanz al-'Ummāl*, 3:105, and Muḥammadi, *Mizān al-Ḥikmah*, 10:683:

من انقطع الي الله عزوجل كفاه الله تعالى كل مونه و رزقه من حيث لا يحتسب ومن انقطع الي الدنيا وكله الله اليها

¹⁷⁰ Kulaynī, *Uṣūl al-Kāfī*, 3:110.

‘Alī Ibn Suwayd says: “I asked him [Abu al-Ḥasan] concerning the utterance of Almighty God, ‘And whoever puts his trust in God, then God suffices him’ (Qur’ān, 65:3). The Imam said: ‘There are various degrees of trust in God. One among them one is that you should put your trust in God in all your affairs, being well-pleased with whatever God does to you, knowing for certain that He does not cease in His goodness and grace towards you, and that the command therein rests with Him. So put your trust in God, leaving that to Him and relying upon Him in regard to that and everything other than that.’”¹⁷¹

However, at this stage a person seeks neither support nor consolation from the external world. If one is sincere in one’s personal quest, the earnestness of the effort begins to supplement the other forces that are helping the aspirant toward the goal. Concerning the definition of *tawakkul*,¹⁷² Ghazālī believed that trust in God consists of three stages: knowledge, condition and action. After explaining all three stages, he goes on to say:

The meaning of *tawakkul* or reliance [trust] is to entrust an affair to another and to believe him fully in that respect. He who is entrusted upon is called *wakīl*[regent] or pleader and he who entrusts in called *Muwakkil* or client[the principal]. So sure faith in *wakīl* is called reliance.¹⁷³

¹⁷¹ Āyatullā Khomeini, “Forty Ḥadīth (pt. 14),” trans. Qarā’ī, *Al-Tawḥīd*, v. 6: no. 2, (1406/1986): 19.

¹⁷² In this study we will not discuss the theoretical aspect of this, for it calls for an examination of questions related to compulsion and entrusting (*jabr* and *tafwīḍ*), which is not the focus of this work. For more information see: Muḥammad Taqī Ja‘fari, *Jabr va Ikhtiyār* (Tehran: Shirkat-i Sahāmī-i Intishārāt, 1344/1965).

¹⁷³ He continued: “Similar is God release. When reliance on a *wakīl* with such description is made, how much reliance on God should be made? When you believe that there is no master of an action, beside

What is important in trusting God is how the believer knows God, because the degree of *tawakkul*¹⁷⁴ is based on the believer's knowledge of God, and believers are very different with regard to their knowledge of the Lordship of the Sacred Essence of God; therefore, we see that '*ulamā*' who wrote on ethics such as Ghazālī, Ṭūsī and Āyatullāh Khomeini, have discussed both *tawḥīd* (Unity of God) and *tawakkul* in the same chapter. Thus Ghazālī has written on the subject of *tawḥīd* in the chapter on *tawakkul* in his *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, and Āyatullāh Khomeini touches on this relationship when he divides people into three categories:

1. The majority of monotheists consider Almighty God the creator of the general essences of things; but they do not believe in the continuing Lordship of God, and consider His authority over things as limited. They sometimes pay attention to God, and in general, there is a scent of *tawakkul* in them, but if they deem the apparent causal factors as favorable they absolutely forget God.

2. The second group believes that God is the sole determiner of matters, the cause of all causes, efficacious in the realm of being, there being no limit to His

God that he is all powerful and all knowing, that He bestows His kindness, favor, help on all people and some special peoples, that there is no power and might except through God, there is no knowledge but in Him, he must rely on him and will not look to his own power and strength as there is no power except God." See: Ghazālī, *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, trans. Maulana Fazul-ul-Karīm 4: 253-254.

¹⁷⁴ Schimmel explains some definitions of *tawakkul*. See: Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, 117-120.

power and influence. Although they are trusting (*mutawakkil*), they have not attained the stage of faith.

3. The third class of people, who possess the station of trust in God,¹⁷⁵ are such that for them God's creation has penetrated into their hearts.¹⁷⁶

According to Āyatullāh Khomeini's relatives, he himself put his trust in God all of his life. They say that at the outset of the war between Iran and Iraq, when Iraq attacked the airport of Tehran, he said with perfect assurance of Divine help: "a thief came and threw a stone and went"[i.e. it was a matter no importance].¹⁷⁷

FEAR AND HOPE

Fear of God and hope in Him (*khawf* and *rajā'*) are two concomitant terms, like two wings,¹⁷⁸ neither of which should exceed the other. Every mystic should

¹⁷⁵ This group is also divided into several degrees of faith.

¹⁷⁶ See Āyatullāh Khomeini, "Forty Ḥadīth, (pt. 14)," trans. Qarā'ī, *Al-Tawḥīd*, v. 6: no. 2, (1409/1989): 21-23.

¹⁷⁷ Nāṣir Bāqirī Bidhandī, "Nujūm-i Ummat," *Nūr-i 'Ilm*, 3: no. 7: 109.

¹⁷⁸ Imam Ṣādiq (p.b.u.h) states: "A believer is nothing but fearful and hopeful, and he is not truly fearful and hopeful unless he responds in action regarding to that which he fears and hopes."
لا يكون المؤمن مومنا حتى يكون خائفا راجيا و لا يكون خائفا راجيا حتى يكون عاملا لما يخاف و
يرجوا

See: Kulaynī, *Uṣūl al-Kāfī*, trans. Muḥammad Bāqir Kamarihi (Tehran: Maktaba Islāmīyah, 1382/1962), 3: 117.

maintain them to the highest degree, because he must always think about two things:

1. His own imperfection and that of all possible beings, and the fact that no creature or possible being has any thing that is its own which might fill him with grief and fear.

2. God is the perfection of the Necessary Being, and is merciful, which should fill every human being with hope.¹⁷⁹ Āyatullāh Khomeini quotes a tradition¹⁸⁰ from Imam Bāqir, the fifth Imam of the Shī'a:

Al-Kulaynī, in *al-Kāfī*, reports with his chain of narrators from al-Imam Bāqir (A) that he said: "The workers (of deeds) for My sake should not, for My reward, trust the works they have done; for, verily, should they labor and toil for all their lives in My service and worship, they would fall short in their worship and will not attain to the reality of My service in what they seek with Me of My magnanimity and bounty, My paradise and the high stations in My proximity. Rather, they should rely upon My mercy and put hope in My favor and be contented of their good opinion (*ḥusn al-zann*) of Me; for, verily, therein My mercy will reach them, My good pleasure will go forth to them

¹⁷⁹ In this regard, Āyatullāh Khomeini quotes another tradition: "Al-Hārith, or his father, says: 'I asked Imam Ṣādiq 'What was (mentioned) in the testament of Luqmān?' 'There were marvelous things', he said, 'and the most wonderful of that which he said to his son was this: 'Have such a fear of Almighty God that were you to come to Him with the virtues of the two worlds (*thaqalain*) He would still chastise you, and put such a hope in God that were you to come to Him with the sins of two worlds He would still have compassion for you.' Then Abū 'Abd Allāh (A) added: 'My father used to say, "There is no believer who does not have two lights in his heart: the light of fear and the light of hope. Were one of these to be measured it would not exceed the other, and were the other one to be measure, it would not exceed this one.' " [Kulaynī, *Al-Kāfī*, 3:112]. Āyatullāh Khomeini, "Forty Ḥadīth (pt. 15)," trans. Qarā'ī, *Al-Tawḥīd*, v. 6, no. 3, (1409/1989): 29.

¹⁸⁰ Kulaynī, *Uṣūl al-Kāfī*, 3:118-119.

and My forgiveness shall envelop them. For, indeed, I am Allāh, the
Beneficent and the Merciful...,”¹⁸¹

Therefore, we can define hope as placing expectations on God because of His all-encompassing mercy, and fear as anxiety for the self because of one's imperfection in implementing the obligations and duties of creaturehood;¹⁸² and the same thing may be found in a tradition where the Prophet states: “We have not worshipped You as You deserve to be worshipped, and we have not known You as You deserve to be known.”¹⁸³ We can find many verses and traditions about piety (*taqwā*) which have their roots in the fear of God.¹⁸⁴ In general, the goodness of

¹⁸¹ Āyatullāh Khomeini, “Forty Ḥadīth (pt. 15),” trans. Qarā’i, *Al-Tawḥīd*, v. 6, no. 3, (1409/1989): 35.

¹⁸² Āyatullāh Khomeini states: “Hence, man should always be moving back and forth between these two views: neither should he ever close his eyes to his defects and shortcomings in fulfilling the duties of creaturehood, nor should he ever take his eyes off expansive and all-encompassing mercy, love and compassion of Almighty God.” See: *ibid.* 32.

¹⁸³ Ḥāfiẓ says:

How can any one come to see You as You are;

one Perceives You only to the extent of one's insight

ترا چنانکه تویی هر نظر کجا بیند بقدر بینش خود هر کسی کند ادراک

See: Nūrbakhsh, *Traditions of the Prophet*, 1: 35.

¹⁸⁴ For example God says: “Their flesh and their blood reach not Allah, but the devotion from you reacheth Him” Qur’ān, 22:37, and another place He says: “Lo! the noblest of you, in the sight of Allah, is the best in conduct” Qur’ān, 49:13. The Prophet Mohammad states with regard to piety (*taqwā*): “God said: O men, I gave you dynastic honor and you also gave superiority to dynastic honor. Now take your dynastic honor and establish Mine. I said: He who is most God fearing amongst you is the most honorable of you. You did not admit it, you gave superiority to one who is rich. He will then address the God fearing men: O God fearing men, where are you?” A standard will be raised for this and they will follow it and reach their destination and enter paradise without account.” Ghazālī, *Iḥyā’ ‘Ulūm al-Dīn*, trans. Fazlu-ul-Karīm, 4: 149. (Note: The translator has not translated completely the saying of the Prophet which Ghazālī has quoted in his work.)

action is made dependent on two sublime bases: one of these is the fear and awe of Almighty God and the other is the sincerity of intention; as we know the fear of God leads to piety of the soul and these result in greater effectiveness of action.¹⁸⁵

Ghazālī says:

If the proportion of fear is excessive and it keeps one away from doubtful things, it is called *Taqwā* or self-abnegation. The meaning of *Taqwā* is to give up doubtful things and to act on things of sure faith... If this *Taqwā* reaches to such a high pitch that it leads a man to erect no other house except one to reside. not to hoard anything which is eatable, not to look to the world with this knowledge that it shall have to be left behind and not to pass a minute without remembrance of God, it is called *Ṣidq* or truthfulness and such a man is called *Ṣiddiq* or great truthful man.¹⁸⁶

At the stage of fear of God and hope in Him, a person becomes more aware of the implications of daily actions. The rightness or wrongness of one's behavior can no longer be based on the conventional morality. Fear of God and hope in Him, like trust in God, are of various levels and degrees and they depend on knowledge and action. According to a tradition, the more one has knowledge of God, the more He is feared. God states: "Those who have knowledge among His bondmen fear Allah alone."¹⁸⁷ It would not be out of place here to mention that

¹⁸⁵ For more information see: Āyatullāh Khomeini, "Forty Ḥadīth (pt. 21)," trans. Qarā'ī, *Al-Tawḥīd*, v. 8, no. 1: 16-17.

¹⁸⁶ Ghazālī, *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, trans. Fazlu-ul-Karīm, 4: 144.

¹⁸⁷ Qur'ān, 35:28: انما يخشى الله من عباده العلماء

neither fear nor hope should exceed one another, and the same thing is stated in a tradition of Imam ‘Alī (p.b.u.h) in which he tells one of his sons: “O darling fear God in such a way that if an earth-load of virtues is given to Him, He will not consider it as fit to be accepted from you, and hope for the mercy of God in such a way that if an earth-load of sins is given to Him, He will forgive you.”¹⁸⁸

SINCERITY

First of all, let us quote a tradition¹⁸⁹ that is reproduced by Āyatullāh Khomeini in *Chihil Ḥadīth*:

Abū ‘Abd Allāh, who explaining the utterance of Almighty God, “That He may test you which of you is best in conduct; and He is the Mighty, the Forgiving.” [the Qur’ān, 67:2] said: “It does not mean one of you whose deeds are more numerous but one who is, more rightful in his conduct, and this rightness is nothing but the fear of God and sincerity of intention and fear.” Then he added; “To persevere in an action until it becomes sincere is more difficult than (performing) the action itself, and sincerity of action lies in this that you should not desire anyone to praise you for it except Almighty God, and intention supersedes action. Lo, verily, intention is action itself.”¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁸ Ghazālī, *Iḥyā’ ‘Ulūm al-Dīn*, trans. Fazul-ul-Karīm, 4:151, and Muḥammadī, *Mizān al-Ḥikmah*, 3:179

¹⁸⁹ Kulaynī, *Uṣūl al-Kāfī*, 3:29.

¹⁹⁰ Āyatullāh Khomeini, “Forty Ḥadīth (pt. 21),” trans. Qarā’ī, *Al-Tawḥīd*, v. 8: no. 1, (1411/1990):13. Kulaynī, *Uṣūl al-Kāfī*, 3:29.

As was said concerning fear and hope, sincerity (*ikhhlās*) is one of the two sublime bases that give rise to decent action, because on the one hand, fear of God leads to piety of soul, and this results in greater productiveness of pious actions, while on the other hand, there is sincere intention, on which depend the perfection and defectiveness of worship and their validity and invalidity.¹⁹¹ God says: “And they are ordered naught else than to serve Allah, keeping religion pure for Him.”¹⁹² He also says: “And whoever hopeth for the meeting with his Lord, let him do righteous work, and make none a sharer of the worship due unto his Lord.”¹⁹³

Concerning the problem of *ikhhlās*, Schimmel says:

The adept should turn with his whole being toward God - *ikhhlās*, “absolute sincerity,” and giving up selfish thoughts in the service of God are the basic duties of every mystic. A prayer without *ikhhlās* is of no avail; a religious thought that is not born out of this sincerity is meaningless, even dangerous.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹¹ For more information see: Āyatullāh Khomeini, “Forty Ḥadīth (pt. 21),” trans. Qarā’i, *Al-Tawḥīd*, v. 8, no. 1, (1411/1990):19. He states: “As much as the ‘*ibādāt* [worships] are free from association with non-God and from adulteration of intention, to the same extent they are sincere and perfect. And nothing is as important in ‘*ibādāt* as intention and its purity, for the relationship of intention to ‘*ibādāt* is like that of the soul to the body and the spirit to the corporeal frame.” See: *ibid*.

¹⁹² Qur’ān, 96:5.

¹⁹³ Qur’ān, 18:110.

¹⁹⁴ Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, 108.

According to Ghazālī, most things in this world are mixed with other things, but when they are not thus they are said to be pure (*khālīṣ*). When any action is done with only one object, it is said to be done with pure intention (*ikhhlāṣ*).¹⁹⁵ However, we can define sincerity or *ikhhlāṣ* as “purging action of all impurities,” as Kh^wajah ‘Abdullāh Anṣārī has put it.¹⁹⁶ Although many ‘*ulamā* have defined sincerity, Ghazālī quotes a tradition about the meaning of sincerity from the Prophet Mohammad:

The true meaning of sincerity (*ikhhlāṣ*) is what the Holy Prophet said: The meaning of sincerity (*ikhhlāṣ*) is to say : “Allāh is my Lord and to keep firm over what has been ordered by Him. In other words, it is not to worship passions and propensities and not to worship any one except Allah. It is to engage one’s thought in Allāh keeping away from things other than Allāh.”¹⁹⁷

PATIENCE

Patience or *Ṣabr* is defined as “restraining the self from agitation when confronted with undesirables”¹⁹⁸ or “restraining the self from complaint about hidden anguish.”¹⁹⁹ Patience is one of the most important signs in a believer to the

¹⁹⁵ See: Ghazālī, *Iḥyā’ ‘Ulūm al-Dīn*, trans. Maulana Fazul-ul-Karīm, 4: 400.

¹⁹⁶ ‘Abdullāh Anṣārī, *Manāzil al-Sāirīn*, 70.

¹⁹⁷ Ghazālī, *Iḥyā’ ‘Ulūm al-Dīn*, trans. Maulana Fazul-ul-Karīm, 4: 402-403.

¹⁹⁸ Nāsir al-Dīn Ṭūsī, *Auṣāf al-Ashrāf*, ed. Mīr Najībullāh Māyin-i Hireī (Mashhad: Chāp-i Zuvvār, 1978), 55:
حبس نفس است از جزع بوقت وقوع مکروه

¹⁹⁹ Kh^wajah Anṣārī, *Manāzil al-sā’irīn*, 84: الصبر حبس النفس على جزع كامن عن الشکو

extent that many traditions refer to it as equivalent to faith. For example, Imam Ṣādiq states: “Verily, patience is to faith what the head is to the body. Without the head, The body perishes, and so also when patience goes faith also disappears,”²⁰⁰ and Imām Sajjād, the fourth Imam of the Shī‘a, relates: “One who has no patience has no faith.”²⁰¹ Even the Prophet when he was asked: What is faith? replied: “patience.”²⁰² There are more than seventy verses in the Qur’ān about patience (*ṣabr*) and the one who is patient (*ṣābir*).²⁰³ Therefore patience is a cardinal virtue in Islam.

Āyatullāh Khomeini says:

If a human being bears patiently with misfortunes and calamities for some time, if he seriously endures the hardships entailed by worship and rites and the bitterness arising from the renunciation of carnal pleasures, and if he does all this for the sake of obedience to his Lord and Provider, his soul gradually becomes accustomed to these things. Then it becomes disciplined and docile and relinquishes its earlier recalcitrance.²⁰⁴

²⁰⁰ Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, 68: 81.

²⁰¹ Ibid.

²⁰² Ghazālī, *Iḥyā’ ‘Ulūm al-Dīn*, trans. Fazlu-ul-Karīm, 4: 69.

²⁰³ For example see: the Qur’ān, 2:153-154 and 177-249, 3:17-146, 28:80, and 39: 10...i.e. “O ye who believe! Seek help in steadfastness and prayer. Lo! Allah is with the steadfast.” Qur’ān, 2:153.

²⁰⁴ He continues in another place: “*Ṣabr* [patience] is the key to the gates of felicity and the main means of deliverance from mortal perils. *Ṣabr* [patience] makes man bear calamities with ease and face

As indicated by the noble traditions which are quoted by Āyatullah Khomeini, the root of patience is freedom and manumission from servitude to the soul.²⁰⁵ There are also three degrees: patience at the time of affliction, patience in regard to obedience, and patience in regard to disobedience.²⁰⁶ As long as the soul believes misfortunes to be undesirable, so its gnosis and cognition is deficient: all three degrees are in the station (*maqām*) of *mutawassitīn*; (middle group). In addition, there are degrees for those who are at the station of mystics and *awliyā*. In this regard, Āyatullah Khomeini says:

Patience has other levels which belong to the wayfarers of the path of perfection and the *awliyā*. One of such levels is patience in God (*ṣabr fi Allāh*),²⁰⁷ ... This stage belongs to the wayfarers (*ahl al-sulūk*). Another level

difficulties with composure. It strengthens the will and the power of resolution. It brings independence to the dominion of the soul. Anguish and anxiety on the other hand, aside from their shameful character, and symptoms of the soul's weakness. They deprive one's being of its stability, weaken the determination, and enfeeble the intellect." See: Āyatullah Khomeini, "Forty Ḥadith (pt. 17)," trans. Qarā'ī, *Al-Tawḥīd*, v. 7, no. 1, (1410/1989): 62-63.

²⁰⁵ Abū 'Abd Allāh [Imam Ṣādiq] states: "A free human being is free in all circumstances. Should a misfortune befall him he bears it with patience (*ṣabr*). If calamities strike him, they do not shatter him. If taken captive and subdued, he turns hardship into ease, as was the case of Joseph, the truthful and trustworthy (may God's benedictions be upon him). His freedom saved him from harm, although he was enslaved, subdued, and imprisoned. The darkness of the pit, the dread and whatever befell him did him no harm, until God favored him and made the insolent tyrant, who had been his master, his slave. Then God made him His apostle and through him was merciful to a people. In this way patience is followed by good. So be patient and reconcile yourself to patience in order to be rewarded." [Al-Kulaynī, *Usūl al-Kāfi*, 3:145] See: Ibid. 53.

²⁰⁶ The Prophet Mohammad (p.b.u.h) states: "Patience is three kinds: patience at the time of affliction, patience in regard to obedience, and patience in regard to disobedience.

الصبر ثلاثة: صبر عند المصيبة و صبر على الطاعة و صبر عن المعصية

See: Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwar*, 68:77, and Hindī, *Kanz al-'Ummāl*, 5:267.

is that of patience with God (*ṣabr ma'a Allāh*). It belongs to those blessed with the Presence and the Beatific...²⁰⁸ Another level is that of patience from God (*ṣabr 'an Allāh*) which pertains to the stations of lovers of God, of those blessed with epiphany (*ahl al-shuhūd wa al-'iyān*) at the time of returning to their own world, the world of plurality and sobriety (after intoxication with God)...²⁰⁹ Another level is that of patience by God (*ṣabr bi Allāh*), which is for those blessed with stability and steadfastness, which is attained after the state of sobriety and endurance with God (*baqā' bi Allāh*) and after molding oneself in accordance with Divine norms (*takhalluq bi akhlāq Allāh*).²¹⁰

As Ghazālī has said, patience, which is an important station for the sojourners on the path of religion, is controlled by three matters: knowledge, condition and action.²¹¹

²⁰⁷ This stage (صبر في الله) means steadfastness (*ṭhabāt*) in spiritual endeavor (*mujāhadah*) and abstinence from objects of love and attraction. What is more, it means the renunciation of selfhood in the path of the Beloved.

²⁰⁸ This stage (صبر مع الله) comes at the time of exit from the garment of human nature (*basharīyat*), freedom from the curtains of deeds and attributes, irradiation of the heart by the lights of the Names and Attributes, and entry into the stage of intimacy and awe and safeguarding of the self against changing from color to color absence from the station of intimacy and vision.

²⁰⁹ This stage (صبر عن الله) is the hardest and the most difficult of the stations, and it is referred to by the Imam 'Alī in a tradition known as Du'a' Kumayl: "O my God, my Master and my Lord! Even if I were able to endure Thy chastisement, how shall I bear Thy separation?!"

هنيئ صبرت على عذابك فكيف اصبر على فراقك

See: 'Abbās Qumī, *Mafātih al-Janān* (London: Religious Educational Center, nd, 65.

²¹⁰ This stage (صبر بالله) is something attained by none except the perfect. See: Āyatullah Khomeini, "Forty Ḥadith (pt. 17)," trans. Qarā'ī, *Al-Tawḥīd*, v. 7, no. 1, (1410/1989): 67-68.

²¹¹ Ghazālī, *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, trans. Fazul-ul-Karīm, 4: 70.

GRATITUDE

Consideration of the quality of gratitude (*shukr*), shows us that this quality and that of patience are very similar to fear and hope, because patience and gratitude, like fear and hope, are two concomitant terms, neither of which should exceed the other, and ones which every mystic should observe at the highest degree. However, gratitude means gratefulness and appreciation of the blessing and bounty (*ni'mat*) provided by the Provider (*Mun'im*)²¹² and the effects of this gratefulness and appreciation are manifested in the heart, on the tongue, and in physical action.

Āyatullāh Khomeini states:

As to the heart, the effects [of gratitude] are of such nature as humility, awe, love and the like. As to the tongue, the effects appear as praise and glorification. As to the bodily members, the effects consist of obedience, the use of the bodily members for the good pleasure of the *Mun'im*, and the like.²¹³

²¹² Ghazālī explains elaborately the circumstances of gratitude. See: Ghazālī, *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, trans. Fazul-ul- Karīm, 4: 114-118.

²¹³ Āyatullāh Khomeini, "Forty Ḥadīth (pt. 22)," trans. Qarā'ī, *Al-Tawḥīd*, v. 8: no. 2, (1411/1991): 31.

As we know, the first station for travelers on the mystic way, like *tawakkul* or *ṣabr*, is for the primary wayfarer; the further stations are reserved for the most sincere travelers. Āyatullāh Khomeini quotes Kh^wajah ‘Abdullāh Anṣārī, “The third degree of gratitude lies where the servant does not see anything except the beauty of the beneficent, being immersed in His beauty. This degree consists of three stations. First, he observes Him as the humble slave contemplates his master... Second, his observation is that of a lover observing his beloved...Third, he observes Him without the limitation of the Names, or rather has the epiphany of the Essence itself.”²¹⁴ There are many verses and traditions about the virtue and merit of gratitude, such as where God says: “If ye give thanks, I will give you more; but if ye are thankless, Lo! My punishment is dire.”²¹⁵ The Prophet Mohammad²¹⁶ also states:

One who takes food with gratitude has a reward like the one who fasts exercising vigilance over himself. The healthy person grateful for his health has a reward like the one who bears his (bodily) afflictions patiently. And one who gives gratefully has a reward similar to the one who bears his deprivation with continence.²¹⁷

²¹⁴ Ibid., 35, and Kh^wajah ‘Abdullāh Anṣārī, *Manāzil al-Sāirīn*, 91-93.

²¹⁵ Qur’ān, 14:7.

²¹⁶ Kulaynī, *Uṣūl al-Kāfī*, 3:150.

²¹⁷ Āyatullāh Khomeini, “Forty Ḥadīth (pt. 22),” trans. Qarā’ī, *Al-Tawḥīd*, v. 8: no. 2, (1411/1991): 37, and Kulaynī, *Uṣūl al-Kāfī*, 3:150.

Both, Ghazālī and Āyatullāh Khomeini believe that gratitude which is acknowledgment and recompense for blessing through speech (*qawl*), action (*fi'l*) and intention (*niyyat*), communicates with three supports: knowledge (*ma'rifat*), condition or state (*ḥālāt*), and action (*'amal*).²¹⁸

²¹⁸ See: Ghazālī, *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, trans. Fazlu-ul-Karīm, 4: 89-90. Āyatullāh Khomeini has quoted the aforementioned theme from Fayḍ-i Kāshānī's *Miḥajjat al-Bayḍā*. A resume of this quotation is: gratitude rests on three supports: firstly, the knowledge of the beneficent and attributes befitting Him, as well as the knowledge of blessing as blessing per se... Secondly, it is a state which is the result of this knowledge, which consists of humility, awe, and delight for the bounty as a gift that indicates the beneficent's care and attention for you... Thirdly, it is action that from this state; for when this state appears in the heart it produces an impulse for action aimed to achieve nearness to God. This action is related to the heart, tongue and other members. See: Āyatullāh Khomeini, "Forty Ḥadīth (pt. 22)," trans. Qarā'ī, *Al-Tawḥīd*, v. 8, no. 2, (1411/1991): 32-33.

CHAPTER FOUR

SECLUSION AND SOCIETY

It is not righteousness that ye turn your faces to the East and West; but righteous is he who believeth in Allah and the Last Day and the angels and the Scripture and the prophets; and giveth wealth, for love of Him, to kinsfolk and to orphans and the needy and wayfarer and to those who ask, and to set slaves free, and observeth proper worship and payeth the poor-due and those who keep their treaty when they make one, and the patient in tribulation and adversity and time of stress. Such are they who are sincere such are the God-fearing.

(the Qur'ān, 2: 177)

INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapters we recounted Āyatullāh Khomeini's life and interest in mysticism and explained the meaning of *jihād-i akbar*. In this chapter, which forms the core of this thesis, we will address these questions:

Is it possible to combine seclusion and living within society?

2. What is the relationship between them?

At first glance it may seem impossible to combine both seclusion and social activities; but we know in fact that it is possible, for it is consistent with mysticism and ethics from the Islamic point of view and can be observed in the actions of certain gnostics. The answer to this question lies in the very nature human development.

Both scholars of ethics and psychologists have described the stages of this development in their works. For example:

According to Maslow,²¹⁹ physiological needs, the foundation of motivational theory, are dominant unless they are satisfied. Children who are hungry will not be concerned, for example, with meeting needs for social approval; the usual social reinforcers will have little effect on their behavior. Safety needs, the needs for a safe, stable environment, follow. These needs dominate the lives of some unfortunate children whose unstable environments mean that their lives are in turmoil. Needs for love and belonging come next. Youngsters who feel unwanted or who feel no rapport with peers in school often become major behavior problems. Needs for esteem are met through achievement; teachers and parents can help by rewarding success and by providing opportunities for success.²²⁰

²¹⁹ Abraham Maslow practiced as a psychologist between 1943 and 1954.

²²⁰ Janice T. Gibson, *Living Human Development Through the Lifespan* (Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1993), 34. Maslow's hierarchy of needs is as follows: physiological needs, safety needs, love and belonging needs, esteem needs, self-actualization needs, and desires to know and understand. See Abraham H. Maslow, *Motivation and personality* (New York, Harper & Row, Publishers, 1970).

The term “motivation” is expressed in the works of many Islamic scholars by the use of such terms as desire, need, yearning.²²¹ They state that motivation is necessary to every one, even for primitive needs. Rāghib-i Iṣfahānī says: “Desire is of two kinds: praiseworthy and blameworthy. Praiseworthy desire is from God’s action; it is a power created in man which summons the soul to what is thought to be beneficial to the body.”²²²

Therefore eating, drinking, playing, loving, etc. are not possible without motivation and desire. These can be classified as follows:

1. Some desires do not need to be learned, and exist in every human being,²²³ such as the desire for eating. These needs communicate with the body and are changed by its strength or weakness. For example, the habit of eating and drinking, primitive needs for an infant, are established without any learning. Like eating and drinking, the need to play and love does not need to be learned. In this regard, Ghazālī says: “Man was created at the very beginning of childhood imperfect like an animal. He only has desire for food (nourishment) which he

²²¹ See: Abu al-Qāsim Muḥammad Rāghib-i Iṣfahānī *Al-Dharī'ah Ilā Makārim al-Sharī'ah* (Cairo: Maktabah al-Kulliyāt al-Azhariyah, 1393/1973), p.36; Narāqī, *Jāmi' al-Sa'ādāt*, 3: 108; Ibn Sīnā, *Al-Ishārāt va al-Tanbihāt*, 2: 411-413.

²²² Rāghib, *Al-Dharī'ah*, 36:

الشهوة ضربان محمودة و مذمومة: فالمحمودة من فعل الله سبحانه و هي قوة جعلت في الانسان لتتبع بها النفس لنيل ما يظن ان فيه صلاح البدن

²²³ Although these needs are for every person, they are not the same in quality and quantity, for example, one person eats or plays more than another.

needs; then appears the desire for play and related physical desire and then the desire for marriage, in that order.”²²⁴

2. There are other needs that are not linked to the shape of the body, whether it be thin or fat, old or young, etc. For instance, every person wants others to honor him or her, and undertakes to achieve this goal.

3. On the other hand, there are other needs that are learnt. Although these needs are innate and natural too, they are latent or in potency (*bilquwwah*) in our intellect, and only by learning can they be brought to actuality (*bilfi'l*). For example, sometimes we feel that we are lacking something, but we do not know what it is. So we try to discover what we are missing and to learn how to change the passive intellect, as an innate need, into an actual one. For instance, according to the Qur’ān, knowledge of God is innate (*fiṭrī*) in every person; here God states: “So set thy purpose for religion as a man by nature upright-the nature (framed) of Allah, in which He hath created man.”²²⁵ In other words, it is natural for every human being to seek God and know God. This is inside of every human being, but because of some impediments, we forget God. After a period of time, we need a power beyond ourselves to regain this knowledge. We do not know who God is

²²⁴ Ghazālī, *Iḥyā’ ‘Ulūm al-Dīn*, ed. Ḥāfiẓ ‘Irāqī (Beirut: Dār al-Khayr, 1411/1990), 5: 62/201:

لما الإنسان فإنه خلق في ابتداء الصبا ناقصا مثل البهيمة لم يخلق فيه إلا شهوة الغذاء
الذى هو محتاج إليه ثم تظهر شهوة اللعب و الزينة ثم شهوة النكاح على الترتيب

²²⁵ Qur’ān, 30:30:

فاقم وجهك للدين حنيفا فطرت الله التى فطر الناس عليها

and we feel that there is something missing in us, so the messengers and prophets come to us to remind us of what we have forgotten.

This process is explained by Āyatullāh Khomeini:

Worship and prayer are also means to this end, the end of eliciting the true nature of man and making it manifest, of bringing it forth from potentiality into actuality. Natural man should become divine man in the sense that everything pertaining to him should become divine; whatever he looks at he will see as God. All the prophets were sent to assist man in attaining this goal.²²⁶

Āyatullāh Khomeini, in a sermon explaining ‘Alī ibn ‘Abī ibn abī Ṭālib’s (p.b.u.h) statement that every human being is a microcosm of the macrocosm, that is, of the basic order of the universe, quotes Imām ‘Alī (p.b.u.h) as saying, “The Almighty God has created two cosmoses; one large cosmos which is the whole universe and a small cosmos that is man.” If one understands man, one has understood everything. Referring to the verse of the Qur’ān which says, “And He taught Adam all the names,” (2: 31) Āyatullāh Khomeini goes one step further and asserts that man is the only creature to whom God has given special attention. He posits that man is the microcosm of the universe by his mere bodily existence and that at the same time he is the microcosm of God by his spirit. Man is therefore the key to understanding God, and reforming him is the solution to all the ills of the

²²⁶ Āyatullāh Khomeini, *Islam and Revolution*, trans. Algar, 415.

world.²²⁷ Thus he links Imām ‘Alī’s famous idea about man, which is found in other mystical works, to the problems of human societies.

Many Islamic scholars have stated that human beings love perfection, that it is one of the strongest human needs. However, they sometimes do not take as their models the right examples of perfection.²²⁸ Therefore, before explaining his views on this matter, it is best to consider other ideas about seclusion and society.

THEORIES OF SOCIAL ACTIVITIES AND SECLUSION

Different Muslim scholars have placed an emphasis on either one or the other of these two options: living in society or in seclusion. Some ‘*ulamā* such as Mudarris (d.1357/1938),²²⁹ Kāshānī (d.1340s./1961)²³⁰ and Bihishtī (d.1360/1981), have only paid attention to the social dimension, while another group has emphasized the esoteric aspect. We can find other ‘*urafā* who believed in and paid attention to both, i.e. social activities and seclusion. In this regard, we will proceed by explaining the views of the last two groups.

²²⁷ See Farhang Rajaei, *Islamic Values and World View* (New York: University Press of America, 1983), 13: 35-36.

²²⁸ See: Ibid., 4: 67-73; Rāghib, *Al-Dharī‘ah*, 147-148; Narāqī, *Jāmi‘ al-Sa‘ādāt*, 3: 134; Ikhvān al-Ṣafā, *Rasā’il Ikhvān al-Ṣafā*, 1: 315; and Muḥammad ‘Alī Shāh Ābādī, *Rashaḥāt al-Biḥār*, trans. Muḥammad Shāh Ābādī (Tehran: Nahdhat-i Zanān-i Musalmān, 1360), “Kitāb al-Insān,” 8.

²²⁹ On him see: Jirdifānī, ‘*Ulamā’i Buzurg-i Shī‘ah az Kulaynītā Khomeini* (Qum: Intishārāt-i Ma‘ārif-i Islāmī, 1364s./1985), 371-373.

²³⁰ On him see: *ibid.*, 4223-424.

As far as living in seclusion is concerned, many *'urafā* believe that the best state perfection for the human being is seclusion (*khalwa* or *'uzla*).

Explaining the technical term of seclusion, Hermann Landolt states:

Khalwa, technical term of mysticism, meaning "retirement, seclusion, retreat" (from *khalā* "to be alone"), and , more specifically, "isolation in a solitary place or cell" (*zāwiya*, [*bayt al-khalwa*]), involving spiritual exercises. "Seclusion" or "solitude" in general...is one of the fundamental principles of asceticism (*zuhd*), and the predilection of early Muslim ascetics for the solitary way of life is a prominent topic of Ṣūfī hagiographic literature.²³¹

As Landolt explains: "The *khalwa* extends ideally over the whole life of the Ṣūfī. The practice of retreat is only a means to an end, and the goal of Ṣūfī education is *khalwa* "in spirit" (*khalwat al-ma'nā*), i.e. being spiritually with God in spite of material presence in the world."²³²In other words, mystics and followers of religions have a special view about the world and man, for they all believe that a human being is composed of earthly and heavenly elements, and that these are always contrary to each other and evolve differently. According to this understanding, as the body becomes stronger, the spirit (*rūḥ*) becomes weaker, just as on the contrary, as the spirit (*rūḥ*) becomes stronger, the body becomes weaker; in other words, the more a man pays attention to this world (*dunyā*), the

²³¹ Hermann Landolt, art "Khalwa." in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed. 1978.

²³² Ibid.

more he forgets the next world, (*ākhirat*), and the more he pays attention to the next world the more he abandons and forgets the world.²³³ This insight therefore demands that anyone who wants to attain human perfection, should leave the world. The monks and hermits in various religions such as Christianity and Islam are examples of this.²³⁴ Hence, men such as these often have a weak, afflicted body, and they neither involve themselves in social life nor do they get married or even socialize. They never have anything to do with political problems either. ‘Abdullāh al-Tustarī said: “Taṣawwuf is: to eat little, to take rest with God, and to flee from men,”²³⁵ and Abū Bakr al-Shībīlī also said: ‘The Ṣūfī is separated from mankind and united with God as God hath said, ‘*And I chose thee for myself*,’ i.e.

²³³ Ḥaydar Āmulī says: “Truly the world is like a woman who takes another husband every hour, as the Imam has indicated in his words, I have pronounced divorce on you three times and so there is no possibility of remarriage. [*Nahju-l Balāghah*, p. 580] It is evident that if the world were not like a woman, then the Imam would not have addressed it in these terms; thus anyone who keeps her company and who makes loves to her with the self, the soul or the heart becomes ritually impure in the true sense...Indeed, love of Allah and intimacy with Him is the very opposite of love of and intimacy with the world and the two can never be joined together. This is referred to in the words of Allah, ‘Whoever desires the reward of the hereafter, We will give him more of that again; and whoever desires the reward of this world, We will give him of it, and in the hereafter he has no portion.’ [The Qur’ān, 20:42] The Imam has also referred to this in his words: ‘Truly this world and the next are enemies to each other and are two completely different paths: whoever loves this world and pays allegiance to it will anger the hereafter and make it an enemy of him; the two are in fact as the east and the west, and whenever the person walking between the two comes closer to one, he will necessarily distance himself from the other.’ Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī, *Inner Secrets of The Path*, trans. Aṣṣadullāh al-Dhaakir Yate (Longmead: Zahra Publications, 1989), 174. (*Asrār al-Sharī‘ah wa Aṭwār al-Ṭarīqah wa Anwār al-Ḥaqīqah*:141-142). This tradition is from ‘Alī Ibn abī Ṭalīb’s *Nahju-l Balāghah*, p. 585. See also Muḥammad Muḥammadī Ray Shahrī, *Mizān al-Hikmah*, (Qum: Maktabat al-‘Ālam al-Islāmī, 1367s./1988), v. 3, p. 325, and also Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, 70: 129.

²³⁴ See Nafisi, *Sarchishmah-i Taṣawwuf*, 32-34 & 56.

²³⁵ Reynold A. Nicholson, “Historical inquiry concerning the Origin and Development of Sufism,” *Journal the Royal Asiatic Society* 38 (1906): 333:

He separated him from all others; then he said, '*Thou shall not see Me.*' (The Qur'ān: 149:15).²³⁶ The questions that arises from this are: Does mysticism agree with living in society? Does '*irfān*' contradict political activities? Does this world (*dunyā*) agree with the next world (*ākhirat*)?

Yet there are many scholars who believed that it is possible to combine social and political activities and seclusion. Some of them, while not being mystics, were companions of the Prophet, while others combined their interest in mysticism with other scholarly pursuits. To some extent this can be seen in the lives of Salmān-i Fārsī,²³⁷ Abūdharr-i Ghafārī,²³⁸ Ghazālī, Ṭūsī, Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, 'Allāma Ṭabāṭabā'ī, Muṭahharī, Āyatullāh Khomeini and many others.²³⁹ Similarly, in looking at the works of the *fuqahā*', we see that some parts of their books are devoted to acts of worship like prayer, fasting, etc., while other parts are concerned with problems related to society.²⁴⁰

²³⁶ Ibid., 343:

الصوفي منقطع عن الخلق متصل بالحق

²³⁷ On him see: Muṣṭafā Shībī, *al-Ṣilat Bayn al-Taṣawwuf wa Tashayyu'*, 2nd ed. (Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, nd.), 25-32. Seyyed Hossein Nasr mentions many mystics in his works, in this regard, he says: "In Kufa such men as Kumayl, Maytham al-Tammār, Rashīd al-Ḥajar, all of whom were among the early Sufis and ascetics, belonged to the entourage of the Imāms. The 'companions of the ledge' (*aṣḥāb al-suffah*) before them, like Salmān, Abū Dharr and 'Ammār al-Yāsir, are also both of early Sufism and the early members of the Shi'ite community." Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Sufi Essays*, 114.

²³⁸ On him see: *ibid.*, 33-38.

²³⁹ See: 'Abd al-Rafī' Ḥaqīqat, *Tārīkh-i 'Irfān wa 'Ārifān-i Irānī* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Kūmish, 1370s./1991), 64-66.

²⁴⁰ See the books of Islamic jurisprudence (*Kutub-i Fiqhī*) in works such as *Lum'ah al-Dimashqīyyah* by Shahīd-i Awwal and Shahīd-i Thānī.

It would not be out of place here to mention some examples from the writings of mystics (*'urafā*) which refer to the role of mysticism in society:

1. 'Allāma Ṭabāṭabā'ī was a famous Shī'a and mystic who studied philosophy, *tafsīr*, *uṣūl*, *fiqh* and *'irfān*. According to Nasr, he taught a large number of mystics and traditional students in Qum.²⁴¹ Reading his *al-Mizān*, we see that he wrote a long chapter about societal affairs which are necessary and important in this world.²⁴²

2. Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, who was a Shī'a mystic, is another example. The revolution that he led in the sixteenth century clearly shows the relationship between religious mysticism and a popular movement.²⁴³

3. Ghazālī, in his book *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, discusses seclusion (*al-'uzlah*); specifically in chapter seven, which is entitled *Kitāb Ādāb al-'Uzlah* (Rules of living in Seclusion). In his discussion, he gives reasons for and against seclusion, and living in society and its benefits, and in the end he presents his own ideas. According to Ghazālī, there are differences of opinion regarding living in seclusion and living in society. Those who support living in society put forward such

²⁴¹ See: Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Shī'a* (Qum: Ansāriyān Publications, 1409/1989), 24.

²⁴² See: Ṭabāṭabā'ī, *al-Mizān* (Beirut: Mu'assasah al-A'lamī lil-Maṭbūat, 1392/1972), 4:92-133.

²⁴³ See: Halil Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire: The classical age 1300-1600*, trans. Norman Itzkowitz and Colin Imber (New York: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1975).

arguments as the following: God states: “ *Then he united their hearts...Do not be like those who differed and became separate.*”(The *Qur'ān*, 3:103/105).²⁴⁴ These verses speak of unity on the grounds of love and speak of differences regarding the Book of God.

Afterwards, Ghazālī argues that the answer to the question of whether seclusion is good or bad, depends on the individual circumstances. The benefits of loneliness are either of this world or of the next world. Likewise, according to him, there are six benefits to living in seclusion and seven benefits to living in society, the latter being more important than the former.²⁴⁵

4. Ḥasan ‘Alī Iṣfahānī (d.1321s./1942),²⁴⁶ was a well-known mystic in Iṣfahān. He spent most of his life in the pursuit of *‘irfān* and made much progress in its various stages. In addition to his own participation in Islamic society, he ordered and willed his son to pay attention to the satisfying of people’s needs.²⁴⁷ Although the truly religious life can consists of individual acts of piety yet most of the time one needs to interact society and other human beings.

244 فالف بين قلوبكم --- ولا تكونوا كالذين تفرقوا واختلفوا

245 Muḥammad Ghazālī, *Iḥyā ‘Ulūm al-Dīn*, 2: 338-347.

246 On him see: ‘Alī Miqdādī-i Iṣfahāī, *Nishān az Bānīshānhā* (Iṣfahān: Intishārāt-i Jumhūrī, 1373s./1994), 14-35.

247 See: *ibid.*, 31.

5. Rūmī also shows the role of the sufi in society in his *Matnawī*,²⁴⁸ and in the fifth book he explains the tradition of “no monkery in Islam,” stating:

Do not tear out thy feathers, but detach thy heart from (desire for) them,
because (the existence of) the enemy is the necessary condition for (waging)
this Holy War. When there is no enemy, the Holy War is inconceivable; (if)
thou hast no lust, there can be no obedience (to the Divine command)...Hark,
do not castrate thyself, do not become a monk; for chastity is in pawn to
(depends on the existence of)lust...²⁴⁹

6. It would not be out of place here to mention two orders of sufism: the Ni‘matullāhī order and the Nūrbakhshī order; both have had a political and social dimension.²⁵⁰ As an example, when someone asked Bahā’ al-Dīn Bukhārī, who founded the Naqshbandī order, about his spiritual path and discipline, he replied: “Seclusion in assembly: we are exoterically with creation and esoterically with The Truth Most High”²⁵¹

However it is not evident to what extent social activities were to be pursued in the thought of these mystics; whether to the extent that they would have to gain

²⁴⁸ See: Rūmī, *The Mathnawī of Jalālū‘ddīn Rūmī*, ed. and trans. R. A. Nicholson (London: Cambridge University Press, 1934), 1:171-172, (book I, verses: 3150-3155).

²⁴⁹ Ibid., 5:37, (book V, verses: 574 -585).

²⁵⁰ For more information about them see: ‘Abdurrafi‘ Ḥaqīqat, *Tārīkh-i ‘Irfān va ‘Ārifān-i Iran* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Kūmish, 1370s./1981), 153-155, and 580-581; and also see: Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Sufi Essays*, 116-117.

²⁵¹ ‘Abdurrafi‘ Ḥaqīqat, *Tārīkh-i ‘Irfān va ‘Ārifān-i Iran*, 579.

power over society itself, or whether these efforts should be limited to group relations.

ĀYATULLĀH KHOMEINI'S POINT OF VIEW

Having considered the views of many *'urafā* regarding seclusion and social activities, we may now begin to investigate Āyatullāh Khomeini's view. A look at his works shows us that his mystical idea is not new; rather, it is in many ways similar to what the *'urafā* before him maintained.

Āyatullāh Khomeini wrote many books about the spiritual journey, books like *Sirr al-Ṣalāh*, or *Ṣalāt al-Ārifīn wa Mi'rāj al-Sālikīn* (The Secret of Prayer or Prayers of the Knowers & Ascent of the Wayfarers), *Ādāb al-Ṣalāh* (Correct Conduct of Prayer) and *Tafsīr-i Sūrah-i Ḥamd* (exegesis of the sura *Ḥamd*).²⁵² He always emphasizes in his works the worship of God, avoidance of the pleasures and love of the world, and of its ills as well. Concerning the ills of the world he quotes a tradition from Imām Ṣādiq(p.b.u.h), who said: "The example of the world is that of seawater; the more a thirsty person drinks from it, the thirstier he becomes until it kills him"²⁵³ Then Āyatullāh Khomeini adds:

The love of the world destroys man eternally, and it is the source of his affliction with inward and outward villainies. The Holy Prophet is reported to

²⁵² For more information about these books and the others see Chapter 1 above.

²⁵³ Kulaynī, *Uṣūl al-Kāfī*, 2:54.

have said, "The *Dirham* and the *Dinār* have destroyed many a people before you and they will destroy you too"²⁵⁴...Another great evil caused by the love of the world is that it keeps man from religious exercises, devotional rites, and prayers, and strengthens his physical nature.²⁵⁵

On the other hand, Āyatullāh Khomeini explains that Islam is not limited to acts of individual worship and certain customs and traditions. Rather, Islam is a comprehensive system which caters to all the needs of human beings in both their individual and social dimensions.²⁵⁶ In this regard, Āyatullāh Khomeini states:

Many of the ordinances of Islam that refer to worship also pertain to social and political functions. The forms of worship practiced in Islam are usually linked to politics and the gestation of society. For example, congregation prayer, the gathering on the occasion of the *hajj*, and Friday prayer, for all their spirituality, exert a political as well as moral and doctrinal influence. Islam has provided for such gatherings so that religious use might be made of them; so that feelings of brotherhood and cooperation may be strengthened, intellectual maturity fostered, solutions found for political and social problems, with *jihād* and collective effort as the natural outcome.²⁵⁷

Therefore in Islam, according to Āyatullāh Khomeini, two sorts of mutually influential relationships are defined: man with Allah and man with man. In

²⁵⁴ Ibid.

²⁵⁵ Āyatullāh Khomeini, "Forty Ḥadīth (pt. 6)," trans. Qarā'ī, *Al-Tawḥīd*, v. 3, no. 4, (1406/1986): 19.

²⁵⁶ We will answer below these two questions: Is Āyatullāh Khomeini's view in on this subject the same in all his books? and, can we observe a development in his view over the years?

²⁵⁷ Āyatullāh Khomeini, *Islam and Revolution*, trans. Algar, 130.

general, the four stages of man's journey to perfection show the relationship between *'irfān* and society, and they make it clear that Islam is not simply a religion that orders Muslims to worship God, recite prayers and practice spiritual purification; the four stages of man's journey are as follows:

- I. Man's journey from himself to God.
- II. Man's journey with God in God (i.e. gaining knowledge of God)
- III. Man's journey with God to the creatures of God.
- IV. Man's journey with God among the creatures of God for deliverance of the creatures of God.²⁵⁸

Concerning the four stages of man's journey, Murtaḍā Muṭahharī states:

We said that some scholars of thought insist on this (to seek God), other schools put emphasis on "Man's grief for the sake of God's creatures," not

²⁵⁸ See: Āyatullāh Khomeini, *Miṣbāḥ al-Hidāyah*, trans. Sayyid Aḥmad Fihri (Tehran: Piyām-i Āzādī, 1360s./1981), 204-210. Also Moojan Momen says: "The following is a brief analysis of the four journeys described by Mullā Ṣadrā in *Al-Ḥikmat al-muta'aliyya fi'l-asfār al-'aqliyya al-arba'a* (The Transcendental Theosophy concerning the Four Journeys of the Rational Soul). This work concerns the four journeys: From the creatures to the True One; From the True One to the True One; From the True One to the creatures; and From the creatures to the creatures..."

The first journey is described as being the path whereby man detaches himself from the physical world and his carnal self (*nafs*) and rending the veils that intervene between him and the Divine Beauty reaches the station of Annihilation in the Divine...

The second journey is described as being the path along which the traveler contemplates and comes to know and understand the Divine Names and Attributes...

The third journey involves the termination of Annihilation (*fanā*) and the start of Subsistence (*baqā*) in God...

The fourth journey is among the creatures, but now the traveler, who is in the station of a prophet who brings laws, sees all beings in their essence and knows of the manner of their return to God and so is able to give them guidance." See: Moojan Momen, *An Introduction to Shi'i Islam*, 219.

“Man’s grief for the sake of God”, and some say, what is the meaning of the grief of man for the sake of God?! If man is not to go toward God, man’s grief will not reach its destination. Humanity is God’s concern and from there it is man’s concern.²⁵⁹

What is forbidden and interdicted in Islam is attention and attachment to the world; otherwise, this world itself is not interdicted, as Āyatullāh Khomeini states:

This love may sometimes cause a man, even though he is a worshipper of the One God, to leave the world with resentment and hatred in his heart if he believes that God has taken something from him...Do not imagine that it is necessarily the wealthy who are regarded as worldly. It is possible, for example, that someone might own vast estates but not be worldly, while a student might possess only a book and yet be quite worldly. The criterion is attachment, the ties that bind man to things.²⁶⁰

Thus, according to Āyatullāh Khomeini, both, seclusion and social activities are valid, a view which he based on his study of the Qur’ān, the traditions and the works of some *‘urafā*. He believes, on the basis of those sources, that there is no incompatibility between *‘irfān* and social or political activities.

²⁵⁹ Murtaḍā Muṭahhari, *Insān-i Kāmil* (Qum: Daftar-i Intishārāt-i Islāmī, 1362s./1983), 76.

²⁶⁰ Āyatullāh Khomeini, *Islam and Revolution*, trans., Algar, 397-398.

KHOMEINI'S USE OF PROOF TEXTS

In what follows we will consider Āyatullāh Khomeini use of three basic sources to support his view as to seclusion and society: the Qur'ān, the Traditions of the Prophet and the Imāms, and scholarly tradition.

1. QUR'ĀN

Āyatullāh Khomeini cites many verses of the Qur'ān to prove this point of view. Verses 2: 18; 8: 17/59; 34: 46; 57: 34, are just some examples which will be explained below. When we refer to the Qur'ān we can find other verses that may serve as proof texts for this idea as well. For example, we see that in numerous verses God gives various commands to Muslims; on the one hand, He orders them to perform acts of worship, such as prayer, fasting etc., while on the other hand, He orders them to live in society.²⁶¹ Concerning the believer's saving qualities we have a number of Qur'ānic verses, such this one: "(Triumphant) Are those who turn repentant (to Allah), those who serve (Him), those who praise (Him), those who fast, those who bow down, those who fall prostrate (in worship), those who enjoin the right and who forbid the wrong and those who keep the limits (ordained) of Allah- And give glad tiding to believers!"²⁶² While most of these

²⁶¹ See: Qur'ān: 2:43, 45, 218, 277; 5:35; 2:78; 31:17 etc.

²⁶² Qur'ān, 9:112:

qualities refer to acts of worship, the phrase “enjoin the right...keep the limits of Allah” according to our understanding refers to a believer’s obligations in the social and political spheres.

Āyatullāh Khomeini, in both his early and late works,²⁶³ uses, like the other ‘*ulamā*, certain verses of Qur’ān to support his view, which can be divided into two groups:

I. Concerning social activities, Āyatullāh Khomeini quotes many verses; among them “Lo! those who believe, and those who emigrate (to escape the persecution) and strive in the way of Allah, these have hope of Allah’s mercy.”²⁶⁴ or “Make ready for them all thou canst of (armed) force and of horses tethered, that thereby ye may dismay the enemy of Allah and your enemy,”²⁶⁵ and “Say (unto them, O Mohammad): I exhort you unto one thing only: that ye awake, for

التائبون العابدون الحامدون السائحون الراكعون الساجدون بالمعروف عن المنكر و
الحافظون لحدود الله و بشر المؤمنين

For more verses see: 48:29; 57:57.

²⁶³ For example *Chihil Ḥadīth*, *Kashf al-Asrār*, which were written in his youth, and *Tafsīr-i Sūrah-i Ḥamd* which was written in old age.

²⁶⁴ Āyatullāh Khomeini, “Forty Ḥadīth (pt. 15),” trans. Qarā’i, *Al-Tawḥīd*, v. 6, no. 3(1409/1989): 14-15; Qur’ān, 2: 18:

ان الذين آمنوا والذين هاجروا و جاهدوا في سبيل الله اولئك يرجون رحمة الله

²⁶⁵ Idem., *Dar Justujūy-i Rāh-i Imām az Kalām-i Imām*, 2:3.
Qur’ān, 8:59:

و اعدوا لهم ما استطعتم من قوة و من رباط الخيل ترهبون به عدو الله و عدوكم

Allah's sake, by twos and singly.”²⁶⁶ These verses show us that not only are social activities and love of the world good, but that they are also duties for us. The world is a very good place for mystics, as Āyatullāh Khomeini states:

God Almighty's words, *ونعم دار المتقين* (What a good abode is the house of the pious) relate to the world, according to the interpretation of Imām Bāqir (p.b.u.h) reported in a tradition by ‘Ayyāshī. Therefore, this world, being as it is the manifestation of and witness to His Beauty and Majesty, is not at all condemnable in this sense.²⁶⁷

II. On the other hand, some verses are quoted by him that show man's spiritual condition and situation. These verses are as follows: “He is the First and the Last, and the Outward and the Inward; and He is Knower of all things...and He is with you wheresoever ye may be. And Allah is Seer of what ye do,”²⁶⁸ and “Ye (Muslims) slew them not, but Allah slew them. And thou (Mohammad) threwest not when thou didst throw, but Allah threw.”²⁶⁹

²⁶⁶ Sa‘id Najafiyan, “Imām Khomeini: Life and Works (pt. 4),” *Al-Tawhīd*, v. 8, no. 3, (1411/1990):127. Qur’ān, 34:46:

قل انما اعظكم بواحدة ان تقوموا لله مثنى و فرادى

²⁶⁷ Āyatullāh Khomeini, “forty Ḥadīth (pt. 6),” trans. Qarā’i, *Al-Tawhīd*, v. 3, no. 4, (1406/1989): 14.

²⁶⁸ Idem., *Islam and Revolution*, trans. Algar, 423.

Qur’ān, 57: 3-4:

هو الاول و الآخر والظاهر والباطن...وهو معكم اين ما كنتم والله بما تعملون بصير

²⁶⁹ Idem., *Dar Justujūy-i Rāh-i Imām az Kalām-i Imām*, 2:38.

فلم تقتلوهم ولكن الله قتلهم و ما رميت اذ رميت ولكن الله رمى

Comparing verses cited in the early works of Āyatullāh Khomeini's with those cited in the later ones proves interesting. We see that in 1944 he wrote a letter to all Muslims that begins by quoting verse 34:46. "Say (unto them, O Mohammad): I exhort you unto one thing only: that ye awake, for Allah's sake, by twos and singly." He emphasizes this verse in his letter stating:

In this noble saying, God, the Supreme, has depicted the ascent from the dark abode of physical nature to the ultimate apex of humanity. It is the best admonition that the Lord of the Universe has selected out of all the admonitions, proposing it to the human being in this dictum. This dictum is the only way to the betterment of both the worlds...²⁷⁰

On the other hand, after the revolution he uses this verse as a mystical verse in exegesis of Sura Ḥamd, and relates on the authority of some 'urafā that it is the first station of the mystic. In this regard he says:

Those who have analyzed spiritual wayfaring, for example, Shaykh 'Abdullāh Anṣārī in his *Manāzil al-Sā'irīn*, have regarded this "arising" as the first stage on the path. It may be a stage at all, however, but rather a preliminary, followed from someone who has attained the goal himself and is instructed by God to summon men to arise.²⁷¹

²⁷⁰ Sa'īd Najafiyān, "Imām Khomeini: Life and works (pt. 4)," *Al-Tawḥīd*, v. 8, no. 3, (1411/1990): 129-130.

²⁷¹ Āyatullāh Khomeini, *Islam and Revolution*, trans. Hamid Algar, 397.

Although we see a little difference in his statements on verse 34:46, it seems that Āyatullāh Khomeini did not change his interpretation of other verses such as 4:100 and 8:17. For example, concerning verse 4:100, he states:

And [mystic and wayfarer] should his capacity, endowed to him by manifestation of the Most Sacred Effusion (in pre-eternity), be of a greater extent than this, he will recover from this swoon and annihilation, regain sociability, come to himself and receive the *tajalliyāt* of the Essence, until, on reaching the last stage of annihilation in Essence and total swoon, his journey ends and complete annihilation is attained. Some have said that the verse: "When anyone leaves his home, migrating to God and His Messenger, and is then overtaken by death, it is incumbent on God to reward him..."(4:100) alludes to this group of *awliyā* of God and wayfarers to wards Him, and the reward of these wayfarers lies solely with the Sacred Essence.²⁷²

We find a similar explanation in his exegesis on Sura Ḥamd, which was written after the revolution.²⁷³

2. TRADITION.

There are many traditions from the Prophet and the Imāms of the Shī'a which show that the way to perfection for human beings rests in combining *'irfān*

²⁷² Idem., "Forty Ḥadīth (pt. 28)," trans. Qarā'ī, *Al-Tawḥīd*, v. 9, no. 4, (1412/1991): 42-43.

²⁷³ See: idem., *Islam and Revolution*, trans. Hamid Algar, 382-383, and for more information, ibid. 370, 373; idem., *Kashf al-Asrār*, 224; and idem., *Dar justujūy-i Rāh-i Imām az Kalām-i Imām* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Amīr Kabīr, 1363s./1984), 2:3/286/295.

and living in society.²⁷⁴For example, it is related from the Prophet, who is believed to be the model of a perfect human being, that after his migration to Medina, he laid the foundation of the Islamic state; although he lived like ordinary people, his mosque was the epicenter of all social and political activities.²⁷⁵With regard to the Prophet Āyatullāh Khomeini states:

The Most Noble Messenger (peace and blessings be upon him) headed the executive and administrative institutions of Muslim society. In addition to conveying the revelation and expounding and interpreting the articles of faith and ordinances and institutions of Islam, he undertook the implementation of law and the establishment of the ordinances of Islam, thereby bringing into being the Islamic state.²⁷⁶

Āyatullāh Khomeini, in several of his works, invokes traditions some of which emphasize attention to the world and outward things, while others focus on moral and mystical problems. For example, in *Chihil Ḥadīth*, when he wants to explain the world, he relates a tradition from Imām ‘Alī (p.b.u.h), who is regarded as the example and paradigm of Mystics and Master of the Virtuous (*Mawlā al-Muttaqīn*). Imām ‘Alī is quoted as having said:

Man has two worlds: one of them is condemned, while the other is extolled and praised. The world which is approved is that which one acquires in this

²⁷⁴ See: Murtaḍā Muṭahharī, *Insān-i Kāmil* (Qum: Daftar-i Intishārāt-i Islāmī, 1362s./1983), 32-33, 152, 158-160.

²⁷⁵ See: Ja‘far Subḥānī, *Furūgh-i Abadīyyat* (Qum: Intishārāt-i Islāmī, 1365/1986).

²⁷⁶ Āyatullāh Khomeini, *Islam and Revolution*, trans. Algar, 40.

earthly abode this school, and this marketplace...are exchanged for transitory goods... These cannot be possibility acquired without entering this world, as Imām ‘Alī (p.b.u.h), in one of his sermons delivered on hearing a person abuse the world:²⁷⁷ “Indeed this world is the abode of truth for him who appreciates its truthfulness, a place of safety for him who understands it...”²⁷⁸

After relating this tradition, Āyatullāh Khomeini concludes that this world is not at all condemnable in this sense. He then goes on to say that what is condemnable is man himself in the sense of his absorption in the world, i.e. in his carnal nature, and his attachment to and love for it. Then he relates a tradition from Imām Ṣādiq²⁷⁹ (p.b.u.h): “The love of the world is the source of all transgressions.”²⁸⁰ In citing this tradition he may be trying to distinguish between activities and inner attachment to worldly issues. According to this view, external activities are not all in opposition with the mystic station; the only thing that is rejected is inner attachment to worldly issues. So it is possible for a man, according to this doctrine, to obtain high positions in society, yet remain focused on the mystic stations and experiences. Especially after the victory of the Revolution and the establishment of the Islamic government, we not only find

²⁷⁷ Ibid., 592,

²⁷⁸ Āyatullāh Khomeini, “Forty Ḥadīth (pt. 6),” trans. Qarā’ī, *Al-Tawḥīd*, 3, no. 4, (1406/1985): 14.

²⁷⁹ Kulaynī, *Uṣūl al-Kāfī*, trans. Kamarāī, 3:465.

²⁸⁰ Āyatullāh Khomeini, “Forty Ḥadīth (pt. 6),” trans. Qarā’ī, *Al-Tawḥīd*, v. 3, no. 4, (1406/1985): 14.

Āyatullāh Khomeini occupying high office but we also find him trying to solve the problems of the government by emphasizing mystical values.²⁸¹

In another tradition that can be regarded as a description and an example of this very tradition, and in which a sharp distinction between virtue and social activities is rejected, is that which has come down to us in *Najul al-Balāghah*. In this work Imām ‘Alī (p.b.u.h) speaks ill of the world on many occasions, but when he goes on to inquire about the health of his companion ‘Alā’ ibn Ziyād al-Ḥārithī and notices the vastness of his house, he says:

What will you do with this vast house in this world, although you need this house more in the next world. If you want to take it to the next world you could entertain in it guests and be regardful of kinship and discharge all obligations according to their accrual. in this way you will be able to take it to the next world.

Then ‘Alā’ says to him, “O’ Amīr al-Mu’minīn, I want to complain to you about my brother ‘Āṣim ibn Ziyād”. When Imām ‘Alī asks what is the matter, ‘Alā’ replies, “He has put on a woolen coat and cut himself off from the world.” Imām ‘Alī asks him to send for him, and when he arrives, Imām ‘Alī says:

O’ enemy of yourself. Certainly Satan has misguided you. Do you feel no pity for your wife and your children. Do you believe that if you use those things

²⁸¹ See: idem., *Islam and Revolution*, trans. Algar, 373/ 397-399; and idem., *Dar Justujūy-i Rāh-i Imām az Kalām-i Imām*, 2: 15/ 260-261/ 278/ 280/ 286/ 301-302.

which Allah has made lawful for you. He would dislike you. You are unimportant for Allah to do so.

‘Aṣim replies: “O Amīr al-Mu’minīn, you also put on coarse dress and eat rough food.” Then Imām ‘Alī says:

Woe be to you, I am not like you. Certainly Allah has made it obligatory of just leaders that they should maintain themselves at the level of low people so that the poor do not cry over their poverty.²⁸²

In this tradition Imām ‘Alī shows that he regards the severance of ‘Āṣim ibn Zīyād from this world as the mischief of Satan, and forcefully dissuades him from adopting that course.

Although Āyatullāh Khomeini relates some traditions about social activities and seclusion separately, nevertheless when he wants to give examples for both, he mostly points to Imām ‘Alī, who was a model of the mystical life while he lived in society. This issue is mentioned in several passages of Āyatullāh Khomeini’s works, whether early or late, such as *Chihil Ḥadīth* or *Tafsīr-i Sūrah-i Ḥamd*. We may cite as an example the following statement:

Once a man has become a true human being, he will be the most active of men. He will till the land, but till it for God’s sake. He will also wage war, for all the wars wages against unbelievers and oppressors were waged by men absorbed in the divine unity and engaged in the constant recitation of

²⁸² *Nahj al-Balāghah*, 425, 435. See also: Ibn Abi al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā al-Kutub al-‘Arabīyah, 1961), 11:72-83.

prayer...The Commander of the Faithful [Imām 'Alī] not only stood in prayer at the beginning of a battle; he would also continue his prayer in its midst.²⁸³

3. SCHOLARS TRADITION

In addition to passages in the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth, Āyatullāh Khomeini, invokes events in the lives of some Companions of the Prophet (*aṣḥāb*), '*ulamā* and '*urafā* which show the real ways of perfection of a human being. On the one hand, he praises the efforts of those who engaged in political and social activities such as Mudarris (d.1375/1955)²⁸⁴ and Āyatullāh Bihishtī (d.1360s./1981);²⁸⁵ on the other hand, he honours some '*urafā* such as Shāh Ābādī, who was his master, Malikī Tabrizī, and also certain '*ulamā* who combined '*irfān* and social activities such as Ghazālī, 'Allāma Ṭabāṭabā'ī, and Muṭahharī.²⁸⁶

So far Āyatullāh Khomeini's point of view about social activities and seclusion is clear, but there is a question which must be posed: Are these views

²⁸³ Āyatullāh Khomeini, *Islam and Revolution*, trans. Hamid Algar, 400. For more information, see: *ibid.*, 373, 376, 383, 385, 398, 401; *idem.*, *Chihil Ḥadīth*, 54, 121, 309-310; and *idem.*, *Dar Justujūy-i Rāh-i Imām az Kalām-i Imām*, 2: 15, 296.

²⁸⁴ See: Khomeini, *Piyām-i Inqilāb*, ed. M. D. Qājār (Tehran: Mu'assash-i Khadamat-i Farhangī, 1362s./1983), 1:72/129/190/226-227/257; and, *idem.*, *Piyām* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Nūr, 1360s./1981), 3:271/305-306.

²⁸⁵ See: Āyatullāh Khomeini, *Piyām* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Nūr, 1360s./1981), 3:271/305-306.

²⁸⁶ Since they were not available, I am unable to cite many passages from other works by Āyatullāh Khomeini on this issue, especially from *Ṣahīfah-i Nūr*, a collection of all his speeches; however, in this case much material is available in other books such as *Chihil Ḥadīth*, *Islam and Revolution* and *Dar Justujuy-i Rāh-i Imām az Kalām-i Imām*.

expressed in the same book or not? In other words, did he change and develop his ideas during his life or not?

It is difficult to answer this question. It seems however, after considering his works, we find that all his statements are analogous to each other, whether in earlier works or newer. For instance, we cannot find any significant difference in his explanation of the world between his earlier and later works. Of course, it is possible to say that after the Revolution, he paid more attention to seclusion than society, can be seen in *Tafsīr-i Sūrah-i Ḥamd*, but this is not a decisive conclusion, because in his last work, that is his *Final Discourse*, we see him devote attention to many different subjects, whether political, social or mystical, he himself called the *Final Discourse a political-religious testament*.²⁸⁷

So what one can understand, is that God's command was the real and important goal for him, whether in matters of this world or the next world and whether individual or social in nature. This is in some degree similar to what Khājah 'Abdullāh Anṣārī said: "*Ikhlāṣ* means purifying action of all impurities."²⁸⁸ The impurity mentioned here is a general one, including that which

²⁸⁷ Āyatullāh Khomeini, *Imām's Final Discourse*, 16.

²⁸⁸ 'Abdullāh Anṣārī, *Manāzil al-Sāirīn* (Tehran: Intishārāt Mulā, 1361s./1982), 70:

arises from the desire to please oneself and other creatures.²⁸⁹In this regard, Āyatullāh Khomeini states:

And it should be known that the outward and formal actions do not have the capacity of life in the world of *ghayb* [Hidden world] or *malakūt* [Dominion] except when they received assistance from the inward realm of the spirit and the heart's core, which bestows them a spiritual life (*ḥayāt-i malakūtī*). That spiritual breath, which is the form of the sincerity of intention and sincere intention, is like the inward soul, following which the body too is resurrected in the realm of *malakūt* and permitted entry into the Divine Court.²⁹⁰

²⁸⁹ See Āyatullāh Khomeini, "Forty Ḥadith (pt. 21)," trans. Qarā'ī, *Al-Tawḥīd*, v. 8, no. 1: (1411/1993): 20-21.

²⁹⁰ Idem. (pt. 19), *al-Tawḥīd*, v. 7, no. 3, (1410/1990): 54. He quotes a tradition from Imam Bāqir (p.b.u.h): "Perseverance in an action is more difficult than the act itself." The imām was asked, "what is meant by perseverance in action?" He replied, "A man does some kindness to a relative or expends something for the sake of God, who is One and has no partner. Thereupon the reward of a good deed performed secretly is written for him. Later, if he mentions it to someone that which was written earlier is wiped out and instead the reward of a good deed performed openly is written for him. Later, when he makes a mention of it again, the vice of *rīyā'* (hypocrisy) is written for him (instead of the reward written earlier.)" [Kulaynī, *Uṣūl al-Kāfī*, 2: 297]. Then Āyatullāh Khomeini adds: "Man is never secure from the evil of Satan and his self until the end of his life. He must not imagine that once he has performed an act solely for the sake of God, without desire for the good pleasure of creatures having played any role in it, the purity of his act shall remain secure from the evil of the vicious self. Should he fail to exercise care and vigilance, the self may prompt him to make a mention of it or, as sometimes happens, to express it in the way of a subtle hint. For instance, wishing to impress people about his nightly prayers, the subtle machinations of the self may prompt him to pass a hint by speaking about the good or bad weather condition at daybreak or about supplications or the call for prayer, thus making his acts invalid and unworthy. Man must keep a watch over himself, like a kind physician or nurse, and not let the rebellious self get out of control; for a moment of neglect may give it the opportunity to break its reins and lead man into ignominy and perdition. Hence in conditions he must take refuge in God Almighty from the evil of Satan and the carnal self: *Surely the self of man incites to evil - except in as much as my Lord had mercy.*" (The Qur'ān 12:53): Ibid., (pt. 21), 8, no. 1, (1411/1990): 22-23. ان النفس لاماره بالسوء الا ما رحم ربي

REAL PERFECTION

To explain this view, we can refer to the following statement by Āyatullāh Khomeini:

Islam has a thesis. It is to make a complete human being out of man. It has come to upgrade man from his current status. Man has natural aspects- Islam helps him develop them. Man has psychological needs- Islam provides for those. Man has spiritual wants-Islam has a cure for that. Man has a rational aspect- Islam helps him develop that. And man has a divine aspect- Islam provides for that. Islam and other religions have come to help this undeveloped man, with all his aspects, to grow and develop.²⁹¹

Since man's nature has several aspects, he can develop perfection gradually in all of them; to put it in mystical language, every one can be a manifestation of all the Divine Attributes and Divine Names. Although it is possible for one to attain perfection in some aspect without taking other aspects into consideration, overall perfection is possible only by paying attention to all aspects. For example, a man who is imprisoned cannot perform social activities because he is in a confined place and has contact with few people, so he does not have the opportunities that he would have if he were out of prison. Accordingly, he has only individual duties to perform, such as prayer and fasting. Although he has thus attained a way to perfection, he cannot achieve this in all aspects of his life, so

²⁹¹ Rajaei, *Islamic Values*, 47.

his perfection is not symmetrical in all aspects. To explain this situation, we can make use of exercise as a metaphor. If one exercises only an arm or a leg, he may strengthen that particular limb, but the other organs remain weak and useless.²⁹²

The question is: how can one combine the contradictory values of personal virtue and social obligations? After all improving in a single aspect is not difficult, such as a sportsman who is an expert in a certain field of sport; however, he is not expert in all sports. While this example applies to the body, nevertheless the human soul is even more complex.

The problem refers us back to the meaning of Islam, for as many *'ulamā* have pointed out, according to the Qur'ān,²⁹³ Islam, as a divine religion, presents its laws and rules as a mixture of material and spiritual guidelines. In addition to worship, Islam embraces all the economic, military, political and social aspects of human life.²⁹⁴

²⁹² Muṭahharī states: “The perfect man is he of whom it may be said that all his human values develop simultaneously, none of them remaining immature and all growing in the same direction and reaching the highest level. Then he would be a perfect man. This is the same with the one whom the holy Qur'ān calls Imam (leader). Abraham, after passing various great divine examinations, and after performing these all to the end, and getting excellent results in all of them, not one or two or three or four, but great exams of which one of them was to become ready to sacrifice his son with his hand,... after all these exams he is told ‘And when his Lord tried Abraham with (His) commands, and he fulfilled them, He said: Lo! I have appointed thee a leader for mankind.’ (Qur'ān, 2: 124: *اني جاعلك للناس اماما*). You are now at the point that you can be a pattern, an imam, a leader, a model for the others. In other words, you are a perfect man and other men should act according to your acts.” Murtaḍā Muṭahharī, *Insān-i Kāmil*, 28-30.

²⁹³ See: Qur'ān, 16:89.

²⁹⁴ See: Murtaḍā Muṭahharī, *Muqaddama bar Jāhān Bīnī-i Islāmī, Insān wa Īmān*, (Qum: Daftar-i Intishārāt-i Islāmī, nd.), 5: 49-53.

On the other hand, according to Āyatullāh Khomeini, the root of *'irfān*, which seeks to develop the human ability to reveal and display theology in all manifestations of his life, even in social activities, lies in Islam.²⁹⁵ Therefore, because Islam is a comprehensive system, there can be no incompatibility between *'irfān* and social activities; rather, sometimes one is the means for the other. For example, I quote his words about prayer:

The prayers that have been handed down from Imams, like the Invocations of Sha'bān, the Prayer of Kumayl, or the Prayer of the Lord of Martyrs [Imām Ḥusayn] (upon whom be peace) on the Day of 'Arafa, all contribute to the making of true human beings. The person who recited the Invocations of Sha'bān was also the same one who drew his sword to go into battle against the unbelievers. Indeed, according to tradition, all the Imams recited the Invocations of Sha'bān. These prayers lead man out of the darkness, and once he has emerged, he wields his sword for God's sake, fights for God's sake, and rises up for God's sake. These prayers do not deter man from labor and activity.²⁹⁶

Therefore, since Allah has created man in this world, he should follow the code of life for living in this world, and should partake of the comforts and

²⁹⁵ Seyyed Hossein Nasr says: "Islam possesses all means necessary for spiritual realization in the highest sense; Sufism is the chosen vehicle of these means. Now because Sufism is the esoteric and inner dimension of Islam it cannot be practiced apart from Islam; only Islam can lead those who have the necessary aptitude to this inner court of joy and peace that is Sufism and which is the foretaste of the "gardens of paradise". Here again the characteristic of the contemplative way of Islam, or Sufism, is that it can be practiced anywhere and in every walk of life. Sufism is not based on outer withdrawal from the world but on inner detachment." Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Sufi Essays*, 169.

²⁹⁶ Āyatullāh Khomeini, *Islam and Revolution*, trans. Algar, 400.

pleasures bestowed by Allah within moderate limits. Thus, there is no incompatibility between fulfilling natural needs and spiritual needs; consequently, not only there is no contradiction between the mystical and social life, they actually complement each other.²⁹⁷

²⁹⁷ See: Ibid., 398, and idem., "Forty Ḥadīth (pt. 21)," trans. Qarā'ī, *Al-Tawḥīd*, v. 8, no. 1 (1411/ 1990): 16-20.

CONCLUSION

Thou, verity, O man, art working toward thy
Lord a work which thou wilt meet
(in His presence). (The Qur'ān, 84:6)

This study of *jihād-i akbar* gives us a new interpretation of the coherence between '*uzlah*' (seclusion) and social behavior. In other words, it is obvious that Islam as a religion of life is not limited to the case of individual worship; rather, Islam is a comprehensive system that facilitates all the spiritual, ethical and legal needs of human beings and deals ideally with all the problems which a human being faces whether pertaining to individual or to social dimensions. Therefore, in Islam, politics, religion, worship and seclusion are inextricably mingled. In this regard, Āyatullāh Khomeini writes in his *Final Discourse*:

It [Islam] is an ideology which unlike irreligious ideologies, has guidelines for and oversees every aspect of the private life of the people as well as the social, material, spiritual, cultural, political, military and economic system of the society without overlooking any point, however trivial it may seem, in connection with the education of men, and the society and their material and

spiritual progress, reminding man of stumbling blocks and impediments on the road to perfection and offering solutions to those problems.²⁹⁸

The feasibility of combining seclusion and social activities can be understood from this study. As has been said in chapter four, the Qur'ān, *Ḥadīth* and many examples from the *'ulamā*, can be cited to show that it is possible to combine seclusion and social activities. No better instance of this can be found than in the person of Āyatullāh Khomeini.

Āyatullāh Khomeini was, on the one hand, the political leader of a large Islamic nation, while on the other hand, he was a famous mystic, as many contemporary writers and *'ulamā* have pointed out.²⁹⁹ He fought against dictatorship, oppression, exploitation and colonialism, always relying on Islamic teachings and guidelines.

His various writings illustrate clearly this commitment. As we explained in chapter four, in looking at the many books which he wrote in different fields, whether in his youth or old age, one realizes that Āyatullāh Khomeini, on the one hand, gave his attention to political problems, to the extent that he became a great political figure in contemporary Islamic history. On the other hand, he wrote

²⁹⁸ Imam's Final Discourse, 19-20.

²⁹⁹ See: Murtaḍā Muṭahharī, *Pīrāmūn-i Inqilāb-i Islāmī* (Qum: Intishārāt-i Islāmī, 1361s./1982), 17-18, 'Allāmah Muḥammad Ḥusayn Faḡlullāh, " 'Irfān dar Dā'irah-i fiqh trans." Riḍā Nāzimīyān,, *Ḥuḍūr*, (Tehran) no. 1 (1370s./1991): 62, Muḥammad Taqī Ja'farī Tabrizī, "'Irfān-i Muthbat," *Ḥuzah* (Qum), no. 37, (1370s./1991): 230/232; and Nāṣir-i Bāqirī Bīdhandī, "Njūm-i Ummat," *Nūr-i 'Ilm*, (Qum) no. 31 (1370s./1391): 93/107.

books such as *Chihil Ḥadīth* and *Tafsīr-i Sūrah-i Ḥamd* which deal with mystical issues. Furthermore, he consistently interpreted and commented on The Holy Qur'ān and Ḥadīth in the light of mysticism. These two different aspects of a well-known individual in our time provide a clear example for the conclusion to which this study has led.

Finally, what I understand, through my research for this thesis, is that if we look at the real meaning of *jihād-i akbar* (struggle against the soul) and *'uzlah* (seclusion), we will see that there is no incompatibility between seclusion and social activities; in other words, every true Muslim can be a mystic and every true mystic can be a Muslim, whether he is a man of politics or not.

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