

To be returned to the Academic Registrar,  
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON,  
SENATE HOUSE, W.C.1.  
with the Examiner's Report.

ABDEL-KÂDER (A.H.)

Ph. D.

(Islamic Mysticism)

1948.

LOAN. COPY



ProQuest Number: 10731227

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest 10731227

Published by ProQuest LLC (2017). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code  
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC.  
789 East Eisenhower Parkway  
P.O. Box 1346  
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 – 1346

*Abdel Koo*AL - JUNAYD.

A STUDY OF A THIRD/NINTH  
CENTURY MYSTIC  
With an  
EDITION and ANNOTATED TRANSLATION  
OF HIS WRITINGS.

---

This work branches into three different tasks:

1. Study of al-Junayd, Mystic of the Third Century, (9th Century A.D.).
  2. Edition of his Rasā'il, (Letters).
  3. Translation of the Rasā'il.
- 

1. STUDY OF AL-JUNAYD.

Up to the present a separate study on al-Junayd has not been undertaken, although his personality and his thoughts are outstanding in Islamic Mysticism, as everyone who is versed in this subject is bound to know.

If the study of Hallāj, a pupil of Junayd, has attracted the attention of Orientalists - to mention Massignon remarkable studies - it is an obvious task to shed light on a personality which has largely formed the ideas of succeeding mystics, one of whom was Hallāj. A detailed study of Junayd reveals that he has been the central thinker of early Islamic Mysticism and that his ideas are much more balanced, well-grounded and systematic than what is known of the thoughts of his pupil Hallāj.

Thus in the first part, devoted to Junayd's personality and life, I have tried to draw a picture of his origins, his environment, his studies, his way of trading, and his style as a writer; also of his teachers, his friends, and his pupils representing the Sūfī School of Baghdād. I have given a critical survey of Junayd's writings, preserved and not preserved, sifting the works attributed to him and separating all those that are genuinely his from the pseudo-epigrapha.

In the second part I have tried to give the main doctrines which form the system of Junayd for the first time from his original writings, so that the result I was able to achieve may mean a new contribution to the study of Islamic Mysticism.

## 2. EDITION OF JUNAYD'S RASAIL.

I have tried to edit the text of the Rasāil from the manuscript, correcting it where necessary. It was a difficult task as the author writes a rather enigmatic style, sometimes not easy to understand. Junayd, in fact, speaks a special language, often trying to hide the meaning. He writes in an elevated esoteric style which is difficult to follow until one becomes accustomed to it. One has to be well-read in mystical literature to comprehend it.



3. TRANSLATION OF THE RASAIL.

But the most difficult of all the tasks has been to put such a text into English - an English that would make sense. Confronted by this staggering difficulty, I have tried with all my strength and according to my ability, to do my best to put these seventeen risala into English, and to make the reader comprehend the thoughts without losing, at the same time, the atmosphere and the spirit. For this reason I have sometimes given a free translation. Sometimes I had to supplement a few words. I have made only the most necessary notes in order not to disturb the reader, nor to interrupt the sequence of the language.

---

Ali Hassan Abdel-Kader.

A L - J U N A Y D

A STUDY OF A THIRD/NINTH  
CENTURY MYSTIC

With an  
EDITION and ANNOTATED TRANSLATION  
OF HIS WRITINGS.

---

ALI HASSAN ABDEL-KADER.

Ph.D. 1948.

---

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.

I wish to express my gratitude to Professor A.J.Arberry, now of Cambridge, whose advice and assistance were of inestimable value to me throughout the course of my work.

His kindness, sympathy, tolerance and patience greatly encouraged me while I was engaged upon this study.

## CONTENTS.

	Page.
INTRODUCTION .....	I

Baghdad in the Third Century.

Survey of our Sources.

### PART I.

#### THE LIFE, PERSONALITY AND WRITING OF AL-JUNAYD.

CHAPTER I. Junayd's Early Life and Education....	1
CHAPTER II. Junayd's Mystical Sources .....	10
CHAPTER III. The Mystical School of Baghdād .....	43
CHAPTER IV. The Personality of Al-Junayd .....	63
CHAPTER V. The Writings of Al-Junayd .....	71

### PART II.

#### THE DOCTRINE OF AL-JUNAYD.

INTRODUCTION .....	86
CHAPTER VI. The Doctrine of Unification .....	90
CHAPTER VII. The Theory of Mithāq .....	102
CHAPTER VIII. The Theory of Fanā' .....	111
CHAPTER IX. The Doctrine of Sobriety .....	122
CHAPTER X. The Knowledge of God .....	134
BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	147

### PART III.

TRANSLATION .....	....
TEXT .....	....

INTRODUCTION.

Baghdād, in the Third Century of the Hijra, (Ninth Century A.D.) had already undergone various evolutions - social, economic, political and also spiritual. Many contacts with earlier civilizations had been made in the preceeding centuries in this metropolis, and in this century these manifold contacts were to ripen in every sphere of culture. This became evident in the spiritual field, in Theology, Jurisprudence, Philology, Literature and Philosophy.

Many movements made their appearance in the panorama of the age. We may think - in the political-social sphere - against the background of a flourishing, refined and wealthy society based on a wide-flung trade, of the social unrest of the lowest class, the Zinj - the slaves of Basra - in 264, and of the religious and equalitarian revolt of the Carmathians in 278.

In the religious sphere a new movement came into the foreground; the Mystical School of Baghdād.

This School shows a particular character among the other Sufi schools of the age. It has three characteristics which distinguish it from all the other Sufi schools: Shath - overflowing (Überschwang); Ibāda - adoration of God; and Lisān - tongue, eloquence. (1)

"عن الجنيد: أعطى أهل بغداد الشج والعبادة، وأهل خراسان القلب والسخاء، وأهل البصرة (1) الزهد والقناعة، وأهل الشام الحم والسلافة، وأهل الحجاز الصبر والإقامة"

Abū'l Mahāsin, Nujūm. v.3, p.169.

"وعن الجنيد: الفتوة بالشام، واللسان بالمراق، والصدق بخراسان"  
Qushayrī, p.103.

## II.

Even at this early time we find in the literature that the School of Baghdād as a school held particular views on some mystical questions distinct from other Sufi schools, especially the one of Khorasan with which they were in continuous discussion. (1)

This religious School became widely important and had a profound influence. It began its questioning on God and man afresh, putting great stress on personal experience, thus shaking every established traditional concept - shaking, and at the same time vivifying Islamic Tradition and lifting it to new ethical and visionary planes.

The Sufi School of Baghdād which has raised and sublimated the ethical ideals and the innermost feelings of Moslem religious spirit to its loftiest height, has not been sufficiently explored.

With the discovery of new material new research-work on some aspects of the School became possible, and scholars like Massignon, Nicholson, R.Hartmann, Arberry and Margaret Smith, made notable contributions.

Yet an original document of the School, a work of Abū l' Qāsim al Junayd was discovered not very long ago, but has not yet been studied thoroughly. Junayd - as we will see - was the heart and centre of the Baghdādī School in the Third Century, and the more we study this personality, the more we

---

"وقد اختلف المراقبون والخراسانيون في الرضا" (1)

shed light on the Sufi School of Baghdad in particular, and on the beginnings of Sufism in general.

In these pages we shall endeavour to give a picture of al-Junayd, his doctrine and his personality, on the basis of the original sources, with an edition and translation of these writings of his.

### SURVEY OF OUR SOURCES.

It would be very helpful for the study of al-Junayd's life and doctrine, if the two original books written by his two intimate disciples - Tabaqāt an Nussāk by Abū Saīd al-Ārābī, and Hikayāt al-Awliyā by Muḥammad Jaʿfar al-Khuldī, were still in our possession.

IBN AL ĀRĀBĪ: Abu Saīd Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ziyād ibn Bishr ibn al-Ārābī, was born in Baṣra, but eventually settled down in Mecca where he died at the high age of 94, in 341. He was a traditionalist and jurist, but at the same time he was a Sufi. During his stay in Baghdād, before he came to Mecca, he lived in the circle of the Baghdadi Sufis and was a disciple of Junayd, Qalānisi, and ʿAmr al-Makkī. (1)

Later on, when he lived in Mecca, he was the Shaykh al-Ḥaram, the leading scholar in the Holy Land. From Mecca - the centre of the Pilgrimage - where he taught for more than thirty years, he spread not only the Hadīth in which he was

---

(1) Abu Nuʿaym, Hilyat al-Awliyā, v.10.p.375.

Ibn al-ʿImad, Shadharāt, v.2, p.354.

#### IV.

widely read, but also the esoteric teachings and way of the Mystics which he had experienced in the School of Baghdād. Many of the contemporary scholars who came to Mecca as pilgrims, in particular those from Africa and Spain, heard him and became his disciples.

It is known that the first book on the Ḥadīth which reached Cordova in Spain was the Kitāb as-Sunan of Abū Dāwūd al-Biṣrī (died 275). The scholars from Cordova received this important book through Abū Saīd al-Ārābī, who had been a disciple of Abū Dāwūd. (1)

Scholars from Spain and Africa also took Abu Saīd's own books back to their home countries. Probably other Sufi books also reached the Western Islamic world through the mediation of Abū Saīd in Mecca. In any case, the new mystical thoughts of the Eastern parts first became known in the distant west, via Mecca, through this great Shaykh.

By this route the torch of philosophy appears to have been carried from contemporary Baghdād, via Mecca and the Pilgrimage, to Spain, where very lively discussions amongst scholars on all the issues of thought and doctrine at stake, arose in consequence. (2)

It appears that Abū Saīd ibn al-Ārābī was an authority on al-Junayd whose spiritual leadership he gratefully

---

(1) Al-Ishbīlī, Fihrist p.286 ff.

(2) Cf. Asia Palacios, Obras Escogidas I, p.46.



acknowledged. He said in his Tabaqāt an Nussāk, -quoted by Makki - after giving the names of various mystics, " the last of these mystics was al-Junayd - and no one after him is worth mentioning." (1)

Of this important book - Tabaqāt an Nussāk - many fragments have been preserved in the books of the following generation, as we shall see. (2)

(1) Qūt al-Qulūb, v.2, p.41.

(2) Of Abū Sa'īd's other works, the titles have been preserved mostly in the Spanish literature.

Al-Ishbīlī in his Fihrist mentions:

- (1) Kitāb al-Ikhtisās fi dhikr al-Faqr wa'l Ghinā.
- (2) Kitāb al-Ikhlāṣ wa Ma'ānī 'ilm al-Bāṭin.
- (3) Kitāb Ikhtisār at-Tariq.
- (4) Kitāb al-Mahabba.
- (5) Kitāb aṣ-Ṣabr wal Taṣabbur.
- (6) Kitāb al-'Umr wa'sh-Shayb.
- (7) Kitāb Ma'ānī az-Zuhd wa'l Maqālatu fihī.
- (8) Kitāb Tabaqāt an Nussāk.

(Fihrist p.284.)

Ibn al-Imad mentions:

- (9) Kitāb Tarīkh al-Baṣra.

(Shadharāt, p.354.)

Sarraḡ in Luma' gives us an extract of a book of his:

- (10) Kitāb al-Wajd.

(Luma' p.310 - 314.)

Brockelmann has mentioned only two works.

(see Suppl.I, p.358.)

AL KHULDĪ: Abū Muḥammad Jāfar ibn Nuṣayr ibn al-Qāsim al-Khawwas al-Baghdādī al-Khuldī who was born in 252, and who died in 348, also started his career as a traditionalist, and later on turned to Sūfism. He used his training in sifting and writing the Tradition for collecting the sayings and anecdotes of the famous Sufis of his time. He said:- " Had I not turned to the Sūfis I would have set before you the Traditions of the Prophet from all around the world." (1)

He was a native of Baghdād and a very intimate pupil of al-Junayd. He recorded the life and sayings of al-Junayd and, through him, we learn much of what is known about Saqatī and his teacher al-Karkhī.

It seems that his work Hikāyāt al-Awliyā', was very well-known in Baghdad as a remarkable book. It was said:- " The people of Baghdad say: ' The wonders of the world are three, the Alegoric utterances of Shiblī (ishārāt), the Mystical subtleties (Aphorisms - nukat) of al-Murta'ish, and the Stories (hikāyāt) of Jāfar.' " (2)

These two outstanding books, Abu Saīd al-Arābi's Tabaqāt an Nussāk and Jāfar al-Khuldī's Hikāyāt al-Awliyā', have been very highly valued and have been in the hands of very many readers from generation to generation. If we follow up the

---

(1) Al-Khatīb, Tārīkh Baghdād, v.7, p.227.

(2) Sulamī, Tabaqāt fol. 80a.

## VII.

links and stages of later literature we can trace these two books as the original sources from which all later writers have directly or indirectly drawn their material - and to which nearly all we know of the great Sufis and their period ultimately goes back.

Both personalities, al-Ārābī and al-Khuldī, as they were themselves classical traditionalists, were considered as most trustworthy and outstanding by all later authors, traditionalists as well as historians. And in fact, both these great Shaykhs had been reared and moulded in the personal sphere of al-Junayd and seem to have been impressed by the discipline of his mind and by his spirit. So we have a right to consider them as adequate authorities and genuine sources of himself, his circle and his time.

Although we have to regret the loss of these two books in a later age, we still have many fragments of them in works of their direct pupils, and also of later writers available for our subject.

AS SARRĀJ: Abū Nasr 'Abdullāh ibn 'Alī as Sarrāj at Ṭusī, (died 378) the author of the Kitāb al Luma' fī at Taṣawwuf, was a direct disciple of Jāfar al-Khuldī. In this book we find that he took many facts about Junayd from the mouth of Khuldī, and in addition he used his books. He expresses this in his work Luma', as for instance at a place where he refers to his close

---

relation to Khuldī in these words:- " I have heard him and have read it out to him." (1)

This important book has fortunately survived and we owe its publication to Nicholson (1914) and to Arberry (1947) who completed it with important newly discovered fragments.

Sarrāj in his Kitāb al-Lumāʿ, gives us an original and ample account of Junayd's teachings and sayings, and of his relations to contemporary Sufis.

What is of particular value in this book is that we find in it material which we meet nowhere else. Some of the more esoteric elements of Junayd's letters are preserved in this work only - it seems that later writers were reluctant to give them to the public.

So this book is of first-rate importance for our study.

AL MAKKĪ: Abu Talib Muhammad ibn Ali ibn Atiya al-Makki, who died in 386, the author of the Kitāb Qūt al-Qulūb fī Muʿāmalāt al-Mahbūb, was a direct disciple of Abu Saʿīd al-ʿArābī. He came from Jibal and was brought up in Mecca from where he came to Baghdad and to Basra, where he met his other principal teacher Abū'l Hasan ibn Sālem al-Baṣrī.

Makki in his book Qūt al-Qulūb drew much material about Junayd from his teacher Abū Saʿīd al-ʿArābī.

---

(1) Sarrāj, Lumāʿ p.251

Khaṭīb says about Makki, that in his book he said many extravagant things about the Divinity which made people turn their backs on him. (1) Yet Makki in his book was truly inspired and wrote what came from his heart. We may say that this book is a deeply touching and personal work of mystical art, expressing the most sincere experiences and feelings of its author. It is, in our opinion, a singular "document humain" and one of the treasures of Arabic literature. What Khaṭīb says gives, as we are aware, the opinion of a member of the Orthodox Sunni School, which does not quite do justice to al-Makki.

Al-<sup>h</sup>Gāzālī owed a great deal to Makki's book. In his Ihyā' he uses Makki's Qūt al-Qulūb taking Makki's ideas and even his system, enlarging on them in his own way.

As regards our subject, this book gives us all the genuine references about the teachings of Junayd and his school, and puts us back into their spiritual atmosphere.

AL KALĀBĀDHĪ: A contemporary of al-Makki, Abū Bakr Muhammad ibn Ishāq al-Kalābādhī, is another important authority on early Sufism. We do not know much about his life except that he was a Hanafi jurist and died in Bochara in 385. His book Kitāb al-Ta'arruf li Madhāhib at Taṣawwuf, which has been preserved, is a hand-book which describes the principles and the spiritual experiences of the Sufis. Its importance consists in its

---

(1) Tārīkh Baghdād, v.3, p.89.

being the earliest endeavour to bridge the difference between the Sufi attitude and orthodox Theology. We could not miss al-Kalābādhi's book as being one of the original sources for the study of our subject.

AS - SULAMĪ: Abū 'Abd ur Rahman Muhammad ibn al-Husayn ibn Mūsa as-Sulamī an Nisābūrī (born about 330, died 412) was a very prolific author and his book Tabaqāt as Sūfiya, which is still in manuscript (1) has been one of the fundamental original sources for most of the later writers on the early Sufis. Abdullah al-Ansari al-Harawī (died 481) used to lecture on the lives of the Sufis taking as his text the Tabaqāt as Sūfiya and adding observations of his own. One of his disciples took down these lectures in the local language of Herat, and on this version Jami based his well-known 'Lives of the Saints' - Nafahāt ul Uns. Adh Dhahabī also has used this book in his famous work Tarīkh al Islām.

ABŪ NU'AYM: One of the most essential and original sources for our study is Hilyat al Awliyā' wa Tabaqāt al Asfiyā' of al-Hāfiz abū Nu'aym Ahmad ibn 'Abdullah al Isfahānī, who died in 430. In this remarkable book most of the genuine Sūfī traditions have been collected and handed down to us. Al-Isfahānī used the books of al-Ārābī, of al-Khuldī, and moreover about a dozen authors whom he quotes by name but whose works are entirely lost. This book which is full of most valuable material, has not been

---

(1) British Museum. Add.18520.

## XI.

sufficiently studied, and would surely still give much for the study of the history of early Sufism.

AL KHATĪB: One of our main sources which is full of material and references on the Sufis and which should still be more thoroughly studied than we have been able to do for our special subject, is the voluminous work - Tarīkh Baghdād of al-Hāfiz abū Bakr Ahmad ibn 'Alī al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī, who died in 463. We have used this book to great advantage, and it has yielded many features for our study.

QUSHAYRĪ, HUIJWĪRĪ: From the same century (the Fifth) we have used the two well-known works Risāla of Abū'l Qāsim 'Abd al-Karīm ibn Hawāzin al-Qushayrī an Nisāburī (died 465), and Kashf al-Mahjūb of Abū l'Hasan 'Abī ibn 'Usmān ibn Abī 'Alī al-Jullābī al-Hujwīrī (died 470). These two mystical writers we have had to consult again and again for facts, and also in particular for the interpretation of difficult sayings and problems of al-Junayd, and we often had to quote them.

These then have been our main sources for our research on al-Junayd. We have limited ourselves more or less to them. Other later sources which we used in addition may be seen in the bibliography.

RASĀIL AL-JUNAYD: Yet there is a circumstance which allows us to make a new contribution to the study of al-Junayd's thoughts. We mean the discovery of the manuscript of his

---

### XII.

Rasā'il - Letters - which have fortunately been preserved in the Shahit Ali Library in Istanbul. (MS.1374) (1)

These personal documents of a great mystic of the Third Century, written in an original and intimate style, all in a high mystical sphere, are unequalled in our literature, and are of a singular value for finding our bearings on the wide sea of early Islamic mysticism.

These Rasā'il open to us a view on the systematical work of al-Junayd in stating for the first time the principles of Islamic mysticism, and in making a synthesis of Sufi thoughts, and thus in the preparation of the way which was to be followed by later generations. (2)

Truly, what al-Junayd has done for Mysticism in his Rasā'il resembles what Imām ash-Shafī'i has done for Islamic Jurisprudence through his famous Risāla. Shafī'i, in fact, has systematized the principles of Islamic Jurisprudence out of the various achievements of his predecessors, and so Junayd has developed and concentrated the various experiences and thoughts of the mystics into one system.

---

(1) Arberry remarks about this manuscript:-

"Only one copy of the work has survived, and that by the hand of the well-known pupil of Ibn 'Arabī, Ismā'īl ibn Sawdakīn (d.646/1248), so that it is permissible to conjecture that the book was a guarded secret of the Sufis, who communicated it to one another privately, without divulging its contents to the general public."

See Al-Kharraz introduction p.VII of "Kitāb Al-Sidq."

See also MS.fol.31.

(2) About other preserved fragments of Junayd's writings see p.81. But Istanbul MS is of first-rate importance.



THE LIFE, PERSONALITY AND WRITING OFAL - JUNAYD.CHAPTER I.JUNAYD'S EARLY LIFE AND EDUCATION.JUNAYD'S FAMILY:

Abū'l Qāsim al-Junayd ibn Muḥammad ibn Al-Junayd al-Khazzāz al-Qawārīrī was born and brought up in Baghdād, but his ancestors came from the Iranian town of Nihāwand in the country of Jibal, as the people of Baghdād remembered. (1)

Nihāwand was considered to be the most ancient town in the country of Jibāl, a town said to have existed before the Flood. It was conquered by the Arabs between 17 and 21 A.H. (638, 641 A.D.) at the time of 'Umar.

The Arabs during the campaign, found the town to be a strong well-defended fortress containing rich treasures. The conquest of the town was achieved at the price of heavy sacrifices, and the death of the Arab General Nu'aym ibn Mukarram al-Muzanī. Thus Nihāwand has been the place of fateful decision in the history of Iran. The name was connected with deeds of heroism, and rich booty by the Arabs. According to old Persian opinions, Nihāwand is said

---

(1) Khatīb, Tārīkh Baghdād 7, 242.

to be one of most beautiful, but also one of the coldest places in the Persian Kingdom. (1)

Nihāwand was famous owing to its agricultural land and fruit plantations. The inhabitants were also remarkable tradesmen and their goods were chiefly exported to Mesopotamia.

Iṣṭakhrī said - "Nihāwand is situated on a hill and the houses are of clay. There are fine gardens and many fruits, which on account of their quality and profusion, are exported to Mesopotamia." (2)

Ibn Hauqal too, calls Nihawand an important town with much trade and fine agricultural land.(3)

Thus, Junayd was of Persian descent. It is probable that his ancestors came from hardy mountain stock, and that as citizens of Nihawand, were occupied in trade and agriculture. The trade relations with Baghdād may have induced the family to emigrate to the Metropolis and to settle in Baghdād, although we do not know when.

Junayd's father was a Qawārīrī, a glass merchant; Al- Junayd himself was a Khazzāz, a merchant of raw silk; while his Uncle Saqatī was also a merchant in Baghdad. Junayd can, therefore, be considered as from merchant stock. Nothing

---

(1) Ibn al-Faqīh Kitāb al-Buldān (Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum ed. de Goeje) p.258, 16, Yāqūt, Muḡam al-Buldān, V.8 p.329.

(2) Iṣṭakhrī Masālik al-Mamālik (B.G.A.) v.7 p.199, 15.

(3) Ibn Hauqal, Al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik, (B.G.A.) v.2 p.258, 18

is known of his early life, of his parents, or even of his own family. Neither do we know the date of his father's death, although it would appear he died when Junayd was a little boy, as he was brought up in the home of his maternal uncle Saqatī.

#### JUNAYD'S BIRTH:

There is no date of Junayd's birth recorded, only that of his death. Some say the latter was in 296, others state 297 (909 A.D.) or 298.(910 A.D.) This last date is given by most historians. (1)

It would appear that Junayd died about the age of 80 or 90. As we shall see later, he studied in his youth Law and Hadīth, and after completing these studies, he turned to Sufism when he associated with al-Hārith al-Muhāsibī. Junayd must have been about 30 years of age when he joined Muhāsibī, and if we surmise that his association with him continued for ten years at least before the death of the latter which occurred in 243 A.H., it is evident that Junayd would be about 40 years old at this time. He must, therefore, have been born about the beginning of the third century and have lived through nearly the whole course of it.

#### EARLY EDUCATION OF AL JUNAYD.

##### FIQH and HADĪTH:

As mentioned, he began his studies with law and the

---

(1) See Khatīb, Tarīkh Baghdad, v.7, p.248. Ibn al-Jawzī Muntazam, v.6, p.107., Ibn Khallikan v.1, p.147., Samānī, Ansāb, b.

Hadīth (Tradition of the Prophet) according to the advice of his uncle. Al-Junayd relates of himself that when he left him, Sarī aḥ-Saqaṭī asked him to whose assembly he would go, he replied:- " To Hārith al-Muhāsibī." Sarī then said:- " Yes, go and acquire his doctrine (ilm) and his method of self training (adab), but leave alone his refutation of the Mu'tazilites." "And when I had turned my back," adds Al-Junayd, " I heard Sarī say, 'May God make you a traditionist who is a Ṣūfī, and not a Ṣūfī who is a traditionist.'" (1) meaning that knowledge of the Tradition and the Sunna should come first, and then by practicing asceticism and devotion, Junayd might advance in knowledge of Ṣūfism and become a Sufi gnostic, but that the reverse process of trying to attain to the higher degrees of Sufism without being well grounded in orthodox theology, was dangerous.

We have his own further testimony - " I have studied the Law on the basis of the authors of the Hadīth, like Abū 'Ubayd and Abū Thawr, and later I associated with Muhāsibī and Saqaṭī, and that has been the reason of my success, because our knowledge must be controlled by going back to the Quran and the Sunna, and whoever has not learned the Quran by heart and has not noted down the Hadīth, and has not learned Law before embarking on Mysticism, is a man whom we should not follow." (2)

---

1

(1) Makki, Qūt'l-Qulūb v.2., p.35. C.F. Sulamī, Tabaqāt. Fol.11a

(2) Subkī, Tabaqāt. v.2 p.36.

So we see that Al-Junayd devoted himself at the beginning to orthodox theology, the Hadīth and Sunna, which were of value for his capacity of expression and his evolution of thinking when he later became a Sūfī and taught Mysticism. Thus, as it has been said, his mystical way was linked up with the orthodox tradition, which made it acceptable to orthodox and Sufi alike and to succeeding generations. (1)

We see that he studied the Law with those men who were authorities on it at this time in Baghdad. Ibn Khallikān writes:- "Al-Junayd studied Law under Abū Thawr. Some say that he took the doctrine of Sulaymān al-Thawrī and the Jurist Ibn Suraij was his associate and friend. (2)

Abū Thawr Ibrāhīm b. Khālīd al-Kalbī al-Baghdādī, who died in 240, was at that time the outstanding Jurist of Baghdād. He started as a follower of the Iraqi school of thought which differed from the traditionist school of Medina through its lively controversies, its open-mindedness to foreign influences, and through its habit of collecting new legal cases and decisions. When Shafiī came to Baghdād Abū Thawr left the School of Iraq and choose to follow the School of Tradition (Hadīth). He may perhaps not have been equally accomplished as a teacher of the Hadīth as he was as a Jurist. Abū Hatīm in his book "al-Jarḥ w' al-Tādīb" (Critic of Traditionists) said about him:- " he was a man who talked according to his own opinion; sometimes he was right, sometimes he was wrong. His place is not amongst the traditionists." (3)

---

(1) Ibn Taymiya, Minhāj al-Sunna, v.3 p.86. Ibn Qayyim Madārij, I Sālikīn, v.1 p.137.

(2) Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt v.1 p.146.

(3) Samānī, p.485

Had al-Junayd not turned to mysticism, he surely would have become a very great Jurist. It is said that when he was only 20 years old, in the class of Abū Thawr, he used to give his legal opinion.(1)

The historians count al-Junayd amongst the "Thawrists". Some thought this title pointed to his teacher Abū Thawr, others held that it meant he followed the legal school of Abū Sufyān al-Thawrī.(2) According to Abū'l Maḥāsīn, the latter opinion is the right one. (3) Sufyān al-Thawrī (161 A.H. 777 A.D.) left a school called after his name which was well known and widely followed in Baghdād for a number of generations.

Al-Junayd himself seems to have been an echo of his teacher Abū Thawr in his attitude to Tradition. In fact only one or two Ḥadīth-sayings of his own are preserved. (4)

His other associate, Ibn Surayj, the Jurist, was a Shafiite. They say he was the first to "open the door of thinking," and taught people dialectic in Law. (5) They also say that at the height of the third century there were three famous men, Ibn Surayj in Law, Ash'arī in the Principles of Religion and Nasā'ī in Tradition. (6)

---

(1) Subkī, Tabaqāt v.1. p.146: (2) Ibn Kathīr, Bidāya v. 11 p. 114.

(3) Nujūm, v. 3 p.169.

(4) Tārīkh Baghdād, v.7 p.242  
Subkī, Tabaqāt, v.2 p.33

(5) Subkī, Tabaqāt v.2 p.87.

(6) Ibid p. 89.

Ibn Surayj was Junayd's closest friend. It is said that when Ibn Surayj one day spoke very well, some of the audience expressed their admiration and asked him :- " Where did you get that from?" He replied :- " It comes from the blessing of my sitting with al-Junayd." (1) Another story is that Ibn Surayj asked al-Junayd a question and was given many answers. Ibn Surayj said:- " I did not know before to-day all these answers," and Junayd replied, " God put them into my heart and made my tongue overflow. This is not from books or from learning, it is only from the favour of God." Ibn Surayj asked:- "How did you reach this insight? " and Junayd replied:- "It comes from my sitting under the hands of God for 40 years." (2).

So we can see the spiritual intimacy prevailing between the two men, and from these stories, we can assume that Junayd had reached a high standard in law in his young years. Ibn Surayj died in 306. He wrote books which however, are lost.

#### 'ILM AL-KALĀM.

Al-Junayd was not a scholastic theologian as we may gather from the story of the advice of his uncle Saqatī. "One day he passed by a group of learned teachers who were expounding their opinions with a great flow of words. He asked - "Who are these people ?" He was answered, "These are people who avail themselves of the method of demonstration in order to separate from God the attributes that belong to

---

(1) Qushayrī p.19.

(2) Ibn Kathīr, Bidāya, vol. 11 p. 114.

created beings and the marks of imperfection." Junayd then said, "To deny a fault, if the fault could not possibly exist, is a fault (of judgment)." " (1)

We have stories of scholastic theologians of the time who met and admired Junayd. It is told how Abu al-Qāsim Al-Kalbī who was a leader of the Mu'tazilities, said:- "I have seen in Baghdad a Shaykh called Al-Junayd. My eyes have not seen anyone like him. The writers come to him for his words, the philosophers seek him for his deep thoughts, the poets come to him for his eloquence, the theologians for the meaning of his words, and his talk was always high above their comprehension, their talking and their knowledge." (2)

Another story relates that when Ibn Kullāb (3) wrote his book for overthrowing the other sects, he asked - "Is there any other sect I have not yet defeated?" They answered him:- "Yes the Sufis." He asked - "Who is the leader of them?" and they answered, "Al-Junayd." So Ibn Kullāb went to al-Junayd and asked him about his doctrine. Junayd said to him, "Our doctrine is the separation of the Eternal from that which was originated in time, and the separation from brethren and native places, and forgetfulness of what is known and unknown." When Ibn Kullāb heard this answer he wondered, and said, "This is a thing which we cannot discuss or treat

---

(1) Ibn Khaldūn, Muqaddima. (ed. ~~Quatremere~~ v.3 p.43.

(2) Khatīb, Tarikh Baghdād, vol. 7, p. 243.

(3) Abū Muḥammed b. Kullāb, 'Abdullah b. Saīd al-Qaṭṭān.



dialectically;" after that, he attended al-Junayd's circle and asked him about Unification. Al-Junayd instantly answered him with a sentence full of meaning, secrecy and wisdom. Ibn Kullāb asked him to repeat it, but Junayd merely spoke another sentence, and when Kullāb asked Junayd to explain it to him, he was told - "If it came from my own tongue I could dictate it to you." And so Ibn Kullāb appreciated Junayd and acknowledged the sublimity of his spirit. (1)

Al-Subkī disagrees with this story however. He says, " I saw the notes of al-Dhahabī on this story ..... 'this is wrong, because Ibn Kullāb lived in the time of Ibn Ḥanbal; how could he, therefore, have met al-Junayd? ' What he said is quite true, as Ibn Kullāb died about 240." (2)

---

(1) Yafīʿ, Mirʾāt al-Janān, vol. 2, p. 233.

(2) Subkī, Tabaqāt v.2 p.51.

CHAPTER 2.JUNAYD'S MYSTICAL SOURCES.

The first acquaintance of al-Junayd with the mystic way must have been in his uncle Saqatī's house when he was a little boy. Junayd said, "When I was seven years old and playing before Saqatī, a party of men were with my uncle and they were talking about 'thanks-giving to God'. (Shukr) My Uncle said 'Oh boy, what is thanks-giving to God?' and I replied that one should not disobey God with His kind gifts, whereupon my Uncle said, 'I think, my boy, your gift from God will be your tongue.' " Junayd continued, "My eyes still fill with tears when I think of this expression of Saqatī's." (1)

SARĪ AS-SAQATĪ.

As stated, Sarī al-Saqatī was a merchant. He carried on the business of a trader in second-hand goods (saqat) in the bazaar of Baghdād. One day, when a fire occurred in the bazaar, he was told that his shop had been burned. He replied, "Then I am freed from the care of it." Afterwards it was discovered that his shop had not been burned, although all the shops surrounding it had been destroyed. On seeing this, Sari gave all he possessed to the poor and set forth on the path of Sūfism. (2)

---

(1) Qushayrī p.81

(2) Hujwiri p.110.

Saqatī reached the age of about 98 years, as we learn from a saying of Junayd's:- " I have seen no one more bent on worship than Saqatī - in the whole 98 years of his life it was unknown for him to lie down, except in his last illness."

(1) He died about 253 A.H. (2) His birth thus should have been about 135. This means that he lived in the first period of 'Abbasid Rule. He must have been contemporary to seven or eight Khalifs and thus he must have been a witness of all the great events in thought and philosophy of the Golden Age of Iraq. Saqatī was famous for his devotion and his abstinent ways of life (Warā). On this subject many stories are related. He was mentioned to the Imām Ibn Hanbal, who remarked, " Oh, you mean the Shaykh who is well known for his pure and moderate nourishment?" (3) Sulamī said about him, " Sari was the first in Baghdād to teach the Unification (Tawhīd) in the mystical way and the first to teach the knowledge of Truth, and he was also the leader of the Baghdādis in the symbolic utterances. (Ishārāt). " (4) Qushayrī said, " He was unique in his time in devoutness and abstention, in his high state of mind and in the knowledge of Unification." (5)

---

(1) Khatīb, Tarikh Baghdād, v. 9 p. 192.

(2) Ibid. According to Qushayrī in 257. (See p.10). According to Ibn 'Asākir in 251. (see Tahdhīb v.6 p.79)

(3) Abū Nu'aym, Hilya v. 10. p.126.

(4) Sulamī, fol. 10a.

(5) Qushayrī p.10.

It appears that Saqatī enjoyed a high reputation also amongst the great men, governors, generals and scholars of his time, and with the people at large. Later he appears to have withdrawn from public and to have associated only with a selected few. (1) Amongst his pupils, apart from al-Junayd, were Nūrī, Ibn Masrūq al-Ṭusī, Muḥammed b. Al-Faḍl al Saqatī, Ibrāhīm al-Makhramī, al 'Abbās al-Shaklī. (2)

With regard to the teaching which Saqatī imparted to Junayd, it seems that he discussed with him and put questions to him as Socrates did with his pupils. So Junayd said, " When Saqatī wants me to benefit from his teaching, he puts questions to me." (3) Of these questions many have been related by Junayd. For instance, Junayd said:- "Sarī questioned me one day about love and I answered - 'Some say that love is identity of feeling, others say it is to prefer another to oneself, while others say something else'." Sarī pinched the skin of his arm which was so tense and dry that he was not able to pull it out, and he said:- " By God, if I said that this skin dried on these bones through loving Him, I should be telling the truth." (4) Another example Junayd relates:- " I came to Sarī one day and found him changed, and I asked him - "What is the matter?" He replied, "A young man came to me and asked about repentance. I answered, ' Repentance is not to forget your sin'.

---

(1) Ibn 'Asākir, Tahdhīb v.6 p. 77.

(2) Khaṭīb, v.9, p.190.

(3) Qushayrī, p. 82.

(4) Ibid p.10

The young man objected and said - ' On the contrary, repentance is to forget your sin'." Junayd said to Sarī, "What the youngster said, is my own opinion." "Sarī asked me, 'Why', and I replied:- 'If you have been in a coarse state and are afterwards lifted into a good state, then still to think of your former state is coarse.' " Sarī was silent. (1)

Sarī recognised the rank of Junayd very well indeed. One day Sarī was asked whether the rank of a disciple is ever higher than that of his spiritual director, and he replied :- "Yes, there is manifest proof of this, the rank of Junayd is above mine." (2)

Another instance .... when Sarī was dying, Junayd said to him:- " Oh, Sarī, the people will not see anyone like you when you are gone." Sarī answered - " But they will not see anyone as kind to them as you." (3)

Junayd, at the beginning, felt a reluctance to go to the people and teach them as long as Sarī was alive, until one night he dreamt that the Apostle of God said to him:- " Oh Junayd, speak to the people, for God hath made thy words the means of saving a multitude of mankind." When he awoke, the thought occurred to him that his rank was superior to that of Sarī's, since the Apostle had commanded him to preach. At daybreak Sarī sent a disciple to Junayd with the following

---

(1) Ibid p.47

(2) Hujwīrī p.128

(3) Ibn 'Asākir v. 6 p. 79.

message:- "You would not discourse to your disciples when they urged you to do so, and you rejected the intercession of the Sheykh of Baghdad and my personal entreaty. Now that the Apostle has commanded you, obey his orders." Junayd said:- " That former fancy went out of my head. I perceived that Sari was acquainted with my outward and inward thoughts in all circumstances, and that his rank was higher than mine, since he was acquainted with my secret thoughts, whereas I was ignorant of his state. I went to him and begged his pardon and asked him how he knew that I had dreamed of the Apostle. He answered:- 'I dreamed of God, who told me that He had sent the Apostle to bid you preach.' " (1)

Sarī has left nothing in writing, like Socrates. Most of what we have of his sayings have come down to us from Junayd. It may be that sometimes he put his own thoughts into the mouth of Sari. Seeing that Sarī had such a tremendous influence on Junayd, we realise that without Junayd, we would know nothing of the importance of Sarī. If we wish to picture the relationship between Saqati and Junayd, we may compare them with Socrates and Plato.. Junayd has raised Sufism into a systematic structure and put it into writing, whilst Saqati has only pronounced on it in an aphoristic way through talking, discussing and putting the questions, and drawing attention to the issues, and certainly practising it in his life.

We may regard Saqatī as the founder of the Sūfī School in Baghdād. This School differed from other Sūfī Schools in

Syria and in Chorasan. The Baghdād School's main topic was Unification (Tawhīd), and it developed the 'knowledge' of Unification. The School is distinguished for its symbolic expressions and for its discussions on the mystic state and station of the Sūfī. The members of the School are, therefore, called "The People of Unification." (Arbāb al-Tawhīd), like al-Junayd, Nūrī and Shiblī. (1) This school has another side, in that the Iraqis were famous by virtue of their tongue. Junayd remarked on this stating:- "The futuwa (generous and noble attitude) is at home in Syria, the lisān (tongue) in Iraq, and sidq (truth) is at home in Chorasan." (2)

Sari heard the great traditionists of his time, such as, al-Fuḍayl, Hushaym, Ibn 'Ayyāsh, Yazīd b. Hārūn, Sufyān b. Uyayna and others.

#### MĀRŪF AL KARKHĪ:

Sarī was a pupil of the great Sūfī Abū Maḥfūz Mārūf ibn Firūz al-Karkhī ( died 200 or 201 ) and used to say:- " What I have learned is from the blessing of my association with Maruf." (3)

Mārūf was of Persian descent. It is said that he was a client (Mawlā) of the Imām 'Alī ibn Mūsā al-Riḍā and having been a non-Moslem, accepted Islam at the hand of al-Riḍa. Maruf lived in Baghdād in the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd in the

---

(1) Sarrāj page of Lumā'. (Arberry ed.) p.12

(2) Qushayrī, p.103

(3) Abū Nu'aym, Hilyat v.10, p.123.

Karkh quarter of the city, whence he was generally called Mārūf of Karkh. Abū 'l-Mahasin says that his parents were Sabeans belonging to the dependencies of Wāsit, al-Daqqāq said that they were Christians. (1) These Sabeans or Mandæans or Elkhasaites (the Sabeans of the Qurān) had their centre in the swamp land between Basra and Wāsit, where some of them still survive. They were called by the Moslems the Mughtasilah (Washers) on account of their frequent ceremonial ablutions. Their founder is said to have been Elkhasai and, as their name Mandæans (gnostics) implies, that they are the remnants of a very ancient gnostic sect. (2)

According to Ibn al-Nadīm in the Fihrist, Manī the founder of the Manicheans, was in his youth one of the Mughtasila. (3) Accordingly, Professor Kessler formulated his theory that the doctrines of the Mughtasila were the principal source for Manī's system. (4) Al-Bīrūnī says that the Sabeans in Samarkand were the survivors of the Manicheans in the lands of Islām. (5)

Hartmann points out many Mandæan influences in Sūfī doctrine and terminology. (6) To support this, we may refer to the ideas of Haqq and Sidq, which appear again and again in

---

(1) Nujūm, vol.2 p.167.

(2) Nicholson, JRAS 1906 p.319. The Sabeans according to Nöldeke (Mandaïsche Gramtik p.1.) were not Mandæans but more likely Elkhaesaites.

(3) Fihrist, p.457

(4) See Legge, Forerunner and rivals of Christianity, v.2 p.305

(5) Bīrūnī, Al Āthār al-Bāqiya p. 209. (6) Der Islam v. 6 p.46



Manichean literature. We find that they also occur very often in this special sense in the works of Junayd, as in his "book of Šidq" and his "book of Uluhiyya." It may well be that al-Junayd took these notions and terms through Saqaṭī from Maṣrūf.

At any rate we can see in the sayings of Maṣrūf that he used these terms, Haqq and Šidq. It is well known that these particular teachers, Maṣrūf, Saqaṭī and Junayd were the first to speak in Baghdād of Haqqā'iq.

There is also the question whether there has been a Neo-platonic influence through these Mandaeans or Sabeans, which reached the Šūfīs. Hartmann remarks that the Neo-platonists were very scholarly, whereas Šūfism rose from the people. (1) But if it be true that these Mandaeans from the lower Euphrates swamps were rather primitive sectarians, this is not the case with our Šūfīs. They were, on the contrary, amongst the most scholarly and widely cultured personalities of their time.

It would be certainly worth while to trace the influence which Neo-platonism had on Šūfī mysticism. But we should most probably find it coming from the deeply Neo-Platonic Syriac Christian Mystics, thinkers like Pseudo-dionysios the Areopagite and his teacher Stepan bar Sudaili with his Syriac "Book of Hicrotheos." As A.J.Arberry says:- " Marsh's edition of this last-named book has now enabled us to examine this

---

(1) Ibid p.62

suggestion more closely. In the meantime, A.G.Wensinck followed the same path in publishing the 'Book of the Dove' and comparing its contents with the doctrine of Sufism." (1) The book of Stephan Bar Sudaili and the writings of Pseudo-dionysios seem to have inspired Mysticism in the East as well as in the West.

In fact, when we study the Rasā'il (letters) of al-Junayd we find definite Neo-platonic elements more clearly than any other foreign influences. For example, Plotinus' theory of pre-existence of man before his created existence, also his theory of the soul and of the Divine Mind are found clearly appearing in the teachings of Junayd, as we will see later. We can not decide now through which intermediaries Junayd got his Neo-platonic influences. Neo-platonic ideas were very widespread at this time and have strongly contributed to the development of Islamic Philosophy. Junayd must have found Neo-platonism, so to speak, in the air. As a scholar and thinker living at the time in Baghdād he may have been able to establish personal contacts with contemporary Greco-Christians, as well as being able to draw from the numerous translations of Grecian thought carried out just before and during his time in Baghdād. We think of such works as the translation of the commentary of Porphyrius' commentary to Plotinus Enneades by the Syrian 'Abd al-Masīh ibn 'Abdullah al-Himṣī an Na'imī who died in 220, which he called, "Aristotelis Uthulugiya - Aristotelis Theologia." (2) These complicated

---

(1) An introduction to the History of Sufism, p.34.

(2) Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur*, Sup. I p.364.

relations need further studies which we are not able to carry out in the frame-work of this limited task.

The following sayings are significant of the mystic teachings of Mārūf al-Karkhī:-

" It was reported that the people presented food to Maruf, which he always accepted and ate. Someone said to him:- ' Your brother Bishr b. al-Hārith always refuses such food,' and Mārūf replied:- ' Abstaining causes my brother's hands to be tied, whilst the Gnosis cause my hands to be stretched forth. I am only a guest in the house of my Lord.... when he feeds me I eat, when He does not, I have to be patient. I have neither objection nor choice.' " (1)

In the sayings of Mārūf we see these new ideas which appear for the first time, ideas which have deep and important meanings. Anything similar to this can only be traced in Saqati and Junayd. Here are further examples:-

A friend of Mārūf's asked him:- " What has aroused in you the worship of God and caused you to withdraw from public?" He was silent. The friend continued - "Is it the thought of death?" "No", was the reply, "for what is death?" " The thought of the grave perhaps?" asked the friend - again " No, for what is the grave?" The friend continued - " Perhaps the fear of Hell and the longing for Paradise?" Maruf answered:- " Whatever all this may be, it is all contained in

---

(1) Qūt al-Qulūb v.4, p.61.

the hand of God. When you love Him, He will make you forget all these; when you become acquainted with Him, He will protect you from all these things." (1)

Allī b. al-Muwaffaq related as follows:- "I dreamt I had entered Paradise. I saw there a man at a table, two angels were beside him, one on his left and one on his right; they gave him many kinds of food which he ate. I saw another man who remained on the tower of Paradise; he looked at the faces of the people, some he allowed to enter, others he turned away. I left Paradise and continued to the Holy Court. There I saw the Pavilion of the Throne and a man was gazing steadfastly towards God - there was not a flicker of his eyelid. I asked Ridwān "Who is this?" and he replied, "This is Mārūf al-Karkhī who worships God, not through fearing hell, nor longing for Paradise, but only for loving Him, and so God allows him to look at Him until the day of Resurrection." I then asked:- "Who are the other two men?" and he replied, "One is your brother Bishr b. al-Hārith and the other is Ahmad b. Hanbal." (2)

Ansarī related:- "I dreamt that I saw Maruf al-Karkhi beneath the throne of God and heard God say to His Angels - "Who is this?" They answered, "Thou knowest best, Oh Lord! This is Mārūf al-Karkhī; he is intoxicated by Thee and will not recover his senses, except by meeting Thee face to face." (3)

---

(1) Ibid v.3 p. 82.

(2) Qūt al-Qulūb v.3, p. 83.

(3) Hilyat al-Awliyā' v.8, p.366. In Qushayri p.11, this dream related from Sarī as-Saqatī.

One day Mārūf said to his nephew Ya'qūb, " When you desire anything from God, swear to Him by me." (1)

At any rate, when we survey the teachings and sayings of the various Ṣūfī Shāykh<sup>s</sup> of this period, we clearly see the close relationship between these three personalities, Mārūf, Saqatī, and al-Junayd; their attitude and character, their purpose and their mystic way are one and the same. It consists mainly of a Theosophy, the apprehension of divine realities. Each of them is related to have been the first who spoke in Baghdād concerning divine reality and Unification, while many other Ṣūfis had, with their mystical teachings, mainly a practical end in view, the attainment of salvation.

We hear from different sources that Mārūf associated with Dāwūd al-Taī (died 165) and that Dāwūd al-Taī derived from Ḥabīb al-Ajamī (died 120), who derived from al-Hasan al-Basrī ( died 110), who derived from 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib (died 40). (2) Yet this isnād is very doubtful, as it has not been proved by the historians that Mārūf had ever associated with Dāwūd al-Taī, nor that Dāwūd had met Ḥabīb al-Ajamī. It is not correct either that al-Hasan met 'Alī. He met only his associates as he was a child when 'Alī died. Thus this isnad is of no value. (3)

---

(1) Hilyat al-Awliyā' v.8, p.364. In Qushayrī also this saying related from Saqatī, p.11.

(2) See Kitāb asrār al-Tawhīd p.18, 38. Qushayrī p.134.

(3) Ibn Taymīya, Minhāj al-Sunna v.4, p.155 f.

Others give us another isnād of Mārūf. In the Fihrist, Ibn an Nadīm says, quoting Abū Ishāq<sup>h</sup>, that he found in the writings of Jāfar al-Kuldī, and also heard direct from him, that he took mysticism from Junayd, who derived it from Saqatī, who derived it from Mārūf, who derived it from Farqad al-Sabakhī (died 131), who derived it from Ḥasan al-Baṣrī who derived it from Anas Ibn Mālik (died 90 A.H.) (1)

Abū Yaḳūb Farqad al-Sabakhī al-Baṣrī (2), the teacher of Saqatī in this Isnād, was an eminent ascetic in his time; he was also a traditionist and related some traditions from Anas b. Mālik, Saīd b. Jubayr and from other "Tābiūn", who conversed with the companions of the Prophet; but those in authority did not approve of Farqad's tradition and refused to derive from him. (3) What is characteristic of him is that he was a Christian from Armenia and later a convert to Islam. (4) As he died in 131 and Mārūf died in 200, it is very doubtful that Mārūf could have associated with Farqad and learned from him as he died 70 years before Mārūf.

---

(1) Fihrist p.260.

(2) السجى تامة السجى  
as it is corrected in Mushtabah of Dhahabī, p.253, and in Tuhfat Dhawi al-Irab, p.161. The mistake may have occurred from the copying (see Mizān v.2, p.327. Nicholson J.R.A.S. (1906) p.306.)

(3) Shadharāt al-Dhahab v.1, p.181.

(4) Mizān v.2, p.327.

However, this Isnād looks somehow more likely than the other. But we are not inclined to take either of them as an historical fact, for neither are there any particular circumstances of these associations between pupil and teacher given, nor are there any literary similarities shown as a proof. Such isnāds of Sūfīs have often been compiled postumously in order to prove their orthodoxy. They are at any rate of small account to the historian. (1)

#### AL-MUHĀSIBĪ:

The house of Saqati was a meeting place for the mystics, a place for discussing mystical questions. The shaykhs came to his home to visit him, to learn from him and to discuss with him. This was a favourable opportunity for young Junayd to meet these distinguished men, to hear them discuss and sometimes to be drawn himself into their discussion. It appears that Junayd knew many of them through having met them at the home of his uncle Saqatī.

Amongst these men was the famous mystic Abu Abdullah al-Hārith ibn Asad al-Muhāsibī (2) who was a friend of Saqati's and who came to see him often. Junayd relates:- "Hārith came

---

(1) Ibn Khaldūn says:

”حتى لقد جعلوا مستنداً لطريقته في لباس الخرقه أنه علياً لبسها الحسن البصري  
واخذ عليه العهد بالترام الطريقة وأصل ذلك عندهم بالجند من شيوخهم ولا يعلم  
هذا أحد على وجه صحيح“

Muqaddima (ed. Quatremère) v.2, p.164.

(2) Al-Muhāsibī was born towards A.H.165 (A.D.781) at Basra, he was an Arab. Later he came to Baghdād and settled there. (Smith - "An Early Mystic of Baghdād." p.5.

to our house and said:- " Come out with us, we are going into desert." And al-Junayd continues:- " I said to him - ' Will you drag me forth from my life of retirement, in which I feel safe about myself, out on to the highroads with their risks, and with exposure to what attracts the sensual desires?' He said - 'Come out with us, there is nothing for you to fear.' So I went forth with him and the road seemed to be completely deserted; we saw nothing to be avoided. And when we arrived at the place where he was accustomed to sit with his friends and discuss with them, he bade me question him, but I said, 'I have no questions to ask you.' Then he said, ' Ask me about anything that comes into your mind.' Now questions crowded in on me, and I asked him about them and he gave me answers to them on the spot. Then he departed to his house and set them down in writing." (1)

From this story we see traits of the relationship which prevailed between Hārith and Junayd. Junayd in his youth liked to be alone and not to mix with people and speak to them. To this period probably, the following story belongs. Junayd said:- " Saqaṭī remarked to me - ' I heard that you had a gathering around you in the Mosque.' I told him, ' Yes, these were my friends. We talked together in a scholarly way and benefited from one another's knowledge.' And Saqaṭī replied, ' Oh, Abū 'l Qāsim, you begin to become a centre for bad people.' " (2) Muḥāsibī however, appears not to have seen any

---

(1) Abū Nu'aym, Hilyat, V.10. p.255.

(2) Sarrāj, Luma', p.181.



harm in his mixing with people. Junayd relates that at that time he used to say to Hārith al-Muḥāsibī - " My solitude has become my fellowship, but you drag me out to the desert and into the sight of men and the public highroads." And then he would say to me ' How often will you speak of your fellowship to me and your 'solitude?' Though half of mankind were to draw near to me, I should not find any fellowship with them, and though the other half were to keep far away from me, I should not feel lonely because of their distance from me!" (1)

Junayd experienced mixing with people to be a difficult situation and that solitude was much easier. He said:- "Whoever wants to be safe in his religion, and restful in his body and heart, he should keep away from people because these days of ours are grave." (2)

Another fact we can gather from this story is that both the Shaykh and his young pupil benefited from one another. Junayd put his questions to Hārith and thus opened to Hārith and to himself, a new field of thought. Hārith used these discussions and wrote books from them.

Thus it would appear, the association between Junayd as a pupil, and Hārith as a teacher, took place when the mind of Junayd had already reached a certain stage of maturity.

---

(1) Abū Nuʿaym, Hilyat, V.10. p.256.

(2) Qushayrī, p.51.

Yet it seems that the influence of Hārith on Junayd, compared with the influence of Saqati on him, was somewhat limited and different. Muhāsibī was distinguished, as Ghazālī said, "through his conduct of life and the knowledge of the weakness of the human self (Nafs) and the wickedness in the actions of man." (1)

While Muhāsibī was a theological scholar of profound originality and at the same time of the finest exactitude in his definitions, he yet must be considered mainly as an ethical educationist. The search of one's own soul, in order to lead it on stage by stage, to an increasing moral purification, was his main concern, as his writings reveal. He was not interested in mystical knowledge of Unification and Annihilation, and the vague symbolic utterances of the mystical shaykhs. He warned his pupils of expressions which sounded high, but might prove dangerous. The following story illustrates his original attitude:- "One day Abu Hamza of Baghdad came to the house of Muhāsibī. Muhāsibī had a fine house, tastefully decorated, in which he had a King Bird which would suddenly pipe aloud, so that Abū Hamza shrieked on hearing it "Oh my Lord." Muhāsibī became very angry and seized a knife crying, 'If you don't repent saying this I will kill you.' Abū Hamza replied, 'If you cannot bear what I said just now, why do you live in such a luxurious place and wear such fine clothes - why don't you start eating black bread and coarse fare?' " By saying this

---

(1) cf. Natā'ij al-Afkār. v.1 p.94.

he meant to convey that Muhāsibī's anger against him showed that he was still in an elementary stage of the mystical path, while his lovely surroundings seemed to indicate that he was in a high stage. Both things do not coincide. (1) Hujwīrī adds to this story:-

"Muhāsibī's disciples exclaimed ' Oh Shaykh, we all know him to be one of the elect Saints and Unitarians; why does the Shaykh regard him with suspicion?' Hārith replied:- ' I do not suspect him, his opinions are excellent, and I know that he is a profound Unitarian, but why should he do something which resembles the actions of those who believe in incarnation (hulūliyyūn) and had the appearance of being derived from their doctrine? If a senseless bird pipes after its fashion, capriciously, why should he behave as though its notes were the voice of God? God is indivisible, and the Eternal does not become incarnate, or united with phenomena, or commingled with them.' When Abu Hamza perceived the Shaykh's insight, he said:- ' Oh Shaykh, although I am right in theory, nevertheless, since my action resembled the actions of heretics, I repent and withdraw.' " (2)

This story tells us much about the attitude of Muhāsibī; he disliked the vague feelings of those mystics who believed in the importance of all kinds of appearances. The mind should be concentrated on God only. His mind was so clear

---

(1) Sarrāj, "Pages from Lumá", p.6.

(2) Hujwīrī, Kashf al-Mahjūb, p.182.

and sober that such things did not agree with him. He did not embark on anything vague, but limited his teachings to clear and reasonable matters. He kept to the orthodox transcendent attitude generally accepted.

Different from Muḥāsibī, al-Junayd was engaged in discussing the profound mystical aspects, in what we might call the ultimate questions, like Saqāṭī, Bistāmī, and Dhū'l Nūn al-Miṣrī. We think the reason may be that Muḥāsibī was an Arab by descent while al-Junayd was a Persian. E.G.Browne says:- "It is with Ṣūfīs like Abū Yazīd of Bistāmī, a Persian, and Junayd of Baghdād, (also, according to Jami, a Persian) that, in the latter part of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth centuries of our era, the pantheistic element first makes its definite appearance..... in short, with these men, whom the Sufis reckoned amongst their greatest teachers, a very thoroughgoing pantheism is superadded to the quietism of the older mystics. The transition is in reality a natural one; from regarding God as the only proper object of Love and subject of meditation, man as a mere instrument under His controlling power " Like the pen in the hands of the scribe," and the Spiritual Life alone as important, to regarding God as the one Reality and the Phenomenal World as a mere Mirage or Shadow of Being, is but a short step.

It was certainly the Persian Ṣūfīs who went to the greatest lengths in developing the Pantheistic aspect of Ṣūfīsm, yet we must bear in mind that, as appears from a study of

other forms of Mysticism, the step from Quietism to Pantheism is neither long nor difficult." (1)

In fact, we could hardly find an Arab who would take up these utterly profound questions. The early Arab thinkers were not at all impressed and influenced by outward phenomena and the appearances around them, but concentrated their meditation straightforwardly and directly on God. The old ascetic Sūfī of the Arab type was influenced, if by anything, by Eastern Christian Monasticism, rather than Persian, Greek or Indian ideas.

Al-Muhāsibī, as an Arab, seems to have been considerably influenced by contacts with Christians. So it is most likely, as Margaret Smith says:- "Further, his education most evidently did not exclude contact with Christian and Jewish teaching, from which he draws illustrations and examples for his own purpose, and to which also it may be that he owed his keen sense of the essential need for moral, rather than external, purification." (2)

Al-Junayd, on the other hand, according to his writings and teachings, was not visibly influenced by Christian ideas.

Margoliouth found in Muhāsibī some New Testament reminiscences and gives some examples. (3) Such an influence

---

(1) Browne - "History of Persia", I.p. 427/8.

(2) Smith - "Early Mystic of Baghdād", p.6.

(3) See Margoliouth in "Transactions of the third International Congress for the History of Religion." I. 292 f.

cannot be found in al-Junayd. Junayd himself may have had some indirect Christian influences from his general environment, though not from Muḥāsibī, but if so, we cannot trace them. In Sūfism generally, the Christian influence can be found everywhere, but it is most difficult to trace and to prove the sources and ways of these contacts.

Muhasibi was attacked by the school of the Muḥaddithīn. It is reported that Ibn Ḥanbal was against him because he engaged himself in the discussion of speculative matters and wrote books on scholastic theology. (1) Ibn Zurā, a great traditionist, asked about him and his books, said:- "Beware of these books because they are full of innovations and are misleading." (2) The Muḥaddithīn, according to Massignon, objected to his making a distinction between the conception of 'ILM and 'AQL, and between IMĀN and MA'RIFA; further, because he admitted the created character of the LAFZ (verb, logos); and further, because he taught that the chosen in Paradise were called to have direct intercourse with the Divinity; also because he selected, as they said, his proofs, not according to the formal correctness of their "Isnād", but on the basis of their essential significance and their moral influence on the reader. (3)

Ibn Ḥanbal carried his persecution of al-Muhasibi to the point of banning his writings and compelling him temporarily to leave Baghdād. He was later forced, through the fanatical

(1) Subkī, Tabaqāt v.2, p. 39. Khaṭīb, Tārīkh, v.8, p.214.

(2) Khaṭīb, Tārīkh, v.8, p.215.

(3) Handwörterbuch des Islam, p.541.

mood of the numerous followers of Ibn Ḥanbal, to live in retirement in Baghdād. When he died in the year 243 A.H. only four persons attended his funeral. (1)

It appears that al-Junayd was aware of Muḥāsibī's position as a thinker embarking on speculative theology and of the role attributed to his books by the Hanbalite. He thus, for his part, restrained himself from this kind of discussion and speculation which could be so easily misinterpreted, and had in mind always the advice of his teacher and uncle Saqatī. He was of a somewhat retiring character, yet at the same time he knew the mentality of the people. His character can be seen from his answer to a question on 'retirement'. He replied:- " To be at peace is something for one who requests peace, for one who leaves behind the attitude of being opposed to things, and for one whom knowledge teaches not continually to seek such things as knowledge warns him to avoid." (2).

MUHAMMAD AL-QASSĀB:

We know only a few facts concerning Abū Jāfar Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Qassāb, the third teacher of al-Junayd. Junayd himself called Qassāb his 'real teacher', and said:- " The people connect me mainly with Sari, but my real teacher was Muḥammad al-Qassāb." (3)

---

(1) Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, v.1, p.158.

(2) Sarrāj, Lumā' p.167.

(3) Khaṭīb, Tārīkh Baghdād, v.3, p.62.

It is a fact however, that Junayd does not give us so many quotations and incidents relating to Qassāb, as he does of Sarī.

Al-Khaṭīb quotes one saying of Qassāb's which Junayd also heard: Junayd said - "Our teacher, Abū Jāfar al-Qassāb was asked - 'Why are your friends not on good terms with the people?' and the reply was, ' There are three reasons. Firstly, God does not wish my people to have what others possess. Had He approved of this, He would have bestowed the privilege given to them, on all mankind. Secondly, God does not wish to mark their good actions on the pages of other people. Had He approved of this, He would have mixed them with other people. Thirdly, my people are a group of men going only towards God, thus God prevents their mixing with anyone except Himself.' " (1)

From this small quotation we may guess al-Qassāb's high spiritual attitude and how retiring a man he was. We imagine that what Junayd learned from him were not common notions, but rather quite special thoughts for the initiated. No further information can be found concerning this. Abū Jāfar al-Qassāb died in 275.

---

(1) Ibid.



IBN AL-KARANBĪ:

Junayd was also in continuous contact with Iraqi scholars and Sūfīs who were at home in Baghdad. From these Iraqis with whom he associated, Abū Jāfar al-Karanbī al-Baghdadī (1) is said to have influenced most of the ascetics of Baghdad at this time. He was well known in Baghdad for his patched and worn-out frock, (muraqqā<sup>a</sup>). It is said that before he died he made a will in which he bequeathed his frock to one of his friends. This friend found that the arm of the frock weighed 13 raṭl .... so many patches were attached to it. (2) Many other anecdotes are circulated concerning this frock. (3)

Ibn al-Karanbī was a pupil of Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Burāthī, (4) and an intimate teacher of al-Junayd (5) who has related many sayings and stories of him. Once Junayd asked Ibn al-Karanbī - "What is your opinion of a man who talks knowledge, but does not practise it?" and the reply was - "If that man is you ..... continue!" (6)

---

(1) Ibn al-Karanbī <sup>الكرنبی</sup> as in Tārīkh Baghdād; in Luma' <sup>الكرنبی</sup> ibn al-Kurrīnī Nicholson has corrected it to ibn al-Karanbī (see Luma' 459); in Talbīs Iblīs Ibn al-Koraytī <sup>الكرنبی</sup> p.350 in Hilyat al-Awliyā', v.10, p.224. <sup>الكرنبی</sup> ibn al-Kūfī

(2) Tārīkh Baghdād v.14, p.414. Talbīs Iblīs p.191.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Abū 'abd Allāh b. 'Abi Jāfar al-Burāthī, see Hilyat al-Awliyā', v.10, p.224.

(5) See Luma', p.146, 210, 188. Qūt al-Qulūb, v.3, p.109. Inya 4, p.347.

(6) Luma', p.182, Hilyat al-Awliyā', v.10, p.224.

One day al-Junayd offered Ibn al-Karanbī a purse of money, but it was refused. Junayd said:- "If you are not in need and yet will take it, you will please a Moslem's heart." So the purse was accepted. (1)

It is related too, by al-Junayd, that when Karanbi was dying, Junayd was sitting by his head gazing upwards to the sky. Ibn Karanbi said:- "Far?", and thereupon Junayd's eyes were turned to the earth. Again he heard Ibn Karanbi say:- "Far?".....meaning, that God is so near to us, there is no need to look into space in quest of Him. (2)

When the Ṣūfīs of Baghdad were persecuted, Ibn Karanbī left the town. As he walked away in his old patched gown, with his long flowing beard, he made a funny face and shook his head to and fro, so that people said he was mad. (3)

It seems from these stories, that Ibn al-Karanbī's personality and manner were very queer, but that he was a man with a simple, sincere and friendly heart. His life in humble retirement must have stood as a model before the eyes of his friends and pupils. He reached a high stage as a Sufi through practical life, through conquering his desires, and through a true purification of the soul. Junayd probably was influenced by Ibn Karanbī, not so much with regard to theory, but particularly through his attitude, his manner and his way of life.

---

(1) Luma' 198, Hilyat al-Awliyā', v.10. p.224.

(2) Tarikh Baghdad v.14, p.414, Luma' 210.

(3) Ibid.

AL-QANTARĪ:

Another of his associates in Baghdad was Shaykh Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Muslim 'Abd er-Raḥmān al-Qanṭarī. Al-Qanṭarī associated with Marūf al-Karkhī and Bishr ibn al-Hārith al-Hāfī (1) and was renowned in Baghdād for his piety and ascetic life.

Al-Junayd frequently visited al-Qanṭarī's home, and many were the discussions which took place. On presenting himself one day at noon he was asked by al-Qanṭarī, "Have you no work to do that you come to me at this hour?" to which Junayd replied:- "If my visits to you are not work... then what is work?" (2)

Qanṭarī was of a retiring and reserved disposition and preferred to hold himself aloof from the people. He was rather poor and earned a meagre livelihood by copying, for little money, the book 'Sufyān al-Thawrī.' He died in 260. (3)

As already stated, Junayd met most of the Iraqi Shaykhs of his time, amongst whom were Abū Yāqūb al-Zayyāt, Muḥammad al-Samīn and Ḥasan al-Bazzāz. To their opinions and discussions he listened attentively and many of their views he himself has related.

ABŪ ḤAFS AL-HADDĀD.:

He also met in Baghdād, Shaykhs who were not Iraqi,

---

(1) Ḥilyat al-Awliyā', v.10, p.305, 309.

(2) Ibid, Tārīkh Baghdād, v.3, p.256.

(3) Tārīkh Baghdād, v.3, p.256.

but who had come to the metropolis as visitors. Amongst these distinguished visitors was one, Abu Hafs Amr ibn Salama al-Haddād al-Nīsāpūrī, the Shaykh of Khorasan, who was a Mutazilite and had written several books on scholastic theology. In referring to one of these books "Kitāb Al-Jārūf fī Takāfu' al-Adilla", Ibn al-Nadīm stated it was contradicted by Abū 'Alī al-Jubā'ī, al-Khayyāt, and al-Hārith al-Warrāq. (1) Al-Khayyāt in his book "Kitāb al-Intiṣār", has referred to Abū Hafs as a 'Rafidī', and stated he had adopted the 'theory of Qidām al-Ithnayn.' (2)

It appears that Abū Hafs, whilst being a Mutazilite, was also a Ṣūfī; there were in fact numerous Mutazilites, such as Abū Sa'īd al-Hoṣṣarī al-Ṣūfī and Abu Musa 'Isā ibn al-Haytham al-Ṣūfī, who were also considered Ṣūfīs. Their fellow Mutazilites are stated to have said of them, that originally they were Mutazilites but were spoiled afterwards, and it seems that Abū Hafs was one of this group. (3)

Abu Hafs's teachers were 'Abd Allāh ibn Maḥdī al-Abīwardī and 'Alī al-Nasrā—Badhī, and he also had associated with Ahmad ibn Khadrūya (4)

Al-Junayd held Abū Hafs in high esteem and said of him:- " He was one of those who understood the meaning of divine

(1) Fihrist (Chester Beatty M.S.) 118A.

(2) Intiṣār p.97, 105.

(3) Fihrist, op.cit.

(4) Tārīkh Baghdād, v.12, 220.

reality.... one had but to meet him to feel satisfied and enriched... he spoke from the depth of his heart and was a perfect scholar..... the Shaykhs of Khorasan are on a very high level and likewise are their followers." (1)

When Abū Ḥafṣ went to Baghḍād, he lived as a guest in the house of Junayd who relates the following story of the visit:- " Abū Ḥafṣ remained in my home for a year with eight of his friends. Every day I offered them fresh food, new clothes and perfumes. On his leaving I presented to him and his friends new attire, and on taking his farewell, Abu Ḥafṣ said to me:- ' When you visit Nisapur we shall treat you with all nobility and generosity. Your deed are evidence of your painstaking work. If the poor come to you, do not worry for when you are hungry, they will be hungry, when you are fed, they also will be fed, and their coming and going will not harass you.' " (2)

It has been said that Abū Ḥafṣ did not converse well in Arabic, his mother tongue being Persian. However, when he met the Shaykhs of Baghḍād, including Junayd, in the Shunīziyya Mosque, he conversed with them in elegant Arabic, so that they despaired of rivalling his eloquence. They asked him:- " What is generosity?" He said, " Let one of you begin and declare what it is." Junayd said:- " In my opinion generosity consists in not regarding your generosity and in not referring it to yourself." Abū Ḥafṣ replied:- " How well the Shaykh has spoken

---

(1) Ibid.

(2) Samānī p.158a.

but in my opinion generosity consists in doing justice and in not demanding justice." Junayd said to his disciples - " Rise, for Abū Ḥafṣ has surpassed Adam and all his descendants (in generosity)." (1)

It is said that Abū Ḥafṣ was rich, as his silken raiment was costly and magnificent and his house was beautifully furnished. (2)

From this we can picture his mystic outlook. It was probably not based on the ascetic life, but rather on a gentle and noble attitude to life, differing from the ascetic attitude of most members of the Baghdadi School of Sūfīs. This level of the Khorasani in the spiritual and material sphere impressed al-Junayd greatly. Abū Ḥafṣ died about 260. (3)

#### YAHYA IBN MU'ADH:

Another distinguished visitor to Baghdād whom al-Junayd met was Abū Jāfar Yahya ibn Mu'adh ibn Jāfar ar-Rāzī, (died 258.) It is related that when Yahya visited Baghdād, the Ascetics gathered around him for discussions, and at one of these meetings when Junayd arose to speak, Yahya said to him:- " Keep silent, Oh Sheep. Who are you to talk when people are speaking?"(4) Junayd was still a comparatively young man at this date.

---

(1) Hujwirī p.124.

(2) Luma', p.188.

(3) Qushayrī, p.17.

(4) Tarīkh Baghdād v.14, p.209. Ibn al-Khallikān v.2, p.296.

There remain fragments of a correspondence of great importance between Yahya and al-Junayd, and if these fragments are genuine, as they appear to be, then they would most probably be of a later date than Yahya's visit to Baghdad. (1)

Yahya was distinguished in Gnosticism, (Marifa) and was in contact with the famous Sufi Tayfūr ibn 'Isa ibn Sharwasān Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī. (died 261).

Junayd did not meet Abū Yazīd, nor was there correspondence between them, but Junayd knew of him through his books and also through many friends whom they had in common, particularly Yahya Ibn Muṣḍh. Al-Junayd, has in fact, written a commentary on the sayings of Abū Yazīd, the relics of which are still preserved. (2) The sayings of Abū Yazīd are difficult to understand, while the wording was rather deep and veiled; Junayd's commentary too, is of little help.

Junayd appears to have esteemed Abū Yazīd very highly, and said of him:- "He is amongst us like Gabriel amongst the angels." (3) He does not however, appear to have appreciated Yazīd's teachings, but adopted a critical attitude towards them. He says for instance in his commentary:- " Abū Yazīd has described features from his knowledge of Unification, which is rather a primitive method and only for beginners." And further, " that his descriptions are only half completed." (4)

- 
- (1) See later "Rasā'il".  
 (2) Kitāb al Luma, p.380 -387.  
 (3) Hujwiri, p.106.  
 (4) Kitāb al Luma, Op.Cit.

This causes us to imagine that al-Junayd judged the philosophy of Abū Yazīd, his famous contemporary, from the viewpoint of his own mystical philosophy.

YŪSUF b.AL-HUSAYN:

Another distinguished Sūfī who visited Baghdad at this period, and who had correspondence with al-Junayd, was Abu Yāqūb Yūsuf ibn al-Husayn ibn Alī ar-Rāzī, who was then the Shaykh of Ray and Jibāl. (died 304) He was a literary scholar who wrote in a most distinguished and elegant manner, and one of his letters, which has most fortunately been preserved, shows his splendid and comprehensive style. From the literary point of view, it is the finest specimen which has come down to us from the Sūfī period, and is a pleasure to read, even today. Everyone, on reading this particular letter, which was sent to al-Junayd in Baghdād, was struck with the sheer beauty of the epistle. (1)

Abū al-Husayn appears to have been a great traveller. He visited many countries including Iraq, where he met and became friends with the famous Iraqi Sūfī, Abū Saīd al-Kharāz, and perhaps also al-Junayd (although we cannot prove this fact), .... to Syria, where he met and heard the distinguished Syrian Sūfī, Ahmad ibn Abī al-Hawārī..... to Egypt, where he associated with Dhū 'l Nūn al-Miṣrī. (2) Dhū'l Nūn (died 245) was the principal teacher of Abū al-Husayn, of whom he has

---

(1) Hilyat al-Awliyā', v.10.p 240.

(2) Tarīkh Baghdād, v.14, p.314. Abū Yalā, Tabaqāt al-Hanābila p. 279.



related many sayings, spreading his ideas in Khorasan.

Dhū'l Nūn visited Baghdād for a short time (1) but we cannot trace whether or not he met al-Junayd. It is rather strange that there are very few quotations or references to Dhū'l Nūn in Junayd's sayings or writings.

#### JUNAYD'S TRAVELS:

Junayd rarely travelled, but remained mostly in Baghdād, although he did make the pilgrimage once. (2) It seems from Qushayri that Junayd made the pilgrimage in his early youth. (3) Baghdad however, was the centre of travel and trade and the metropolis of spiritual life, so that he had the opportunity of meeting many distinguished people in his home town.

#### CONCLUSION:

This survey shows that the contacts and relations of al-Junayd with the famous Ṣūfīs and religious thinkers who were his contemporaries, both in Iraq and in distant lands, were very wide and numerous.

Assisted by his vast and many-sided learning and his clarity of thinking, he collected this vast variety of thoughts and teachings of his period, and transformed them through the medium of his personality, and by adding his own original ideas and experiences, he thus reached his own mystical way and his own philosophical system.

---

(1) Ibn Khallikān, v.1, p.126.

(2) Sarrāj, Luma<sup>s</sup>, p.207, but ibn Khallikān reported that he made the pilgrimage 30 times, which is doubtful.

(3) Qushayrī, p.147.

He preserved all that was sound in the thoughts of the individual Sūfīs, putting them in a certain order. We may say as Hartmann remarks, (1) he "Islamized" Mysticism, and integrated the thoughts of the Sūfīs, many of which at first may have appeared strange in the framework of Islam. He cut short the intellectual and moral extravagances without relinquishing the essence. He joined, so to speak, the many wild mountain streams of Sufism into a firm and constant river-bed. He in fact, has joined and united Mysticism with Orthodoxy. He is thus rightly called the "Shaykh al-Ṭarīqa," the "Master of the Way". (2) Through him, we may say, Sūfīsm reached its fulfilment.

For this, Junayd has been appreciated by all authorities in Islam, Mystics and Orthodox alike - they have called him the "Scholarly Sūfī", the "Chief of the Community" "The peacock among the divines," Even the people of Tradition, though they were very anti-Sūfī, like Ibn Taymiya and Ibn al-Qayyīm, accepted his teachings and appreciated his ṭarīka, and spoke highly of him. (3)

---

(1) Der Islam, volume 6, p.69.      (2) Sulamī, Ṭabaqāt, fol.32 b.  
 (3) Ibn Taymiya, Minhāj, v.3, p.85.

Ibn al-Qayyim, Madārīj, v.7, p.137.

### CHAPTER III.

#### THE MYSTICAL SCHOOL OF BAGHDĀD.

The original founder of the school of Baghdād was Saqatī, and second to him was Muhāsibī. Saqatī was a Persian; while Muhāsibī was an Arab, both however, were of the Sunni school. Saqatī represented, we might say, the left wing through his daring research into the Unity of God (Tawhīd), while Muhāsibī represented the right wing through his conscious moderation and his limitation to the practical moral issues.

#### THE ESOTERIC CHARACTER OF THE SCHOOL.

The main topic and issue for the school of Baghdād was certainly "Tawhīd". They were called, as we have seen, Arbaʿ al-Tawhīd, the "People of Tawhīd." (1) They pursued the knowledge of Tawhīd to its dangerous summit. They had to develop this doctrine and carry on this research teaching in secret, and accordingly they used to express their teachings and ideas in a special metaphoric way of speech (Ishārāt), and invented a special esoteric terminology for this purpose.

Al-Junayd is reported to have spoken to twenty persons—no more than twenty (2) — as he felt his teaching was of a very secret nature and might become dangerous to the crowd. When he wrote to a friend, he would word his epistle very cautiously. In a letter to a friend he stated:— "What prevented me from communicating with you, was the thought

---

(1) Sarrāj, page from Kitāb al-Lumāʿ, p.12.

(2) Makkī, Qūt al-Qulūb, v.2, p.30. Ihyāʾ, v.1. p.42.

that my letter might fall into the hands of someone without your knowing. Some time ago I wrote a letter to a friend in Isfahan someone opened it but found it difficult to understand, for which I was very sorry indeed. One must be kind to these people and be careful what one says, and talk to them in a manner which they understand. May God keep you safe and in peace.... you must control your tongue and know your contemporaries. Talk to the people so that they can understand, and omit that which they cannot understand." (1)

Sarrāj, in the Kitāb al-Lumā' mentions several stories of the efforts of the Sufis of this period to keep their teachings secret. He for instance, tells us the following story:- "Amr ibn 'Uthmān al-Makkī had letters which contained special and private knowledge, but these fell into the hands of one of his students, who escaped with them. When Amr al-Makki heard this, he said:- ' I am afraid his hands, feet and head will be cut off'. It was said that the young man who stole the letters was al-Husayn al-Hallāj, and he was killed later on because of this, and thus the prophesy which 'Amr al-Makkī had uttered, was thus fulfilled." (2)

Some mystics have told that Hallāj was killed because he spread the secret teachings of the Sufis amongst the public. Attār says:- " One of the great Sufis stated

---

(1) Risālat al-Junayd to Abī Bakr al-Kisṣā'ī, Lumā' p.239.

(2) Sarrāj, page from Kitāb al-Lumā', p.9.

that on the day on which Hallāj was crucified, he did spend the whole night under the cross praying. When day broke, the Sufi heard a voice saying:- ' We have revealed to him a secret of our secrets, and this is the reward for betraying the secret of the kings.' " (1) 'Attār also relates that Shiblī said:- " During this night I remained praying, and at dawn I went to sleep. In my sleep I saw the day of Resurrection and the voice of God said:- ' This was because he has divulged our secret to others.' " (2)

From these stories, we can see how the Sūfīs of Baghdād at this period, conscientiously tried not to reveal their teachings but to keep them secret, so that the public at large should not be aware of these lofty thoughts. They knew that the people in general could not understand the meaning of their ideas.

They were of the opinion that the ultimate things in themselves had the character of a secret, and that nobody should embark on making them public. They held that the revealing of the secret of the Divinity was infidelity. Some of them taught that the Divinity had a secret (3) - if this were revealed, then prophecy would be abolished and its grace would vanish, and if in turn Prophecy had a secret which was

---

(1) 'Attār, <sup>d</sup>Tahkirat al-Awliyā', v.2, p.26.

(2) "إفشاء سر الربوبية كهن" (Ghazālī, al 'imlā' alā Ishkālāt al-ḥyā')

(3) "إفشاء سر الربوبية كهن" (Ghazālī, al 'imlā' alā Ishkālāt al-ḥyā')  
p.67. Makki, Qūt al-Qulūb, v.3, p.133.

revealed, then the knowledge of men would be abolished, and if knowledge had a secret, and would reveal it, then the order of changes would be abolished. (1)

So we see that the Sūfīs were aware and fully conscious of their attitude in relation to the truth they held and in relation to the people around them.

Characteristic of the atmosphere of resignation these thinkers lived in, is Junayd's feeling that the knowledge of the Divine was so vast and high that his circle and himself possessed only a small fragment of it, and even of this they could share out and explain only quite a little. He hints that there may have been a decline of knowledge from the previous generation even to his time. He says:- " The carpet of the knowledge of which we are now talking, has been wrapped up for twenty years. We are talking at present merely on its fringe." He also said, " I have discussed with people for years knowledge which I did not understand and of which I knew not. I have not opposed myself to this though I have by no means always accepted and loved it without knowing." He said further:- " In the olden days we used to gather together to talk with one another about many-sided knowledge. Nowadays, nobody cares for it and asks me about it." (2)

---

(1) Ghazālī op.cit. p.199, Makki, op.cit.p.133.

(2) Makki, Qūt al-qulūb, v.2, p. 41.

Thus we see that Junayd, in his old age, felt that Sūfism had been more flourishing and that people were more sincere and seriously inclined in the far-off days of his youth, and that more knowledge had been revealed to those men with whom he had lived when he was young. He was, it seems, somehow disappointed during the period of his old age, when he had many sad experiences and felt isolated.

#### PERSECUTIONS OF THE SCHOOL:

In fact, the School of Baghdad at this time suffered much from persecution. The people accused them of being Atheists, infidels, and believers in incarnation. Every member of the school was accused, including al-Junayd. Sarraj has stated that although al-Junayd had a profound knowledge of many things, was honoured and recognised as an outstanding religious man and an equally great man in intellectual culture, and although he continued his religious worship in spite of all this, the people bore witness against him as being an infidel.(1)

Many historians have related the story of the persecution of the Sufi School of Baghdad. Ghulām al-Khalīl raised the case against the Sufis before the Khalīf al-Muwaffaq. Junayd described himself as being simply a Jurist by profession, and thus escaped the court. (2) The others were taken before the court. The accusation was that these men discussed the Love of God, while Ghulām al-Khalīl held that no love between

---

(1) Sarraj, 'Page from Lumá! p.9.

(2) Qushayrī p.112, Ibn al-Jawzī, Talbīs Iblīs, p.172.

God and man was possible, and that it was thus irreligious to use that expression about God. He held that love was an attribute only of the creature and not of the Creator, and that nobody was allowed to say:- " I love God and God loves me." (1)

The Sūfī School, al-Junayd, Nūrī, Abū Saīd and others on the other hand, held that there was love between God and man. Qushayrī interpreted love (Mahabba) towards God as follows:- "It is a condition which man feels in his heart, too fine to be expressed in words. This condition of his heart can certainly drive him to worship God highly, to give preference to his being able to please Him, not to be able to stay without Him, passionately to long for Him, without Him to find no rest, and in continuous thoughts of Him to feel an intimate comfort. Yet the idea of the love of man for God does not include attachment and being together. How could it - since the true Infinite is too holy for any reaching, acquiring and embracing? If the lover were described as submerged in the beloved, it would be more adequate than if they were described as being together." (2) But this love between God and man seemed, at the time, not to be an orthodox doctrine. The teaching that " I love God and God loves me", may have scandalized many a traditional mind. (3).

---

(1) Sarrāj, Page from Kitāb al-Lumʿa, p.5.

see Ghazālī, Ihyāʾ, v.4, p.330.

(2) Qushayrī, p.144.

(3) See further about "Mahabba, Shawq, 'ishq" Ghazālī, Ihyāʾ p.4. p.286 ff., Ibn Qayyim, Madārij, v.3, p.4 ff.



This was the main part of the accusation. Sarrāj gave other points, for instance, that they were promoting superstition and pantheistic views. The case was opened specially against Nūrī, Abū Hamza, Raqqām, Shahhām, and Sumnūn.

Sarrāj says that:- "Sumnūn, a friend of Junayd's, was called 'the lover'. He was handsome and talked with charm. It is related that a woman disciple of Sumnūn's fell in love with him. When he knew that she loved him, he turned her out of his circle. This woman then went to al-Junayd and asked him:- 'What do you think of a man who was my way to God, but then God vanished and the man remained?' Junayd knew what she meant and did not answer her. The woman had wished to marry Sumnun, but when he turned her out in a haughty way, she went to Ghulām al-Khalīl, his adversary, saying:- 'These men', mentioning some names, 'did not behave correctly towards me.' So Ghulām al-Khalīl took up this and other complaints and brought the case before the Khalif." (1)

The main point in the accusation seems to have been the terms "Love" and "Passion". which can be interpreted in various ways. It does seem that the accusation against the Sūfī School of Baghdād mixed theological objections to their teachings with objections felt to their behaviour.

---

(1) Sarrāj, 'Page of Luma', p.8.

It appears that the Qadī (High Judge) of Baghdād, handed over the case to the Khalif in his capacity as supreme judge. Khalif Muwaffaq decided to acquit the Sūfīs, probably finding that there was not sufficient evidence against them. Most probably his decision was motivated by reason of state and governmental interest, and not as much as some Sufi authors declared, by a special sympathy on the part of the Monarch towards the teachings of the Sūfī School. All we know of this ruler, is that he showed himself a matter-of-fact statesman and a soldier.

Yet though they were acquitted and did not undergo any personal harm, this persecution, supported by a part of public opinion, was most unfortunate for the Sūfī School of Baghdād, and its members withdrew more and more from public life and became increasingly silent and cautious. (1)

These events must have left an impression in the soul of al-Junayd and cast a shadow on his later life and teaching. It was for him an experience leading to resignation.

It was probably at that time, under the influence of this trial and its wider social context, that al-Junayd began to base his teachings, more and more, on the Holy Qur'ān,

---

(1) See more details in Sarrāj, op.cit., Qūt al-Qulūb v.3, p.114,

Hujwīrī, p.62, Ihyā' v.4, p.330, Ibn al-jawzī, op.cit.  
p.169, 172, 371.

the Ḥadīth and the Sunna. He probably felt that, for the good of the people, it was wiser to restrain the unbridled outbursts of individual Sūfī thinkers. He led those "wild turbulent hill waters" of religious enthusiasm into the benevolent channels clearly shown, for the good of the wise as well as the simple, by the tradition of Islam, so that they should not endanger the general order.

#### MEMBERS OF THE SCHOOL:

#### FRIENDS OF JUNAYD - AN-NŪRĪ:

The Baghdad School of Sufism at this time had many distinguished members who were either friends <sup>or</sup> ~~of~~ pupils of al-Junayd.

Among his friends and companions we think of Abu al-Ḥusayn Ahmad ibn Muḥammad an-Nūrī. Nūrī's family descended from Khorasan, but he was born and brought up in Baghdad. He was, like Junayd himself, a pupil of Saqatī, and in matters relating to the mystical way, he and Junayd agreed. (1) They were intimate friends and Junayd deeply appreciated Nuri. The name 'Nūrī' was given to him because when he spoke in a dark room, the whole room would appear illuminated by the light of his spirituality and by the light of truth. Nuri could read the innermost thoughts of his disciples, so that Junayd said of him:- "Abū al-Ḥusayn is the spy of men's hearts." (2) Nuri also stressed the importance of self-sacrifice and

---

(1) Hujwiri, p.189.

(2) Ibid, p.194.

abnegation which was most difficult for a man of learning to practise, but which was an essential condition for the state of a Sūfī. He was by no means as cautious as Junayd, and eventually was prosecuted by the authorities, and had to face the hostility of the people. He died soon after his acquittal, in 295. It is related that Junayd said:- " Since the death of Nūrī, no one has spoken about the essential Truth" (1) When Junayd was dying he requested that he should be buried at the side of Nūrī, though this wish was not carried out. (2)

#### ABŪ SA'ĪD AL-KHARRĀZ.

Another friend of Junayd's was Abū Sa'īd Aḥmad ibn 'Isā al-Kharrāz who was considered one of the most distinguished Sūfīs of Baghdād at that period. He too, was a pupil of Saqatī and he was one of the earliest mystics to write books. (3) It is said he was the first to explain the doctrine of fanā' and baqā'. He practised self-mortification and Junayd is reported to have said:- "If God asked us to do what Kharrāz is doing, we would soon perish, we just could not do it." Someone asked, "What is Kharrāz doing?" and Junayd replied:- "He remains at his weaving loom year after year, but never does he forget to mention God between each two woofs." (4) Kharrāz died in 277.

#### IBN 'ATĀ' AL-ĀDAMĪ:

Abū al-Abbās Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Sahl ibn 'Atā' al-Ādamī was another friend of Junayd's. They were most intimate

---

(1) Qushayrī, 20.

(2) Tārīkh Baghdād v.5, p.130

(3) Hilyat al-Awliyā', v.10, p.246. (4) Nujūm, v.3, p.76.

and met on the same spiritual level. Eventually however, a difference of opinion occurred between them and they separated and became opponents. The dispute arose regarding the rich and poor. (1) Ibn 'Atā' maintained the superiority of those rich people who thanked God for his gifts. He argued that at the Resurrection they would be called to account for the use they had made of their wealth, and that giving such an account entails the hearing of the Divine Word - without any medium between them - in the form of a reproach, and reproach is always addressed by the beloved to the lover. Junayd on the other hand considered the poor superior, and he answered: "If He will call the rich to account, He will ask the poor for their apology ... and to be asked for an apology is better than to be called to account." (2) This question appeared to be a most serious matter of discussion, both in private and in public, between the two friends, and was the cause of their separation. (3) Ibn 'Atā' died in 309.

RUWAYM:

Another intimate friend of al-Junayd was Abū Muhammad Ruwaym ibn Ahmad, who was a great scholar and well versed in the reading and interpretation of the Qur'ān. He wrote several works on Sūfism which are often quoted, although they have not been preserved. It appears that in later years Junayd also separated from Ruwaym because, towards the end of his life, Ruwaym ranged himself amongst the rich, gained the Khalif's confidence and became a Qadī at the Court of Baghdād. (4)

---

(1) Tārīkh Baghdād, v.5, p.28. (2) Hujwīrī, p.23..

(3) see Qūt al Qulūb, v.2, p.191, and Luma' 220.

(4) Hujwīrī, 135.

Junayd was then heard to remark:- " We are devotees accidentally occupied with the world, and Ruwaym is a man occupied with the world who is devoted to God." Ruwaym died in 303.

The following is a brief summary of a few other distinguished friends of Junayd, who contributed to the fame of the School of Baghdad:-

Abū Hamza Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Baghdādī, who belonged to the circle of Saqatī and was one of the leading Sūfīs of Baghdād. He is said to have been the first of the Sūfīs to speak in public. (1) He died in 269.

Abū 'Abdullah 'Amr ibn 'Uthmān al-Makkī, who was a patrician of Baghdād and from whom Junayd also separated on the occasion of Makkī accepting the post of a Qadī. (2) Makkī was the first teacher of Hallaj before Junayd. He died in 297.

Abū 'l Hasan Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl Khayr al-Nassāj, who was a great shaykh and also a pupil of Saqati. Junayd held Nassaj in high esteem and is reported to have said of him:- "He is the best of us". (3) Both Shiblī and Khawā<sup>w</sup>s were converted to mysticism in Nassāj's circle. He sent Shibli to Junayd, wishing to express his respect for the latter. Nassāj lived to a very ripe old age and probably survived Junayd for many years.

---

(1) Muntazim v.5, p.68, Safadī, al-Wāfī, p.344.

(2) Shadharāt, v.2, p.225.

(3) Hujwīrī, p.144, Qusnayrī, 25.

Abū Ahmad Muṣāb al-Qalānisī, who, as a mystic, held as high a position in Baghdād as al-Junayd. One of Qalānisī's pupils was Abū Saīd al-ʿArābī. Qalānisī died in 270. (1)

Abū'l Hasan Sumnūn ibn Ḥamza who was an associate of Saqatī, Qassāb and Qalānisī. Sumnūn left some very fine poems and spoke of love with such beautifully tender words that he was called "the Lover". He was an intimate friend of Junayd and died shortly before him, in the same year - 298. (2)

Abū'l ʿAbbās Ahmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Masrūq, from Tūs, but lived in Baghdād. He belonged to the circle of Muḥāsibī and of Saqatī. He died in 298. (3)

Abū Jāfar al-Haddād al-Kabīr, another well-known member of the School. (4)

These then were the leading members of the School of Baghdād, contemporaries of al-Junayd, who were to be found around Saqatī, Muḥāsibī and the other great Shaykhs of this older generation.

---

(1) See Muntazim, v.5, p.79. Qushayrī 133, Luma', 217.

(2) Hilyat al-Awliyā', v.10, p.309. Tārīkh Baghdād, v.9, p.234.

(3) Hilyat al-Awliyā', v.10, p.213. Tārīkh Baghdād, v.5, p.100.

(4) Tārīkh Baghdād, v.14, p.412.

JUNAYD'S PUPILS:

The next generation were pupils of al-Junayd, and of his contemporaries whom we have mentioned previously.

JURAYRĪ:

Of these pupils we should mention Abū Muḥammad Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Husayn al-Jurayrī. He was a scholar in every branch of learning, especially in Law, and was also well-versed in Theology. His rank in Sufism was very high and he was a pupil of both Saqatī and Junayd. Al-Junayd had the highest regard for al-Jurayrī, so much so, that he is reported as having said to him:- "Teach my pupils, discipline and train them." (1) Indeed when Junayd was dying, he was asked by those around him, "Who will succeed you?", he replied, "Abū Muḥammad al-Jurayrī." (2) After Junayd's death, Jurayri therefore took his place as a teacher of Junayd's circle of pupils. Al-Jurayrī died in 311. By an unfortunate chance, when a pilgrim, he was crushed to death in the stampede on the Mecca highroad during the battle of Obeir. (3).

SHIBLĪ:

Another remarkable pupil of Junayd was Abū Bakr Dulaf ibn Jaḥdar al-Shiblī. He was at first a chamberlain to the Khalif, but later was converted to Sufism at a gathering at the house of Nassāj. He relinquished his official post and became

---

(1) Hujwīrī, p.148.

(2) Tarīkh Baghdād, v.4, p.432.

(3) Ibid, p.433.



a disciple of Junayd. Apparently al-Shibli was rather hot-headed and over-enthusiastic, and Junayd although he liked him greatly, is reported as having said - "Shibli is always drunk... if he became sober, he would be an imam from whom people would benefit." (1) It is related that one day when Shibli entered the bazaar, the people said - "He is a madman." To which Shibli replied:- " You think I am mad, and I think you are sensible. May God increase my madness and your sense." (2). There is another anecdote which is characteristic of Shibli. One day filled with rapturous ecstasy, he approached Junayd. On observing that Junayd was sad, he enquired as to the cause of the trouble, and Junayd said:- "He who seeks shall find! " Shibli at once responded, " No! he who finds shall seek! " (3) Shibli was noted for his subtleness in the use of symbolic allusions (ishārāt), and in his many short aphorisms of which there are frequent examples in the classical collections of shath. He was also conspicuous for his intended eccentricities and his queer ascetic practices. In the story of al-Hallaj, the role attributed to Shibli is very important. He seems to have continued to venerate al-Hallāj in secret, after having denied him in public. Dogmatically he had the same attitude as Junayd, but in his way of speech and behaviour, he differed from him

---

(1) Luma<sup>c</sup>, p.404.

(2) Hujwīrī, p.415.

(3) Hujwīrī, p.414.

in the extreme. In the classical Silsila he forms a link in the chain between his teacher Junayd, and his pupil Naṣrābādī. Shiblī was a Baghdādī, born and brought up in the metropolis. He died in 334, and his tomb is still visited in the Āzamiya quarter of Baghdād. (1)

One of the most famous pupils of al-Junayd was Abu'l Mughīth al-Ḥusayn ibn Mansūr al-Hallāj. He was brought up in Tustar and was a pupil of Sahl al-Tustarī, but later he came to Baghdād and joined 'Amr al-Makkī. It is said that Hallāj, in a temper, broke his friendship with 'Amr al-Makkī and went to Junayd. Junayd asked him for what purpose he had come, to which Hallāj replied:- " For the purpose of associating with the Shaykh." Junayd replied:- " I do not associate with madmen. Association demands sanity; if that is wanting, the result is such behaviour as yours in regard to Sahl b. 'Abdallah Tustarī and 'Amr." Ḥusayn said: " O Shaykh, sobriety and intoxication are two attributes of man, and man is veiled from his Lord until his attributes are annihilated." " O son of Mansūr", said Junayd, " you are in error concerning sobriety and intoxication. The former denotes soundness of one's spiritual state in relation to God, while the latter denotes excess of longing and extremity of love, neither of them can be fulfilled by human effort. Oh son of Mansūr, in your words I see much foolishness and nonsense." (2)

---

(1) cf. Lumā', p.395 -406. Talbīs iblīs, p.358 - 361.

(2) Hujwīrī, p.189.

‘Amr al-Makkī said of Hallāj, "If I could meet him, I would kill him with my own hand." When asked the reason for his anger replied:- "I was reading a verse from the Qur'an and Hallāj said - "I too can speak like that." (1) Hallāj's teachings were very similar to those of Junayd and the Sūfī School of Baghdād. He presented Junayd's doctrine of Unification (Tawhīd) however, with such an excess of realism, that it shocked many Muslims. The doctrine which he put forth in his Kitāb at-Tawāsīn, he summed up in the formula - "Anā 'l Haqq", I am God, so it is not astonishing that when Hallaj was arrested and prosecuted on the charge of heresy, many Shaykhs disavowed him.

Al-Khatīb gives us a very important quotation expressing the relation of Hallāj to the Baghdād School. The following words were written in a letter of Hallaj to one of his friends:- " From the most gracious, most merciful (Al Raḥmān, Al Raḥīm) to so and so." When this letter was placed before him he said, " Yes, that is my handwriting and I have written this." He was questioned: " You have been proclaiming your prophecy and now you proclaim your divinity?" to which Hallāj replied:- " I am not proclaiming my divinity, but it is what we mystics call the complete Unification with the Divine Will. ('ayn al-jam') God is the Writer and I am only an instrument." When asked, " Are there others who hold these principles?" he said, " Yes! - Ibn Ata, Abu Muhammad al-Jar<sup>ay</sup>arī and Abu Bakr al-Shibli. Jar<sup>ay</sup>arī and Shibli keep their thoughts hidden, but not

---

(1) Tārīkh Baghdād, v.8, p.121.

so Ibn 'Atā'." <sup>ay</sup>Jurjirī and Shiblī as witnesses were questioned, but they both disavowed Hallāj. Ibn 'Atā' however, declared his agreement with Hallaj's doctrine and in consequence was executed. (1)

Nicholson sums up the case of Hallāj in the following words. "Hallāj was so deeply in earnest, that it was impossible for him to compromise with his conscience. Against the public authority of the Muslim Church and State he sets up the personal authority immediately derived from God with whom the saint is one. And he was no theorist like Junayd; he was suspected of dealings with the Carmathians, he had preached his faith to believers and infidels alike, and above all, sought to win converts by working 'evidentiary' miracles. On these grounds he was justly condemned. His crime was not that as later Sūfīs put it, 'he divulged the mystery of the Divine Lordship', but that in obedience to an inward call he proclaimed and actively asserted a truth which involves religious, political, and social anarchy." (2) Hallāj was condemned to death and executed in Baghdād in 309. The research on the profound and historically significant teachings of Hallāj has become possible through recovery of documents and exhaustive studies of the scattered Hallajian text by Professor Massignon, of the University of Paris. (3)

---

(1) Tārīkh Baghdād, v.8, 127.

(2) The Legacy of Islam, p.218.

(3) see Massignon, Kitāb at-Tawāsīn.

Other pupils of Junayd were Jāfar al-Khuldī and Abū Saīd al-ʿArabī whom we mentioned above; Abū ʿAlī Aḥmad Muḥammad al-Rūḍḥabārī al-Baghdādī, who died in Egypt in 322; Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Kittānī al-Baghdādī, who died in Mecca in 322; Abū ʿl Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad al-Muzayyin who died in 328; Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdulla i ibn Muḥammad al-Murtai<sup>sh</sup>, died in 328; Abu Yaʿqūb Ishāq ibn Muḥammad an-Nahajūrī, died in 330. We name these pupils of al-Junayd, but he had many others from Baghdad and a considerable number who came to him from distant places.

Baghdād at that time, was the spiritual and cultural capital of the Islamic World, and in this setting the Sufi School of Baghdād flourished and was truly representative as such. Its influence spread far and wide, to the western countries such as Syria, Egypt, Arabia and Africa, and to the east to Khurasan. This school held in itself all the preceding and contemporary mystic thoughts belonging to and within the reach of the Moslem World. (1)

Makkī says:- " When our Shaykh Abū Saīd ibn al-ʿArabī wrote his book Tabaqāt al-Nuṣāk, he described the first man who taught this knowledge and the others who came after him, Basris, Syrians, and Khurasanis, and said that the last to come was the Baghdād School." He also said that the last person to teach Sufism

---

(1) Mecca as a central place for the pilgrimages, has always played an important role in spreading Sufi teaching in the distant countries of the Islamic World.

was al-Junayd; he had vision and truth and expression, and we hesitate to mention anyone after him." (1)

The circle of the Ṣūfī School of Baghdād was at the time, very much in the centre of spiritual life in general, and as a central point of this spiritual circle of friends and students, we find the personality of al-Junayd.

---

(1) Qūt al-qulūb, v.2, p.41.

CHAPTER IV.THE PERSONALITY OF AL-JUNAYD.

We may assume, from the various sources through which we have travelled, that al-Junayd was a gifted and thoughtful boy. His brilliant talents showed at an early age and were soon discovered by his uncle Saqaṭī, himself, as we have seen, a distinguished mystic and theological thinker and also an eminent educationist. Saqaṭī bestowed infinite care on the boy, developing and disciplining his talents, and restraining him from wasting himself before admiring audiences, as young brilliant boys are apt to do.

Saqaṭī also ordered the lad not to mix with the people, but he himself developed Junayd's youthful mind, as we have observed, by conversing and putting questions to him in a 'Socratic' manner, and he allowed him to listen to the conversations of the distinguished shaykhs who used to gather at his home. Under the influence of his uncle, Junayd therefore, led a retired and reserved life at home in his early years, thus discovering for himself the mystical path - the path of the Sufi. He was rather a shy youth at this period.

On attaining the age of a student, Junayd studied mainly law, at the feet of abu Thawr, and very soon it was obvious that the young man was something of a remarkable jurist, as he gave striking answers to complicated legal questions

which occurred in the circle of abu Thawr, his friends and students.

He seems to have shown and retained an originality of thinking, a quick wit and discerning intelligence, and a splendidly clear diction throughout his life, as for instance is shown in the anecdote between himself and Ibn al-Karanbi.

In his attitude towards life, he appears to have fallen neither into the extreme of aesthetic luxury, nor of hardy asceticism, both of which were prevalent amongst the Sufis of his time.

Junayd was a silk merchant by trade, and is stated to have had some wealth which he used moderately and judiciously for his own living, but which he mainly utilized in entertaining his numerous friends. His house in Baghdad seems to have been a centre for the Sufis of the town and for those from other countries passing through the Metropolis, a meeting place where they gathered and remained as guests. His money was also used to help many poor Sufis living in entirely ascetic conditions.

He was regarded by his colleagues as an excellent friend, understanding and loyal, and many of his friendships continued throughout his life, as is confirmed by these many stories and by his exchange of letters. No information has been preserved as to whether or not Junayd had a wife and



children. No sons of his are mentioned anywhere, and if he had a family of his own, they cannot have played a central role in his life.

In an age when travelling of *Ṣūfīs* was a common feature, al-Junayd cannot have travelled much, as the only journey which has been recorded is his pilgrimage to Mecca. It seems at any rate that Junayd was not in favour of making numerous pilgrimages to Mecca, he rather felt that pilgrimages to Mecca should be on a spiritual plane, and his attitude is illustrated by the following story.

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

you behold the immaterial beauty of God in the abode of purification?" " No." " Then you have not circumambulated the Temple. When you ran between Safa and Marwa did you attain to the rank of purity (safa) and virtue (muruwat)?" " No." " Then you have not run. When you came to Mina did all your wishes (munyatha) cease?" " No." " Then you have not yet visited Mina. When you reached the slaughter-place and offered sacrifice did you sacrifice the objects of sensual desire?" " No." " Then you have not sacrificed. When you threw the stones did you throw away whatever sensual thoughts were accompanying you?" " No." " Then you have not yet thrown the stones, and you have not yet performed the pilgrimage. Return and perform the pilgrimage in the manner which I have described in order that you may arrive at the station of Abraham." (1)

Obviously Junayd preferred to remain in Baghdad which from year to year attracted travellers from distant lands, from all parts of the Moslem world, and which was an unparalleled centre of commerce, as well as of spiritual communication.

He had a loyal female servant named Saituna, who served him and two other Shaykhs, Nūrī and abū Hamza. (2) A slave girl was once given to him as a gift for a wife, but this girl he in turn presented to one of his companions. (3)

---

(1) Hujwiri p.328

(2) Tārīkh Baghdād, v.5, p.134. Qushayrī. 171.

(3) Rawdat an-Nadīn, p.10, quoted from Metz, Renaissance, p.288.

Junayd was always industrious, was extremely modest in eating and drinking, and led a very regular life of prayer. As, however he was physically stout and vigorous, some people are said to have doubted the genuineness of his Sufi asceticism. (1)

He disliked being involved in politics, and in order to allay the suspicions of the authorities, he did not teach in public. Neither did he mix with the Carmathians, and others. At the time of the Sufi trials, he referred to himself as "nothing but a jurist," and remained in the background. He also held himself aloof from Hallāj, and turned him away.

As a consequence of continual trials and prosecutions, the popularity of the Sūfīs in the public life of Baghdad waned, and Junayd in his declining years experienced a phase of disappointment and resignation, and seems to have withdrawn himself more and more from public life.

He was most considerate and cautious regarding what should and should not be taught to the multitude. It is said that when his pupil Shibli wrote him a daring mystical letter, Junayd returned the offending letter to the sender and on it wrote:- " Oh Abu Bakr, be careful with the people. Always we devise some means of camouflaging our words, splitting them and discussing them between ourselves, and here you come along and tear away the veil! " (2)

---

(1) Ibid p.12, quoted by Metz. Op.cit. p.290.

(2) *Ḥama*, p.233/4.

Junayd was sceptical with regard to the profession of a judge. Many religious people of the time took the Hadīth literally: "Two judges in hell and one in paradise."

Two of his friends, Rowaym and 'Amr al-Makkī who were jurists, accepted posts as Qadīs with the government. Al-Junayd strongly criticised them and separated from them on this account.

The following is another anecdote which demonstrates the cautious and diplomatic attitude adopted by Junayd, who, knowing the capacity and nature of the people, restrained himself from telling them more than they could fully grasp. His friend Nuri is reported as saying: "I went to Junayd and found him seated in the professorial chair. I said to him, "Oh Abū'l Qāsim, thou hast concealed the truth from them and they have put you in the place of honour. I have told them the truth and they have pelted me with stones." " (1)

On reading Junayd's letters to his friends, we find that he continually warns them to be cautious in their writings and to talk to the people carefully and with restraint.

Junayd was a non-radical, and was considerate in his attitude to orthodox theology. He held that Sufi teachings were based on the fundamentals of the tradition of Islam, and worked continuously to prove this. In this spirit, he raised, as we have seen, Ṣūfīsm to the level of Orthodoxy, and thus made it acceptable to the orthodox representatives of Islam. As an educationist with a deep knowledge of the nature of human

---

(1) Hujwīrī, p.131.

beings and of human society, he was afraid to break with the orthodox, accepted tradition of Islam. He always led a full and regular devotional life. It is said that he prayed many raqa every day, recited the Qur'an, and fasted. He continued this devotional life of prayer and mortification, even in his old age when he was very weak, right up to the day of his death. (1)

Junayd was an accomplished scholar - a subtle intellect of a wide scope. He was familiar with the various branches of learning of his time. He spoke with authority on jurisprudence, theology and ethics, yet in spite of his learning he was inwardly of a retiring and reticent disposition, and lived in a state of mystical awareness and self-concentration.

It is reported that when someone asked Junayd about a certain mystical state of the mind, he would retire to his home, where he would concentrate in devotion, and later he would emerge and give the questioner an account of what had been his experience. (2)

Khuldī, a pupil of Junayd, is reported to have said:-  
 " We know no other shaykh who has combined knowledge and experience, but al-Junayd. Most shaykhs have great knowledge but no experience, while others have experience but very little knowledge. Junayd however, has deep experience and a very great and profound knowledge. On considering his knowledge, it could likewise be said it surpasses his experience." (3).

---

(1) Iḥṣā, p.210, Hujwiri, p.303. (2) Tārīkh Baghdād, vol.7, p.246.  
 (3) Ibid, p.244.

We find in al-Junayd that deep feeling and profound intuition which is characteristic of many Persian classics. Being of Persian descent, he at the same time possessed that discipline of thought and clarity of Islamic doctrine, characteristic of a thinker of the Arabic school and training. He thus unites in himself, as many other remarkable personalities do, the virtues of a double heritage.

It may be assumed from what we have learned of Junayd that he was a harmonious personality. He was a teacher in the full sense of the word, and he was a true friend. We imagine that he was a man serene, unpretentious and of good cheer, radiating something of his inner life upon those who surrounded him.

## CHAPTER V.

THE WRITINGS OF AL-JUNAYD.JUNAYD'S MODE OF EXPRESSION.

Junayd was not a prolific author as was his teacher al-Muhāsibī. Indeed his works are relatively small in number and actually only very few of them are in our possession. Ibn an-Nadīm has attributed to him the following works:-

Kitāb Amthāl al-Qur'ān.

Kitāb Rasā'il. (1)

Sarrāj, in his Kitāb al-Lumā' has mentioned some passages from al-Junayd's work "Sharḥ Shaṭḥiyāt Abi Yazīd al-Bistāmī," and he has also referred to a book called "al-Munajāt" by Junayd. (2)

Hujwīrī in the Kashf'ul-Maḥjūb has spoken of another book by al-Junayd called "Tashīh al-Irāda." (3) Actually what has survived of Junayd's works is only his Rasā'il which is preserved at Istanbul in the Şehit Ali MS. Nr.1374, and his Risāle Dawā'at Tafrīt, and some others in Hilyat al Awliyā'.

This can be explained by the fact that Junayd rarely used the medium of paper when teaching his pupils; instead he preferred to teach them by word of mouth, through his lectures and through his many conversations with those around him. These 'unwritten teachings' have come down to us in considerable volume.

---

(1) Fihrist p.264.

(2) Lumā', p.209 and 280.

(3) Hujwīrī, p.338.

They are preserved in many classical Sufi books, and one cannot raise any question of Sufi teaching without meeting Junayd's personal opinion in the literature we still possess. This can be readily accounted for by considering Junayd's genuine and original style of diction in teaching and in answering questions. It seems that Junayd did not intend that his writings should reach a wide public. Khatīb relates that when Junayd was dying, he requested that all his books should be buried. (1)

Characteristic of the colour and manner of al-Junayd's mystical expression are the following quotations:-

" Once when I was reciting my daily lection, I fell asleep, and when I was between sleeping and waking, I saw an angel descending from heaven. He cast his spirit into my heart and then prompted me saying, " Stand Abū'l-Qāsim and speak. The spirit is in you!" and I fell to weeping." (2)

Someone asked Junayd regarding the speech of the Sufis and he answered, " The Sūfīs have no speech." Ibn Khafīf was questioned on this and his reply was, " What Abu'l-Qāsim has said is true.... a Sufi takes care of nothing but the invisible world.... when his tongue is loosened and God allows him to speak, he will speak, otherwise he will remain silent. The art of speaking is only for those who study and memorise." (3)

---

(1) Tarīkh Baghdād, v.7, p.248.

(2) See Rasā'il, fol.51a.

(3) See Rasā'il, fol.66a.



It is reported that al-Junayd, when asked to repeat what he had already said, replied that he could not. " God put those words inot my mouth and made my tongue overflow, they are not from books or from learning, but only from the favour of God." (1)

On another occasion, on being asked to dictate what he had spoken, he replied, " If it came from my tongue I could dictate it to you." (2)

Thus we see that Junayd in his speech, as the Sufis would be, was inspired. He did not express his Sufi convictions as a man of letters would, nor as a scholar would expand on a subject, but it is obvious that he opened his heart and poured forth what was in the innermost depths of his mind.

But these 'unwritten teachings' preserved by the hearers, and found in the classical literature, are by no means the most profound, original or essential of his teachings. The most original and essential of his thoughts al-Junayd entrusted to his writings which were not intended to get into the hands of a wide public, and this explains why, whilst his sayings were so widely quoted, his writings were scarcely known to the generations after him.

It seems that even al-Ghazālī himself only read

---

(1) See page 7, footnote 2.

(2) See page 9, footnote 1.

Junayd's unwritten teachings, and in his autobiography he refers to them as - 'scattered sayings' attributed to Junayd, Shibli and Bistami, ( al-Aqwālu'l-Māthūra , 'an-al-Junayd wa'l-Shiblī, wa abī Yazīd al-Bistāmī ) (1) which means that these writings of al-Junayd were not in the hands of the people in general, or even of all the learned Sufis. Had they been circulated amongst the public, they might easily have been misjudged and misunderstood. Sarrāj in the Lumā' has explained this matter, and mentioned several instances where the people accused the Sufi Shaykhs of being atheists, disbelievers and given to heterodoxy, owing to their hearing sayings which they were unable to understand. (2)

#### THE STYLE OF AL-JUNAYD.

If Junayd in his speaking and writing was inspired, and if the nature of his utterances was such that they were shaped by unconscious insight, yet his writings in the frame of Ṣūfī literature have their own particularity:

(a) His ideas concerning what he wished to say were always very clear and concentrated in his own mind. He placed and retained them in the fore-front of his thoughts; thus they were before him from the beginning to the end, and never did he lose the thread of his subject. When he explains his idea, it is an experience he explains, and he himself was in the actual 'state' of it. He does not talk about it 'as of a theory', but

---

(1) Al-Munqidh, p.123.

(2) See Lumā', p.14.

rather as of something which has happened to him and which he has undergone. While speaking, he is full of his experience. It is said that when asked something, he would not answer immediately, but would retire to be alone to experience the particular state; then he would emerge and give the answer. (1)

In accordance with the custom of the Moslem scholars, Junayd always began with a foreword, praising God and the Prophet, and in this introduction he would immediately put forward his ideas wholly and concisely, and later unfold them in detail. On reaching the conclusion he always linked this in a subtle and lucid way with his leading idea....UNIFICATION.(2) Such was his method.

(b) Thus we may say that Junayd's style of writing was systematic.

In his writings we meet for the first time in Islamic literature, writings in the highest mystical sphere, and at the same time with a mature adequate method, in a systematic order. This style and method was entirely his own. He has in this no forerunner and teacher. Also, after him we find scarcely anyone who could be considered his equal, and who could write on the highest mystical questions in an inspired condition and yet in a systematic manner as he does. In his writings can be traced his use of logic and reasoning. They have the shape of

---

(1) Tārīkh Baghdād, v.7, p.246; cf. Lumā' p.182.

(2) See as example - "Kitāb al-Farq bayn al-Ikhlās wa al-Sidq."

treatises which are addressed as letters to his friends.

In the process of his reasoning he sometimes comes to a point when he finds it is impossible for the intellect to grasp the idea and to go any further as it is something beyond reason. We give here some examples:-

Junayd said in one of his letters:-

" How can this be described, or the intellect perceive it, unless it be that God grants His control to the perception and His care to its secrets. Where are you when God has taken you entirely to Himself and has received before Him that of you which he desires? When He has granted you the indulgence of His communion and favoured you with the ability to answer Him? In this state you are spoken to and you speak; You are asked about yourself and you ask questions. The words communicated are as unique pearls, testimony upon testimony, a cloud of witnessess multiplying continually, harbingers of divine grace. They are as heavy rain from every side, generous donors to you of glory from God the glorious. Were it not for God's gift of grace and his vouchsafing His Holy Spirit, then would man's mind be completely stupified before Him and his perception, in the presence of God, utterly shattered." (1)

---

(1) See Rasā'il No.1. p.2.

Junayd also wrote in another letter:-

" Here then is the perception of those that understand, shackled and the learning of the learned, halted. This is the objective of the wisdom of the wise. (This is as far as words can take us.) What has been described is of the highest elevation and is as far as we can go since man's description of God is limited subjectively." (1)

(c) Junayd's style is full of intimations. The reason is that the idea proves inexpressible and incapable of being transmitted into mere words. As Junayd said in one of his letters:-

" The foregoing is but an indication of what cannot be further explained. Moreover, this of its very nature, cannot be understood from indication, but only when you yourself are in the state which is described. I have wrapped up what is in it, but have not elaborated. Accept it then from its only source; if God wills, He will guide you to its comprehension." (2)

Another reason for his using these intimations and this veiled way of expressing himself, is that it would be dangerous to attempt to express the meaning more explicitly, as the reader might be incapable of understanding and of grasping it in full,

---

(1) See Rasā'il No.3, p.8. (2) See Rasā'il No.6 p.52.

and so might be led astray. Thus Junayd said in another of his letters:-

" One must be kind and careful of what one says to these people, and must talk to them in a manner they can understand." (1)

(d) For the reason mentioned al-Junayd's style is often enigmatic. As we have seen, he likes to hint at what he has to say. It seems that this style was the usual way of corresponding amongst the Sufis of this time. They would use such a difficult and esoteric style in the exchange inside their circle. We quote the answer of al-Junayd to such a mystical letter he received from a friend of his:-

" In what precedes, I have only indicated what can be described at great length, but in this essay there is no place for a full description. Oh my brother - may God be pleased with you - I have received your letter which I was delighted both to read and interpret. I rejoiced in it from the beginning to the end. I was happy to discover the esoteric knowledge, fine wisdom, indications both clear and illuminating. That which you indicated was not concealed from me and I saw clearly that which was clearly described. All this reached my comprehension since I knew in advance the object which you sought. It is clear

---

(1) Luma, 241.1

to me whither the thought leads, the object of its train as well as its origin, where the thought begins and where it ends and what happens to him in whom God inspires this train of thought." (1)

It was extraordinarily fortunate that the great Sūfī mystics of this time were not isolated individuals, as mystics usually are, but that they were a group of friends who each somehow shared the religious experience of the other. They were able to exchange those religious experiences with one another in their letters in an adequate esoteric language.

(e) In these letters there appears the Islamic mystical terminology used genuinely in the right place, a language which certainly has its own unconscious artistic quality. In this exchange of letters between friends it developed and reached its maturity.

Thus, the Mystical School of Baghdād, and first of all Junayd, amongst his equals established the mystical terminology. This was a heritage enriching the language, ready as a medium for the later generations of Islamic mystical, theological and philosophical thinkers.

It would be a very valuable work to compare the terminology in the letters of al-Junayd with the terms of the mystics after him. Thus we might see how the mystical language

---

(1) Rasa'il No.3, p.9.

terminology developed.

(f) We can also trace in the writings of al-Junayd the influence of his legal training. He would put his thought in the form of a question asking for an opinion, and thus arguing, would add the answer in the manner of a legal adviser, as we see in his eight questions on Unification. Even the title of this essay, Mas'ala (questions), is a legal expression.

He sometimes uses a dialectic method, putting one part of his thought into the mouth of a scholar, and the other part into the mouth of a wise man, and developing a dialogue between the two. We can see this in his treatise on Fana and in his letter to Yahya ibn Mu'adh.

(g) Finally, if we cannot count Junayd's works amongst Arabic Belles Lettres, his style is indeed very forceful, genuine, expressive and warm. It is passionate, enlightened and full of grace. It springs from the very heart and touches the heart. This is what we might call the eloquence of Junayd's style.



JUNAYD'S WRITINGS.EXTANT WORKS:

The writings which have been preserved are, first of all, the "Rasā'il Junayd" in Sehīf alī MS. No.1374. It contains the follwoign of his writings:-

(1) Risāla ilā ba'd ikhwānih, (fol.3a/3b).

(2) Risāla ilā Yahya b. Mu'adh ar-Rāzī. (3b).

This Risala is not that one which as-Sarrāj quotes is in the Lumā' as stated in Brockl.Sup.I 355.

(3) Risāla ilā ba'd ikhwānih.

This Risāla quoted in Lumā'. ( See introductions (Ṣudūr) by Junayd, p.242).

(4) Risāla ilā abī Bakr al-Kisāī ad-Dīnawarī. (4a).

In our manuscript we have only the end of this Risala, Sarraj has quoted it completely pages 239-241. Between folio 4a and 33a in the manuscript is Kitāb as-Ṣidq of Kharrāz.

(5) Risāla of al-Junayd without title. (33a-34a).

Brocklemann has not given this Risāla.

(6) Risāla ilā 'Amr b. 'Uthmān al-Makkī, (34a-42b)

This Risāla is not complete. In folio 43a a part of another Risāla has nothing to do with al-Makkī, as he calls the receiver Abū 'Abd Allah, which is not the Kunya of al-Makkī.

(7) Risāla ilā Yūsuf b. al-Ḥusayn ar-Rāzī. (43a-44b).

This Risāla is also not complete. In folio 45a we find chapters about Sukr and Ifāqa, which are different in script and not by Junayd as we shall see. In folio 51a, we find sayings and poetry of Junayd. In 51b, sayings not by Junayd.

(8) Dawā' al-arwāḥ. (52a-54a)

The same in Kairo 1 Vll, 109, 27, 298 ( See

Brockelmann Sup.I, 354.) Professor Arberry has published it with translation. (J R A S, 1937, 219-231). This Risāla is also quoted in Hilyat al-Awliyā', v.10, p.105-107. Junayd has attributed it to al-Harith al-Muhasibi; That seems impossible for the style is Junayd's style and not that of al-Muhasibi; maybe Junayd has used what Muhasibi said in a discussion with him, putting it down in his own words.

- (9) Kitāb al-Fanā' (54b-57b).
- (10) Kitāb al-Mithāq (58a-59b)
- (11) Kitāb fi'l - Ulūhiya (59b-60b)
- (12) Kitāb fi'l - Farq bayn al-Ikhlāṣ waṣ-ṣidq.
- (13) Bāb 'Ākhar fi'l - Tawhīd (63a-63b)
- (14) Masāla 'Ukhrā (in Tawhīd) 63b-64a)
- (15) Masāla 'Ukhrā (in Tawhīd) (64a)  
This one is quoted by Qushayri. p.23
- (16) Masāla 'Ukhrā (in Tawhīd) 64a-64b)
- (17) Masāla 'Ukhrā (in Tawhīd) 64a
- (18) Masāla 'Ukhrā (in Tawhīd) 64b-65a)  
(without title, quoted in Luma' p.29)
- (19) Masāla 'Ukhrā (in Tawhīd) 65a-65b)
- (20) 'Ākhir Masāla fi 'l Tawhīd (65b-66a)
- (21) Adab al-Muftaqir ilā 'llah (66b-68b)

From his writings which also have been preserved:-

- (22) Kitāb Dawā'at-Tafrīt.  
Mingana Arabic (Islamic) (Selly Oak Library)  
No.905 Folios 109-119. Birmingham.  
The majority of this Risāla is quoted in  
Hilyat al-Awliyā', v.10.p.262 line 9, p.271. line 10.

From the letters of Junayd, we possess also the following quoted by Abu Nu'aym:-

- (23) Risāla ilā ba'd ikhwānih.  
Hilyat al-Awliyā', v.10, p.260-261.
- (24) Kitāb al-Junayd to Abū 'l-'Abbās ad-Dīnawarī.  
Ibid, p.265.

- (25) Kitāb al-Junayd to Abū Ishāq al-Māristānī.  
Ibid, p.276.
- (26) Risāla ilā ba'd ikhwānih.  
Ibid p.279.
- (27) Risāla ilā ba'd ikhwānih.

As-Sarrāj in the Lumā, quotes also considerable passages of Junayd's introduction to his letters ( see Lumā, p.241 ff.) and the following writings:-

- (28) Part of a letter from Junayd to  
Yahya ibn Mu'adh,  
Lumā, p.358.
- (29) Sharh Shathiyāt Abī Yazīd al-Bistāmī.  
Lumā, p.380-385.

The writings mentioned above are without doubt Junayd's. They are written in the same style which we know as Junayd's, and there is no difference in manner or matter, so that we have to accept them as his.

There is another work of Junayd mentioned in Brockelmann Supl.I which we have not had an opportunity to examine.

- (30) Qasida Sūfiya.  
Berl.7542.

#### LOST WORKS:

There are also works of Junayd named and quoted by various authors which appear to be lost.

- (1) Anthāl al-Qur'ān.  
Ibn an-Nadīm, Fihrist, p.264.
- (2) Tashih al-'Irāda.  
Hujwiri, Kashf al-Mahjūb, p.338.
- (3) Kitāb al-Munājāt.  
Sarrāj, Lumā, p.259.
- (4) Muntakhab al-'asrār fī sifāt aṣ-Ṣiddīqīn wa 'l-Abrār.  
Ibn 'Arabī, Mawaqīf, p.30.16.

Brockelmann has mentioned two more, but these actually cannot be from the works of Junayd:-

- (1) Hikāyāt.  
Sakhāwī, A'lām, 41. 16.

This book seems to be a work of al-Khuldī. (see introd.)

- (2) Al-Mutafarriqāt al-Ma'thura'an al-Junayd  
wa 'sh-Shiblī wa Abi Yazīd al-Bistāmī.  
Ghazālī, Munqidh, p.123.

This also is not a work of Junayd, it is merely the scattered sayings of the Shaykhs in the various Sufi books.

#### WORKS WRONGLY ATTRIBUTED TO AL-JUNAYD:

- (1) Risāla of Abū'l Qāsim al-Junayd to Yūsuf ibn al-Husayn, attributed to Junayd by Brockelmann, Suppl.I, p.354.

Arberry JRAS, July 1935. p.499-507.

This Risāla is given as the first one in our Istanbul manuscript, Shit Ali 1374, as the answer (Jawab) of Yusuf ibn al-Husayn to the following Risala of Junayd, (folio 43a-44b, mentioned above as No.7.) جواب رسالة أبي القاسم الجنيد الى يوسف بن الحسين  
The word Answer (Jawāb) is not very distinctly written in the manuscript. Moreover, we have some passages from this Risala quoted as a work of Yūsuf ibn al-Husayn in the Hilyat al-Awliyā', volume 10, pages 240-241, and the Risāla of Qushayri, page 22. At any rate, the style of this Risala is very refined and elaborate and altogether different from the style of Junayd. Further the author of this Risala has named some of his teachers, and these Shaykhs, Dhū'n-Nūn and Abū'l-Hawārī, are not the teachers of Junayd, but of Yusuf.

(2) *Risāla Fī'l-Sukr* and *Risāla Fī'l Ifāqah*. (Folio 45a-50b)

These two letters are attributed to Junayd by Massignon and Brockelmann, while Professor Arberry says:-  
 " They are in reality the product of a later pen, as is proved by the fact that in folio 496 there are references to Junayd himself among other Sufis." see JRAS 1935, p.499.

(3) *Kitāb al-Qasd ilā 'Llah*, MS. Lucknow and Asaf I, 390.

Attributed to Junayd by Hajji Khalifa, vol. II p.1806 see Brockelmann Suppl.I p.355. Nicholson has studied this work and has come to the conclusion that it cannot possibly have been written by Junayd, since a passage in it is dated later, 395 AH. See Islamica II, 402-15.

(4) *Ma'alī al-Himam*, in the same MS.

Also attributed to Junayd by Hajji Khalifa (ibidem). Nicholson in Islamica (ibidem) does not give this attribution verification. Arberry in Islamic Culture 1937, p.95, says:-  
 " This attribution to al-Junayd is of course completely false, as is evidenced by the fact that not only are persons quoted in this tract who lived long after the death of al-Junayd, but also Junayd himself is mentioned in a passage." This is according to Arberry, the book of Abū'l-Qāsim al-Ārif.

(5) *As-Sirr fī Anfās as-Sūfiya*. Cairo <sup>I</sup> II, 87 2 <sup>I</sup>, 316 (anom).

Also attributed to Junayd, (see Brockelmann Suppl.I p.354). A.J.Arberry in Journal of the Bombay Branch, JRAS, MS. volume 15 (1937) p.1., has examined this work and found it to be certainly not by Junayd.

PART II.THE DOCTRINE OF AL-JUNAYD.INTRODUCTION:

The starting point of the religious feeling of the Sufi, is the sense of the tremendous distance between man and God. This fundamental feeling prevails throughout the consciousness of the Sufi. Sometimes it seems as if this fundamental consciousness were a distinct dualism, and in any case if it is not dualism, there always remains the feeling of the gulf between the powerless human being and the omnipotent God.

The Sūfis are always aware of this, and the positive supplement of this feeling is their longing to bridge the gap by striving to transcend the gulf.

If we ask, what is the aim of the Sufis in order to overcome the distance realised by them between man and God, we will first of all receive the answer - it is Taṣawwuf. They may differ in their definitions of Taṣawwuf, in ways of life, in expressions, in the accent they may put on this or that, and thus they may vary and come to different conclusions. But the fundamental feeling and the aim are the same.

If we now endeavour to trace and follow-up al-Junayd's teaching, we ought first of all to give his definition of Taṣawwuf, which will open to us the door to what is in his mind

and which will allow us to see his target.

Many of his definitions of Taṣawwuf have come down to us (1), but we shall select two of them:-

" Taṣawwuf is to be with God without attachment to ought else." (2)

" Taṣawwuf is an attribute wherein man abides." Junayd was asked:- " Is it an attribute of God or of man?" and his reply was, " In essence it is an attribute of God, but by image it is an attribute of man." (3)

The first definition means that to bridge the gulf is to detach oneself from everything else and to be with God.

The second definition means: in the state where the gulf is bridged, the Sufi realises that his own attributes are in reality attributes of God, and so his own attributes vanish. He realises that all attributes of man are only attributes in image - in a secondary and derived sense - but that they are in reality attributes of God. Or in other words as Hujwīrī explains this definition of al-Junayd:- " In real Unification (Tawhīd) there are correctly speaking no human attributes at all, because human attributes are not constant, but are only in image and imprint (rasm). having no permanence, for God is the agent. Therefore, they are really the attributes of God. (4)

This state of the Sufi which Junayd means, is described

---

(1) See Nicholson, " The Origin and Development of Sufism." JRAS (1906) p.331. ff.cf. Subkī, Ṭabaqāt, v.3, p.239.

(2) Qushayrī, p.127.

(3) Hujwīrī, p.36.

(4) Ibid.

by him in one of his letters as follows:-

" In this state of absolute purity he has lost his personal attributes; by this loss he is wholly present (in God). By being wholly present in God, he is wholly lost to himself. And thus he is present before God while absent in himself; absent and present at the same time. He is where he is not, and he is not where he is." (1)

To define it in one word - the state described in this letter is Tawhīd. The Muwahhid, the man who has reached Unification, could not fully realise that God is One, except by losing himself in the Oneness of God.

Thus we meet here the Doctrine of Tawhīd, Divine Unification which is the centre of Junayd's experience and teachings. This experience of his carried him probably far beyond the frame given by the traditional religion. Facing the fundamental Moslem dogma, which by the will of God puts the believer in the midst of the community, he was well aware of the very danger of this state experienced and taught by him.

His experience, as we find, carried him to a further state which he describes in a second doctrine. He continues in the same letter:-

" Then, after he has not been, he is where he had been (sc. before creation). He is himself, after he has not been truly himself. He is present in himself and in God, after having been present in God and absent in himself. This is because he has left the intoxication of God's overwhelming, Ghalaba, and comes to the clarity of sobriety, Sahw, and contemplation is once more restored to him, so that he can put everything in its right place and assess it correctly." (2)

---

(1) Risāla, No.8. p.68.

(2) Risāla, No.8. p.69.



Thus we meet Junayd's essential doctrine of Sobriety, which the majority of Sufis at this time accepted. The Qur'an and Sunna were proclaimed to be the standard to which not only speculation, but also spiritual feelings and states must conform. (1) Junayd's moral personality was able to save him from the dangers into which some of his successors fell. (2)

These two doctrines - the " Doctrine of Divine Unity," Tawhīd, and the " Doctrine of Sobriety," Sahw, are the two main pillars which carry the structure of Junayd's mysticism, of which we shall now try to give a further survey and interpretation.

---

(1) See Nicholson Ibid, p.328, cf. Qushayrī, Introduction of ar-Risāla.

(2) Cf. Qushayrī, p.137.

## CHAPTER VI.

### THE DOCTRINE OF UNIFICATION.

In the time of Junayd, in the Third Century A.H., the Doctrine of Unity of God was particularly discussed by all religious groups, especially by the Mu'tazila who had great authority at this time. They were actually called the " People of Tawhīd " - they treated this question and approached the Oneness of God through the means of reason, and they came to complicated conclusions.

The Sufis, on the other hand, being dissatisfied with reason and its results, strove to experience the Unity of God by way of feeling and revelation. So Ibn al-Kātib, a Sūfī of the fourth century says:- "The Mu'tazila have practised the tanzīh, the remotio of God from attributing to Him any imperfect qualities, by reason (ʿaql), and have gone with this the wrong way. The Sufis have practised it through ʿilm, revealed knowledge, and have hit the right way." (1) Ibn al-Kātib compared in this way the method of the Sufis with the method of the Mu'tazila and shed light on their respective views on the Unity of God. So we see that the Sūfīs, amongst whom al-Junayd stands out as a central figure, were in complete harmony with the spirit of the age proceeding from the same essential problem, as the others.

---

(1) Qushayrī, p.27.

The Sūfis maintain that the Unity of God is indefinable. Al-Junayd says:- " The noblest saying referring to Tawhīd is the word of Abū Bakr - ' Praise be to God, Who has vouchsafed to His creatures no other means of obtaining Knowledge of Him except through their impotence to attain Knowledge of Him.' " (1) This certainly shows that according to al-Junayd, Tawhīd is far beyond the sphere of any intellectual cognition. The same is probably the meaning of these words of al-Junayd:- " Tawhīd is a reality in which the traces disappear and the signs fade away, and God is as He always was." (2) More clearly he says the same thing in other words:-

" If the understanding of understanding has ended in the Tawhīd, it ends in fixity." (3) On an occasion when he attempted to speak of the Tawhīd, he merely expressed it by several descriptions illustrating certain characteristics of it, because as he stated when he was asked for an explanation:- " It is a meaning, the definition of which cannot be defined, despite the vast and complete knowledge contained therein." (4) In fact all Sūfis are aware of this and realise their own incapacity of putting Tawhīd into words and of explaining it in speaking, and the impossibility of fathoming it by reason. (5)

---

(1) Hujwīrī p.284; similar sayings in Luma p. 124.

(2) Qushayrī p.135. (3) Ibid. (4) Ibid.

(5) This resembles closely the descriptions of Tawhīd given by the later writers e.g. Ibn Khaldūn, who says:- " The trouble is only caused by the weakness in our language which does not lend itself to the expression of abstract realities, and by the deficiency of the words for rendering the truth in and by them."

Muqaddima, v.3, p.76. (edition *Quatrémère*.)

If we seek now to explore the essence of Tawhīd according to the Sūfīs, more closely, we find the result is somewhat meagre. We first give the summing up of al-Qushayrī:--

" Tawhīd has a threefold meaning:

- (1) " Tawhīd of God as subject with regard to God as object is his knowledge that He is unique and His assertion about Himself that He is one."
- (2) " Tawhīd of God as subject with regard to man as object is His assertion that man is a confessor of Unity and His creating the power of confession of Unity in man."
- (3) " Tawhīd of the created being as subject with regard to God as object, is the knowledge of man that God is unique and his judgment and assertion about Him that He is unique." " (1)

If this were the whole Tawhīd of the Sūfīs, one would not really know much about the distinctive Sufi element in it. Dhu'n Nūn al-Misrī defines Tawhīd as follows:--

" Tawhīd is that you know that God's omnipotence in the calling into being of anything does not result necessarily from a natural power, and that His creation goes on without instrument, that the cause of all things is His creation which has no cause and that everything of which you, yourself, may form a conception is a thing, so that God is different from it." (2)  
This signifies a purely dogmatic confession of Unity with an

---

(1) Qushayrī, p.135.

(2) Ibid.

anti-Mutazilite colouring.

Both these definitions are clear and truthful, but we miss in them the particular Sufi approach.

Only al-Junayd seems to have had a more intimate capacity of approach to the conception of Tawhīd in its specific significance for the Sufi.

He has expressed the "Unification" (Tawhīd) in his famous phrase - "Unification is the separation of the Eternal from that which was originated in Time." "ifrād al-Qadīm 'an al-muhdath."

That means:-

- (1) To separate the Eternal Essence from the originated essence, i.e. to fix or hold fast to this Essence of God and to disprove or refute all others.
- (2) To separate the Attributes contained therein from all other attributes, i.e. to fix or hold fast to the Attributes of God and to disprove or refute all others.
- (3) To separate Actions, i.e. to separate the actions of God and to disprove and refute all others.

All of these, His Attributes and His Actions are so completely absorbed in His Essence that he who is in the state to comprehend this Unification sees that the Essence, Attributes

and Actions are all completely absorbed in the Essence of God, because he himself in this state is absorbed in God.

The early and the later Sufi writers were extremely impressed and fascinated by this phrase of al-Junayd, (quoted previously), and considered it the most brief and comprehensive of all the Sufi sayings on Unification; each Sufi has interpreted the meaning of it according to his own point of view.

For instance, Sarrāj, after having mentioned the definition of Unification according to the sense which the Moslems generally attach to it, and according to the sense which the Sufis attach to it, commented on a saying of Shiblī to the effect that, "The Unity of God is utterly inexpressible and indefinible," and quoted the brief sentence of al-Junayd, as an explanation of this statement. (1)

Al-Hujwīrī commenced with this sentence when he considered the indications which the Saaykhs had given on this subject, and has interpreted it in this manner : "You must not regard the eternal as a locus of phenomena, or phenomena as a topos place of the eternal; and you must know that God is eternal and that you are phenomenal, and that nothing of your genus is connected with Him, and that nothing of His attributes is mingled in you, and that there is no homogeneity between the eternal and the phenomenal." (2)

---

(1) Luma', p.30.

(2) Kashf al-Mahjūb, p.281.

Al-Qushayrī began Chapter I of his Risāla on the dogma of the Sufis, with this saying of al-Junayd, as being the foundation of their faith, and mentioned it again in the chapter on Unification, saying, "Junayd said, 'Unification is the separation of the Eternal from that which was originated in Time, and departure from familiar haunts and separation from brethren and forgetfulness of what is known and unknown, and God only in place of All.' " (1)

The later writers too, have put stress on this sentence, for instance Tahānawī in his definition of Unification by the Sufis, said, "The result of all the hints and signs is in brief that 'Unification is the separation of the Eternal...' " (2)

Ibn Taymiya, who was an extreme Sunni, quotes this phrase of Junayd, stresses and praises it. He says:- "What Junayd has said about the difference between the Eternal and the Originated, is something to safeguard many of the mystics from the danger of getting on to the wrong way." Some of them have scolded Junayd for this phrase, like Ibn 'Arabī in his book, "Al-Isrā ilā al-Maqām al-Asrā.", saying: "O Junayd, who could distinguish between two things, except if he is neither the one nor the other." And Ibn Taymiya argues against Ibn 'Arabī proving that he is wrong and that Junayd is right. (3)

(1) Qushayrī, Risāla p.3, 136.

(2) Tahānawī, Kashshāf Istilāhāt al-funūn, v.2, p.1468.

(3) Minhāj al-Sunna, v.3, p.85 ff. Massignon, 'Essai sur Les Origines du lexique technique.' p.277, footnote 2.

At any rate, the meaning of ifrād al-qidam, separation of the Eternal, or we may also say the Absolute, is not only a separation (remotio) carried out theoretically, by reason, but a practical experiencing of the Infinite with the vanishing of everything finite. This will become clearer as we proceed now with other definitions of Junayd.

Al-Junayd has illustrated Tawhīd in its various aspects in many of his letters. He made it specially clear when he classified the stages of the Muwahhīdūn and described in detail their respective features. He says in one of his letters:-

" Know that Tawhīd is found in four stages in people. The first is the Tawhīd of the ordinary people, next is the Tawhīd of those who are well versed in formal religious knowledge. The other two stages are experienced by the elect who have esoteric knowledge (ma'rifa)." (1)

The theologians do not agree on this classification of those who possess Tawhīd, saying that this word Tawhīd could not be classified either from the viewpoint of God or from the viewpoint of man. Tawhīd is only a right way between two wrong extremes and nothing more. And so the majority of theologians hold that the faith in each and all of the believers is one and the same, and they only differ in the way of approach.

---

(1) Risāla No.14, p.80.



Al-Ghazālī solves this difficulty by saying that the classification of Tawhīd means that everyone is in a special state different from any other. (1)

Thus Junayd, in his endeavour after classification, has in mind that state of every individual. They all believe in God, but are in various stages according to their kind of belief.

This question of the degree of belief takes a large proportion of the discussions of the theologians. (2) But Junayd analyses this question in another way than the theologians. He approaches it in a psychological and ethical way, describing the echo and result in the person of the believer. So his distinction is not speculative, but through a mature experience, and fine distinction, an approach which we meet for the first time in Islamic thought.

He describes the Tawhīd of ordinary people as follows:-

" As for the Tawhīd of ordinary people, it consists in the assertion of the Unity of God, in the discarding of any conception of gods, companions, opposites, equals, likenesses to God, but with the retention of hopes and fears in forces other than God. This type of Tawhīd has a measure of efficacy since the assertion persists." (3)

(1) Al-Imlā' alā ishkalāt al-Ihyā', p.98.

(2) See as example Bukhārī in Kitāb al-Imān (Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī)

(3) Risāla No.14, p.80.

This simple Tawhīd is what Islam demands of every believer as a basis of faith in God. Such a muwahhīd has not the complete awareness of God, because while these two things, hope and fear, in forces other than God, are still existent in the consciousness of the believers, they prevent the complete realization of God. If one has the complete power of Tawhīd, these things will certainly disappear just as when the sun shines, the stars disappear. (1)

Then Junayd describes the second stage as follows:-

" As for the Tawhīd of those who are well versed in formal religious knowledge, it consists in the assertion of the Unity of God, in the discarding of any conception of gods, companions, opposites, equals, likenesses to God, combined with the performance of the positive commands and the avoidance of that which is forbidden so far as external action is concerned, all that being a result of their hopes, fears and desires; this type of Tawhīd has a measure of efficacy since the assertion of the Unity of God is being publicly proved." (2)

The difference between these two stages is that, while the man who lives in the first stage may not be able

---

(1) Luma', p.31.

(2) Risāla, No.14. p.80.

to master life and to reach the standard of decency, balance of mind, reason, truthfulness and goodness in society, and the stage of performance of the commands of Religion and avoidance of what is forbidden, man in the second stage possesses all these virtues, and thus he will prove through his virtues, his whole life and actions in society, the Unity of God. Yet his motive for being good may still be partly rooted in his hopes, fears and desires.

These two stages are not the highest stage of awareness of God which man can reach. So Junayd goes further to the next stage:-

" As for the first type of esoteric Tawhīd, it consists in the assertion of the Unity of God, the discarding of the conception of the things referred to, combined with the performance of God's command externally and internally, and the cessation of hopes and fears in forces other than God, all this resulting from the ideas which tally with awareness of God's presence with him, with God's call to him, and his answer to God." (1)

This muwahhīd still preserves his individuality. This stage is not the complete Unification which the muwahhīd can reach as he is still aware of something other than God, namely, himself. Yet higher still for Junayd is that other experience

---

(1) Ibid, p.81.

the last stage of Unification, which he describes as follows:-

" The second type of esoteric Tawhīd consists in existence without individuality (shabah) before God with no third person as intermediary between them, a figure over which His decrees pass as He in His Omnipotence determines, and that he should be sunk in the flooding seas of His Unity, completely obliterated both from himself and from God's call to him and his answer to God. It is a stage where the devotee has achieved the true realisation of the Oneness of God in true proximity to Him. He is lost to sense and action because God fulfils in him what He hath willed of him." (1)

That is, he is in the Will of God and has no more a will of his own. This is not the absolute subjection of will and personal desire to the Eternal Will of God, as the foregoing stage. It is more than mere resignation to God's Will. It means that the individual will become none other than the very Will of God, Who wills and works, lives and creates, through our will, so that there is but one Will.

This saying of Junayd indicates that according to Hujwiri, the muwahhid has no regard to himself so that he becomes like an atom, as he was in the eternal past, when the Covenant of Unification was made. It means at the same time,

---

(1) Ibid.

the annihilation of the individual when he is overpowered by the revelation of His majesty, so that he becomes a passive instrument and a subtle substance that feels nothing, and his body is a repository for the mysteries of God to Whom his speech and actions are to be attributed. (1)

This highest stage of Unification, as Junayd witnesses it, is grounded on two theories of his system:-

- (1) The theory of Mīthāq, Covenant, which means the relation between God the Creator and the human creature, and realisation by man of his place before God.
- (2) The theory of Fanā, Obliteration, which means that man fulfils the Unity of God through losing his individuality and being present only in God.

We proceed to analyse this last stage through explaining these two complementary theories.

---

(1) Kashf al-Mahjūb, p.283.

CHAPTER VII.

THE THEORY OF MĪTHĀQ.

Junayd continues his description of this final stage of Tawhīd:

" This implies that in his final stage the worshipper returns to his first state, that he is as he was before he existed." (1)

Junayd holds the belief that the worshipper before his existence had another existence. He proves this from the verse of the Qur'an:

" When thy Lord had brought forth their descendants from the reins of the Sons of Adam and took them to witness against themselves, " Am I not," said He, " Your Lord?" They said, " Yes! we do testify." " (2)

He interprets this verse as follows:-

" In this verse God tells you that He spoke to them at a time when they did not exist, except so far as they existed in Him. This existence is not the same type of existence as is usually attributed to God's creatures; it is a type of existence

---

(1) Risāla No.14, p.82. (2) Qur'ān 7. v.166,167.

which only God knows and only He is aware of. God knows their existence; embracing them he sees them in the beginning when they are non-existent and oblivious of their future existence in this world. The existence of these is timeless." (1)

And also:-

" When He called them and they answered quickly, their answer was a gracious and generous gift from Him, it was His answer on their behalf when He granted them their being, their function being that of interlocutors. He gave them knowledge of Him when they were only concepts which He had conceived. He then wished it, and made them like seeds which He transformed at His Will into human seeds, and put them in the reins of Adam.....In this verse Allah has stated that He spoke to them when they had no formal existence. This is possible because Allah perceives them in their Spiritual existence. This Spiritual existence connotes their knowledge of God spiritually without in any way postulating their being aware of their own individuality." (2)

So according to Junady, there are two types of existence, the one the divine existence, (existence in Him) which we have before our coming here, in the timeless, and the existence in this created world. He described the first one as follows:-

" This then is a divine existence and a God-like conception which becomes only Him." (1)

And further:-

" This type of existence is without doubt the most perfect and penetrating. It is the most significant, dominant, and is more fully described as conquering, victorious and genuinely overwhelming, than the normal existence which appears to the worshipper, because in the Divine existence his individuality is entirely obliterated and his worldly existence departs from him. This is because no human quality survives nor does normal human existence continue, as we have made clear in describing the Divine qualities of God's Truth and God's Victory." (2)

And also:-

" Whereas their first existence is completely real, is better, higher, and more conducive



to God's conquest and victory, and to  
 their complete absorption in Him by  
 means of that which He has granted them." (1)

But Junayd refrains from explaining the type of existence  
 of which he speaks. He says:-

" It is a type of existence which only  
 God knows and only He is aware of." (2)

And also:-

" It follows then that at this stage  
 (of his) God has existence of a sort  
 which is known only to Him and recognised  
 only by Him." (3)

On the other hand, he tells us who existed and how. He says:-

" Who existed and how could he have  
 existed before he had existence?  
 Did anyone answer to God's question  
 other than the pure, fine and holy  
 souls in accordance with God's Omnipotence  
 and Perfect Will? " (4)

This idea of Junayd of a pre-existence of the soul,  
 real existence before our becoming here, and existence  
 different from our 'secondary', derived existence as created

(1) Risāla No.5, p.42

(2) Risāla No.4, p.20

(3) Risāla No.5, p.40

(4) Risāla No.14, p.82.

beings seems to echo Neo-platonic ideas and is similar to what Plotinus says in the Enneads:-

" Before we had our becoming here, we existed there, men other than now, we were pure souls - intelligence inbound with the entire of reality, not fenced off - integral to the All.....Then it was as if one voice sounded. One word was uttered and from every side an ear attended and received, and there was an effective hearing; now we are become a dual thing, no longer that which we were at first, sometimes indeed..... the primal nature dormant and in a sense no longer present." (1)

About our secondary existence as created beings Plotinus says:-

" By this non-being of course we are not to understand something that does not exist, but only something of an utterly different form from Authentic being; the non-being we are thinking of is rather an image of being or perhaps something still more removed than even an image." (2)

This differentiation reminds us of the differentiation which Junayd makes between real existence and our secondary,

---

(1) Enneads VI, 4. 14.

(2) Enneads I, 8. 3.

not real, existence. This differentiation has occurred already in his definition of Tasawwuf, where he says:-

"Tasawwuf in essence is an attribute of God but by image it is an attribute of man." (see page 87). This means that inasmuch as our being is conceived by God, it is real.

In our opinion Junayd interpreted the Qur'an verse philosophically, on Neo-platonic lines.

If we wish to sum up this theory and to describe this highest state of Unification which the worshipper may reach, we find that the worshipper returns to his primordial state where he has been before he was created. That is, he departs from his worldly existence, his normal human existence does not continue, and hence he exists in God and is completely absorbed in Him. Thus the muwahhid may reach the real Tawhid. As long as he preserves his individuality he cannot reach this full state of Tawhid as his individuality means that something other than God is still there.

Junayd seems to aim at that stage when he says:-

"In this state He has full possession of them and has destroyed their individuality and has removed their characteristics as we perceive it. (1)

This is because Existence, after complete personal suppression, is not the same as normal existence. The ultimate Truth of

---

(1) Risāla No.4, p.44.

God is now refulgent and His Victory  
is complete." (1)

And also:-

"It is for this reason that we said,  
that when God granted existence to His  
worshippers, He caused, as it were, His  
desire to flow over them according to  
His Will." (2)

This means, that according to Junayd, God when He  
creates a human being, has already the inclination to  
overwhelm him and to make him fully One with Himself again.  
Even in this world, if He chooses him and if man lives up to  
His choice, He will obliterate his individuality and make him  
realise the Oneness of God. Thus Junayd continues:-

" In view of the foregoing we said that  
God has obliterated what appears to  
the worshipper, and when He has over-  
whelmed him, God shows Himself as the  
most overpowering, the perfect conqueror,  
the completely victorious." (3)

In this state, God is the direct actor according to  
His perfection, and what man does and wills in this state is  
nothing but the Will and Action of God.

---

(1) Risāla No.4, p.45.

(2) Risāla No.4, p.20.

(3) Risāla No.4, p.22.

This state is not something which the worshipper reaches unaided, but it is a gift of God to the worshipper whom He chooses. Junayd proves that with the Hadīth:-

" My servant draws nigh unto me by works  
of supererogation and I love him;  
and when I love him I am his ear, so  
that he hears by Me, and his eye, so  
that he sees by Me." (1)

Junayd comments on this Hadīth, explaining that this should not be understood literally. The meaning can be only:-

" That it is God who strenthens him, who  
enables him to achieve this, who guides  
him and who gives the vision of what He  
wishes in the manner He wishes so that he  
achieves rightness and is in accord with  
Truth. This then, is the act of God in him,  
the gift of God to him and only to him.  
It is not to be attributed positively  
to the worshipper, since it does not  
originate from him. Nay, it comes over  
him from elsewhere and must, therefore, be  
attributed to another source. This then is  
a possible interpretation of that secret and  
independent state of the nature described above." (2)

---

(1) Risāla No.4, p.23.

(2) Risāla No.4, p.24.

This whole state is what Junayd meant by his definition of Tasawwuf:- " Tasawwuf is that God should make you die from yourself and should make you live in Him." (1)

He further says:-

" The living man is the one for whom life founds itself on the life of his Creator, not the one who founds his life on the subsistence of his bodily form (haykal), so that the reality of his life will be his death, as his death is the access to the stage of the primordial Life." (2)

In his theory of Mithāq, Junayd explained this primordial Real Life, which he bases in a profound and subtle manner, as we have seen, on the verses of the Qur'an.

How could the worshipper die in himself and live in God - how can he achieve and fulfil this state? Junayd explains this in his theory of Fanā?

---

(1) Qushayrī, p.126

(2) Baqlī II. p.173, quoted by Massignon - " Essai sur Les Origines du lexique Technique" p.277.

THE THEORY OF FANĀ'.

Both Junayd's theory of Mithāq (Covenant) and his theory of Fanā' (Oblivion) lead to the same end, the highest state of Unification. They are only two aspects of the same thing, the former explaining the state itself of Return to God, the latter describing the way, method, training and successive steps to reach this state. Thus, for the muwahhid to reach this state of his divine existence, he will have to lose his human existence, which is a secondary one, so that he may realise his divine existence in the Oneness with God, which is the primary one. So, in fact, of the two theories the one includes the other.

Junayd shows fanā' (oblivion, obliteration) in three stages:-

FIRST: " The obliteration of attributes, characteristics and natural qualities in your motives when you carry out your religious duties making great efforts and doing the opposite of what you may desire. and compelling yourself to do the things which you do not wish to do."

SECOND: " The obliteration of your following after and even the sensations of pleasure in obedience to God's behests - so that you are exclusively His, without any intermediary means of contact."

---

THIRD: " The obliteration of the consciousness of having achieved the vision of God at the final stage of ecstasy when God's victory over you is complete. At this stage you are obliterated and have eternal life with God, and you exist only in the existence of God because you have been obliterated. Your physical being continues but your individuality has departed." (1)

The first stage is concerned with man's active life, his *vita activa*. Man has to put behind himself his personal excitements and impulses, calculations and passions - this is what Junayd describes as the "attributes and qualities of his aiming," - while carrying out his duties as a Moslem. He will need a continuous moral training, a conscious ascetic way of life in order to fulfil this task, and will often have to act against the wishes and desires of his own soul which entangle the purity of his aiming. This state of fanā' is of a moral order.

The second stage means that the worshipper should cut himself off from all worldly pleasures of his senses and even from the enjoyment of his own good deeds in fulfilling the religious injunctions of God, thus remaining without any intermediary object which might serve man to put himself into



indirect contact with God. This stage of Fanā' is of a mental order.

The third stage means that man loses even the consciousness of his having reached the vision of God. Facing God, his consciousness of himself becomes extinct. This is the state of which we have heard previously, when the worshipper is entirely overwhelmed and engulfed by God - the complete victory of God over him. At this stage the individuality of the worshipper is quite obliterated - though he still has his physical body and appearance. He has now no separate existence any more. His former being is, so to speak, dead. He has returned to eternal life - he lives with and in God only.

This state - the final state of Fanā' - includes Baqā', the abiding and continuing in God. Fanā' and Baqā' mean the same state from a different aspect. When one has reached the complete Fanā' of one's individuality in God, one, at the same time is continuing and remaining in God. Fanā' is not merely the cessation of Self, like the Buddhist Nirvana, but as we have seen, it includes the continuation of the worshipper's self in God. (1)

At this point we gain a very important insight into Junayd's conception of God. Though Fanā' might lead to Pantheism if it were an end in itself, this, as we see it, is not the case with the Fanā' of Junayd. His Fanā', as we see it, is

---

(1) Luma', p.214. cf. Nicholson - "Mystic of Islam", p.149.

consistent with the Baqā' in God. The personal character of God remains even in this state and there remains - in God - the eternal self of the worshipper. This is so, even in the state of Fanā', before the worshipper returns to himself, (state of Sobriety). (1)

We have to keep in our mind that even in this highest state the worshipper cannot comprehend the full Reality of God, though he is "taken in by God" and lives in Him. Junayd says:-

"As a result, it is not possible for him in this divine state to approach the Ultimate Reality which now possesses him. It is only in this state that God can be seen in His exalted Nature, and His Beatific Names be appreciated." (2)

Furthermore - even in this state, the worshipper cannot be identical with God, (Ittiḥād). Junayd insists on this point in all his teaching. He says:-

"At this stage then, when God has complete possession of them, Baqā' overtakes them because of their human qualities which still persist, because of their enjoyment of physical pleasures. This then is the veil

---

(1) Nicholson, who is well aware of this theological meaning of Junayd's Baqā', yet sees this preservation of Self only in the following state of Sobriety. Cf. "The Idea of Personality," page 14.

(2) Risāla No.4, p.28.

between them and God, which God has placed between them and Him, so that they can still retain a measure of their individuality and use both their physical and spiritual faculties in this environment of glory, in this condition induced by dhikr, in the victory of God's conquest. How can this be known to you if none but the elect know it, and only they can discover it, and only they are capable of this knowledge? Can you understand how it is that they should seek God and yet not reach Him though they are helped by God's revelation to them, and are aided by the help of God's Truths ? It is because God has made them cognisant of an aspect of His existence and given them complete conviction of His hidden secrets which are the path to Him when the human qualities are obliterated and human needs are nullified." (1)

Fanā?, as Junayd experienced it, is thus not the passing away of man's being in God's being..... " since they are wholly separate from Him and lose their own eyes, God being firmly established in His Power and Glory," but it is the passing away of man's will in God's Will, as we have seen before.

---

(1) Risāla No.4, p.29.

This point is very important in Junayd's mystic teaching on Fanā' and it has been misunderstood by later interpreters. Sarraj was aware of this error for he says:-

" Some mystics of Baghdad have erred in their doctrine that when they pass away from their qualities, they enter into the qualities of God. This involves incarnation (hulūl) or leads to the Christian belief concerning Jesus. The doctrine in question has been attributed to some of the ancients, but its true meaning is this, that when a man goes forth from his own qualities and enters into the qualities of God, he goes forth from his own will, which is a gift to him from God, and enters into the Will of God, knowing that his will is given to him by God and that by virtue of this gift he is severed from regarding himself and becomes entirely devoted to God; and this is one of the stages of Unitarians. Those who have erred in this doctrine have failed to observe that the qualities of God are not God. To make God identical with his qualities is to be guilty of infidelity, because God does not descend into the heart, but that which descends into the heart is faith in God and belief in His unity and reverence for the thought of Him." (1)

Sarrāj also says:-

" Some have abstained from food and drink fancying that when a man's body is weakened it is possible that he may lose his humanity and be invested with the attributes of divinity. The ignorant persons who hold this erroneous

---

(1) Luma', p.432.

doctrine cannot distinguish between humanity and the inborn qualities (akhlāq) of humanity. Humanity does not depart from man any more than blackness departs from that which is black or whiteness from that which is white, but the inborn qualities of humanity are changed and transmuted by the all powerful radiance that is shed upon them from the Divine Realities. The attributes of Humanity are not the essence of humanity. Those who inculcate the doctrine of Fanā' mean the passing away of regarding one's own actions and works of devotion through the continuance of regarding God as the doer of these actions on behalf of His servant." (1)

In this highest state of Fanā', according to Junayd, where the worshipper has lost his worldly individuality, he yet is still separate from God. Many veils have been removed, but a veil still persists between God and man. This condition, as Junayd experienced it, is indeed full of longing - it means pain. It is a state of suspense, of anguish and of thirst for God. To bear it, is thus a test to the soul, Balā'. God will help him and sustain him in this test of having given up his worldly individuality and yet not being able to merge in the Absolute. Yet the soul may desire spiritual pleasure from its Balā', this test and ordeal in facing God. Junayd says:-

" They are consumed with longing for Him who  
has brought them Bala, and moan constantly

---

(1) Luma', p.426

in this second loss of their individuality. This loss has been a grievous wound to them, their new state has depressed them. They are very sorrowful, suffering deeply as they seek after God. They are overcome by a thirst which is all-consuming and constantly increasing. The pursuit of knowledge of God is now the constant preoccupation of the soul, it is entirely devoted to submerging its individuality in the attainment of intimacy with God. This thirst from God is an anguish even more intense than the mourning for a near relative. God makes of every external form a sign. He gives to the soul the taste of poverty and renews for the soul knowledge of the experience of spiritual effort.

The soul accepts the spiritual burden with its implication of suffering, seeks for its cure and is preoccupied with that divine revelation vouchsafed to it. As a result, it is able to view the remote with the eye of propinquity, to be closer to God because a veil has been removed and it is no longer completely concealed. Though the soul has Balā it is not rejected. How can it be hidden from God by a veil when

---

it is, as it were, a captive before Him, imprisoned in front of Him. God has allowed the suppression of the individuality when the man has Balā'. The soul no longer arrogates a degree of importance to its individuality but is amply satisfied with God's love and propinquity.

Such then is the infinite duration of this newly found spiritual life and the intensity of the stage of Balā' that the suppression of the individuality is completely swamped by the lightning flash of God's regard.

As a result, the soul derives spiritual pleasure from Balā' and is delighted with its Balā' with God, because it can enjoy propinquity with God and the sting of Balā' is assuaged. The soul is not bent down under the burden of Balā' nor does it chafe at its spiritual load. Their experience makes heroes of them, because of the secrets revealed to them they stay conquered by God, awaiting His commands, that Allah designate what shall be done." (1)

---

(1) Risāla No.4, p.33.

To come to the conclusion, Junayd who has experienced as well as analysed the highest stage of Unification (Tawhīd) and who has clearly described the Mithāq and the Fanā', has yet neither been swept into the sea of Pantheism, which would be losing consciousness of God and man and acknowledging one existence only, nor has he made himself, the worshipper, one with God, deifying man (Ittiḥād). But he has experienced and described Unification as losing his will, which marks the worldly individuality, being possessed by God and returning into the life of his eternal self in God. Thus he would be unified God, as far as is granted by God to his creatures.

We may count Junayd as the classical witness, teacher and interpreter of Tawhīd in its most profound, aware and disciplined form. This is his place in the development of Islamic Mysticism. He was not the first who spoke of Tawhīd. His teacher Sarī as- Saqatī and before him, Mārūf al-Karkhī, have done so, teachers to whom Junayd always felt indebted. But Junayd has put the Tawhīd into the centre of the system of Sufism and has left to us a clean and explicit doctrine of Tawhīd in his works. This doctrine, he taught, as we have seen, in his small esoteric circle to those who would understand. Yet some of his pupils and later mystics, were not able to grasp the meaning of this doctrine as a whole, in its integrity, but have picked out this or that part of it, thus sometimes being led into exaggerations and errors.

---



Rightly understood and fully comprehended,  
Junayd may be considered as a sound guide to the mystics  
even in later ages, as we may trace in some Moslem orders  
of more recent centuries. (1)

---

(1) Cf. The literature of the Shadiliya Order, especially  
the books of Ibn Ata as-Sikandari.

CHAPTER IX.THE DOCTRINE OF SOBRIETY.

All those who have reached the Tawhīd, having lost their individuality, having passed away from their human existence to live in God, all those who have been overwhelmed, and are entirely in the possession of their conqueror, their Lord, are without a will of their own, in the Will of God. They cannot think of doing anything or aiming at anything in this world. They will say they cannot act in this world and cannot worry about the laws or standards of this world, as everything for them is in the Will of God, whose instrument they are. They cannot distinguish between good and evil as everything coming from God is good.

This situation may logically lead the Sufi to an attitude by which he puts himself outside the laws and order of society. In fact, some of the Sufis withdrew from all injunctions of the religious law, all the religious precepts and duties, " the performance of the positive commands and the avoidance of that which is forbidden " saying, that if one is in the Will of God, one need not follow the orders given by Him to men in their worldly state. These laws are intended by Him for the benefit of the common people, but they are superfluous for those who live in union with God. (1)

---

(1) Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzī, Madārij as-Sālikīn, v. 1, p.135,138,143.  
cf. Ibn Hazm, Fīṣal v.4, p.188, 226.

This complete indifference to the laws of religion and the established customs of society may lead the Sufi to a special kind of libertinism, as the history of Sufism repeatedly has shown.

We find in many Sufis a completely negative attitude to religious works. We can see this in the story which is reported of al-Junayd. A man said to Junayd - " Amongst the men who know God, there are those who hold that the keeping away from activity belongs to piety and fear of God." Junayd answered, " That is the doctrine of people who treat the works as of no worth, which according to my opinion is a severe sin. Yes, the one who steals or who commits adultery, is still in a better condition than he who holds that. In fact, those who know God receive the works of God, and return, in them, back to God. And if I live a thousand years, I should not like to lack in the works of piety, even as much as a single grain of dust." (1)

So we come to the ethical theory of al-Junayd, his theory of Sobriety (Sahw) which, with the Tawhid, is the basis of his whole system of Mysticism. Hujwiri said of this doctrine of Junayd - " It is the best known and most celebrated of all doctrines and all shaykhs have adopted it, notwithstanding that there is considerable difference in their statements of the ethics of Sufism." (2)

---

(1) Qushayrī, p.19.  
Hilyat al-Awliyā, v.10, p.278.

(2) Hujwiri, p.189.

Al-Junayd recognised and experienced that the highest stage of Unification, or as it has been referred to previously, the stage of Fanā', when man has given up his will in the Will of God, is not the last step, nor the last goal. This state of Fanā' may be ruptured, according to Junayd by ecstatic drunkenness. It cannot be the last aim of the saint who has a responsibility to others, because it involves the disturbance of one's balance and loss of sanity and self-control.

God does not wish to keep His worshipper in isolation for ever. Junayd says:-

" In this stage of companionship, the range of his movements is limited, he can only go from God to God, for God and in God. He has Fanā' and this too is obliterated because he persists in Baqā' only through complete obliteration. God desires to return His worshipper to the community and does so, making clear the evidence of His grace to him, so that the lights of His gifts in the return of his individual characteristics scintillate and attract the community to him who appreciate him." (1)

Junayd says further:-

" He is himself, after he has not been truly himself. He is present in himself and in God after having been present in God and

absent in himself. This is because he has left the intoxication of God's overwhelming, ghalaba, and comes to the clarity of sobriety, and contemplation is once more restored to him so that he can put everything in its right place and assess it correctly. Once more he assumes his individual attributes, after Fanā'. His personal qualities persist in him, and his actions in this world, when he has reached the zenith of spiritual achievement vouchsafed by God, become a pattern for his fellow men." (1)

Thus, no one can be a true shaykh whom God will make a model to others, whom God trusts with a message to his fellow-men, and whose life will be beneficial to men around him, except that after being with God and absorbed in God, he returns unto himself and will be one of the community, doing as they are due to do, and accepting the law and order which God has established amongst them.

But when the Sufi comes to this state of Sobriety and thus turns to the community, he still does not quite get away from the state of Fanā' which he has experienced. But he keeps this state like a secret treasure inside his new state.

---

(1) Risāla No.8, p.69.

Thus to say, it radiates through him when he lives, speaks and works amidst the community. He lives, as it were, at the same time in God and in the community.

These two states are only the two facets of the same crystal. Junayd says:-

" After their union with Him, He separates them from Himself ( and grants them their individuality again) then He makes them absent (from this world) when they are in union with Him, and makes them present (in this world) when He has separated them from Himself ( and granted them their individuality again.) Thus it is that their absence from this world is but a facet of their presence with God and their presence in this world is a necessary cause of their absence from God." (1)

In this state of Sobriety which al-Junayd experienced and described, the Sufi is, so to speak, released to return to the community and to serve God's creatures. He will be able to spread his gifts to each fellow man according to his degree, he will support the simple people through his piety, he will contribute to those who have embarked on theological thought as a theologian, he will lead and teach the young, and he will be a companion to the initiated, to his fellow mystics, and will

---

(1) Risāla No.5, p.41.

share with them his sublime experiences. Thus, in his state of perfection, he will not be isolated, but with what he has received from God, he will be able to help others.

The combination of these two states, the state of Fanā' and the state of Sobriety, in one and the same person, is very hard to achieve and uphold. It will be possible only to those whom God grants His continued grace. To be present and absent at the same time means a continued strain on the self. Junayd says in a short poem:-

" I have realised that which is within me  
 And my tongue has conversed with Thee in secret.  
 And we are united in one respect,  
 But we are separated in another.  
 Although awe has hidden Thee from the  
 glances of mine eye,  
 Ecstasy has made Thee near to my inmost parts." (1)

In this state Junayd experienced various waves of feeling. In one of his letters he says that he felt the sadness and grief of his soul longing back to God. It feels as if banished from the presence of God and the accomplished living in Him. He says:-

" But when God brings the spirit back to  
 its normal state, he re-establishes it  
 and gives it back to its own nature.  
 Thus the experience with God and from God  
 is hidden, the soul grieves, and becomes used

---

(1) Iuma' p.212.

to its normal state, because it has lost its first perfection and highest favour. It has been brought back to the shackles of reason and perception. Its regret is profound and its anguish for what it has lost continues in its conscious existence and present reality. This then is the reason for the soul's longing, its needs have returned to it; how can it not suffer for being banished from God? The soul was satisfied and now thirsts anew." (1)

Junayd states it is characteristic of this state that the soul will seek for sights of beauty and accomplishment in this world, a longing which is well-known to many mystics and which may be the source of many of the most beautiful pages in later Persian poetry. It results from the spiritual refinement of the soul of the mystic and its longing for the accomplished. The beautiful and accomplished in this world is an echo of his experience before God, to the mystic. But all these things of beauty and accomplishment he may see in this world are a source of pain to the soul of the mystic, as they remind him that perfection is unobtainable here - they remind him of the Lost Beloved for Whom he is always home-sick.

---

(1) Risāla No.4, p.26.



Junayd says further:-

" Thus it is that the souls of those who have known God seek after the green pastures, the beautiful vistas, the fresh green gardens - but all other things which they long for echoing their experience before God are a source of pain for them because they serve only to remind them that they are unattainable and recall the Lost Beloved. Sad indeed is their lot! " (1)

On the other hand, often the mystic in this state of release will feel at liberty; he will not care nor worry; whether he is alone or amidst the multitude will be a matter of indifference to him; he will not be impressed by outside currents and influences; he will be independent from the things of this world and will enjoy an otherwise impossible state of liberty.

Junayd, on viewing his earlier and his present life, said:-

" For a time I was such that the inhabitants of heaven and earth wept over my bewilderment. Then again I became such that I wept over their absence. And now my state is such that I have no knowledge either of them or of myself." (2)

---

(1) Risāla No.4, p.27.

(2) Hujwīrī, p.255.

This state of Sobriety is sometimes termed by the mystics - "The Second Separation", (al-farq al-Thānī), as they call the state before Fanā' - "The First Separation." They also call it "The Natural Separation" and "Union of Union," (jam' al-jam'), as they call the stage of Fanā' "jam' ".(1)

Between those two states of the Mystic, Intoxication or Ecstatic Drunkenness, which is a feature of being overwhelmed by God, and Sobriety, Junayd puts a strong stress on Sobriety, against the other school of Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī, who puts the main stress on Intoxication.

Hujwiri, whom we have to consider as an essential source book of Sufi schools and of Junayd's teachings in particular, gave an important account of the two alternative attitudes. He says of Abu Yazid's schools:-

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

Concerning al-Junayd and his school, he says:-

"Junayd and his followers prefer Sobriety to Intoxication. They say that Intoxication is evil, because it involves the

disturbance of one's normal state and loss of sanity and self-control; and inasmuch as the principle of all things is sought, either by way of annihilation or subsistence, or of effacement or affirmation, the principle of verification cannot be attained unless the seeker is sane. Blindness will never release anyone from the bondage and corruption of phenomena. The fact that people remain in phenomena and forget God, is due to their not seeing things as they really are. For if they saw, they would escape this error.

Seeing is of two kinds. He who looks at anything sees it either with the eye of subsistence (Baqā) or with the eye of annihilation (Fanā). If with the eye of subsistence, he perceives that the whole universe is imperfect in comparison with his own subsistence (in God), for he does not regard phenomena as self-subsistent, and if he looks with the eye of annihilation (in God) he perceives that all created things are non-existent beside the subsistence of God. In either case he turns away from created things. On this account the Apostle said in his prayer ' O God, show us things as they are, because whoever thus sees them, finds rest.'

Now such vision cannot be properly attained except in the state of Sobriety and the intoxicated have no knowledge thereof." (1)

In this issue, Hujwiri chose to follow the school of Junayd. He says:-

" My shaykh who followed the doctrine of Junayd, used

---

(1) Hujwiri, p. 185

to say that Intoxication is the playfield of children, but Sobriety is the field of fight and death of men. I say in agreement with my Shaykh that the perfection of the state of the man who has been intoxicated, is Sobriety." (1)

If we survey Junayd's doctrine of Sobriety, we come to the conclusion that his attitude and teaching is unique. In the history of mysticism in general, we are accustomed to find mystics who speak of their experience of unification with God and of being overwhelmed by God. There is always a danger that a man who is distinguished by God with such a degree of grace, would remain isolated and be lost to the human community. Some mystics, it is true, have turned back to the human community as preachers and teachers and sometimes as founders of orders. But it is very rare that a mystic, a man who underwent all the stages of mystical experiences, can distance himself from his own experience as Junayd does, and can give us a clear theory of his state of accomplished Unification, and his following state of return into himself and into the world. This return of the mystic, as an altered and more perfect being into the human community.... with a special mission from God to his fellow men.... is what Junayd's theory of Sobriety means. This attitude of a mystic is by no means negative to human civilization.

That a man with such a high and single religious experience and such an intimate approach to God returns to

---

(1) Ibid.

the human community in order to be active for the benefit of his fellowmen, and that he is able to face, at the same time, God and the world in what Junayd describes as the stage of Sobriety, may be of wide significance for all the higher fields of human activity. We mainly think of the field of teaching to which Junayd himself was devoted. It is not the place here to measure the degree of influence which this attitude - at the same time mystic, clear and active, - may have had in the field of Science and Research and also of Art and Literature, and some cases even of statesmanship.

The essential part of Sufism in the fight for Islam and in the spreading of Islam through many nations and different continents, from early centuries down to the present, is one of the consequences of this attitude which we cannot pass over.

Junayd's attitude of Sobriety leads us further to the question, whether Reason plays a role in the mystic who is sober, for the approach to the knowledge of God in its various degrees. The question of the knowledge of God plays a great role in the circle of Islamic mystics, and Junayd seems to hold a special place in this controversy.

Thus we shall devote the next chapter to his theory of the Knowledge of God.

THE KNOWLEDGE OF GOD.

The Sufis in general, held that the knowledge of God could not be acquired by the means of reason (Aql) and intellect, as the object is beyond the ken of reason. Reason is limited by its very nature to objects which are finite.

God is not only immaterial, but also beyond the reach of logical comprehension. The knowledge of God, according to the Sufis, can only be acquired by a state of the mind of man, which would allow God to grant him the gift of illumination and inspiration; it can only be reached by revelation.

In this tenet they differ from the theologians by rejecting rational knowledge (Ilm) as irrevelant. Instead of rational knowledge which, according to them, is insufficient for acquiring a comprehension of God, they use the term Marifa, which is the gnosis of Hellenistic theosophy - direct intuitive knowledge of God based on Revelation and Vision. They see in Marifa (gnosis) the goal of the mystic, and they call the one who achieves this goal Arif (gnostic). They thus value Marifa higher than Ilm.

Al-Qushayrī says:- " According to the Sufis, Marifa is the attitude of the man who acknowledges God in His names and attributes, further, who is sincere in his actions, who frees himself from the blameworthy traits of character and

---

weaknesses, who at all times stands at the gate and continuously lets his heart dwell with God, so that God would grant him friendly reception, and who in all his conditions is sincere and free from the influence of his self, and who in his heart does not listen to any influence which calls him in another direction but to God. When thus he has become alien to creature, free from the frailties of self, pure from (physical) contacts and (mental) considerations, when in his innermost being he is in continuous communion with God, and in each moment truly comes back to God, when he has knowledge of God in receiving his secrets concerning the operating of His decrees; then he will be called ʿArif and his condition will be called Maʿrifa. " (1)

The theologians, on the other hand, in their conception of the knowledge of God, do not make a distinction between direct and indirect knowledge of God; they hold that knowledge of God is based on evidence and on reason; they may differ between ʿIlm and Maʿrifa, but both are in any case of rational nature and are the same in value. (2)

Now we come to the place of Junayd in this controversy. Junayd holds that the knowledge of God is always essentially the same because the object is one. But it has degrees, a different degree for the ordinary man and for the saint.

---

(1) Qushayrī, p.142.

(2) see Tahānawī, Kashshāf, v.2. p.994.  
Ibn Qayyim, Madāʾir v.3, p.215.

A different degree for the beginner, for the advanced and for the one who reaches the highest stage. But all of them cannot reach the complete knowledge of God on account of the limited nature of the human mind and the infinite nature of God.

Thus Junayd, like the theologians, and unlike most of the Sufis, uses for knowledge the words ‘Ilm and Ma‘rifa vice versa. He does put great stress on it that the knowledge of God in every case is essentially the same and differs only in degree. He explains all this in a very clear and explicit statement, and this is what he says:-

" I was asked about Knowledge of God and how to acquire it and I answered that since the object of this knowledge is one, knowledge of God, both by saints and by ordinary men, is of the same nature. However, it differs in degrees. Clearly the saint has more profound knowledge, but complete knowledge is impossible, because of the infinite nature of God. Knowledge of God cannot be complete, since the instrument of knowledge is the intellect, and both mind and imagination are limited by their very nature.

Those of His creatures who know most about Him are the first to say that they are unable either fully to comprehend His greatness or to reveal His nature to their

---



fellow human beings. They know that they are unable to comprehend Him, to whom nothing is like, because He is the everlasting and others are created, and He is the eternal and the others are appearances, and He is the God-head and the others are subservient to Him, and He is Almighty, being Himself the source of His own strength, and every strong being is strong through His strength, and He knows all without being informed. He needs not to have recourse to others, and every being who has knowledge has his knowledge from God. Praise be to God - the First without beginning, the Everlasting without end. No one but He can be so described and to Him only is this description appropriate.

It follows then that His saints have a higher degree of knowledge of Him, even though this knowledge is imperfect, whereas the ordinary man, albeit he is devout, has a lesser degree of that knowledge. But since this knowledge exists in varying degrees in both types of men, it is possible to investigate the nature of the phenomena

---

of this knowledge as they occur in these men. In its first and simplest stages, knowledge of God expresses itself in the proclamation of His Unity, the affirmation of absolute monotheism, belief in His existence, acceptance of the Qur'an and the ordinances contained therein. In its higher stages this knowledge is expressed in righteousness, the fear of God at all times, the recognition of God in all His creatures, the observance of a high moral standard and the avoidance of what should not be done.

Now, the higher degree of knowledge of God enjoyed by those who are privileged exceeds that of the ordinary man in intensity. This intensity depends on their perception of His Majesty, His Glory, His Omnipotence, His all-embracing Knowledge, His never-failing Generosity, His Nobility and His Superiority in all these attributes. In the measure of their perception they become aware of His Exaltedness, the degree of His Majesty, the reverence due to Him, His Omnipotence, the efficacy and thoroughness of His punishments, the richness of His reward,

---

His Generosity and unfailing kindness in Paradise, His compassionate nature, the multitude of His Gifts, His Graciousness, and His Good Actions, His Generosity and His Mercy. The more intense their perception of these qualities becomes, the more they extol Him, revere Him and love Him. They become humble before God, they fear Him and they hope in Him. They observe His ordinances and do not do that which is forbidden. They dedicate both mind and body entirely to God and are impelled to take this course by the intensity of their knowledge of God, their appreciation of His Exaltedness, the richness of His reward and the efficacy of His punishment. These are the privileged people and they are His saints.

It is, therefore, that people say of someone - "Ārif bi Allah" or "Alim bi Allah". Among Moslems, when a man is seen to extol God, to revere Him, to fear Him, to hope in God, to seek Him, to yearn for Him, to practice righteousness and godly conduct, to weep and be grieved for his iniquities, to approach God with meekness and humility; this man is recognised as one whose knowledge

---

of God is of a higher degree than that of an ordinary man.

They are described in the Qur'an in the following verse:-

' Of his worshippers God esteems highest those that know Him.' " (1)

We see clearly from Junayd's words that the instrument for acquiring knowledge of God is the intellect (ʿaql), but this rational approach will be in degrees. The knowledge of the ordinary man will be less than the knowledge of the one whose intellect is clearer and who has reached a clearer and more certain insight. But even the latter will not have the complete knowledge of God as the instrument is limited by its very nature, and God by His very nature, is infinite. It is possible according to Junayd, to inquire into the nature of the phenomena of this knowledge as it occurs in these different men.

Junayd finds two types of knowledge of God which he calls the " first knowledge" and the " second knowledge." The one is discursive knowledge and the other, intuitive knowledge. He says in one of his letters:-

" A man who has acquired knowledge genuinely, who performs what this religious knowledge demands punctiliously, who is completely devoted to it, will find that the exigencies

---

(1) Hilyat al Awliyā', v.10, p.257 - 259.

of that knowledge will not coincide with his instinctive mental desires. He will then return to God, humble, modest, poor and with little, and ask Him to carry his burden of the knowledge of truth. At this stage he becomes able to carry out the exigencies of the second type of knowledge by the dominance of his instinctive spiritual desires over his actions, and is no longer positively aware of his knowledge of truth of the first type which bound him to the conditions laid down in its orders." (1)

It seems that Ibn Khaldūn in his Muqaddima (prolegomena), shares this view of al-Junayd. He gives exactly the same theory in the same terms. (2)

The rational attitude in acquiring the knowledge of God, according to Junayd, will lead a part of the way but it is not the goal. The goal for Junayd is still the Unification with God, the Tawhīd in which the worshipper has lost his individuality and his individual reason. He says further:-

" At this stage he comes to the stage of the obliteration of his individual instinctive desire for pleasure and also

---

(1) Risāla No.9, p.70.

(2) See Ibn Khaldūn / Muqaddima, vol.3, p. 32 & 33.

to the disappearance of his critical distinction with regard to the purification of his instincts through the disappearance of his desire for pleasure. Then he is able fully to comprehend the true indications towards God from the nature of events, the changes in things, without need for any media of understanding, since now his faculty of distinction coincides with a purified intuition." (1)

So we see that human reason (ʿaql) and the work of the human intellect has its tasks and directs the seeker in the first stage of acquiring knowledge (ʿilm, maʿrifa). This knowledge will be either discursive, or, on a higher level, intuitive. But after that, in the state of Tawhīd, he is completely possessed by God and has lost his individuality, and here reason and the human intellect, which according to Junayd are the instruments of knowledge (ʿilm and maʿrifa), have no place. He says:-

" When the worshipper has reached this stage he can no longer be described in rational terms. In fact the promptings of reason to the worshipper who has realised to the full the special Tawhīd are now nothing but evil

---

(1) Risāla No.9, p.71.

whispers which he has to overcome.

It is reason which formerly directed the worshipper in his worship when he worshipped God as an individual, but when he is completely possessed by God, his individuality is suppressed. He is, as it were, transmuted. His external characteristics remain the same, but his individuality has vanished. Thus he is at once present and absent." (1)

Junayd experienced and witnesses that when the seeker has reached that high stage of intense knowledge, he will quite naturally have left his individuality behind, and with it his human knowledge, and God's integral Knowledge will appear before him. Junayd says in one of his letters:-

" When the Knowledge of God has become intense and has raised you to a high degree, when your heart is full of this Knowledge, and you are pleased to serve Him and your mind becomes clear by mentioning His name, and your understanding depends on Him, then your human existence is gone, your 'self' will have vanished and your knowledge shall be enlightened because it comes from God, and God's Knowledge (Ilm al-Haqq) shall appear before you." (2)

---

(1) Risāla No.7, p.65.

(2) Hilyat al-Awliyā, v.10, p.281.

Luma, p.225

This highest state of enlightenment is what Junayd calls, as we have seen, Tawhīd - Unification; yet in this state a new kind of knowledge - Mārifā - is revealed to him. This revealed knowledge is not additional knowledge about God, but a part of God's Knowledge.

Junayd experiences that the knowledge of the Unity of God may be reached by the seeker and he still may not be in the state of Unification. If and when he reaches the state of Unification, he will do so quite without knowledge. Junayd says further:-

" The knowledge of Unity of God is different from the finding and feeling of Unification itself, and the finding and feeling of Unification is different from the knowledge of Unity." (1)

Ibn Qayyim interprets this as follows:-

" That means, one may, without any doubt comprehend the Unity of God and feel its intensity, but under circumstances which may be changed he may still be liable to be changed himself, because he is not yet in the state of Unification. This man is referred to as having the knowledge of the Unity of God, but still has not found Unification. Others feel Unification in

---

(1) Qushayrī, p.136.



their hearts and are overwhelmed in seeing the Unity of God, but what they find and feel is quite different from the knowledge of God; they are in a state of Unification." (1)

In Junayd's terminology - different from the terminology of some other Sufis who take Marifa as the last goal - the last goal is quite clearly: Unification. Yet in Unification he himself has experienced a new thing, a vision and revelation from God for which he has no word, so that for lack of a term he calls it Marifa. Yet it has nothing to do with that knowledge, Marifa, of the striving seeker, before that last stage which Junayd has described. It is essentially different, that is to say, it is not any more knowledge of God but a share in God's Knowledge.

What we have seen may explain to us why Junayd uses the term Marifa in two quite different senses, and why he sometimes uses the word 'Arif for the one who has reached the state of Tahid. He says for instance:- " The 'Arif could not be an 'Arif until he is like earth upon which the pious and impious walk, and like the clouds that overshadow everything, and like the rain that waters all places quite without any likes and dislikes!" (2) Once, when he was asked about the 'Arif, he replied:- " The colour of his vessel is the colour of water." (3) Or:- " The 'Arif

---

(1) Madārij as-Sālikīn, v.3, p.150.

(2) Qushayri 142 also 127.

(3) Ibid.

(1)  
 is a son of the time being," meaning that he looks not to the past nor to the future. Junayd, when asked about the sayings of Dhū 'n-Nūn about the 'ārīf: "He has been here and has gone away", gave the explanation:- "The 'ārīf does not restrict himself to any state which would prevent his entering another state, nor does he restrict himself to a station which would prevent his moving to another station. He behaves just like the people in any state he might meet. He shares their feelings and speaks to the people of their condition whatever it might be, so that they may understand and benefit from his words." (2)

By the expression 'ārīf when applied in this way, Junayd, as we clearly see, does not mean the one who still seeks the knowledge of God - a seeking which according to him works by the means of the intellect - but he quite clearly means the muwahhid whom God has inspired and to whom God in His grace has revealed Himself.

Now after having reached this stage for which he left his individuality and all that goes with individuality, passions, will and reason behind, he will have to return to his normal state as an individual in which his reason and everything will be restored to him. Yet he will be a new individual with human qualities, carrying at the same time his experiences of God with him. Thus he will be at once present and absent, absent and present.

---

(1) Qushayrī 143.

(2) Ibid.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.ORIGINAL AUTHORITIES.

- Abū Nu'aym ..... Hilyat al Awliyā'. Cairo 1938.
- Al-'Arūsī ..... Natā'ij al Afkār Al Qudsiyya.  
( Commentary on Ar Risāla  
al-Qushayriya) Cairo 1290.
- 'Atṭār ..... Tadhkirat al Awliyā'.  
(Ed.R.A.N.Nicholson) London 1905.
- Aristotle (so called).... Kitāb Uthulujiya Aristatalis.  
(Ed.F.Dieterici) Leipzig 1882.
- Abū Tālib al-Makkī .... Qūt al Qulūb. Cairo 1351.
- Abū Ya'lā ..... Tabaqāt al Hanābila. Damascus 1335.
- Bukhārī ..... As-Sahīh. Cairo
- Bīrūnī ..... Al-Āthār Al Bāqiya. Leipzig 1878.  
Tārīkh al Hind. Leipzig 1925.
- Barhebranes ..... Book of the Dove. Leyden 1909.
- Dhanabī ..... Mizān al-I'tidāl. Cairo 1325.  
Al Mushtabah. Leyden 1863.  
Tadhkirat al Huffāz. Hyderabad 1334.

- Ghazālī ..... Al-Ihyā'. Cairo 1939.  
Al-Munqidh. Damascus 1939.  
Al-Imlā' 'alā Mushkilāt al-Ihyā'  
 (margin Ihyā')
- Mishkāṭ al Anwār. Cairo 1322.
- Hujwērī ..... Kashf al Mahjūb.  
 (Trans. Nicholson) London 1926.
- Hājji Khalīfa ..... Kashf az Zūnūn. Istanbul 1943.
- Ibn 'Asākir ..... At-Tarīkh al Kabīr. Damascus 1332.
- Ibn Al-Faqīh ..... Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al Bulḍān.  
 (Ed. de Goeje) Leyden 1885.
- Ibn Hajar ..... Tahdhīb at Tahdhīb. Hyderabad 1327.
- Ibn Hāzm ..... Al-Fiṣal. Cairo 1317.
- Ibn Hawqal ..... Al-Masālik wa'l Mamālik.  
 (Ed. de Goeje) Leyden 1873.
- Ibn Al-Jawzī ..... Talbīs Iblīs. Cairo 1928.  
Muntazam. Hyderabad 1357.
- Ibn Kathīr ..... Al Bidāya wa an-Nihāya. Cairo 1932.
- Ibn Khalīkān ..... Wafayāt al-A'yan. Cairo 1299.

- Ibn Knurdādhba .... Masālik al-Mamālik.  
(Ed. de Goeje) Leyden 1889.
- Ibn Khaldūn .... Muqaddimna.  
(Ed. Quatremere) Paris 1847.
- Ibn Khatīb al Dahsha .... Tuhfat dhawī al Irab Leyden 1905.
- Ibn an-Nadīm .... Fihrist. Cairo 1929/1939  
MS. Chester Beatty.
- Ibn Qayyim .... Madārij as Sālikīn. Cairo 1333.  
Tarīq al H<sup>i</sup>ratayn. Cairo 1357.
- Ibn Taghrī-Bardī .... An-Nujūm az Zāhira. Cairo
- Ibn Taymiya .... Minhāj as Sunna. Cairo 1321.  
Al-Rasā'il Al Kubrā. Cairo 1323.  
Majmu'at al Rasā'il wa'l Masā'il.  
Cairo 1349.
- Isaac of Nineveh .... Mystic Treatises.  
(Trans. A.J. Wensink) Amsterdam 1923.
- Abū Bakr b. Khayr  
Al-Ishbīlī .... Al-Fihrista. Caesarangustae 1893.
- Al-Junayd .... Rasā'il Junayd.  
MS. Schit Ali 1374.  
Kitāb Dawā' at Tafirīt.  
Selly Oak Library 905.  
Rasā'il Junayd.  
Hilyat al Awliyā'. v. 10

- Al-Jurjānī ..... At Ta'rifāt. Leipzig 1845.
- Al Kalabadhi ..... Kitāb at Tāarruf.  
(Ed. Arberry) Cairo
- Al Kharrāz ..... Kitāb as Sidq.  
(Ed. Arberry) Calcutta 1937.
- Al Khaṭīb ..... Tarīkh Baghdād. Cairo 1931.
- Al-Khayyāt ..... Al Intisār. Cairo 1925.
- Al Munawwar ..... Asrār at Tawhīd. Teheran 1313.
- Plotinus ..... Enneads.  
(Trans. S.Mackenna) London 1917/1930.
- Al Qushayrī ..... Risāla. Cairo 1346.
- Sahrawardī ..... 'Awārif al Māarif.  
Margin Ihya'.
- Aṣṣafadī ..... Al Wāfī bi'l Wafayāt. Istanbul 1931.
- Samānī ..... Al Ansāb.  
(Ed. Margoliouth) Gibb Series 10  
Leyden 1912.
- Sarrāj ..... Kitāb al Luma'. (Ed. Nicholson)  
Gibb Series 12. Leyden 1914.  
..... Page from Kitāb al Luma'.  
(Ed. Arberry) London 1947.

Subkī ..... Tabaqāt ash-Shāfiyya al Kubrā.  
Cairo 1324.

Stefan bar Sudaili ,... The Book of the Holy Hierotheos.  
(Ed. trans. Marsh) London 1927.

Sulamī ..... Tabaqāt as Sūfiyya.  
MS.British Museum. Add. 18520.

Tahānawī ..... Kashshāf Istilāḥāt al Funūn.  
Calcutta 1862.

Yāfiī ..... Mirāt al Janān. Hyderabad 1338.

Yaqūt ..... Muḥjam al Bulḍān. Cairo 1325.

#### MODERN WORKS.

Tor Andrae ..... Die Person Mohammeds. Oslo 1914.

Arberry ..... An Introduction to the History of  
Sufism. London 1942.

The Book of the Cure of Souls.

JRAS 1937.

Al-Djunaid. Handwörterbuch des Islam  
p.116.

Leyden 1941.

Junayd. JRAS 1935.

T.W.Arnold and

A.Guillaume (Editors).... The Legacy of Islam. Oxford 1931.

T.J. de Boer ..... Philosophy in Islam. 1903.





- L.Massignon ..... La Passion d'al Hallaj. Paris 1922.  
 Textes indits. Paris 1929.
- D.S.Margoliouth ..... Early Development of Mohammedanism.  
 London 1914.
- Metz ..... The Renaissance of Islam. London 1937.
- R.A.Nicholson ..... The Idea of Personality in Sufism.  
 Cambridge 1923.  
 The Mystics of Islam. London 1914.  
 Studies in Islamic Mysticism.  
 Cambridge 1921.  
 The Origin and Development of  
 Sufism. JRAS 1906.  
 The Goal of Muhamnadan Mysticism.  
 JRAS 1913.  
 Selected Poems from the Duvani-Shamsi  
 Tibrizi. Cambridge 1898.
- R.Otto ..... Mysticism East and West. London 1932.
- M.Asin Palacios ..... Obras Escodidas. Madrid 1946.
- D.G.Pfannmuller ..... Handbuch der Islam-Literatur.  
 Berlin 1923.
- Ritter ..... Cüneyd: Islam Ansiklopedisi Cilt 3  
 p.241.  
 Istanbul 1944.

Margaret Smith . . . . An Early Mystic of Baghdād.

London 1935.

Wensinck . . . . Encyclopedia of Islam.

PART III.

TRANSLATION.

CONTENTS.

No.		Page.
1.	Another letter by Abū'l Qāsim al-Junayd to one of his fellow mystics .....	1
2.	The letter of Abū'l Qāsim al-Junayd ibn Muḥammad to Yahya ibn Mu'ādh .....	5
3.	Another letter by Abū'l Qāsim al-Junayd to one of his fellow mystics .....	7
4.	Kitāb al-Fanā' .....	17
5.	Kitāb al-Mithāq .....	37
6.	On Divinity .....	49
7.	Kitāb Fi'l Farq bayn al Ikhlās was-Sidq .....	56
8.	Another Chapter which dealt with <u>Tawhīd</u> .....	67
9.	Another Question (on <u>Tawhīd</u> ) .....	70
10.	Another Question (on <u>Tawhīd</u> ) .....	72
11.	Another Question (on <u>Tawhīd</u> ) .....	74
12.	Another Question (on <u>Tawhīd</u> ) .....	76
13.	Another Question (on <u>Tawhīd</u> ) .....	79
14.	Another Question (on <u>Tawhīd</u> ) .....	80
15.	The last Question on <u>Tawhīd</u> .....	84
16.	Rules of conduct for one who is dependent upon God .....	85
17.	The letter of Junayd to Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf ibn al-Husayn ar-Rāḡī .....	98

/

Another letter by ABU'L QASIM AL-JUNAYD  
to one of his fellow mystics.

---

May the beauty of that which God, the  
Magnificent, the Resplendent, has granted you,  
shine before you undimmed. May He grant you  
the clear perception of that which He has specially  
chosen for you and vouchsafed to you. May God  
reveal to you the true nature of your creation.  
May God prefer you by that gift which is not granted  
to others but is kept specially for you. May He  
bring you near unto Him, close to Him before Him,  
may He bring you nigh unto Him. May He grant you  
the joys of familiarity in proximity to Him, and may  
He commune with you. May He choose for you His  
beauteous behests and be your intimate ! May God  
grant you His aid in those significant stations, the  
state of proximity to Him, through His gifts of

/ of strength, assurance, quietness, acquiescence and composure. May God grant all this to you so that the ideas which occur to you and the revelations which reach you, are not too much for you ! When God first became your intimate it is so overpowering that amazement and astonishment overwhelm you in your ineffable discovery.

How can this be described, or the intellect perceive it, unless it be that God grants His control to the perception and His care to its secrets. Where are you when God has taken you entirely to Himself and has received before Him that of you which He desires ? When He has granted you the indulgence of His communion and favoured you with the ability to answer Him ? In this state you are spoken to and you speak; you are asked about yourself and you ask questions. The words communicated are as unique pearls, testimony upon

/ upon testimony, a cloud of witnesses multiplying continually, harbingers of divine grace. They are as heavy rain from every side, generous donors to you of glory from God the glorious. Were it not for God's gift of grace and His vouchsafing His holy spirit then would man's mind be completely stupified before Him and his perception, in the presence of God, utterly shattered. For God, may His praise be exalted and His holy name be sanctified, is the generous benefactor of him who puts his trust in Him and cossets him to whom He has granted the gift of companionship.

God carries for them that burden which He has undertaken and they bear that which He desires them to carry. To them has He granted the privilege of perceiving Him.

May God grant us and you, the station of  
the elect nigh unto Him !

Verily my Lord hearkens unto prayer and is  
nigh unto His worshippers.

The letter of ABU'L QASIM JUNAYD IBN MUHAMMAD  
to YAHYA IBN MŪ'ADH of RAYY.....may God have  
mercy on them both.

---

May you not be absent from Him who sees  
you by the barrier of yourself, and may that  
barrier not prevent Him from seeing you !

May you not change when God translates  
you from your present state, and may your state  
remain essentially constant when God translates  
you from your normal Self !

May you not be far removed from the true  
perception of God's revelation to you and may  
God's revelation to you not be far removed by  
the absence of revelation to you !

May you continue in timelessness to  
apprehend timelessness when you too are in your  
eternal state. May the Eternal always be your  
support for that of you which persists eternally !



Thus then you are in your pristine state, in the state before you had existence, in union with God but separate, and in that unity supported by God with no witness to see you.

May you not lose your spiritual individuality when you are absent from your temporal individuality as a result of the unknown when you are absent ! In this state " where ? " has no special significance since the concept of whereness is meaningless for the omnipresent. (If we say) God destroys (whereness) the destruction is itself destroyed in the eternity (implicit) in God, who brings all things to an end.

The union of that which has been separated and the separation of that which was in union with Him, are both ideas of Separation implicit in perfect union with God. Thus it is that union takes place through itself and for itself. It is union with God which God has made.

ANOTHER LETTER BY ABU'L QASIM AL-JUNAYD  
TO ONE OF HIS FELLOW MYSTICS.

---

May you continue, O created being, to remain at the gate of God, by His help and through His grace directed towards Him, seeking that which is of God's love in you. May you continue to enjoy those aspects of God and His extraordinary revelation which He vouchsafes, that love of God in you, which God's love grants to you, and whereby He brings you near unto Him.

God has chosen that in you which He desires in order that He may select you for that special gift which He has chosen for you. First God chooses you, then He causes to appear before you that with which He intends to endow you: with this He overwhelms you in the magnificence of His revelation, elevating you high above the vision of your fellow men, concealing your true nature from them. He

He withholds from them the knowledge of your (high) status and in His graciousness to you, He reveals to you the essence of the secrets of your status.

In this state you are in a place which its creator has buried away and hidden, He has concealed all traces of it from the perception of him who would perceive it. Thus, in this state, you are in the unseen world of whose true nature there can be neither doubt nor denial.

These are truths which can be apprehended with certainty, though direct vision of them is (by their very nature) denied to physical perception.

Over and above these truths are to be found the Unity of God, the dominion of His divinity, His separateness from the beginning and for ever, the perpetuity of His eternal continuance. Here then is the perception of those that understand shackled and the learning

/ learning of the learned halted. This is the objective of the wisdom of the wise. (This is as far as words can take us). What has been described is of the highest elevation and is as far as we can go since man's description of God is limited subjectively.

This then, (the limitation by man's perceptual range) is the gulf which divides the spiritual from the material until the day of resurrection. On this day, after humanity has passed a time in that gulf, when they have been brought back from the dead, they will know and recognise the gift of life and the donor of it. Their life is eternal and persists for ever by God's decree.

In what preceeds, I have only indicated what can be described at great length, but in this essay there is no place for a full description.

Oh' my Brother - may God be pleased with you -

I have received your letter which I was delighted both to read and interpret. I rejoiced in it from the beginning to the end. I was happy to discover the esoteric knowledge, fine wisdom, indications both clear and illuminating. That which you indicated was not concealed from me and I saw clearly that which was clearly described. All this reached my comprehension since I knew in advance the object which you sought. It is clear to me whether the thought leads, the object of its train as well as its origin, where the thought begins and where it ends and what happens to him in whom God inspires this train of thought. May you never lack the closest bonds with God, their continued existence through Him with Him. The conquering victories have prevailed, the clear manifestations have appeared and

11

°

/ and lead to the strength of their dominion, a dominion which is maintained by that constant victory resulting there from. These victories multiply and remain hidden, although in fact they are revealed in strength. These victories prevail against every onslaught, gloriously conquering without " where " and without " whether " essentially without progress to an objective and not leading to a limited destination which can be defined. These victories are completely overwhelming and universal.

Aha ! and what can come after this ? God has made them a target for bala and the object of His trial and banishment. He has brought upon them trials which were preordained, He gives them unadulterated death for a potion and causes to happen to them, that which He wills. Some there are who try to hold off the decree, who are pertinacious but are conquered

/ conquered, others accept without a struggle. Neither the one who accepts escapes through his resignation, nor does he who struggles get freedom from bala through his pertinacity. Their life's break is imprisoned by its very nature. At the height of bala they are restrained. They choke as they drink that bitter and deadly draught, they are face to face with death. If the spirit man can be said to pass away, perhaps that is its rest, but in death, the very pain of the taste of death imprisons. The soul and the hope of ultimate salvation after death is gone. But before death, their only course is bala.

Oh' my Brother, I have been able but to describe a few aspects of these people. I would not lengthen my discourse with a further description of their state. There are some who have heard an account of what these men have undergone, and before what

/ what ultimate realities they have come. These onlookers conceive the ambition of seeking after that elevated aim before they have passed through the state of reality (which precedes it). They are confused in their appreciation since the incorrect states appear to them like the correct states while the height of complete proximity to God is concealed from them. What happens to them is what would be expected for them, and error is continuous throughout their days. For themselves, they thought that they were of the elect, but in fact they were not. They were convinced that they had achieved a high state, a false conviction which goes with their present state.

Alas, alack ! How far indeed are they from achieving that eminence ! How grievous their error of judgment of their own attainment ! May God protect us and you my brother from being in a state



/ state which is not compatible with genuine reality, and not closely associated with that which God has established. In spite of what I have said about this state and what appertains to it, it is none the less an intermediate stage between two states. When it is revealed it shows itself to be a separate state between two stages. God's intention with regard to it was not in itself, but when truly achieved, it reveals in its turn, the next stage. It is only after this stage has been traversed that it is possible to have the knowledge of the great, the stages of the noble, the place of the wise, and the true exposition of the understanding of the learned. This final stage is one which, when a man thinks of it, and tries to describe it, or has the intention of explaining some of it, then " their faces are downcast before the Living, the Existing, they are undone

15  
/ undone by their burden of iniquity".

Oh' my brother ! May I not miss the point of that which you indicate which God has revealed to you ! May I always have happiness from you when you reach the goal which God has revealed to you. You are indeed one of my close companions, you share in my longings and are one of the leaders of my fellowship. You are of the friends of the heart for whom my devotion is sincere. Are you not one of those that remain of our brotherhood, one of us who has been singled out ? Are you not the recipient of the Grace of God who benefits us all ?

Oh' my brother ! Please continue your grace, your condescension, your good deeds, your writing to us and your communicating with us. We derive great joy from your good news and are delighted that you continue alive. We rejoice in the greatness

/ greatness of God's gift to you !      Should you  
consider us worthy please continue to enlighten us  
as your duty, but if you cannot find us worthy, please  
continue to enlighten us out of the goodness of your  
heart, a gracious gift from you to us.

                    To you, then, be the peace of God and His  
mercy, and on all our brotherhood.

KITĀB AL - FANĀ'.

A DISCOURSE of the IMAM ABU'L QĀSIM JUNAYD

IBN MUHAMMAD, - may God sanctify his soul. (1)

---

Praise be to God who severs the earthly bonds of those of His worshippers who seek Him and only Him and Who grants the favour of His truths to those who reach Him, who find their support in Him, when he gives them (real) existence and grants them the favour of His love. These that know Him does He list as His saints enjoying the various degrees of His benefactions. To them does He show the strength which emanates from Him and He endows them with something of His (divine nature) so that the passing thoughts which they encounter do not take possession of them. Nor do those qualities exist in them which might cause them ultimately to be lacking in the ability to achieve true unity with Him TAWHID, to be completely divorced from this world. All

---

(1) The title calls this work a Kalam which may be translated "discourse". It seems to us that Junayd when writing this essay chose the literary form of the spoken word and of questions and answers.

All this, then, is in accordance with God's call to them, their potentiality for intimacy with Him, the appearance of the Unseen and the proximity of the Beloved.

I heard Junayd continue as follows:-

Allah granted me the favour of this intimacy and then veiled Himself from me with the veil of my corporal limitations. And I am myself the source of my tribulation. Woe is me ! Allah first beguiled me and then disappointed me<sup>(1)</sup> (of His vision by my own physical weakness). It was my presence with Him which was the cause of my absence (from this world). My joy in my vision of God was the goal of my intense effort. But now my strength is gone and my spirit is departed. I have no taste for life nor can I savour the joy of His vision. I can no longer find true pleasure nor true pain. The world is become vapid. Yea, the very words I was wont to use have passed

---

(1) The Arabic word is *خدعني* which means literally - 'desired me.'

/ passed beyond my control. No phrases come to me, nor does any incentive invite me. That which was revealed to me has left me at the stage at which I was at the beginning.

Junayd was asked " How is it possible for you to speak in this way since no phrase comes to you and no incentive invites you ?" Junayd replied " I spoke when I was absent from my normal state and then an overpowering vision and a refulgent brilliance took possession of me and induced in me a state of fanā<sup>2</sup> creating me anew in the same way as He created me at first when I had no existence. Nor had I any sway over Him since no one can influence Him. Nor had I any knowledge of Him because He alone has this knowledge. Did he not obliterate my indentity by His own nature and in this process my perception passed from me because I was close to Him. He is the Creator and the Re-Creator."

I asked Junayd " what do you mean by the phrase ' He induced in me a state of fanā' by creating me anew, in the same way as He created me at first when I had no existence ?' He replied ' Do you not know that God said ' When God took of the sons of Adam' and he quoted the verse as far as 'We witness'.(1) In this verse God tells you that He spoke to them at a time when they did not exist, except in so far as they existed for Him.

This existence is not the same type of existence as is usually attributed to God's creatures, it is a type of existence which only God knows and only He is aware of. God knows their existence, embracing them, sees them in the beginning when they are non-existent and oblivious of their future existence in this world. The existence of these is timeless. This then is a divine existence

(2)  
and a God-like conception which becomes only Him.

It is for this reason that we said, that when God granted existence to His worshipper, He caused, as

---

(1) Qur'an 7, v.171

(2) Idrāk Ilāhī.

/ as it were, His desire to flow over him according to His will. This was possible because of God's divine and unique quality. This type of existence, then, is without doubt, the most perfect and penetrating. It is the most significant, dominant and more fully described as conquering victorious and genuinely overwhelming than the normal existence which appears on the worshipper, because in the divine existence his individuality is entirely obliterated and his worldly existence departs from him. This is because no human quality survives nor does normal human existence continue, as we have made clear in describing the divine qualities of God's Truth and God's Victory.

Now hand in hand with this spiritual metamorphosis goes a metamorphosis in values. Thus the pleasing is not of the accepted order of the pleasing, God's generosity is no longer of the usually accepted order of His generosity, because God neither feels nor is felt,



/felt, He does not introduce variations into His nature. No one knows the nature of His kindness to His creatures, since it is a divine kindness which only God can know and do. In view of the foregoing we said that God has obliterated what appears to the worshipper and when He has overwhelmed him, God shows himself as the most overpowering, the perfect conqueror, the completely victorious.

So I asked, "What can those, who have the quality described, find, in view of the fact that you postulate the removal of the essential nature of their existence and their knowledge?" He replied, "Their full spiritual existence is of God and from God and is revealed to them from God through His word and his complete Sovereignty. This full spiritual existence is not achieved through their own unaided efforts, nor is it what they might imagine after complete subservience to God when their perception is removed and their soul

/ soul annihilated, since God is separate from them and not bound to them. How can they find or describe what they have not experienced or lived through, or what they sought for and had knowledge of? This is proved by the tradition which we have. It is related that the Prophet said " My servant draws nigh unto me by works of supererogation and I love him; and when I love him, I am his ear, so that he hears by me, and his eye, so that he sees by me". (1)

The Tradition continues in this wise but I have adduced an extract long enough to prove my point. When God is his ear so that he hears by him and his eye by which he sees, is the formulation of a conception which is hard to comprehend. How can you bring it into the scope of your knowledge? If any one were to make such a claim it would be manifestly wrong, since this is knowledge of a nature, such that it cannot be perceived by means which are known to us and understood by us.

---

(1) This Hadīth is canonical, accepted by all traditionalists. It goes back to Abū Hurayra.

/ us. The meaning of this tradition can only be that it is God who strengthens him, who enables him to achieve this, who guides him and who gives give the vision of what He wishes in the manner He wishes so that he achieves rightness and is in accord with Truth. This then is the act of God in him, the gift of God to him and only to him. It is not to be attributed positively to the worshipper, since it does not originate from him, nor out of him, nor through him. Nay: it comes over him from elsewhere and must therefore be attributed to another source. This then is a possible interpretation of this secret and independent state of the nature described above.

I asked, "How can this presence before God be the cause of his absence, and the enjoyment of the vision of God be the ultimate object of his efforts; seeing that it is well known that men do enjoy and find presence before God without strenuous effort, nor are

/are they absent ?" He replied" What you say is common knowledge and in the nature of human experience as it is usually described. But those endowed with special spiritual qualities, those who are the elect, those who have been singled out for their extraordinary spiritual capacity, they are those whose presence before God is absence, and whose enjoyment of the vision of God is the result of their strenuous spiritual efforts. This takes place because of the removal from them as they are, both of their physical and of their spiritual perceptions. This is since God has taken complete possession of them. He has obliterated their personality and annihilated their individual qualities. As a result it is God who functions in them in all their concerns, it is God who establishes the motives for their actions. This is but an aspect of his perfection and completeness.

In this state they find God's grace though they are absent and enjoy an existence which differs from familiar existence when the ultimate truth of God is refulgent and His victory complete. When the spirit is without that indescribable bliss which is not felt by the soul, nor comparable with any other sensation, the spirit becomes used to this complete fana, and finds that its fana prevents it achieving baqa. But when God brings the spirit back to its normal state, he re-establishes it and gives it back to its own nature. Thus the experience with God and from God is hidden, the soul grieves, and becomes used to its normal state, because it has lost its first perfection and highest favour. It has been brought back to the shackles of reason and perception. Its regret is profound and its anguish for what it has lost continues in its conscious existence and present reality. This then is the reason for the soul's longing, its needs have returned to it:

/ it; how can it not suffer by being banished from God?

The soul was satisfied and now thirsts anew.

Thus it is that the souls of those who have known God seek after the green pastures, the beautiful vistas, the fresh green gardens - but all other things which they long for, echoing their experience before God are a source of pain for them because they serve only to remind them that they are unattainable and recall the lost Beloved. *cannot attain what they long for* Sad indeed is their lot !

The reference (in the Hadith) to God's gift of the faculties to His worshipper is explicit and not to be taken in a figurative sense. The exact nature of these faculties is known only to God. Those whom He endows with these faculties, those who are cognisant of them and have been chosen to enjoy them..... for those so elect it is not seemly that human concepts should occur to them or human motives activate them. These faculties constitute a quality which persists after true fana, when

/ when his human nature vanishes because he is in the presence of God, overcome by God's victory, conquered by Him and completely possessed of Him, and that his individual characteristics are wiped out before the divine presence. As a result it is not possible for him, in this divine state, to approach the ultimate reality which now possesses him. It is only in this state that God can be seen in His exalted nature, His beatific names be appreciated. / It is only after this stage has been achieved that it is possible for the worshipper to experience the "testing time", he struggles and prevails and is faithful to God and then he is conquered by that which obliterates him, that same strength, that elevated spiritual stage, that noble relationship with God.

I said, " What you have told me is indeed remarkable. How is it then that those who enjoy this elevated relationship can also experience balā'? Please

/ Please expound this for me." He said, " Know that at this stage when they seek God it is in accordance with His will, and when they do not seek God, it is also in accordance with His will. At this stage then, when God has complete possession of them, bala overtakes them because of their human qualities which still persist, because of their enjoyment of physical pleasures. This then is the veil between them and God which God has placed between them so that they can still retain a measure of their individuality and use both their physical and spiritual faculties in this environment of glory, in this condition induced by dhikr, in victory of God's conquest. How can this be known to you if none but the elect know it, and only they can discover it, and only they are capable of this knowledge ? Can you understand how it is that they should seek God and yet not reach Him though they are helped by God's revelation to them, and are aided by the help of God's



/ God's truths ? It is because God has made them cognisant of an aspect of His existence and given them complete conviction of His hidden secrets which are the path to Him when the human qualities are obliterated and human needs are nullified. As a result, contact with God develops and the spiritual stages become elevated as the human perception is lost and the individuality passes away. He now presents them with effacement after they have lost their earthly individuality and reveals to them reality after they have found reality with God.

This existence before God and vision of Him still emanates in some degree from themselves and is of the nature of a light veil or a thin curtain. When they come before it, they are overcome by grief for what they have lost and become aware of the intense effort they have made. This is because they have been overcome by that which is without cause and that which is not subject to external influence.

/ influence. Now at this stage the intimacy which they seek with God is in accordance with His will, and that from which they withhold themselves in their relationship with Him, is dictated by what He withholds. Their new knowledge of Him is that which God has inspired in them and not that which they know of Him as individuals. Then is their abode in strength and they attain true intimacy with God; they in themselves become fully preoccupied and there grows up in them from God, the quality of existence and non-existence. At this stage the anguish of the spiritual trial waxes.

I asked " then describe to me how bala envelopes them when they have fully achieved this wonderful state, when they are constantly near to God." He replied, " They have sufficient with what has already appeared to them and no longer have desires of the spirit. They have given over striving and donned the garb of God's victory which has come from His positive power and His awe-

/ awe-inspiring glory. At this stage they can view the world with their own perception and do not have recourse to the perception which comes from God since they are wholly separate and divided from Him, and use their own eyes - God being firmly established in His power and glory. When the manifestations of God appear to them, God drives them through their own qualities in His path of victory and glory. It is a stage which they leave without any claim to God, preferring their unique Spiritual happiness, confident in their new found intimacy, sure of access to God, they are free of formal obligations and will not be called to give account of their actions. It is at this stage (1) of confident intimacy that God's test is visited upon them suddenly and without warning."

I said, " You talk far above my head and have left me in a whirl. Please be simpler and talk so that I can understand." He said as follows:-

---

(1) The word Makara means to scheme and sometimes to deceive. Thus we translate it. See Qur'an 3, 54.

/ follows:- " When those who experience bala<sup>ā</sup> achieve that contact with God which He vouchsafes to them and when His behest comes to them, their inner spirit is metamorphosed and their spirit has lost its way, as it were, in eternity. The familiar places were not there for a refuge and the former homes of the body can no longer surround the new abode of the spirit. They are consumed with longing for Him who has brought them bala<sup>ā</sup>, and moan constantly in this second loss of their individuality. This loss has been a grievous wound to them, their new state has depressed them. They are very sorrowful, suffering deeply as they seek after God. They are overcome by a thirst which is all-consuming and constantly increasing. The pursuit of knowledge of God is now the constant preoccupation of the soul, It is entirely devoted to submerging its individuality in the attainment of intimacy with God. This thirst from God

/ God for God is an anguish even more intense than the mourning for a near relative. God makes of every external form a sign. He gives to the soul the taste of poverty and renews for the soul knowledge of the experience of spiritual effort.

The soul accepts the spiritual burden with its implication of suffering, seeks for its cure and is preoccupied with that divine revelation vouchsafed to it. As a result, it is able to view the remote with the eye of propinquity, to be closer to God because a veil has been removed and it is no longer completely concealed.. Though the soul has bala it is not rejected. How can it be hidden from God by a veil when it is, as it were, a captive before Him, imprisoned in front of Him, God has allowed the suppression of the individuality when the man has bala. The soul no longer arrogates a degree of importance to its individuality but is amply

/ amply satisfied with God's love and propinquity.

Such then is the infinite duration of this newly found spiritual life and the intensity of the stage of bala that the suppression of the individuality is completely swamped by the lightning flash of God's regard.

As a result, the soul derives spiritual pleasure from bala and is delighted with its bala with God, because it can enjoy propinquity with God and the sting of bala is assuaged. The soul is not bent down under the burden of bala, nor does it chafe at its spiritual load. Their experience makes heroes of them, because of the secrets revealed to them they stay conquered by God awaiting His commands " That  
(1)  
Allah designate what shall be done." Those who have experienced balā fall into two classes, on the one hand those who are at home with their bala and live constantly

---

(1) Qur'an

/ constantly with God's desire, ... at the same time his interest in worldly affairs continues. None the less, he prefers to continue to have physical enjoyment as well as spiritual pleasure. God therefore makes a test for him in the continued choice between the two pleasures. It is a glorious trial. [As for the second class of those that experience *balā* and are not spiritually elevated, it is said that the reason for their departure from the state of grace is their lack of spiritual competence and the weakness of their spirit.] (1)

---

(1) This last passage has been added for the purpose of completing the course of thought.

IN THE NAME OF GOD THE COMPASSIONATE  
THE MERCIFUL.

*Kitab al Mithāq*

"What follows are Junayd's remarks on the Qur'anic verse ( Sura VII verse 172) " When thy Lord took the descendants of Adam." In the opinion of the scribe it is suitable to call these remarks KITAB AL-MĪTHĀQ, i.e. The Book of Covenant. The reason for this choice of title is that SAHL also has a work on the same subject and ~~that~~ <sup>(1)</sup> ~~it~~ carries the title proposed here, viz, AL-MĪTHĀQ."

Praise be to God who has made His graciousness to His worshippers, which is the revelation of His grace, a clear guide to knowledge of Him. This spiritual grace is in the measure of man's capacity to understand and to perceive. It is the capacity which enables him to communicate with God before his corporal existence. I praise Him throughout all eternity and I offer him my

(1) Sahī al Tustarī



/ my gratitude everlastingly.

I testify that there is no God but God, the Unique, the One who is alone, the Eternal, the Holy.

And I testify that MUHAMMAD, may God's grace and peace be upon him, is the one who has been made perfect by prophethood, and the one who has completed (God's) mission.

Now God has the elect among His worshippers and the chosen of those whom He has created. These are those whom He has chosen to be His saints and to be the recipients of His graciousness. He has thereby separated them from the mass of mankind unto Himself. But he has made their bodies to be of this world, their spirits of the nature of light, their apperception of the nature of spirit. He made intellects bounded by the throne of God, but their understanding bounded by the veil. He has made the abode of their spirits to be of the nature of the unseen in the very dwelling

/ dwelling place of the unseen, and he has granted them freedom of access to the hidden corners of His Kingdom. He is their only refuge and with Him alone do they abide. In <sup>the</sup> (their) timeless existence before Him and in <sup>the</sup> (their) state of unity with Him, it is He who had granted them their being. When He called them and they answered quickly, their answer was a gracious and generous gift from Him, it was His answer on their behalf when he granted them their being, their function being that of interlocutors. He gave them knowledge of Him when they were only concepts which He had conceived. He then wished it, and made them like seeds which He transformed at His will into human seeds and put them in the reigns of Adam. As we read " And when He had brought forth their descendants from the reins of the Sons of Adam and took them to witness against themselves, " Am I not " said He, " your Lord ?." In this verse Allah has stated that He spoke to them when they had no formal existence.

/ existence. This is possible because Allah perceives them in their Spiritual existence. This spiritual existence connotes their knowledge of God spiritually without in any way postulating their being aware of their own individuality. It follows then that at this stage God has existence of a sort which is known only to Him and recognised only by Him.

Now God, in recognising their existence, comprehending them and seeing them, created them for the first time in a state of spiritual abstraction. Those who existed in the timeless existence are those who exist in the world which we know who are capable of abstraction from it and can abide with God. When they are completely imbued with the Divine qualities, freed from the shackles of time, and have something of the nature of eternity, all these qualities dominate them when God desires their abstraction from this world so

/so that they can abide with Him in the next, and He can instruct them to know His unseen, and so that he can show them the hidden corners of His knowledge and can grant them union with Him.

After their union with Him, He separates them from Himself (and grants them their individuality again) then He makes them absent (from this world) when they are in union with Him, and makes them present (in this world) when He has separated them from himself ( and granted them their individuality again). Thus it is that their absence from this world is but a facet of their presence with God and their presence in this world is a necessary cause of their absence from God. (As sentient individuals) they are dazzled by the sight of the emanations from Him, but with the passing of the faculty of rational perception, their individuality passes too, and so He removes them from this world. He grants perfection to their FANA by

/ by granting them the state of BAQA and perfects  
this BAQA after FANA by FANA.

The circumstances of this world surround  
them in so far as God has willed it since He wills  
it in his unique and elevated capacity. Whereas  
their first existence is completely real, is better,  
higher, and more conducive to God's conquest and  
victory, and to their complete absorption in Him  
by means of that which He has granted them. In this  
state God wipes out all indications of their existence  
in this world and removes the signs of their corporal  
existence and their human existence vanishes. More-  
over, they have no physical attributes, no perceptible  
existence, nor can the indications of their existence  
in this world be comprehended fully. All these  
indications conceal the timelessness of spiritual  
existence. The bliss of this spiritual existence

/ existence is not comparable with human bliss.

Though the same word is used, the meaning is different.

In both cases the general nature of the bliss is the same, but the signs and indications are different.

Whereas the external signs are pleasurable the taste is in fact marred by bitterness. Their thoughts are constantly directed towards their Beloved and their inward thoughts never cease from praising the Lord.

At this moment the turbulent seas of the zealous God rage against them and severe indeed is their trial when they are on the verge of it, and their souls weaken while they wait patiently for it. Then that which was familiar to them becomes strange and that which they knew not becomes crystal clear. They are distinguished by their knowledge of truth before God when God creates in them the faculty of true knowledge of Himself. This faculty emanates from God and must be attributed to Him and not to the person in whom it

/ it is endowed. The possession of this faculty marks the fullness of endeavours before God.

At this stage God does not give precise definition to their trials, else they might rest back, nor does He indicate the exact nature of their endeavour lest they rest on their laurels. He makes His elect preoccupied independently of one another and separates them from one another. Thus at the same time, they are both present and not in existence. The fullness of their endeavour is in their enjoyment of the vision of God, because after He has obliterated in them every trace of corporal and <sup>of</sup> spiritual existence, they can find Him themselves, and have vision of Him in their new state. In this state he has full possession of them and has destroyed their individuality (and has removed their characteristics) as we perceive it. In a word, perception of the truth comes from the Truth par Excellence, that is God, if and when God so wills

/ wills it, and in the measure of His recognition of their worthiness and in His enabling them to achieve it. God, as it were, replaces the faculty of perception which they had prior to His taking full possession of them.

He creates in them both the associated qualities and the faculty of perception which are in accord with His own type of perfection and completeness. As a result, the joy which they experience is not of the same order as normal human joy and has in it something of a trial. / This is because Existence after complete personal suppression is not the same as normal human existence, the ultimate Truth of God is now refulgent and His victory is complete.

When the spirit is without that indescribable bliss which is not felt by the soul nor comparable with any other sensation, the spirit becomes used to this complete fana, and the individuals are, as it



/it were, cast into the desolation of destruction of the spirit's trials. Then they become familiar with this state after fanā' and no longer are satisfied with their normal taste and cannot accept their previous type of existence. God absorbs them unto Himself without heeding their attributes or any characteristic whatsoever which may be attributed to them. He does not heed either those inclinations with which He has endowed them which create the describable qualities in them. Now those special qualities which enable man to come high unto God are lost in all his other qualities when man cannot find the path to achieve the approach to the highest existence in Truth (HAQQ) which God has enabled him to have. Thus then are His high attributes, the strength of His manifestation and the glory of His dominion.

Now it comes to pass that those who, having approached God and having stayed with God and having been certain of their contact with God, and not having deceived themselves about their own experience are put to God's test by the subsequent complete obliteration of their experience.

At this stage God endows them with strength, high degree, honoured intimacy and the glory of close relationship with Him. God's test is that He now presents them with effacement after they have already lost their earthly individuality, with reality after they have found Reality in God.

The severity of this test lies in the fact that when brought face to face with ultimate effacement and true reality, then and only then, can they realise the degree of their inability to comprehend and the excessive brilliance of the vision which is beyond the confines of knowledge and which defies description.

Now at this stage the intimacy which they seek with God is in accordance with His will and that from which they withhold themselves in their relationship with Him is dictated by what He withholds. (1)

And their new knowledge of Him is that which God inspired in them and not that which they know of Him as individuals. Then is their abode in strength and they attain true intimacy with God; they are elected to the presence of God who had Himself witnessed their transmutation. What they have perceived is through God who unites each one's perception of Him and retains His separate entity. God is above human description and exalted far beyond a similarity with His creations.

---

Literally:

- (1) And they seek from Him concerning that which He sought from them and try to withhold from Him that which He formerly withheld from them.

ON DIVINITY

Said Abū'l Qāsim al-Junayd - may God have mercy on Him ! God was in isolation with the elect and divinity was maintained in absoluteness for them alone. The first appearance of God's visitation was when He delivered to them the evidence of His causing them to appear and made them to dwell with divinity from its inception. God created timelessness, eternally continuous, lasting always, that which has neither end or termination. Then God added to this the testimony of the power of His glory, the extent of His splendour, the display of His conquest, the height of His elevation, the dominion of His sovereignty, the intensity of His awe, the nobility of His majesty, the splendour of His rule. By these qualities then, does He allow himself to be distinguished. He is magnified and exalted by His pride.

Thus /

Thus then, God in truth and by the measure of truth, is the ultimate truth, and God in truth and by the measure of all decisions, is the final arbiter.

His unity in the uniqueness of His power is one, unique and eternal.

This then is the prime evidence that God has so inspired the elect that they can appreciate fully the significance of Uluhiya, that He has brought them near unto Him. In this state, God enables them further to know those of His fine attributes which He had withheld from them, which He had concealed within His protection. These attributes, some of which have been referred to and others which have not been mentioned, describe union with God and separation from Him, according to God's will that they be revealed or withheld. Some of these true names of God are self explanatory, their meaning is implicit in their use, they are exalted in their ways,

/ ways, elevated in their dwelling places, and travel freely. These attributes are extinguished when God permits them to be absorbed into that which Truth had protected and concealed, had hidden and kept away, had covered up and screened from sight; Qualities which Truth has overcome and made its own, has conquered and made subject.

Then the manifestations of reality vanish in their division without being cut. When it is united (in God) it is extraordinarily elevated, magnified in its appearance and ennobled by the inviolability of its laws; awe inspiring with divine awe, glorious in God's glory, and victorious in God's victory. And if you ask "how does the conception of 'where?' apply in this, the answer is that in so far as the word 'where?' can apply to Him the answer is not confined to the limits of our conception of space. This is because 'where?'

'where?' as applied to God is in proportion to His timeless continuance. Thus then the "where ?" as applied to or for God is not the "where ?" which we know since it is only applicable to divinity. It is an aspect displayed by God when all the manifestations of reality are united.

God then it is that causes His elect to perceive the awaited evidence of His truth, these to whom this description applies. It is in His separate existence, and peculiar knowledge.

The foregoing is but an indication of what cannot be further explained. Moreover this of its very nature cannot be understood from indications, but only when you yourself are in the state which is described. I have wrapped up what is in it and have not elaborated it. Accept it then from the only source of it. If God wills He will guide you to its comprehension.

One of the features which God as creative Truth has implanted in the conception of the separate (human entity) (1) is that He causes to be intimately associated with the individual the manifestation of that wherewith He clothes His elect, He has clothed them with the manifestation of that wherewith He has them in His thrall. Thus the elect to whom God makes this revelation, are themselves the testimonies to the mysteries which He has concealed. Whenever He causes the elect to see something of the divine revelation He buries, as it were, the man who has achieved this spiritual state in the state of concealed mystery. The elect, when they see what God causes them to see, are in a state of continued exaltation inspired by God's revelation. At this stage, God's revelation is that of a secret cautiously and tremulously shown, of the

---

(1) Ismu'l-Tafriqa literally "the name of separation" has been rendered as above taking ISM as a technical term in logic when it is used to particularise a general idea as in ISMUL-JINS, genus then generic.



the hidden being discovered, before God enables the elect to see past the curtain which conceals this unusual divine aspect. Then God shows the evidence of His generosity, his predestined affection. He demonstrates this to them in the fact of His receiving them, in showing them the glory of their new dwelling place, in proclaiming the state of the achievement of fulfilment and the attainment of every thing which was beloved, sought after and longed for. This then is the perfect gift of sincere companionship, the essence of the gift of God's proximity.

Then when they are confined and confident in the stage where God has placed them, God grants them another grace in that He shows them how to lose the temporal shackles of their individuality, how to apprehend what He offers them, how to renounce the gifts generously given, and the affection bestowed on them as

as individuals. He grants to His elect the contrary of the former testimonies since He desires to bring them to this new state of grace thereby and demands it of them.

If you were to see the elect at the instant of their vision of God and the station in which God has placed them, you would see nothing but the hostages of captive bodies, the physical relics of souls which are about in heaven. God has exhausted them by obliteration in the Kingdom of His glory and completely tired them out by His excessive trial in His absence from them.... an absence which causes them to cry out in anguish, an overwhelming grief which makes them cry aloud. God stops their very breathing, imprisons their breath within them so that their life's breath circulates only in God, and they are, as it were, made one with Him. This is but part of the science of tawhid which God indicates to His chosen.

KITAB FI'L-FARQ BAIN AL-IKHLĀṢ WAṢ-SIDQ.

In the Name of God, Most Gracious, Most  
Merciful, Praise be to God, and peace be on His  
servants whom He hath chosen.

Abū al-Qāsim al-Junayd - may God sanctify his  
soul and give light to his grave - says as follows:-

May God grant thee the happiness of His nearness.

And may He at all times give thee new increase  
of His goodness;

And may He protect thee in the shade of His  
merciful wing;

And may He make your refuge near to Him, even  
where He has made to abide the souls of His privileged  
ones - those to whom He has given His protection, whom  
naught can overtake and naught can hinder and whose  
devotion to God naught can disturb;

The prayers and peace of God be upon His Apostle,  
his family and his companions.

.....

You have asked me what is the difference between IKHLĀS (unquestioning submission to God, hence righteousness) and SIDQ (a correct relationship with God, hence righteousness).

SIDQ is to keep strict watch and ward on one's soul, after having performed one's religious duties and acted according to religious precepts. Further it implies the public performance of all legal duties, and that this performance in the beginning be based in good will and devotion to God - may He be exalted and magnified.

SIDQ is therefore an attribute of the Will and is present at the inception of the Will, at the performance of religious injunctions acting as the impulse to the Will in as much as God makes the way unto Himself.

It is on this path that SIDQ prevents you from acquiescing to the desire of your lower soul to relax in your religious duty. It impels you to accept religious

/ religious precepts plainly without having recourse to complex interpretation.

SIDQ therefore existed before the existence of IKHLĀS itself. In the Koran we have the phrase - "He will ask the Sādiqin" - (possessors of Sidq), that is once they have acquired Sidq, "what it meant to them". God has spoken of the Sādiqin using the word in a different sense, when He says "This is the day on which Sidq will help the Sādiqin".

SIDQ, in the first passage, implies that God recognises in the Sādiqin, a distinction between their Sidq and their Ikhlas, because Ikhlas exists as an attribute of man in two separate states - in the state of Conviction and Intention, and secondly in the state of Action.

IKHLĀS, as an attribute of the Sādiq, is present in his Conviction, it has nothing to do with

/ with the nature of Sidq since IKHLĀS is almost intuitive. A man who understands the meaning and purpose of all his actions and does not do those actions which do not conform with IKHLĀS - such a man is called <sup>by</sup> MUKLĪS.

IKHLĀS is primarily the recognition of the Unity of God with the will, and secondly, the recognition and avoidance of those actions which are evil.

( The term SIDQ is used both of man and of God, but in different senses). When it is used of man, the reference is to the order of his piety (Sidq) and not to his IKHLĀS. When it is used of God it connotes IKHLĀS. Thus one can say " so and so has Sidq " with reference to his knowledge of religious precepts and his assiduity in their performance. But one cannot say " so and so has Ikhlas". IKHLĀS is a purely personal and intimate quality which cannot be directly perceived by one's fellow men. Sidq is then a patent attribute of its

/ its possessor, whereas IKHLAS is not visible.

The SADIQ is so called because of the attributes he so patently possesses. We may call a man Sadiq having observed his outward actions. He must also have some degree of Ikhlas inwardly. However, in order to show the qualities of <sup>Sadiq</sup> Sadiq, the sādiq has to understand the meaning of things, so that he can accept and do those actions which conform with his religious persuasions and reject those actions which do not conform.

IKHLAS is superior to SADIQ, in that implicit in IKHLAS is the knowledge of the significance and ultimate purpose of all things, and moreover, he who possesses IKHLAS, has the power to resist the evil suggestions of Satan because his heart is pure.

Nothing excels IKHLAS, because, for the worshipper in his primitive state, there is no goal in devotion beyond Ikhlas.

We /

We do not say that there are degrees of IKHLAS, because IKHLĀS is in itself an ultimate goal, whereas that there are degrees of ŠIDQ is implicit in the verse in the Quran when God is referred to as asking the Sadiqin about their Sidq. He does not ask the M<sup>u</sup>khlisin about their Ikhlās, since that is the essential quality which God demands of the true worshipper.

So Ikhlās excels Šidq, and Šidq is below Ikhlās.

Now ŠIDQ is used in three senses; the sadiq in his words, the sadiq in his action, the sadiq in his intention. The Šādiq in words is one who tells the truth, whether it be in his favour or against him, who avoids specious interpretation and deceit. The Sadiq in action is one who never spares himself and does not consider his own personal comfort. The Šādiq in intention is one whose actions are dictated by the fact that his heart is turned towards God. A man, then, who possesses all these qualities is the true Šādiq.

However /



However, it must be realised that Sidq is ever present with the Ṣadīq and never in any circumstances absent ( see my analysis on this point at the beginning of this book). Thus, we have Sidq in pious action, in self denial, in asceticism, in trust in God, in spiritual happiness, in love of God, in desire for God, in declaring the Unity of God in the Moslem sense, in the qualities of the (murid) Ṣūfī novice and the Sufi initiate both at the beginning of his meditations and after them. All these stages of spiritual experience inevitably bear testimony to Sidq.

Now the meaning of IKHLĀS is complete and exclusive concentration on God. This focussing of intention towards God demands that the MUKHLIṢ shall be aware of the implication of things and recognise that they change constantly. He will thus accept what conforms with the full focussing of his intention towards God and reject

/ reject those indulgences prompted by either his worse self (~~the~~) or the Devil, which do not conform. In this state his personal vision departs and he realises it is a gift of God which has replaced it. The MUKHLIS will remain in a state of equanimity when his fellow men deride him because he recognises God's gift of IKHLĀS to him, and he will be displeased when his fellow men praise him, since he fears that he may lose God's gift of Ikhlās and he no longer considers his fellow men when the spiritual state comes upon him. This is a sign which is visible to the vision of the Mukhlis, but does not exist in the vision of other beings.

Now the qualities of SIDQ and IKHLĀS are both present in one who is a MUKHLIS, whereas the man who is described as a SADIQ and therefore has the quality of Sidq is only at the threshold of IKHLĀS. The ultimate quality to which we refer when we speak of 'obūdiya

---

(1) in Qoran

(true worship of God) in those seeking the path to God,  
is IKHLĀS.

As for the genuine Sadiq, God may well grant  
him Ikhlas which is the next stage; in the same way  
the genuine MUKHLIS may in his next stage be granted  
the ability ( Kifāya ) which was lacking prior to this,  
to concentrate his spiritual perception on God (Baṣīra).  
The man who has attained this spiritual perception  
completely, may well be granted in the next stage pro-  
tection from his own evil instincts. (Hiyāṭa).

At this last stage God has full possession  
of his worshipper, He has overcome his faculty of  
reason and has annihilated his struggling individuality.

When God has full possession of the worshipper  
He has endowed him with a new spiritual nature which  
replaces the individuality with which he formerly  
worshipped God. It is with this new and special faculty  
that it is now possible for him to worship God as one.

It is at this stage that the worshipper first realises to the full the significance of the special TAWHĪD and that his acceptance of the reality of the physical world is replaced by his perception of reality itself. In the same way the significance of the events in his life is that they are now in accordance with the will of his possessor, the external characteristics of these events being entirely without significance.

When the worshipper reaches this stage, he can no longer be described in rational terms; in fact the promptings of reason to the worshipper who has realised to the full the special TAWHĪD are nothing but evil whispers which he must overcome.

It is Reason which formerly directed the worshipper in his worship when he worshipped God as an individual, but when he is completely possessed by God his individuality is suppressed. He is, as it were,

/ were, transmuted. His external characteristics remain the same, but his individuality has vanished. Thus he is at once present and absent.

ANOTHER CHAPTER WHICH DEALS WITH TAWHĪD.

Know that the first condition of the worship of God, may be exalted and magnified, is knowledge of God and that the basis of knowledge of God is the recognition of His being one - (tawhīd), and that the methodology of this conception of this conception is essentially the absolute negation of the possibility of describing God in answer to the questions " How ? " " Where ? " and " when ? ". It is through God that we can be guided aright to Him, and the means of this correct Guidance is God's permission that we may succeed in finding Him (tawfīq). When this permission is granted, the recognition of His unity follows. His tawhīd connotes belief in Him. From belief in Him follows confirmation which in turn leads to knowledge of Him. Knowledge of Him implies obedience to His commands, obedience carries with it the ascent towards Him which leads ultimately to

/ to reaching Him. When God is attained His manifestation can be expounded, from His manifestation there follows bewilderment which is so overwhelming that it removes the possibility of the exposition of God. As a result of losing this manifestation of God the elect worshipper is unable to describe God. And when the worshipper is unable to describe God, he finds the true nature of his existing for God. From the true nature of such existence (for God's sake only) there comes the vision of God, together with the losing of his individual identity. Thus, with loss of his individual identity, his spiritual identity achieves absolute purity. In this state of absolute purity he has lost his personal attributes; by this loss he is wholly present (in God). By being wholly present in God, he is wholly lost to self. And thus he is present before God, absent in himself; absent and present at the same time. He is where he is not,

/ not, and he is not where he is. Then, after he has not been, he is where he had been (sc. before creation). He is himself, after he has not been truly himself. He is present in himself and in God after having been present in God and absent in himself. This is because he has left the intoxication of God's overwhelming and comes to the clarity of sobriety, and contemplation is once more restored to him, so that he can put everything in its right place and assess it correctly. Once more he assumes his individual attributes, after ~~fan~~ his personal qualities persist in him and his actions in this world, when he has reached the zenith of spiritual achievement vouchsafed by God, becomes a pattern for his fellow men.



ANOTHER QUESTION.

A man who has acquired knowledge genuinely, who performs what this religious knowledge demands punctiliously, who is completely devoted to it, will find that the exigencies of that knowledge will not coincide with his instinctive spiritual desires. This gap, though he is aware, conscious and active, will lead him to have recourse to the science of the search after the return to God (~~HARR~~) while he is still aware, conscious and active. He then returns to God, humble, modest, poor and with little, and asks Him to carry his burden of genuine knowledge. At this stage he becomes able to carry out the exigencies of the second type of knowledge by the dominance of his instinctive spiritual desires over his actions and is no longer positively aware of his genuine knowledge of the first type, which bound him to the conditions laid down in its edicts. When the two types of knowledge (namely the theoretical knowledge and the intuitive) are merged by the discovery of the reality

reality of intuitive knowledge and the discarding of the reality of the first type, the elect has achieved true knowledge of the spiritual trial (balā'). He tastes the bitter cup of God's censorship which makes it abundantly clear to him that he still has other characteristics and that within himself, his nature still has hidden qualities; all this while he is going towards absolute and genuine "tawhid". Bala diminishes in its rigour, in proportion as the intuition dominates and coincides with his natural desires (which are now elevated) as we have already described. At this stage, he comes to the obliteration of his individual instinctive desire for pleasure and also to the vanishing of his critical distinction with regard to the purification of his instincts through the disappearance of his desire for pleasure. Then is he able fully to comprehend the true indications towards God from the nature of events, the changes in things, without need for mediums of understanding since now his faculty of distinction coincides with a purified intuition.

ANOTHER QUESTION

Fear distresses me, Hope comforts me, Reality  
 (1)  
 unites me with God, and Ritual separates me from God.

When God distresses me with fear, he obliterates my existence and takes care of me. When he comforts me with hope, he returns my existence to me after my absence and commands me to take care of myself. When He unites me with Him through the real (vision of God) He causes me to be present before Him and invites me. When God separates me from Him by ritual, He shows me that which is not my true self and covers me up (so that I cannot see Him). In all these states it is God who moves me without keeping me still, who makes me unfamiliar with my own spirit and ill at ease in these states.

When I am before God I taste the savour of my existence - would that God would obliterate my existence

---

(1) The word HAKK, according to Ibn 'AJĪBA ( ) refers to those religious duties (Huquq) incumbent on the worshipper which can be performed only when the worshipper is in a state of tafrika, separation from God and not in a state of jam, union with God, see IRAZ-AL-HIMAM vol 1, pages 126 et seq.

/ existence and cause me to enjoy His vision, or that He would make me absent from my sensation and give me respite from that which is due to Him as formal ritual. Would that God would show me complete fanā' in which is my eternal life.

My fanā' is my baqā'. In my genuine fana God obliterates in me, both my fanā' and baqā', so that when I am totally obliterated, I am without either baqā' or fanā' in my state of fanā' and baqā'. This is because the state of baqā' and fanā' apply to the existence of some being other than me, when I am obliterated.

//

ANOTHER QUESTION

Know that men are recognized by experience of their righteousness, their unsparing efforts to uphold the precepts laid down by God, persisting in their devotions from stage to stage until they reach the true and highest stage of worship of God. This is externally visible since they no longer have a choice in action, but are content to do God's will.

These then are the facts accepted by the community as indicating those combined characteristics which appear externally when the elect have reached that stage. This true and highest stage leads him to the vision of God, comprehension of God's guidance to Him, in modifying events for him to choose what God has chosen for him. These facts indicate that his fellow men have left him because his character has been modified for them and he is no longer aware of

/ of them. This is the stage of companionship. In the Koran we have the verse in which God says to Moses " I have taken you unto myself as a companion". In this stage of companionship, the range of his movements is limited, he can only go from God to God, for God and in God. He has fana and this too is obliterated because he persists in Baka only through complete obliteration.

God desires to return his worshipper to the community and does so, making clear the evidence of His grace to him, so that the lights of His gifts in the return of his individual characteristics scintillate and attract the community to him who appreciate him.

ANOTHER QUESTION

Know that you are your own veil which conceals yourself from you. Know also that you cannot reach God through yourself, but that you reach Him through Him. The reason is that when God vouchsafes the vision of reaching Him, he calls upon you to seek after Him and you do so. When you have the vision of seeking after God you will apprehend its nature and the effort required to achieve what you desire. At this stage you are veiled until your great need for God returns in the search for Him and He becomes your pillar and support in your intense search after Him and enables you to perform those duties which He has chosen for you in the knowledge of the search after God. To maintain those conditions which He has laid down, and to observe those things which you have been asked to observe.

/ observe.

Thus it is that for your sake God protects you from yourself and causes you to pass from obliteration to eternal life, so that you achieve your desire and live eternally with Him. This is because the unification of him who recognises fully the unity of God lasts for ever, though the man himself is obliterated. At this stage you are your true self because you have lost the shackles of your human individuality and you achieve eternal life with God because you are obliterated.

There are three stages in fana....(obliteration)

FIRST: The obliteration of attributes, characteristics and natural qualities in your motives, when you carry out your religious duties, making great efforts and doing the opposite of what you may desire and compelling yourself to do the things which you do not wish to do.

SECOND: The obliteration of your following after the pleasures of sensation of pleasure in obedience to



/ to God's behests so that you are exclusively His,  
without any intermediary means of contact.

THIRD:       The obliteration of the consciousness of  
having achieved the vision of God at the final stage  
of ecstasy when God's victory over you is complete.  
At this stage you are obliterated and have eternal  
life with God and you exist only in the existence  
of God because you have been obliterated.   Your  
physical being continues but your individuality has  
departed.

ANOTHER QUESTION

Know that there are three types of people, the man who seeks and searches, the man who reaches the door and stays there, the man who enters and remains.

As for him who seeks God, he goes towards Him guided by knowledge of the religious precepts and duties, concentrating on the performance of all external observances towards God.

As for the man who reaches the door and stays there, he finds his way there by means of his internal purity from which he derives his strength. He acts towards God with internal concentration.

As for the man who enters before God with his whole heart and remains before Him, excluding the vision of anything other than God, noting every indication from God to him, ready for whatever his Lord may command. This readiness is a characteristic of the man who recognised the Unity (tawhīd) of God.

ANOTHER QUESTION.

Know that TAWHĪD is found in four stages in people. The first is the tawhid of the ordinary people, next is the tawhid of those who are well versed in formal religious knowledge. The other two stages are experienced by the elect who have esoteric knowledge (ma'rifa).

As for the tawhīd of ordinary people, it consists in the asseveration of the Unity of God, in the departure of any conception of Gods, opposites, equals, likenesses to God, but with the retention of hopes and fears in forces other than God. This type of tawhīd has a measure of efficacy since the asseveration persists.

As for the tawhīd of those who are well versed in formal religious knowledge, it consists in the asseveration of the unity of God, in the departure

/ departure of any conception of gods, companions, opposites, equals, likenesses to God, combined with the performance of the positive commands and the avoidance of that which is forbidden so far as external action is concerned, all this being a result of their hopes, fears and desires; this type of tawhid has a measure of efficacy since the asseveration of the unity of God is publicly proved.

As for the first type of esoteric tawhid, it consists in the asseveration of the Unity of God, the departure of the conception of the things referred to, combined with the performance of God's command externally and internally and the cessation of hopes and fears in forces other than God, all this resulting from the ideas which tally with awareness of God's presence with him, with God's call to him and his answer to God.

The second type of esoteric tawhid consists in existence without individuality ( Shabah) before God

/ God with no third person as intermediary between them, a figure over which His decrees pass according as He in his Omnipotence determines, and that one should be sunk in the flooding seas of His unity, completely obliterated both from himself and from God's call to him and his answer to God.(1) It is a stage where the devotee has achieved the true realisation of the Oneness of God in true proximity to Him. He is lost to sense and action because God fulfils in Him what He hath willed of him. This implies that in his final state the worshipper returns to his first state, that he is as he was before he existed. The proof of this is the verse in the Quran:-

" And when your Lord had brought forth  
their descendents from the reigns of

---

(1) This version follows the manuscript text of الحق which is in accordance with the preceding: <sup>في مقام شاهد الدعوة والابناء</sup> and gives a significant distinction between the two esoteric stages. Sarraj, Hujwiri and Qushayri have the reading <sup>الان</sup> which puts an unnecessary strain on interpretation, noted by Ansari, the commentator, Merx and Hartmann al-Kuschajri 1914 p.50 note. In this same passage the reading <sup>شع</sup> "a frame without a will" as found in our MS is superior in the context to the reading in Nicholson's Hujwiri since the <sup>شع</sup> is the individual. Zhukovski (text p.363) gives pride of place to <sup>شع</sup>

/ of

" the sons of Adam and took them to

witness against themselves, 'Am I not'

said He, ' your Lord ?'. They

answered 'but certainly you are". (1)

Who existed(at this time) and how could  
he have existed before he had existence ? Did  
anyone answer other than the pure, fine and holy  
spirits in accordance with God's omnipotence and  
perfect will ? His existence now is like it was  
before he had existence. This then is the highest  
stage of the true realisation of the unity of God  
in which the worshipper who maintains this unity  
loses his individuality. (<sup>h</sup>ahab<sup>h</sup>uwa).

---

(2) Quran.

The last question on TAWHID from  
the discourse of JUNAYD.....  
may God be pleased with him !.

Junayd was asked what was the first goal of  
the worship of those who have knowledge of God. He  
replied - "the conquest of themselves". He expounded  
that God has set out the tasks for those who perform  
their religious duties, so that they achieve a stage  
which is from God and have not recourse to themselves.  
God makes the prophets look to their elevation with  
longing. He prefers them to the saints, and the  
angels praise them when they have left behind their  
own achievements and achieve the state with God  
through God alone. The station of the laity before  
God is through their own achievements without that  
grace which God grants them. Thus it is that God  
requites every man, according to his status.

RULES OF CONDUCT FOR ONE WHO  
IS DEPENDENT UPON GOD.

---

Sheykh Abū'al-Qasim was asked concerning Rules of Conduct of one who is dependent upon God and he said - " thou art satisfied with God under all circumstances, and thou shouldst not ask anyone except God". He was asked concerning the thought of Goodness (Khāter) (1) whether it is one thing or more and he said - " the thought which calls to obedience to God has three aspects - the thought which comes from the devil, the cause of which is the suggestion of the devil (Satan); and the thought which comes from the lower soul, the cause of which is desire; and the longing for relaxation; and the thought which comes from the divine, the cause of which is the assistance given by God.

These thoughts may be confused one with

---

(1) By Khāter (passing thought) the Sūfis signify the occurrence in the mind of something which is quickly removed by another thought and which its owner is able to repel from his mind. (Hujwiri p.387).



/ with another in the call to obedience to God, and one should distinguish between them in order to perform right actions, because the prophet said - " for whom the gate of goodness has been opened, let him seize it" and one must reject the other two (i.e. thoughts). As for the devilish thought, God said - " Verily those who fear God, when a thought of evil from Satan assaults them, they bring God to remembrance, when lo! they see (aright) " ( Qu.7. 200); the thought of desire is the thought of the lower soul and as the prophet said - " Hell is surrounded by desires".

Each one of these thoughts has a sign, by which it can be distinguished from another; as for the thought from the lower soul, the cause of which is desire or longing for relaxation, desire can be divided into the spiritual, such as the desire for advancement and reputation, the cure of anger by revenge, the humiliation of opponents and things of

/ of this kind, and physical such as the desire for food, drink, and lust for women, clothes, pleasures and things of this kind. For the human soul there is a need for these delights, in accordance with its distance from each one of them and the strength of its attraction for each of these things.

For the thought which comes from the lower soul, there are two signs which act as true signs for distinguishing the thought with which it is concerned. One of them is the presence of the thought together with the need for one of these desires, such as the presence of marriage (in the mind) together with a strong desire for women, deluding him in this point that his intention was only to carry out the command of the prophet when he said - " Marry and be fruitful, I will multiply you on the day of resurrection" and in order not to transgress against the saying of the

/ the prophet "there are no Monks in Islam"; and similarly in eating when there is a strong need for it, and sometimes it deludes you in calling upon you to abandon fasting or to acquire one of the desired things so that (the lower soul) says that in keeping the fast, the body is weakened from carrying out that which is obligatory for obedience to God and that, if you invite a Muslim friend and you refrain from the desired food (in his presence), you break the heart of a Muslim, and (you break) the heart of your family if you bring food for your family (and you do not share in it). And sometimes the thought deceives you in another form by saying to you: " Destroy this desire by obtaining this hateful thing in order that this thought may not persist in you and your worship of God become confused." And similarly in other desires, there is delusion and deception. And likewise when you are weary in worship

/worship and you keep on in obedience to God against your will, then the lower soul will point out to you that the prophet prohibited celibacy and wearying oneself as he said " you are only obliged to do what you are able" and as he said " He who rides ceaselessly does not finish his journey nor does he keep his camel". Nay, sometimes when your soul is very weary and is withheld from its desires, the lower soul calls you to its complete destruction or restraint from performing actions, so that the lower soul causes you to do that which leads to execution or prison and things of this kind, because it is thought that these two circumstances (i.e. destruction or restraint) bring about rest and freedom from weariness. One of the two signs in this matter is whether tiredness and weariness come together with the longing for relaxation and whether the need for something which is desired comes together with the cause of the desire. Then one should consider these

/ these two conditions and if one of these two conditions come (to the mind) you should know that the thought is from the lower soul and its need moved it (the lower soul) to call for it. The conclusion (of this indication) is that the thought comes from desire or the longing for relaxation and it is therefore apparent that the thought is from the lower soul. And the second sign is the persistence of this thought and its unceasing nature so that it becomes continuous and whenever you make an effort to ward it off from you, it persists in you and insists so that there is no use seeking refuge or taking precautions or being warned or turning away from it, nay it persists continually and this is one of the clearest signs that (the thought) comes from the lower soul. Just like the child, when he is kept back from something, the persistence of his longing for it is increased. These two conditions are true

/ true signs. When they are together, there is no doubt that the thought comes from the lower soul. And the cure for (the lower soul) in this case is either complete opposition and tiring out (the lower soul) and prohibiting (the lower soul) from relaxation when the cause of the thought is over tiredness and weariness in worship or the imposition upon the lower soul of a task so heavy that it will repress the lower soul from moving in accordance with this thought. And if the thought comes from desire, the cure for it is deprivation of the thing which the soul desires or restraining oneself from something else which is desired in order to restrain oneself from the object of one's desire.

As for the thought which comes from the devil, it also has two signs. One of them recalls some of the needs of the lower soul at the call of desire, or the call of relaxation at times when the

/the soul is accustomed to gain that for which it longs. And the difference between it (the thought which comes from the devil) and the thought coming from the lower soul is that the latter persists and does not go while the former goes and comes again, so that when ever a man is diverted from (his desire) because of laziness, it persists in him when (the devil) reminds him of the desire and the motion of the soul by this reminder (from the devil) is greater than that of the thought which is from the lower soul because the thought from the lower soul is only a passing one at the time of the strength of the need.

And the second sign is that this thought which comes from the devil originates in and comes suddenly upon man's reason, but the thought which comes from the lower soul moves continuously by nature towards desire or relaxation and this is because the

/ the suggestion of the devil only follows the course of speech between man and man so that the only difference between this and that is that man does not see him (i.e. the devil) and the soul can only move your heart through the sense of hearing at the time of speech or the utterance of sound, through the sense of sight at the time of making signs, through the sense of feeling at the time of touching. The devil (Satan) causes this through suggestion and touching the heart and passing through it. He (the devil) does not know that which is hidden but he only comes to the lower soul through the moral habits which are used to affect the human being. And this is the difference between the thought which comes from the lower soul and that which comes from the devil.

As for the divine thought, it is indicated



/ indicated also by two signs, one of which, the most important, is the agreement of the law with the thought and its (the law's) testimony to the correctness of the thought. And the second sign is that at the beginning the soul is wearily reluctant to accept it until one finds a kind of allurements for it and this thought comes suddenly upon the lower soul without preliminary steps like the thought which comes from the devil but for the fact that the lower soul is quicker in accepting the thought which comes from the devil for the soul is readier to accept the devil's thought and lazier to accept the divine thought, because the devil comes to the lower soul only through its (the lower soul's) desires and relaxations, while the divine thought comes through the obligations and the lower soul is in the habit of running away from obligations when they appear. This is the difference

/ difference between this thought and the thought which comes from the devil and the thought which comes from the lower soul. And if a thought occurs to you, weigh it with these three weights and seek testimony as to every part of it according to the signs which we have indicated to you, so that the thoughts may be distinguished by you. Do with regard to the thoughts from the devil and the lower soul that which we have mentioned and leave them entirely and be ready to accept the divine thought without delay or loss of opportunity, for the time is short and conditions may change and beware of the temptation of the lower soul and the suggestion of the devil for as one of the gates of goodness has been opened to him (the devil), you must close it entirely in front of him from the beginning. As an example, if a thought occurs to you

/ you concerning fasting for part of a month, which is laid down by the law as a voluntary duty, or keeping vigil for part of a night and you say to yourself "let me leave this for the present until I can complete a whole night or a full month," then this is a deception (from the devil). In fact, the gate of divine assistance has been opened, and you should seize the opportunity from the beginning. And the divine thoughts do not linger but interchange quickly and readiness to catch the divine thought is a demand of the law and in it (the readiness) there are two advantages. One of them is that one time is better than another time such as the times which we are told, are favourable for God's forgiveness, and the times when God's mercy and pardon descend and the grace of God towards creatures is unlimited. And the second advantage is the training of the soul for readiness to carry out commands (of the law)

/ law) and for obedience (to God) when blessing on work is hoped for. Moreover, there is the avoidance of the condition of laziness in the soul and this is readiness to seize the opportunity of God's mercy and in this is an advantage also in the discipline of the soul in readiness to carry out the law's commands. And God knows and decides.

This is the end of the rules of poverty from the sayings of Shaikh Abi'l Qasim al Junayd - May God sanctify his soul and illuminate his grave - and Praise be to the Lord of the Worlds and the prayer of God be upon Muhammad and his family and his companions, all of them, and an abundance of peace upon them.

A LETTER OF ABU'L QASIM AL-JUNAYD  
to ABU YA'QUB YUSUF IBN AL-HUSAYN  
AR-RAZI. May Allah have mercy on them both.

---

May God reveal to you the true nature of His  
revelation, and grant you the greatness of His  
favour and graciousness. May He contain you by  
embracing you yourself in the fulness of His  
beneficences which when they reach you are the  
grace of his raising you and exalting you. Then  
will you be where no other is a mediator between  
you and Him, but you will be in a relationship  
with God based on that which God has given you.  
That which God has given you is something chosen  
only for the chosen among the elect. He gives you a  
place, after selection, among those whom He has  
specially for His saints. He chooses you by His  
choice of the great ones whom He loves. These are

they whom He has marked out by this preferment  
for the height of His companionship.

Their first steps directly towards Him on the  
paths which lead to Him are to remove all other than  
God on their way to Him. By God's aid they reach Him  
first of all others that seek Him, their footsteps  
are elevated up to Him alone when they have left  
behind all great desires. Then do the lights of  
revelation shine upon them generously, God's companionship  
flows over them like the rising flood, with all the  
generosity of an exuberant flow. Its downpour is  
overwhelming like that of heavy continuous rain, like  
the rich milk of steady piety. It utterly overwhelms  
and stupefies the human perception of those whom God  
marks out by piety. God dazzles those whom He wishes  
by the brightness of His sudden appearance.

Now to what extent and by what means is this stage  
of piety entered? I refer to this stage of piety which

is achieved in the hearts of those who are thereby honoured by God. And how and in what degree can the intellect of him who approaches that stage of piety hold him back from it? Surely this cannot take place solely by the deed of the subject, even though he be the object of God's honour. Nor can he perceive this state of piety, the secret of the saint, even though the subject be firm and established. It is only God who can put this on, on behalf of His companions and friends, in the same way as it is He with His strength and power who imbues it into those *angels* who carry His throne. It is God who protects those whom He has chosen to be His personal companions.

In view of what has preceded it is clear that when God desires to create this state of piety in a man, He calls upon him to concentrate with all his being on God and He approaches nigh unto the individual whom He has

selected. He takes unto Himself permanently the individual whom He has chosen as the recipient of the gift of His secret. Thus God's complete gift becomes the possession of those who are brought near unto Him and abide with Him. After these come those who are brought near to God, and after these come the saints of all types. Now all these have noble gifts which God has generously given them, which He has bestowed upon them by way of His gifts and His graciousness.

This is their favour and their fortune from God, their everlasting and eternal gift. Now all this, though it is of overwhelming value and a mark of special favour which God reserves for his elect, though it is the most precious of His gifts to His pious, is none the less of the nature of a veil which obscures the divine vision from all except the selected few whom God has specifically indicated. It, therefore, follows from this state of affairs that we have been



describing the conditions of the beginning of the knowledge of God by the chosen few who have been specifically selected by God for this knowledge. Nor can this ever be achieved by any individual in whom anything earthy still survives, in whom the potentiality of an inclination to sin still exists.

O my brother, may it be God's Will that you and I join the companionship of God in this fuller sense, the company of those whom God has taken completely unto Himself!

And now to the body of my letter to you, Oh my brother.

As you may know the paths of righteousness go smoothly, the ways of uprightness are clear and well prepared and smooth for the steps of those who travel by them, they are wide enough for the journey of those who seek to travel by them and brightly illuminated and pleasant for the hearts of those that desire them. And

Yet how few are they that seek them'. How few are righteous enough to travel on them? The paths are without travellers and lonely as a sequestered rutting camel. They are like the desolate deserted places without inhabitants to tend them though God has made these places potentially habitable and promised any residents or travellers the finest of garments. Of all God's creatures none desires this elevated station.

I find that knowledge, in spite of the many who claim to possess it, and in spite of the universality of those who seek after it, is none the less bereft of human possessors. It is a rare quality ~~beyond~~ beyond the capacity of the multitude, both solitary and distant. And this is because those that seek after it do not do so with all their might unreservedly, (1) do not show the necessary

---

(1) صدق is used here by Junayd in the sense of "sincerely", "entirely" much in the same way as it is used in the essay on *سبح* and *ملا*. While صدق in early Arabic seems to describe the correct relationship between the worshipper and God which soon becomes what we should term "righteousness". There is reason to believe that Junayd by Sufi extension used صدق in the sense of sincerity as a quasi-technical term.

pertinacity in their search. I find that most people are ignorant though they claim to have knowledge.

It is abundantly clear that many who, in their own eyes, perform that which is required of them, none the less lack that special knowledge. For, alas, most men's attention grips tight on the material world as they seek what their hands can hold. They prefer present profit and concentrate the whole of their perception in their devotion to worldly virtue.

Surely their longing is limited by so little an object in the spiritual universe. And so, reluctantly, I find that which they seek is unworthy, is even reprehensible for surely these are not works for the after life, they are utterly perplexed and cannot appreciate what this world brings upon them. There is none to wake them from their stupor. And yet if you tell him of his plight he will deny it. Here then do we

see the complete victory of evanescent earthly deception and complete perplexity and lack of comprehension of the things of the world to come.

And so my brother, since humanity is so constituted, how great is their need for the gentle scholar, the sympathetic counsel of the teacher, the right guidance of the preacher! And you, my brother, may God be pleased with you are one of the few left of those who have passed on; you are one of the scholars universally recognised, one of the greatest of the wise. And you - may God be pleased with you', know that God has made a covenant with those who know Him, who have knowledge of Him, those whom He has chosen in the Qur'an, those to whom He has granted comprehension of Him, those whom He has specially selected and endowed with the ability to interpret the Qur'an to the masses, to whom He has given the fulness of His faith. It is with these

that He has made His covenant that in return for this knowledge of God they should impart it to their fellow men and not with-hold it. As we read in the Qur'an:-

" The Rabbis and Jewish scholars in that to them was entrusted the care of God's book;" (1) and " Why do their Rabbis and scholars not forbid them from uttering sinful words and eating that which is forbidden. Their works are surely evil." (2)

Now you, my brother, are one of those still left to whom the Book of God is entrusted, to whom its interpretation and decisions are known and, as I see it, it is incumbent on you to expound to your fellow men that which God has granted you and to make public the grace which God has vouchsafed to you.

---

(1) Qur'an 5, 47.

(2) Qur'an 5, 66.

So, may God have mercy on you, turn to your disciples and give them your full attention, face them and concentrate on them, give them of the knowledge which has been vouchsafed to you, grant them your kindness, and privilege them with your guidance, with that fine teaching which leads them to God. Be generous to them with that of your knowledge which will help them, and show them the confidence of your understanding. Be with them both by night and by day and give them that special cognisance of your experience.

This surely is the right which the people have over you, their prerogative. You will remember the verse in the Qur'an when God addresses his most noble creatures to whom he grants respect and status. " Be patient with those who call on their God morning and evening, seeking His face, and let thy gaze on them not cease, nor be disturbed

by the pomp of this world. Do not obey the calls of those who forget us, who follow their own desires, whose case is lost; but say, the Truth is from your Lord." (1) This is God's injunction to His Prophet Muhammad the chosen.

My brother, it was not my desire to draw your attention to a privilege and a duty which you neglect, not to any suspected deficiency - surely God will guard you from any lapse or omission, from any deficiency or relaxation! - but God says:-

"Teach for instruction is of avail to those that believe." (2)

Now I began my letter to you with a view to establishing our closer contact, seeking your attention and your good graces and hoping that it would cause you to write back to me. So please do as I ask and grant me that further pleasure

---

(1) Qur'an 18, 28.      (2) Qur'an 51, 55,

which would delight me. May God make you the instrument of aid to your brothers.

None the less, my brother, - may you be guided on the right path! - there is just one minor point I should like to raise. It is one which I had first to learn myself and which I now venture to pass on to you in the hope that you too will add to it and in your turn teach it to me. And I should like to apologize in advance in the event of your not accepting it. Accept it only if it appeals to you as being true and accept it only as a piece of advice since I present it to you as a suggestion for what it is worth: nor will I take exception to you if you reject it.

My brother, be cautious with your fellow men and be sure you understand your contemporaries. This is a primary consideration. Further speak only after you are sure that you know your listeners. - \*

---

\* Note the manuscript ends here abruptly.



الاعتذار إليك إن لم يقع مقبولا لديك فخذ ان كان له  
 في الحق موضعا وكن له على المناصحة مستمعا فهو لك مني  
 على المناصحة مبذول وإن رددته على فهو لدى مقبول يا أخي  
 رضي الله عنك كن على علم باهل دهرك ومعرفة بأهل وقتك  
 وعصرك وابدأ في ذلك أولا بنفسك وكن عاطفا بعد أحكامك  
 فيه (هـ ١) .....

جل ثناؤه لنبيه المجتبى محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم المصطفى  
 يا أخى رضى الله عنك لم أنبهك على حظ كنت عنه غافلا  
 ولا على أمر رأيته عنه مقصرا وأعيذك بالله من كل هفوة  
 وتقصير وعن كل نقص وفتور لكن الله عز وجل يقول " وذكر  
 فإن الذكرى تنفع المؤمنين " وقد بدأتك بكتابتى هذا متوسلا  
 به إلى مواصلتك ومستريدا به من إقبالك علىّ وموئاستك ومتسببا  
 به إلى مكاتبتك فكن حيث أحببتك منك وزدنى فيما رغبت فيه  
 إليك جعلك الله سببا لنفع اخوانك ومع ذلك يا أخى هديت  
 لرشدك فقد سئح لى شيء أريد أن أقوله بدأت بنفسى فيه  
 قبلك وأحب أن أكون فيه تبعا لك بعدك وأقدم مع ذلك

عليك . فاعذل رضى الله عنك إلى المریدین بهمك واقبل علیهم  
 بوجهك وانصرف ( ٤٤ ب ) إلیهم بحجتك واعطف علیهم بفضلك  
 وآثرهم على غیرهم بدلالتك وجمیل دعايتك وابذل لهم منافعهم من  
 علمك ومکین معرفتك وكن معهم فى ليلك ونهارك وخصهم بما عباد  
 به عليك ولك فذلك حق القوم منك وحظهم مما وجب لهم عليك  
 أما سمعت الله جل ثناؤه وذكره وهو يقول لأعظم خلقه عنده  
 قدرا وأعلامه لديه منزلا " واصبر نفسك مع الذين يدعون ربهم  
 بالغداة والعشي يريدون وجهه ولا تعد عيناك عنهم تريد  
 زينة الحياة الدنيا ولا تطع من أغفلنا قلبه عن ذكرنا واتبع  
 هواه وكان أمره فرطا وقل الحق من ربكم " فهذه وصية الله

وأحد من يشار إليه من العلماء وجليل من أكابر الحكماء وقد  
 علمت رضى الله عنك أن الله عفو وجل قد اخذ الميثاق على  
 أهل معرفته وأولى العلم به الذين ائتمهم بكتابه وفتح لهم فى  
 الفهم عنه وخصهم بما استخلصهم به من تبيان وقلدهم من عظيم  
 أماناته أن يبينونه للناس ولا يكتُمونه وقال جل ثناؤه " والربانيون  
 والأخبار بما استحفظوا من كتاب الله " وقال تعالى " لولا  
 ينهمهم الربانيون والأخبار عن قولهم الاثم واكلهم السحت لبئس  
 ما كانوا يصنعون " . وانت يا أخى أحد من بقى ممن قلد من  
 ذلك ما قلده وعرف من أنباء الحكم بعض ما عرفوه وعليك عندي  
 تبيان ما وهبه الله جل ثناؤه لك والقول بعظيم ما انعم به

غالباً وقلة العلم للمنتحلين للعمل بين وأرى هموم أكثر الخليفة  
على الدنيا عاكفة ولما تعجل من حطامها طالبة ولقليل ما  
تعجل منها مؤثرة وقد انكفت العقول والقلوب بالانكباب على  
طلبها وانصرفت الى الرغبة في القليل منها وأراهم بشر المراد  
وكثرة الفساد وقلة العمل للمعاد في غمرة سكرتها وحيرة هوالك  
ما استولى عليهم منها ليس فيهم لفلبة ذلك عليهم مفيق ولا  
راجع اليك إن وعظته بتحقيق قد اشتملت عليهم الفتنة بالعاجلة  
فتحيرت عقولهم عن أمور الآجلة . وبالخلق يا أخى اذا كانوا  
كذلك أشد الحاجة الى عالم رفيق وموئدب مناصح شفيق وواعظ  
يدلهم على الطريق وانت يا أخى رضى الله عنك بقية من مضى

لنفسه واستأثر به عن دونه . كتاب إليك يا أخى وسبل الحق  
 مسهلة المناهج وطرق الرشيد زاهرة قد وطئت بالتمهيد لأقدام  
 السالكين وفسحت بالتوسعة لسير الطالبين وزينت ببهجات الأنوار  
 لقلوب الراغبين وهى مع ذلك لقلة القاصدين اليها ولقلة السائرين  
 بالصدق عليها كالعشار المتعطلة والمواطن القفار الخربة ليس  
 لها على ما عظم الله من قدرها ووعد من جزيل الثواب على  
 سلوكها من أكثر الناس عامر ولا فى عظيم خطرها من الخلق  
 راغب وإنى أرى العلم مع كثرة منتحليه وانتشار طالبيه (٤٤) أبقلة  
 صدقهم فى قصده وتركهم العمل بواجب حقه كالعارف المتغرب  
 البعيد المنفرد وارى الجهل والدعاوى على كثير من الناس

واوى! بمن استأثر بمكنون سره إليه فكان ما جمعه لأهل الزلفى

لديه والمقربين عنده لهم تبعاً وسائر أولياء فيما عاطفوا من

ذلك شيئاً • لهم منه ما بذله من عظيم عطائه وجاد به من

جليل مننه وألائه فذلك حظهم المبدول وعظاؤهم الدائم

الموصول وذلك كله على عظيم قدره وجليل ما خصهم الله

تعالى به من نفيس بره حجاب عما أخلص به المنفردين بخالص

ذكره مع حقيقة وجود ذلك والكون بالنزول فيما هنالك يبدوا

أوائل علم من تفرد به وأراد بالاختصاص لما يوجد له ولن

يصلح لمعاينة ذلك عين بقيت عليها منها بقية ولن يلامح

طرف مواقع لرزية جعلنا الله وإياك يا أخى من اصطنعه

واوى!

يبدوا

ف وحده عن سنيات المطالب على انوار فواتح البذل تخر عليهم

خريرا وتدر بمنايح الافضال عليهم درورا بسكب غيث هاطل

منهمل ومدرار غلف بنرائب البر متصل (٤٣ ب) يذهل ببوادي

وروده عقول من لاحظ به ويبهر باوائل شهوده من اراده له

قالى اين وماذا يتخطى<sup>١</sup> ذلك قلوب المكرمين به وكيف وانسى

تتحماء عقول المصادفين له وذلك لا يكون بفعل مكن وان كان

مكرما ولا ينفذ عنه بتخطيه سرولى وان كان ممكنا ولن

يحمل ذلك عن اهل مجالسه وانسه الا الحامل بقوته وقدرته

حملة عرشه فهو ولي المحاماة عن اصطنعه لنفسه فعند ذلك

اذا اراد ذلك دعا الى اخلاص ذكره واقبل بمن تفرد به عليهم



نسخة كتاب الجنيد الى ابي يعقوب

يوسف بن الحسين الرازي رحمهما الله تعالى

كشف الحق لك عن حقيقة أنبائه وتولاك بعظيم مننه والآثـ  
وتضمنك في ضمه إياك إلى سوابغ نعمائه وجرت عليك برفعه لك إليه  
وأعلاؤه فكنت بحيث لا تكون الأغيار لك إليه سببا بل تكون بما  
يوجد به منك منتسبا. قد أخلصك بما اصطفاك به من خلصاء  
صفوته وأوحدك بالانتحال من خصه بولايته وتخيرك بالاجتباء  
من كبراء أهل مودته الذين آثرهم بالاصطفاء لعظيم خلته فكانت  
أوائل أقدامهم المجردة لديه الموضوعة على مناهج الورود عليه  
النزوع عما دونه إليه فسبقت إليه به كل سابق وسمت إليه  
وأوجد كما بالانتحال

وقت كنحو الأوقات التي ورد الخبر عن مسامحة الله عز وجل  
وتنزل الرحمة والففران . ونظرات الحق سبحانه وتعالى السي  
الخلق لاتحصى . والأخرى إيلاف النفس للمبادرة لامثال الأوامر  
والطاعات عند ما ترجى بركة العمل . وفيه ازالة حال التكاثر  
عنها وذلك للتعرض لنفحات رحمة الله تعالى . وهذا في رياضة  
النفس على المبادرة الى امثال الأوامر مفيد أيضا والله  
اعلم وأحكم .  
آخر آداب الفقر من كلام الشيخ أبي القاسم الجنيد  
قدس الله روحه ونور ضريحه والحمد لله رب العالمين  
وصلى الله على محمد وآله وصحبه أجمعين وسلم تسليما  
كثيرا .

٧٥

الرباني ودع التشاغل والتضييع فان الوقت ضيق والحال  
 يتحول<sup>١</sup> واياك وتسويل النفس ووسواس الشيطان فان هذا باب  
 من ابواب الخير قد انفتح لك فارحبه<sup>٢</sup> حتى تستأنفه<sup>٣</sup> من اوله  
 ومثاله ان يكون قد خطر خاطر في صيام بعض شهر قد  
 حث<sup>٤</sup> الشرع على صيامه او قيام بعض ليله فتقول دع هذا  
 حتى استكمل الليل بأوله او الشهر بتمامه وإنما ذلك مخادعة  
 ليسد باب التوفيق المجري<sup>٥</sup> فان هذه الخواطر لاتدوم وإنما هي  
 سريعة الاستحالة والمبادرة لأمساك خاطر الرباني (٦٨ ب)  
 مأمور الشرع وفيه فائدتان أحدهما ان يكون وقت أكمل من

١ تحول

٢ له فارحبه حتى أسأفه

٣ المجري

الترغيب وهو الهجوم على النفس من غير مقدمات له كالشيطاني  
 الا أن سرعة النفس لموافقة الخاطر الشيطاني أكثر وهي له  
 أبدر وهي عن هذا أكسل إذ الشيطان إنما يجيئها من  
 شهواتها وراحاتها وهذا يأتي من جهة التكليف وتنفر نفرة  
 من التكليف عند وروده عليها فهذا الفرق بين هــ [الدين]  
 الخاطر الشيطاني والباطل النفساني فإذا خطر لك فزعه بهذه  
 بهذه الموازين الثلاث واستشهد في كل فصل منه بالشواهد  
 التي أشرنا لك فتميز لك الخواطر فاصنع في الشيطاني والنفساني  
 ما كنا ذكرناه لك في المدافعة الحاسمة لهما ويادر لهذا الخاطر

أجيباً

om.

المراومة

مخاطبة الإنسان . للإنسان غير أن الفرق بين هذا وذاك

٢ [والنفس]

ألا يراه الإنسان . يتحرك قلبك من جهة حاسة (٦٨) الأذن

عند الخطاب أو التصويت والبصر عند الإشارة والحس عند

الغمز . والشيطان يحرك ذلك من الوسوسة وغمز القلب والخطور

فيه وهو لا يعلم المنيب وإنما يأتي إلى النفس من جهة

الأخلاق التي ألفت انفصالها له فهذا الفرق بين النفساني

والشيطاني . أما خاطر الرباني فإنه يستدل عليه بشاهدين

أيضا أحدهما وهو المقدم موافقة الشرع للخاطر وشهادته بصحته

والثاني فتور النفس عن قبوله ابتداءً حتى يحصل لها نسوع

١ والإنسان

om. ٢

ما تحتاج النفس اليه بداعي الشهوة أو داعي الراحة في  
 الأوقات المألوفات تحصيل النفس مطلوباتها فيه والفرق بينه  
 وبين النفساني في هذا الباب أن النفساني يلج ولا يذهب  
 وهذا يذهب تارة ويكره فكل ما لهي الانسان عنه بسبب  
 فتور النفس الحس عليها بالتذكير للشهوة وتكون حركة النفس  
 إذا خاطر النفساني  
 عند هذا التذكير أكثر من خاطر النفساني<sup>١</sup> إنما خطر لشدة  
 الحاجة . والثاني أن هذا خاطر الشيطاني يتدنى ويطرأ على  
 عقله والخطر النفساني متصل متحرك للطبع نحو الشهوة أو  
 الراحة وذلك أن وسوسة الشيطان إنما هي تجري مجرى

النفس إذ هي كالصبي متى منع من الشيء ازداد لجاجاً  
 في طلبه فهاتان الحالتان شاهداً عدل متى اجتماعاً لا تشك  
 في أن الخاطر من النفس • ومداواتها عند هذه القضية  
 بالمخالفة المحضة والاعتاب الشديد فتمنعها الراحة عندما  
 يكون الباعث للخاطر كثرة الكبد والاعتاب بالعبادة أو بوصفٍ  
 وضعه أثقل ليكون ذلك أقبح لها من التحريك لمثل هذا الخاطر  
 وإن كان شهوانياً جعل دواؤه الحرمان للشيء الذي طلبته  
 أو تمنع من مشتبه آخر لها ليكون ذلك أمتع لها • وأما  
 الخاطر الشيطاني فله أيضاً علامتان أحدهما تنبيهه ببعض

والأتعاب عند طلبها الراحة وتقديم لها الحاجة إلى الشيء  
المشتبه عند باعث الشهوة فيعتبرها بهذين الحالين فإن  
كان قد تقدم أحد هاتين الحالتين علمت أن الخاطر من  
النفس وحلجتها إلى ذلك هو الذي حركها إلى الدعاء إليه  
ومجموع ذلك أن يكون الخاطر شهوانياً أو لطلب الراحة  
فالعالب على هذا الخاطر أنه من النفس، والشاهد الثاني  
الإلحاح بهذا الخاطر (٦٧ ب) وعدم انقطاعه حتى يأتي مواليا كلما  
جاهدت في دفعه عن نفسك ألحَّ عليك ولجَّ ولا ينفع فيه  
الاستعانة ولا التخويف ولا التحذير ولا الترغيب بل هو  
ملح دائم الإلحاح فهذا من أكبر الدلائل على أنه من



بالعبادة وتلزمها على الكراهية الطاعة فتختار لك نهى النبي  
 صلى الله عليه وسلم عن التبتل وعن اتعاب النفس مثل  
 قوله عليه السلام ( اكلفوا من العمل ما تطيقون ) ومثل قوله  
 عليه السلام ( ان المنبت لا أرضاً قطع ولا ظهراً أبقى )  
 بل ربما دعيتك عند إكثارك إتعابها ومنعها شهواتها التي ما  
 فيه إهلاكها رأساً أو منعها من تصرفاتها فتحملك الى ما  
 يوءدى الى القتل أو السجن وأمثال ذلك لما يتخيل في  
 هاتين الحالتين من الراحة وزوال التعب عنها • فأجد  
 الشاهدين في هذا الباب أن يكون قد تقدم لها الكد

الله عليه وسلم "لأرهابانية في الإسلام" ومثله في الطعام عند  
 شدة حاجتها اليه فربما لبست عليك هذا بدعائك الي ترك  
 الصيام أو تناول بعض المشتبهات بأن تقول إن في سمر  
 الصيام إضعاف النفس عن الأمر المحتاج اليه في الطاعات  
 [وأن في ترك تناول هذا الطعام المشتبه ما كسر قلب  
 المسلم إذا هَمِيَ اليه الصديق] أو قلب الصيال إذا كان  
 مما جلبته أنت لعيالك • وربما خدعتك بلون آخر بأن تقول  
 لك اكسر هذه الشهوة بتناولها هذه الكره لئلا يلج عليك  
 هذا الخاطر فيشوش عليك عباداتك وأمثال ذلك في سائر  
 المشتبهات كل هذا من تلبيسها وتدليسها • ومثله عندما تكدها ١٠

وإلى جسمانية كالطعام والشراب والنكاح واللباس والنزه وأمثال  
 ذلك . وللنفس احتياج إلى هذه الملائكة بحسب بعدها عن  
 كل واحد منها وشدة توقانها إلى كل جنس جنس منها .  
 فلهذا النفس منها علامتان قائمتان مقام شاهدي عدل علي  
 تمييز الخاطر المختص بها . أحدهما حضور هذا الخاطر عند  
 احتياجها إلى بعض هذه الأشياء المشتملات مثل حضور  
 التزويج عند شدة حاجتها إلى النكاح وتلبسها ذلك عليه  
 بأن قصدتها إعمال قوله صلى الله عليه وسلم (٦٧) تناكحوا  
 تناسلوا فإنني مكاثر بكم الأمم يوم القيامة وتجنب قوله صلى

في الدعاء الى الطاعة ولا بد من تمييزها لأعمال الصواب  
 منها لقوله عليه السلام ( من فتح له باب من الخير فلينتهزه )  
 ولا بد من رد الآخرين . أما الشيطاني فبقوله تعالى ( إِنَّ  
 الَّذِينَ اتَّقَوْا إِذَا مَسَّهُمْ طَائِفٌ مِّنَ الشَّيْطَانِ تَذَكَّرُوا فَإِذَا هُمْ  
 مُبْصِرُونَ ) والشهواني الذي هو خاطر النفس بقوله صلى الله عليه  
 عليه وسلم جفت النار بالشهوات . ولكل واحد من ههنا  
 الخواطر علامة يتميز بها عن صاحبه . أما خاطر النفساني  
 فباعثه الشهوة وطلب الراحة . والشهوة تنقسم الى نفسانية كمحببة  
 العلو والجاء والتشفي عند الضيق وأصفار المعاند وأمثال ذلك

[١٦٦ب]

أدب المفتقر إلى الله

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

وسئل الشيخ أبو القاسم رحمه الله عن أدب المفتقر إلى  
الله عز وجل فقال: أن ترضى عن الله عز وجل في جميع  
الحالات ولا تسأل أحدا سوى الله تعالى • وسئل عن  
خاطر الخير هل هو شيء واحد أو أكثر فقال: قد  
يقع الخاطر الداعي للطاعة على ثلاثة أوجه: خاطر شيطاني  
باعته • وسوسة الشيطان • وخاطر نفساني باعته الشهوة وطلب  
الراحة وخاطر رباني وباعته التوفيق • وتشبه هذه الخواطر

للشيطان

عليهم وسائر الناس ووقفوا مع ما لهم وتركوا ما لله عز وجل  
 عليهم فرد الله عز وجل كلاً إلى قيمته .

add. in marg.

كل

كان قبل أن يكون وهل أجاب إلا الأرواح الطاهرة العذبة  
 المقدسة بإقامة القدرة النافذة والمشيتة التامة الآن كان اذا  
 كان قبل أن يكون وهذا غاية حقيقة توحيد الموحد للواحد  
 بذهب هو .

١٥

في  
 اخر مسألة التوحيد من كلامه رضى الله عنه  
 سئل الجنيد رحمه الله الى أين تنتهى عبادة أهل المعرفة  
 بالله عز وجل فقال بالظفر إلى الظفر بنفوسهم<sup>١</sup> نصب الحق  
 لهم أعمال<sup>٢</sup> أكله العمال فوقوا مع ماله دون التعرّيج على  
 ماله<sup>٣</sup> فشوق اليهم الأنبياء ( ٦٦ ١ ) والنسب بهم<sup>٤</sup> للاولياء  
 وسبحت لهم الملائكة فتركوا ماله<sup>٥</sup>م ووقفوا مع ماله عز وجل

١ والنسب

٢ وسبحت

شاهد الحق عيون الموافقة بقيام شاهد الحق مع قيام شاهد الدعوة  
قيام شاهد

والاستجابة • والوجه الثاني من توحيد الخاص فشيح قائم  
بين يديه ليس بينهما ثالث تجرى عليه تصاريق تدبيره في  
مجارى أحكام قدرته في ليج بحار توحيده بالفناء عن نفسه  
وعن دعوة الحق له وعن استجابته له بحقائق وجود وحدانيته  
في حقيقة قربه بذهاب حسه وحركته لقيام الحق له فيما اراده  
منه والعلم في ذلك انه رجع اخر العبد الى اوله، أن يكون  
كما كان اذ كان قبل أن يكون والدليل في ذلك قول الله  
عز وجل "واذا اخذ ربك من بنى ادم من ظهورهم ذرياتهم  
واشهدهم على انفسهم الست بربكم قالوا بلى" فمن كان وكيف  
! بقيام شاهد الحق مع قيام شاهد الحق معه



والاضداد<sup>١</sup> والأشكال والأشياء والسكون الى معارضة الرغبة<sup>٢</sup>  
والرهبة<sup>٣</sup> من سواء<sup>٤</sup> . فإن له حقيقة التحقيق<sup>٥</sup> في الأفعال<sup>٦</sup> ببقاء<sup>٧</sup>  
الإقرار<sup>٨</sup> . واما توحيد حقائق علم الظاهر فالإقرار بالوحدانية  
بذهاب رؤية الأرباب والأنداد والأشكال والأشياء مع إقامة  
الأمر<sup>٩</sup> والانتفاء<sup>١٠</sup> عن النهى<sup>١١</sup> ( ٦٥ ب ) في الظاهر مستخرجة  
ذلك منهم من عيون الرغبة والرهبة<sup>١٢</sup> والطمع<sup>١٣</sup> في إقامة حقيقة<sup>١٤</sup>  
التحقيق في الأفعال لقيام حقيقة<sup>١٥</sup> التصديق بالإقرار<sup>١٦</sup> . واما  
الوجه الاول من توحيد الخاص بالإقرار بالوحدانية بذهاب  
رؤية هذه الاشياء مع اقامة الامر في الظاهر والباطن  
بازالة<sup>١٧</sup> معارضة الرغبة والرهبة<sup>١٨</sup> من سواء<sup>١٩</sup> مستخرجة ذلك من

١ بائزاله

٢ واضداد

٣  
٤ والأفعال

بالباب واقف عليه متبين لمواضع تقريبه إياه بدلائل تصفية  
باطنه وإدرار الفوائد عليه معامل لله عز وجل في باطنه . أو  
داخل بهمَّ قائم بين يديه منتف عن رؤية ما سواه ملاحظا  
لاشارته اليه مبادرا فيما يأمره مولاه فهذه صفة الموحّد لله  
عز وجل .

### [مسألة أخرى]

اعلم ان التوحيد في الخلق على أربعة أوجه : فوجه منها  
توحيد العوام ووجه منها توحيد أهل الحقائق بعلم الظاهر  
ووجهان منها توحيد الخواص من أهل المعرفة ، فأما توحيد  
العوام فالإقرار بالوحدانية بذهاب رؤية الأرباب والانداد والاض

فناؤك عن مطالعة حظوظ من ذوق الحلوات واللذات في  
 الطاعات لموافقة مطالبة الحق لك لانقطاعك اليه ليكون بلا  
 واسطة بينك وبينه • والفناء الثالث فناؤك عن رؤية الحقيقة  
 من مواجهتك بغلبات شاهد الحق عليك فانت حينئذ فان  
 باق وموجود محقق لفنائك بوجود غيرك عند بقاء رسمك بذهاب

اسمك •

١٥

### مسألة أخرى

اعلم ان الناس ثلاثة طالب قاصد ووارد واقف أو داخل  
 قائم. أما الطالب لله عز وجل فانه قاصد نحوه باسترشاد  
 دلائل علم الظاهر معاملة الله عز وجل بجده ظاهره • أو وارد

اسمك

الطلب <sup>بلا</sup> والاجتهاد لاستدراك ما تريده بطلبك، كنت محجوباً  
حتى يرجع الافتقار إليه في الطلب فيكون ركنك وعمادك في  
الطلب بشدة الطلب وأداء حقوق ما انتخب لك من علم  
الطلب والقيام بشروط ما <sup>أ</sup>شترط عليك فيه ورعاية ما استرعاك فيه  
لنفسك - حماك عنك فيوصلك بفنائك الى بقاءك لوصولك الى  
بقيتك فيبقى ببقائه . وذلك أن توحيد الموحد باق ببقاء الواحد  
وان فنى الموحد فحينئذ أنت أنت إذ كنت بلا أنت فبقيت  
من حيث فنى . والفناء ثلاثة فناء عن الصفات <sup>ت</sup>والاخلاق  
والطباع بقيامك بدلائل ( ٦٥ ا ) عملك يبذل المجهود  
ومخالفة النفس وحبسها بالمكروه عن مرادها . والفناء الثاني

فيهم ومواضع تغييبه عنهم . وهذا مقام الاصطناع قال الله  
 عز وجل لموسى عليه السلام "واصطنعتك لنفسى" فمن أين  
 والى أين؟ فمنه وإليه وله وبه ، فنى وفنى فناؤه لبقاء بقائه  
 بحقيقة فناؤه ، فإن للحق فيه مراداً يردُّ عليهم<sup>عليه</sup> أخرجه اليهم  
 بتظاهر نعماته عليه فتلاً سناء عطائه برد صفاته<sup>عليه</sup> لاستجلاب  
 الخلق إليه وإحسانهم عليه .

١٢

### مسألة أخرى

اعلم أنك محبوب عنك بك وأنت لاتصل إليه بك ولكنك  
 تصل إليه به ، لأنه لما أبدى إليك رؤية الاتصال به دعاك  
 إلى الطلب له فطلبته فكنت فى رؤية الطلب بروئية

لوجود الفناء والبقاء لوجود غيرى بفنائى •

١١

### مسألة أخرى

اعلم ان دليل الخلق بروية الصدق وبذل المجهود لإقامة  
حدود الأحوال بالتنقل فيها لتوَدِّيهِ حال إلى حال حتى  
يؤدِّيه إلى حقيقة العبودية في الظاهر بترك الاختيار والرضى  
بفعله وهذه مواضع ( ٦٤ ب ) قبول الخلق لدلائل صفات  
علم الحجة الظاهر عليه واجتماع صفته • ثم تؤدِّيه حقيقة إلى  
مشاهدة الحق وإدراك إشارته إليه بتلوين الأمور لاختيار  
اختياره له • وهذه مواضع نهاب الخلق عنه بتلوين صفاته

## مسألة أخرى

الخوف يقبضني • والرجاء يبسطني • والحقيقة تجمعني • والحق  
 يفرقني • فاذا قبضني بالخوف أفناني عن وجودي فصاننسي  
 عن • واذا بسطني بالرجاء رددني على بقدي فأمرني بحفظي •  
 واذا جمعتني بالحقيقة أحضرتني فدعاني • واذا فرقني بالحق  
 أشهدني غيري فطاني عنه • فهو في ذلك كله محركي غير  
 ممسكي وموحشي غير مؤنسي بحضوري اذوق<sup>١</sup> طعم وجودي - فليته  
 أفناني عن قمتني<sup>٢</sup> • أو غيبني عن فروحي وللغناء أشهدني •  
 فنائي بقائي<sup>٣</sup> • ومن حقيقة فنائي أفناني عن بقائي وفنائتي •  
 فكنت عند حقيقة الفناء بنير بقاء ولا فناء بفنائتي وبقائتي

١ لذوق

٢ فمتني

٣ بقائي فنائي Corrected in margin

بوجود حقيقة الثانی وفقد حقيقة الاول، علم وقوع ( ٦٤ ا )  
 البلاء بحقيقته بتجرع كأس المراقبة لإيضاح بقايا صفاته وإيضاح  
 خفايا طبعه بالخروج إلى صفاء حقيقة التوحيد بانحطاط وقوع  
 البلاء على حسب ما تقدم من الموافقة للصفة بوجود لذة  
 الطبع فخرج عند ذلك بفناء الصفة من الهوى بوقوعه إلى  
 وقوع تجريد الحكم على صفاء الصفة بذهاب الهوى فانبسط  
 بالإشارة بالحقيقة إلى الحق عند حوادث الأمور وتلوين الأشياء  
 بذهاب الوسائط بوقوع صفاء الحكم على صفاء الصفة .



## مسألة أخرى

رجل انتصب له العلم بحقيقته ، وانتصبت المطالبة عليه بحدتها ،

وانتصب للعلم بكليته ، فلم يقع الائتلاف بين الصفة والعلم في

المطالبة ، فاستدرك عند الاختلاف بينهما مع حضوره وجمعه

وانتصابه ، علمٌ مراد الرجوع الى الحق مع الانتصاب والحضور

والجمع فرجع اليه بالصفار والذلة والافتقار والقلة بالسؤال

بحملان أثقال ما انتصب عليه من علم الحقيقة ، فكان موجودا

عند ما انتصب له من العلم الثاني بخروج صفته للعمل فيه

وغير واجد لما انتصب عليه من حقيقة علم الاول لأثقال ما

انتصب عليه من شروط احكامه فاستدرك عند اجتماع العلمين

انقطع عن الوصف له وبذهابه عن الوصف وقع في حقيقة الوجود له ومن حقيقة الوجود وقع [في] حقيقة الشهود بذهابه عن وجوده ويتفقد وجوده صفا وجوده ووصفاته غيب عن صفاته ومن غيبته حضر بكليته ومن حضور كليته فقد بكليته فكان موجودا مفقودا ومفقودا موجودا • فكان حيث لم يكن، ولم يكن حيث كان، ثم كان بعد ما لم يكن حيث كان كان، فهو هو بعد ما لم يكن هو، فهو موجود موجود بعد ما كان موجودا مفقودا، لأنه خرج من سكرة الغلبة الى بيان الصحو وترد عليه المشاهدة لإنزال الأشياء منازلها ووضعها مواضعها لاستدراك صفاته ببقاء آثاره والاقتداء بفعله بعد بلوغه غاية ما له منه •

بَاب آخِر فِي التَّوْحِيدِ ( ٦٣ )

اعلم أن أول عبادة الله عز وجل معرفته وأصل معرفة الله

توحيده ونظام توحيده نفي الصفات عنه بالكيف والحيث والأيْن.

فيه استدلال عليه وكان سبب استدلاله به عليه توفيقه فبتوفيقه

وقع التوحيد له ومن توحيده وقع التصديق به ومن التصديق به

وقع التحقيق عليه ومن التحقيق جرت المعرفة به ومن المعرفة

به وقع الاستجابة له فيما دعا إليه ومن الاستجابة له وقع

الترقي إليه ومن الترقى إليه وقع الاتصال به ومن الاتصال به

( ٦٣ ب ) وقع البيان له ومن البيان له وقع عليه الحيرة

ومن الحيرة ذهب عن البيان ومن ذهابه عن البيان له

من غير المعدن<sup>١</sup> الاول فكان موجودا في الصفة معدومًا

من المشرب فصار عند ذلك موجودا مفقودا •

وقع الاستيلاء بالتولي بعد ذلك فقهر العقل فأفناه عن  
 مقاومة الواجد . فعند وجود حقيقة التولي بالخصوصية خرج من  
 عبادته لله بالنفوسية ودخل في عبادته عز وجل بالوحدانية  
 فكان ذلك أول وجوده حقيقة توحيد الخصوص بذهاب رؤيئة  
 الأشياء لقيام رؤية الحق . فجرت الأحوال عليه في مجارى  
 "مراد ملكه منها بسقوط أوصافها"  
 صفاتها منها فعند وصول العبد الى هذا خرج عن صفة  
 وجود ما يوصف بالعقل فصارت عوارض العقل عند وجود حقيقة  
 التوحيد وساوس تحتاج الى أن يردها لأن العقل كان قيم  
 العبد عند قيام العبد بالعبودية من حيث العبد فعند وقوع  
 حقائق الملكة من الله عز وجل له ذهب العبد في العبودية

This passage is suppl.  
in marg.

فمنار

النفس بوجود رؤية المنة مع وجود حسن العزاء عند المذمة  
 من الخلق لوجود حسن المعرفة بالفضل ووجود الكراهة عند  
 المحمدة لخوف فساد المعرفة بذهاب رؤية الخلق عند مصادفة  
 الاحوال فهذا علم مشهود عند شاهد المخلص معدوم عند  
 شاهد الخلق . فالصدق والاخلاص يتفقان في حال المخلص  
 وينفرد الصدق بالصادق مع اول وجود الاخلاص . فغاية وصف  
 الموصوفين بالعبودية في الاستعباد هو الاخلاص . والصادق في  
 حقيقة صدقه يتولى بالاخلاص والمخلص في حقيقة اخلاصه يتولى  
 بالكفاية لوجود نفاذ البصيرة وذو البصيرة في حقيقة نفاذ بصيرته  
 يتولى ( ٦٣ ا ) بالحياطة من جميع ما يخشى فساد ثم

الحق

البصيرة

هذه الخصال يكون صادقا مع ان الصدق موجود من الصادق  
 في كل حال لا يستغنى عنه في حال من الاحوال . وقد  
 فسرت جملة في اول الكتاب فالصدق في التورع والتزهد والزهد  
 والتوكل والرضا والمحبة والشوق والتوحيد . لأهل الصلاة ففى  
 صفات المرید والمراد والذاكر والمذكور وكل ذلك لابد من  
 أن يتولد له شاهد ظاهر يشهد له بالصدق . ومعنى  
 الاخلاص افراد النية لله عز وجل وحسن القصد اليه  
 بحضور العقل عند موارد الاشياء وبيان تلوين الامور عليه  
 بما وافق الاول فى معنى صحة قصده ورد ما خالف ذلك  
 من موارد النفس ~~بجود~~ ~~روية~~ والعدو مع ذهاب رويية

الرد لما عارض من وسواس العدو لوجود صفاء القلب  
 ولا يعلو الإخلاص شيء<sup>١</sup> لأنه لا غاية في العبودية من حيث  
 العبد فوق الإخلاص ولا يقال إخلاص المخلص لأنه لا غاية  
 بعد الإخلاص وقد قال الله تعالى " ليسال الصادقين عن  
 صدقهم " ولم يقل ليسال المخلصين عن إخلاصهم لان غايته  
 من الخلق فيما استعبدهم به . فالإخلاص<sup>٢</sup> يعلو<sup>٣</sup> الصدق والصدق  
 دونه . والصدق على ثلاثة أشياء : صادق بلسانه وهو القائل  
 بالحق له كان أم عليه بخروجه عن ( ٦٢ ب ) التأويل والتدليس  
 وصادق في فعله وهو البازل للمجهود من نفسه باخراج وجود  
 راحته وصادق بقلبه وهو القصد اليه في فعله . فعند وجود

<sup>١</sup> ٤، xxxiii. Qwa.

<sup>٢</sup> الإخلاص

<sup>٣</sup> يعلو



الفعل من الآفة. فالصدق الذي هو عند الخلق صدق فرق بينه  
 وبين الاخلاص والصدق الذي عند الله تعالى هو الصدق مع  
 الاخلاص. وقد يقال فلان صادق لما يرى عليه من صفات  
 العلم وبذل المجهود منه ولا يقال فلان مخلص لغيبة الخلق  
 عن علم إخلاصه فالصدق مشهود في صفة الصادق والاخلاص  
 معدوم من مشهده فالصادق موصوف بحسن صفات شاهده منسوب  
 الى الصدق بدلائل ظاهره مع وجود أوائل الاخلاص في  
 باطنه باق عليه علم موارد الاشياء عند وروده يقبل ما  
 وافق الأول من معنى قصده ويرد ما خالف علم ظاهره ؛  
 فالاخلاص يعلو الصدق لوجود زيادة العلم مع وجود قسوة

١ يقول

٢ يعلم

بصدقهم وقد سمى الله تعالى الصادقين في موضع آخر على  
غير هذا المعنى فقال عز وجل " هذا يوم ينفع الصادقين  
صدقهم " فكان الصدق في الأول علما للخلق وفصلا بينهم  
وبين الإخلاص لأن الإخلاص موجود في صفة الخلق عند  
حالين : حال الاعتقاد والنية وحال الفعل والعمل فالإخلاص  
( ٦٢ ) فالإخلاص في صفة الصادق موجود في العقد غير  
منسوب إلى الصدق إلا بوجود [أوائل الإخلاص في باطنه] وفاق  
عليه علم موارد الأشياء عند ممارسة الفعل بالجوارح والتخلص  
لفعله عن عوارض أضداد الإخلاص حتى سمي مخلصا . فأول  
الإخلاص أن يفرد الله تعالى بالإرادة والثاني أن يخلص

Q. 122, v. 1

عن عوارض الأضداد والتخلص لفعله

فإنك سألت عن الفرق بين الاخلاص والصدق فمعنى الصدق  
القيام على النفس بالحراسة والرعاية لها بعد الوفاء منك بما  
عليك مما دلتك العلم عليه في إقامة حدود الاحوال ففى  
الظاهر مع حسن القصد الى الله عز وجل فى اول الفعل  
فالصدق موجود فى حقيقة صفات الإرادة <sup>براية</sup> عند الإرادة بالقيام  
بما دعيت اليه فى حقيقة إرادتك مما طرق الحق لك اليه  
والمبادرة فيه بالخروج عن موافقة النفس لطلب الراحة مع  
انتصاب العلم لك وموافقتك له بخروجك متن التأويل . فالصدق  
موجود قبل وجود حقيقة الاخلاص وقد قال الله عز وجل  
" ليسأل الصادقين " ثم سألهم بعد ما أتوا بالصدق: ما أرادوا

من كلام الامام ابي القاسم الجنيد بن محمد

قدس الله روحه ونور ضريحه

في الفرق بين الاخلاص والصدق

[٦١ج]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله وسلام على عباده الذين اصطفى

قال الشيخ الامام ابو القاسم الجنيد قدس الله روحه ونور ضريحه -

انسك الله بقربه وجدد لك في كل <sup>وقت</sup> من الزيادة في بره وسترك

(ب) في ظلال جناح رحمته وجعل مأواك في جواره

الذي أسكن فيه <sup>١</sup> أرواح أهل خاصته الذين تولاهم بحياطته

فلم يلحقهم لاحق ولم يقطعهم قاطع ولم يشغلهم شاغل وصى

الله على نبيه وعلى أهل بيته وأصحابه وسلم . أما بعد

أفيها

يضجون . قد جمع أنفاسهم في أنفاسهم ، وجلس أرواحهم في

أرواحهم ، فهم به عليه يترددون ، ومنه به اليه يتوحدون . وهذا

بعض علم التوحيد مما لوح اليه به صفوته • تم بحمد الله

ومنه صلى الله على محمد وآله وسلم تسليما

وكانت نسخة الاصل أعجمية سقيمة جدا

فلتتوقع نسخة صحيحة للمقابلة ان شاء الله

تعالى

لديهم بأنباء كون دوارك الوفاء والاحتواء <sup>على</sup> كل محبوب ومطلوب  
ومرغوب ، باستتمام كمال المصافاة واتحاد منح الموالاة ، ثم يعطف  
عليهم فيمضي قرار أمن ما أحلمهم فيه بأشهاده إياهم  
الغيبية عنهم والاخذ بما أقبل <sup>به</sup> عليهم وانتزاع لكل ما أنسهم  
من منحه وعطف عليهم به من بذله وأوقف عليهم لما يريد  
أن يبلغهم إليه ويطلبهم به ، أضداد الشواهد المتقدمة ، فلو  
رأيتهم بعين إيشاده إياهم وكون فيما فيه أحلمهم لرأيت  
رهائن أشباح أسرى واجتياح جوائب أرواح سرى قد رهقهم  
بالمحو في ملكوت عزه وأرهقهم بفرط ابتلاء الحق لهم بفقد  
ما هم به منه يصرخون وبه إليه في غمرات الكرب

١ واجتياح جوائب

٢ بالمحو

من حيث لا تتال به إلا به، إن أدرك الحق بإدراكك في  
 إدراكك، ومن بعض ما أوجد الحق في اسم التفرقة أن حبس  
 به إظهار ما ألبسهم وإظهار ما به حبسهم، فكانوا  
 في إبدائه شواهد مكنون إخفائه، فكلما طالعهم بما لاحظهم  
 أروى مستدرك المكان يكون خفي الكتمان، وهم في شواهد ما  
 يطالعهم به على ترادف ما أطلعهم به عليه، ثم يطالعهم  
 فيها به يطالعهم مطالعات سر المحترز المرتجف عليهم بسـ  
 في إظهار ما كمنه، وذلك قبل أن يشرف (٦٠ ب) بهم على  
 حجاب غريب هذه الصفة، ثم يبدلهم شواهد البذل ومستعطفات  
 ؟  
 سوابق الأمر ويظهر لهم به عند إقباله به عليهم وإجلاله منزلة

٤ إجلاله

١ ابتدائه

٢ تشرف به

٣ يسبأ

على الانفصال من غير انفصام، وعلا بالالف من غير جنس النظام  
فعالي بظاهرة ويطاير أيداه بتمكين أحكامه . فتصاؤل عند ذلك  
الصول، وتفاخر الفخر، وتقاهر القهر . فأين الأين عند ذلك، وليس  
يحين أينه، وأين زهاب الأين على دوام أزليته، وأين مالا يابأين  
له، ولا أين فيه، على تفرد الألوهية . وهو بعض ما لوح الحق  
به في اسم الجمع . ثم يجري فيهم ما توقع منهم به النظر  
في شواهد ما لاقى الحق به من هذا نعت، على اسمه  
المنفرد وعلمه المجرد . فهذه إشارة ما لا يقع به الشرح أكثر . ثم  
لا ينال فهم ذلك من جنس الإشارة إلا بتقدم الكون في—ما  
تقدم به النعت، وقد طويت ما فيها ولم أفصح به فخذها

١ لا قًا

٢ طوى



الحق بالحق للحق قائماً . وكان الحق بالحق للحكم حاكماً . وتوحد  
 في تفرد جبروته أحداً فرداً صمداً . وهذا أول شاهد إنزاله  
 من أنزل في غلبة هذا الاسم عليه ، وأحلّه به ، لديه ، وتابع  
 مع ذلك ما أمكن في أجنان صوته به له ، من أسماء الحسنى  
 ما وقعت إليه الإشارة ( ٦ ١ ) وما لم يقع من أسماء الجمع  
 والتفرقة على ما شاء من الإبداء والإخفاء . فمنها ما بدت فسى  
 شواهدا ، وظهرت في مطالبها ، وعلت في مذاهبها ، وسرحت في  
 مساكنها ، وترددت في مراكبها . ثم تفاقمت النعوت بجواز الاحتواء  
 على ما تكيفته الحقيقة فسترته ، وكملت فيه فغيبته ، وطوت عليه  
 فكتمته ، وتمكنت منه فاتلفتها ، وغلبت عليه فقهرته . ثم تذهب بوادئها

اتفاق

بوادئها

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

ومن كلام الجنيد قدس الله روحه

في الألوهية

قال أبو القاسم الجنيد رحمه الله تعالى : اعتزل الحق بهم

وجردت الألوهية لهم . فكان أول وارد الحق بتأدية شواهد إبرازه

لهم وإنزاله إياهم في أول الألوهية . أنزل الأزلية على سرمد

الأبد ، في ديمومية البقاء إلى ما ليس له غاية ولا منتهى . ثم

أتبع مع ذلك بشاهد منيع العز وطول الفجر وظهور القهوير

وشامخ العلو وقاهر السطوة وشدة الصولة وعظيم الكبرياء وجليل

الجبرياء . فاعتزل منفردا بذلك وتكبر وتعالى بالعظمة . فكان

كان مطالبهم ومانعوه ما كان مانعهم وتعرفوا منه ما عرفوه واليه هم

لا بهم . حلوا بمحل القوة ونالوا حقائق الخطوة وتعالوا الى حقيقة

الحضرة فأقام عليهم شاهدا منه فيهم وأدركوا منه به ما أدركوا

وأوقف كل واحد منهم عند إدراكه وأفرد كل ما أنفرد منه . تعالى

الله عن صفة الخلاق وعز أن تشبه به الخلاق علواً كبيراً .

تم بحمد الله ومنه

معلوم ولا يستريحوا الى موجود . امتلأ بهم بلا إشارة الى صفاتهم  
ولا رسوم من رسوم الموصوفات ولا البواعث منه اليها وامتحت شواهد  
في الآثار حين لا يوجد السبيل إلى درك الشفاء على خالص  
الوجود المستولى عليه من الحق تعالى كذلك من صفته العليا  
وقوة شاهده وبادر سلطانه ؛ وانما جرت [سنة] البلاء على أهل  
البلاء حين جاذبوا واقاموا وثبتوا ولم ينخدعوا أقيم عليهم ما محققهم  
في نفس القوة وعلو المرتبة وشرق المنزلة وسناء النسبة ثم احضرهم  
الفنا في فنائهم واشهدهم الوجود في وجودهم فكان ما احضرهم  
[سترًا خفيًا وحجابًا لطيفًا]  
منهم واشهدهم الوجود في وجودهم [أدركوا به عظيم الفقد (٥٩ ب)]  
[تليق]  
وشدة الاستينار ما لا يليق به العلم ولا الآثار بصفته فطالبوه فيما

adding from Fanā'

انتمالى من الحق

٤ بوارد

٥ وقالوا

٤ adding from Fanā'

بعضهم عن بعض فهم في حضورهم فقد ؛ وفي متعتهم بالمشاهدة  
 كمال الجهد لانه قد محى عنهم كل رسم ومعنى بجدوه بهم ؛  
 ويشهدوه من حيث هم لما استولى عليهم فمحاها وعن صفاتهم أفناهم  
 وإنما معنى ذلك أن تودى الحقيقة من الحق ما يشاء كيف أثبت  
 بهم وعليهم وقام عنهم بمالههم وثبت دواعى ذلك عليهم وفيهم من  
 جنس كماله وتماه فوجد النعيم من غير جنس النعيم ووجد البلاء  
 فى معلم النعيم ووجد الوجود فى غير سبيل الوجود باستئثار الحق  
 واستيلاء القهر فلما فقدت الأرواح النعيم الغيبى الذى لا تحاسه  
 النفوس ولا تقارنه الحسوس ألقت فناها عنها وطرحتهم فى مفارز  
 مهلكات بلواها ثم ألقت بعد إلفهم للقاء فناء لأن لا يجدوا طعم

وجود نعيم لا كالنعيم ؛ مستحيلة في المعاني متفقة الأسامي متصادقة

في ذوق نعيمها متلونة في رسوم شواهدا تبدو بنعيمها فسي  
طوالع شواهدا وتتلون في ذوق مرارات طعمها ؛ كَهَيْجُ أَفْكارهم في  
محبوبهم وتذمت ~~الكل~~ أذكارهم في أَسْراؤهم ؛ هاجت عليهم عند  
ذلك بحار الغيرة تتلاطم أمواجها <sup>ب</sup>بِأَعْظَمُ البلاء عند تصفحهم لواردها

واضحلت نفوسهم عند توقعهم إياها وقام عليهم كل معلوم نكرا  
وثبت كل نكر ( ١٥٩ ) معلوما ؛ برزوا بعلم الحقيقة لدى الحق ؛

حين أوجدتهم حقيقة الحق نسبة منه <sup>٢</sup>لا إلى الواجد لها ؛ كان  
ذلك كمال الجهد لديه . ثم لم يجعل لبلائهم أساميا فيستريحون ؛

ولا لجهدهم معلوما فيتنعمون ؛ شغل بعضهم عن بعض ؛ وأفرد

أَبْدُوا

لَدَا

وَاحِدُهُ إِلَيْهِ

غوامض مكنونات علمه وجمعهم به • ثم فرقهم ثم غيبهم في جمعهم

وأحضرهم في تفريقهم فكان غيبهم سبب حضورهم وحضورهم سبب

غيبهم • اختطفهم بالشواهد البادية<sup>١</sup> منه عليهم حين أحضرهم

واستلبهم عنها حين غيبهم ؛ أكمل فنائهم<sup>٢</sup> في حال بقائهم وبقائهم<sup>٣</sup>

في حال فنائهم • أحاطت الأمور بهم حين أجرى عليهم مراده

من حيث يشاء بصفته المتعالية التي لا يشارك فيها • فكان ذلك<sup>٤</sup>

الوجود أتم الوجود وهو أولى وأعلى وأحق بالقهر والغلبة وصحة

الاستيلاء على ما بدا منه عليهم حتى يمحى أثرهم ويمحى رسومهم

ويذهب وجودهم ؛ إذ لا صفة بشرية ولا وجود معلومية ولا أثر

مفهومية ؛ إنما هي تليسات<sup>٥</sup> على الأرواح ما لها من الأزلية ؛ ذوق

البادي

١ فنائهم

٢ بقاؤهم

٣ كان

٤ ملبسوات

عليه السلام فقال جل وعز " وإذ اخذ ربك من بنى آدم من  
 ظهورهم ذريتهم وأشهدهم على أنفسهم ألست بربكم " .<sup>١</sup> فقد  
 أخبر جل ذكره أنه خاطبهم وهم غير موجودين إلا بوجوده لهم  
 إذ كانوا واجدين للحق من غير وجودهم لأنفسهم فكان الحق  
 بالحق في ذلك (ذهب) موجودا بالمعنى الذى لا يعلمه غيره  
 ولا يجده سواه ؛ فقد كان واجدا محيطا شاهدا عليهم .<sup>٢</sup> بدأهم  
 فى حال فنايهم الذين كانوا فى الأزل للازل ، أولئك هم الموجودون  
 القانون فى حال فنايهم الباقيون فى بقايهم ؛ أحاطت بهم صفات  
 الربانية وآثار الأزلية وأعلام الديمومية ؛ أظهر<sup>٣</sup> هذه عليهم لما أراد  
 فناهم ليدىم بقاءهم هناك وليفسح<sup>٤</sup> لهم فى علم الغيب غيبه ؛ وليريهم

٤ ظهر

<sup>١</sup> Quran VII. 171

<sup>٢</sup> كان

<sup>٣</sup> وافرا ~~As for~~ Fana' see



ثم إِنَّ اللَّهَ عز وجل صفوة من عباده وخلصاء من خلقه  
 انتخبهم للولاية واستخلصهم للكرامة وأفردهم به ؛ جعل أجسامهم  
 دنياوية وأرواحهم نورانية وأوهامهم روحانية وأفهامهم عرشية وعقولهم  
 حجبية ؛ جعل أوطان أرواحهم غيبية في مغيب الغيب • جعل  
 لهم تسرحا في غوامض غيوب الملكوت ؛ ليس لهم مأوى<sup>٢</sup> إلا إِلَيْهِ ؛  
 ولا مستقر إلا عنده ؛ أولئك الذين أوجدهم لديه في كون الأزل  
 عنده ومراكب الأحذية لديه ؛ حين دعاهم فأجابوا سراعاً كروما منه  
 عليهم وتفضلاً ؛ أجاب به عنهم حين أوجدهم ؛ فهم الدعوة منه ؛  
 وعرفهم نفسه حين لم يكونوا إلا مشيئة أقامها بين يديه ؛ نقلهم  
 بإرادته ثم جعلهم كذر أخرجهم بمشيئته خلقا فأودعهم صلب آدم

<sup>١</sup> دنياوية

<sup>٢</sup> مأوى

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم [١٥٨]

ومن كلام الجنيد رحمه الله في قوله تعالى " وإن أخذ  
ريك " قال كاتبه يليق بهذا الكتاب أن يسمى "كتاب  
الميثاق" ولسهل رحمه الله كلام في ذلك سمي  
بكتاب الميثاق

الحمد لله الذي جعل ما أنعم على عباده من إبنزاع نعمته

دليلاً هادياً لهم إلى معرفته . بما أفادهم به من الأفهام والأوهام

التي يفهمون بها رجع الخطاب؛ أحمداء دائماً ديمومياً وأشكره

شكراً قائماً قيبومياً؛ وأشهد أن لا إله إلا الله الفرد الفريد الأحد

الوحيد الصمد القدوس وأشهد أن محمداً صلى الله عليه وسلم

الكامل بالنبوة والتام للرسالة صلى الله عليه وعلى آله أجمعين .

اليهم اقاموا في قهره انتظار امره ليقضى الله امرا كان مفعولا

واهل البلاء يقسمون<sup>١</sup> على قسمين فمنهم من أوى<sup>٢</sup> النسي

بلايه فساكن مراده<sup>٣</sup> وما بلى<sup>٤</sup> هواه في الأشياء إيثارا<sup>٥</sup> لمتعة

نفسه وتمتعه بوجود حسه<sup>٦</sup> حتى أجمأ<sup>٧</sup> به<sup>٨</sup> ومكر به وأزال

بالمكر عنه مزيلة حاله واعتد ببلائه شرفا<sup>٩</sup> • وروى ان سبب

الخروج سبب النقصان والضعف •

تم كتاب الفناء وكانت النسخة المنقول منها نسخة

أعجمية كثيرة السقم جدا فلتتوقع نسخة مرضية

للتصحيح بها إن شاء الله • والحمد لله وصلواته

على سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه وسلم

اليقسموا

١ أو

٢ الخا به

متعلقة بآثار المحبوب فيما يبدو<sup>١</sup> • وكل إبعاد تراه بعين  
 اليقظة<sup>٢</sup> خفيت خفاء<sup>٣</sup> لفقد سترها فما استترت • وابتلاها فما  
 نكلت • وكيف تستتر وهي مأسورة لديه محتسبة له بين يديه •  
 سمحت له بهلاكها فيما أبدى عليها من ابتلائها ولم تعين  
 على الاهتمام بأنفسها • استغناء بحبه وتعلقا به في محل  
 قربه • ترى مقادير الألفاظ منه في سرعة يقظتها •  
 تستغرق هلاكها بالجاري عليها في دوام البقاء وتشديد البلاء •  
 حتى امتعها بلاؤها وأنسها به بقاؤها • لما رآته قريبا  
 لمتعها<sup>٤</sup> • ونتأت<sup>٥</sup> بلسعتها فلم تلو<sup>٦</sup> عن حمله كلالاً • ولا  
 برمت به ملالاً • هم الأبطال فيما جرى عليهم لما أُسِر

٥ وأما

٦ تلو

١ يبدو

٢ هامد حيا

٣ عليه

٤ منها

اتصلوا بحادث الحق فيهم<sup>١</sup> وجارى حكمه عليهم تغرّبت اسرارهم

وتألمت ارواحهم عمر<sup>٢</sup> الأبد لا تأويها المواطن ولا تجنّسها

الاماكن . نحن الى مبتليها<sup>٣</sup> حنيناً وتثن<sup>٤</sup> ( ٥٧ ب ) بفناء

الناس عنها<sup>٤</sup> أنينا . قد شجاها فقدانها وزللها وجدانها

أسوفة عليه موجعة لديه متشوقة في الوجد اليه . أعقبها بها

ظماً ، ويزيد الظماً في أحشائها نماء . فهي الكلفة

بمعرفتها السخية بفقدها . أقام لها عطشها إليه في كل

مأتم<sup>٥</sup> مأتما . ورفع لها في كل كسوة علما . يذيقها طعم

الفقر . ويجدد عليها رؤية احتمال الجهد . مالة مع

آثار المون . نواقة الى<sup>٥</sup> منفلات الشجا ، طلبة لشفائها .

٥ مختلفات (عزومات)

١ فيها

٢ عز

٣ باب

٤ الساب

عن الغاقة وتركوا المطالعة وألبسوا الظفر بجهد الاقتدار  
 وصوله الافتخار وكانوا بذلك ناظرين إلى الأشياء بما لهم دون  
 التعرّيج على ماله ، بإقامة الفرق والفصل لما رأوا ووجدوا  
 بالعينين فاستولى بالأمرين<sup>١</sup> . فإذا بدت عليهم بوادي الحق  
 ألجأ منه لهم مما لهم على التجريد اقتدارا وافتخارا .  
 أخرجوا عن ذلك غير مشاكين له مؤثرين لما انفردت به  
 متعتمهم دالة عليهم<sup>٢</sup> ويقينا بالسماحة . لا يرون رجوعا عليهم  
 ولا مطالبة تجري عليهم . فإذا كان ذلك أحاط بهم المكسر  
 من حيث لا يعلمون . قلت : قد أغريت على عقلي وزدت في  
 خيالي<sup>٣</sup> فادن من فهمي . قال : ان اهل البلاء لـ

حباي<sup>٤</sup>

١ لما راو بوحد بالعينين

٢ الأمرين

٣ عليهم

ثم احضرهم الفناء في فنائهم واشهدهم الوجود في وجودهم

فكان ما احضرهم منهم واشهدهم من انفسهم سترًا خفيًا

وحجابًا لطيفًا أدركوا به غصة القصد وشدة الجهد والاستثمار

بما لا تلحق به العلل ولا تليق الآثار بصفته . فطالبوه فيما

كان مطالبهم ومانعوه ما كان مانعهم وتعرفوا منه ما عرفوه

من نفوسهم لا بهم . حلوا بمحل القوة ونالوا حقائق الخطوة

فأقيم عليهم مشغلًا لهم فتشأ منه فيهم تمام كان ولا كان

على الصفة وان كانت غصة البلاء تزيد .

قلت : فصف لي تلوين البلاء عليهم في مواطنهم العجيب

ومنزلهم القريب . قال : إنهم استغنوا بما كان بدا فخرجوا

لاستثمار ما لا تلحق به العلل احضار ما يلحق العلل به  
وتليق الآثار بصفته . فطالبوه فيما كان مطالبهم وما يعرفونها من  
نفوسهم لا بهم . حلوا بمحل القوة ونالوا حقائق الخطوة

احضروها

واشهاد

لما طالبوه<sup>١</sup> في مراده ومانعوه عن أنفسهم فطووا<sup>٢</sup> له في  
استيلائه عليهم بساط البلاء على صفاتهم لأن لذة الاشياء  
فيهم • سترهم به ليقضون <sup>كسبتهم</sup> بايديهم ويحترفون بحسوسهم ويلسذون  
برؤية أنفسهم<sup>٣</sup> في مواطن الفخر ونتائج الذكر وغلبات القهر  
وانني لك بعلم ذلك وليس يعلمه إلا أهله ولا يجده سواهم  
ولا يطيقه غيرهم • أو تدري<sup>٤</sup> لم طالبوه ومانعوه فتوصلوا بما  
منه بدا إليه واستعانوا في التوصل بالحقائق عليه ؟ لأنه  
أوجدتهم <sup>عليهم</sup> وجوده لهم وثبت فيهم وعليهم غيب سرائره  
الواصلة اليه • فامسحت<sup>٥</sup> الآثار وانقطعت<sup>٦</sup> الأوطار حتى توالت

( ١٥٧ ) النسب وتعالى الرتب بفقدان الحس وفناء النفس •

١ طالبوه  
٢ فطووا  
٣ برؤية  
٤ لم  
٥ قامتها  
٦ وانقطع



١ بحقيقته • ذاهباً عن الحضور ما هو به إقتداراً من الغالب

٢ له القائم به المستولى عليه • حتى اذا أحضر وأشهد ضمن

٣ حضوره الاستيثار وامحت في شهوده الآثار حتى لا يجد

٤ السبيل إلى درك الشفاء على خالص الوجود من الحق تعالى • <sup>المستولى عليه</sup>

٥ كذلك يرى في صفته العليا وأسمائه الحسنى • وإنما جرت

٦ سنة البلاء على أهل البلاء من ههنا حتى جاذبوا واقاموا<sup>٨</sup>

ولم ينخدعوا • أقيم عليهم ما محقق في نفس القوة وعملوا

٩ المرتبة وشرق النسبة •

١٠ قلت : فما أعجبك [ما] أخبرتني به وإن أهل هذه النسبة العالمية

ليجري عليهم البلاء ؟ فكيف ذلك حتى أعلمه ؟ قال : افهم !

١ وذاهباً

٢ الخطر

٣ في الآثار

٤ تعالى من الحق

٥ يرى

٦ الحنا

٧ سنت

٨ وثبقتوا

٩ النيب

١٠

Milbaq

الفقد بها متصلة في حال حضورها وكائن وجودها • ولذلك  
 نأقت الى الشهوة ورجعت الى الحاجة • وكيف لا يكلمها اخراجها  
 بعد غيابها وتوقانها بعد امتلائها ؟ فمن ههنا عرجت نفوس  
 العارفين الى الأماكن النظرة والمناظر الأنقة والرياض الخضرة  
 وكائن ما سوى ذلك عذاب عظيم عليهم مما تحن إليه من أمرها  
 الأول الذي تشتمله الغيوب ويستأثر به المحبوب • ويحك إن  
 إشارته ( ٥٦ ب ) الى الصفة إشارة لا يشارك فيها ومراده  
 فيها ومنها هو ما استأثر به عليها • فمن كان مستترا أو  
 ذاكرة لها أو مختصا بها كان لا ينبغي للمراد بذلك حضور  
 البوادي عليه ولا البواعث منه إليه • فتأمن صفته عن الفناء  
 ما أخرجه

عن كل رسم ومعنى يجدوه بهم أو يشهدوه من حيث هم  
 بما استولى عليهم فمحاها وعن صفاتهم<sup>١</sup> أفناهم حتى قام بهم  
 وقام عنهم بما لهم وثبت دواعي<sup>٢</sup> ذلك عليهم وفيهم من جنس  
 كماله وتماه فوجدوا النعيم به غيباً بأمتع الوجود على غير  
 سبيل الوجود لاستئثار الحق واستيلاء القهر فلما فقدت الارواح  
 النعيم الغيبي الذي لا تحاسه النفوس ولا تقارنه<sup>٣</sup> الحسوس  
 ألقت فناها عنها ووجدت بقاها بمنع فناها فاذا احضرها<sup>٤</sup>  
 أثبتها وأوجدتها جنسها واستترت بذلك عما كانت به وكان بها<sup>٥</sup>  
 فقست بنفسها وألقت بجنسها إذ أفقدها التمام الأول والإكرام<sup>٦</sup>  
 الأكمل ، وردت الى تعلم وتعقل فالحسرة فيها مستكنة وغصة

<sup>٨</sup> استترت

<sup>٤</sup> تقاومه

<sup>١</sup> صفاته

<sup>٥</sup> وجدت

<sup>٢</sup> دواع

<sup>٦</sup> حضرها

<sup>٣</sup> لاستئثار

<sup>٧</sup> حبسها

فعل الله عز وجل فيه ومواهبه له منسوبة إليه لا إلى الواجد  
لها لأنها لم تكن عنه ولا منه ولا به، وإنما كانت واقعة عليه  
من غيره وهي لغيرها أولى وبه أخرى. وكذلك جاز أن تكون  
بهذه الصفة الخفية وهي غير منتسبة به على النحو الذي ذكرناه.  
( ٥٦ أ ) قلت: كيف يكون الحضور سبب الفقد والمتعة بالمشاهدة  
بالمشاهدة كمال الجهد وإنما علم الناس هاهنا أنهم  
يتمتعون ويجدون بالحضور، لا يجهدون في ذلك ولا يفقدون.  
قال: ذلك علم العامة المعروف وسبيل وجودهم الموصوف، فأما  
أهل الخاصة والخاصة المختصة الذين غربوا لغربة أحوالهم  
فإن حضورهم فقد وتمتعهم بالمشاهدة جهد، لأنهم قد محسوا

١ ومواهبه

٢ واقفة به

٣ وكما

وإن الدليل على ذلك من الخبر الموجود أليس قد روى عن  
 النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم إنه قال قال الله عز وجل "لا  
 يزال عبدي يتقرب إلي بالنوافل حتى أحبه فإذا أحببته كنت  
 سمعه الذي يسمع به وبصره الذي يبصر به" وفي الحديث  
 زيادة في الكلام غير أني قصدت الحجة منه في هذا الموضع  
 فإذا كان سمعه الذي يسمع به وبصره الذي يبصر به فكيف  
 [تكيّف] ذلك بكيفيته أو تحده بحد تعلمه ولو ادعى ذلك مدع  
 لأبطل في دعواه لأننا لا نعلم ذلك كائناً بجهة من الجهات  
 تعلم أو تعرف، وإنما معنى ذلك أنه يؤيده ويوقفه ويهديه  
 ويشهده ما شاء كيف شاء بإصابة الصواب وموافقة الحق . وذلك  
 مدعى

لا من جنس السخاء المعلم اذ كان عز وجل لا يحس يحس  
 ولا يحس ولا يبدل ذاتيته ولا يعلم أحد كيفية لطائفه في  
 خلقه . وإنما معنى ذلك رباني لا يعلمه غيره ولا يقدر (هـ ب)  
 عليه إلا هو، ولهذا قلنا إن الحق أقنى ما بدى عليه وإذا  
 استولى كان أولى بالاستيلاء وأحق بالغلبة والقهر .

قلت: فما يجد أهل هذه الصفة وقد محوت اسم وجودهم  
 وعلومهم ؟ قال: وجودهم بالحق بهم وما بدى عليهم بقول  
 وسلطان غالب، لا ما طالبوه فأدركوه وتوهموه بعد الغلبة،  
 فيحققها ويفنيها فإنه غير متشبهت بهم ولا منسوب اليهم، وكيف  
 يصفون أو يجدون ما لم يقوموا فيحملوه أو يقاوموه فيعلموه <sup>ولا</sup>

<sup>١</sup> يعلم

<sup>٢</sup> اقنا

<sup>٣</sup> ولا

سواء فقد كان واجدا محيطا شاهدا عليهم بديا في حال  
[في الأزل]

فنائهم عن بقائهم، الذين كانوا للازل فذلك هو الوجود الرباني

والإدراك الإلهي الذي لا ينبغي إلا له جل وعز، ولذلك قلنا

إنه إذا كان واجدا للعبد يجري عليه مراده من حيث يشاء

بصفته المتعالية التي لا يشارك فيها كان ذلك الوجود أتم

الوجود وأمضاء لا محالة وهو أولى وأغلب وأحق بالقلبة والقهر

وصحة الاستيلاء على ما يبدو عليه حتى يحس رسمه عامة

ويذهب وجوده، إذ لا صفة بشرية، ووجود ليس يقوم به، لما

ذكرنا تعالى من الحق وقهره، إنما هذا تلبس على الأرواح

[من] نعيم ليس جنس النعيم المعقول وسخاء بالحق  
[من] نعيم ليس جنس النعيم المعقول وسخاء بالحق

add. in Kitab al-Nithaq (6) AL-Mudhah

Om.

الموجود

يبدو

وإن كان هذا تلبسا

حالي ثم ابدى علي من شاهد قاهر وظاهر شاهر ( ٥٥ أ )  
 أفناني بإنشائي كما أنشائي بديا في حال فنائي ، فلم أؤثر<sup>٤</sup>  
 عليه لبراءته من الآثار ، ولم أخبر عنه إذ كان متوليا للأخبار .  
 أليس قد محى رسمي بصفته وبامتحائي فات علمي بقي في  
 قربه ، فهو المبدئ كما هو المعيد . قلت : فما قولك أفساني  
 بإنشائي كما أنشائي بديا في حال فنائي . قال : أليس تعلم  
 أنه عز وجل قال " وإذا أخذ ربك من بنى آدم " إلى  
 قوله " شهدنا " فقد أخبرك عز وجل أنه خاطبهم وهم  
 غير موجودين إلا بوجوده لهم إذ كان واجدا للخلقة بغير  
 معنى وجوده لأنفسها بالمعنى الذي لا يعلمه غيره ولا يجده

٤ ليس

٥ ١٩١ . VII . ١٣٣٥

١ مالي

٢ ابدى

٣ اؤثر



كانت به الدعوة ووجدت به أسباب الحظوة<sup>١</sup> من بوادي الغيوب  
 وقرب المحبوب . ثم سمعته يقول : وهبني ثم استتر بي عني  
 فانا أضر الأشياء عليّ ، الويل لي مني ! أكادني وعنه بغي خدعني  
 كان حضوري سبب فقدي وكانت متعتي بمشاهدتي كمال جهدي  
 فالآن عدمت قواي لفناء<sup>٢</sup> سري ، لا أجد ذوق الوجود ، ولا أخلو<sup>٣</sup>  
 من تمكين الشهود ، ولا أجد نعيما من جنس النعيم ولا [أجدا]  
 التعذيب من جنس التعذيب ، فطارت المذاقات عني وتفانت  
 اللغات من وضعي<sup>٤</sup> ، فلا صفة تبدي<sup>٥</sup> ولا داعية تحدي<sup>٦</sup> ، كان الأمر  
 في إبدائه كما لم يزل في ابتدائه . قلت : فما أبان منك هذا  
 النطق ولا صفة تبدو<sup>٧</sup> ولا داعية تحدد<sup>٨</sup> قال : نطقت بغيتي عن

أخلوا<sup>٩</sup>

وضعي<sup>٦</sup>

تبدوا<sup>٧</sup>

تحدد<sup>٨</sup>

الظفر corrected in margin

عزمت

لغناء

لاحد

٤

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم [٥٤ب]

الحمد لله وصلواته على محمد وآله وسلم تسليما

### كتاب الفناء

كلام الإمام أبي القاسم الجنيد بن محمد قدس الله روحه

الحمد لله الذي قطع العلائق عن المنقطعين إليه، ووهب الحقائق

للمتصلين به المعتمدين عليه، حين أوجدتهم، ووهب لهم حبسه،

فأثبت العارفين في حربه وجعلهم درجات في مواهبه، وأراهم

قوة أبادها عنه، ووهبهم منه من فضله، فلم تعترض عليهم

الخطرات بملكها، ولم تلتق بهم الصفات المسببة للنقائص في

نسبتهم، لانتسابهم إلى حقائق التوحيد بنفاذ التجريد فيما

أوهبهم

أشرك ونبتهمج بعظم ما وهبه الله لك فان كان ذلك عندك مما

نستحقه فعلته والا جعلت ذلك تطوعا منك علينا وامتنانا يصل

منك إلينا وعليك سلام الله ورحمته وعلى جميع إخواننا •

الفهما بعد عبور ذلك وتجاوزه الى ما لو سفع سانح لتعبيره  
 وجرى الحكم ببعض وصف تفسيره " لخشعت الوجوه للحن القيوم  
 وقد خاب من حمل ظلما " . يا أخى لا عدمت اشارتك  
 بالحق على ما بسط الحق اليك وقرت عينى فيك بـبلوغ  
 النهاية الى ما اطلعك الحق عليه . أنت بعض أناسي  
 وشركاء رغبتى وكبير من كبراء أخوتى وخل من آخلاء قلبي بخالص  
 محبتى أأست أحد من بقى من كبراء أخواننا وأحد المشار  
 اليهم من أبناء جنسنا ومن عظمت نعمة الله علينا فيه فيما  
 وهبه لنا منه . لا بدع يا أخى متفضلا متطولا محسنا مكاتبتنا  
 ومواصلتنا نستريح عند ذلك الى طيب خبرك ونتفرج ببقا  
 Qur. XX, 110 "وعنت الوجوه ... " but <sup>not</sup> corr. above

١٠ الىه

١١ اطلع

( ٣٤ ١ ) أحكام أولئك في أحكامهم واستمر مترادف الزلل على  
 مضى أيامهم وكان عندهم أنهم أولئك وليسوا بأولئك وقوى عليهم  
 موهم حالهم أنهم فيما هنالك • هيهات هيهات ما أبعد من  
 ذلك منازلهم وما أعظم ما يجرى عليهم من الخلل توهم حالهم  
 أعاننا الله وأياك يا أخى من كل حال لا تكون لمحض  
 الحقيقة متصادفة ولا تكون لما أحكمه الحق مؤالف • ومع ما  
 ذكرته من هذه الحال وما فيها فهي واسطة بين حالين والذي  
 جرى منها فرق اذا انكشفت بين منزلتين وليس مراد الحق بها  
 هي بعينها لكن ذلك على صحة كونه ليكشف بها ما وراءها •  
 وعلم الأكابر ومنازل العظماء وأماكن الحكماء وصرح حقيقة فهم

في أنفاسهم

ناجيا؟ ولا المتناع بالاستعصام من طلبها خارجا حبست أنفاسهم

فهم على فرط البلاء كاظمون وتغصصوا بتجرع المر المتلف فهم

على التلف مشرفون فلو أطلقت الأرواح أن تفيض لكان في ذلك

راحتهما لكنه في الموت ألم مذاق الموت حابسها لا يأملون بعد

الموت فرجا ولا لهم قبل الموت فرجة من فرط البلاء مخرجها

يا أخي هؤلاء قوم هذه بعض صفاتهم وكرهت الإطالة عليك في

نعت حالهم وسمع سامعون ببعض نعت ما بلغ القوم اليه وما

القوم من حقائق ذلك كائنون<sup>١</sup> لديه فسما<sup>٢</sup> بالهمم انتهاء<sup>٣</sup> الى مط

مطالبته قبل النزول بالكون في محض حقيقته • وشبه عليهم فيه

للكائنات المخطئ وخفي عليهم المعزز<sup>٤</sup> من كون التولي وجرت عليهم

١ كاظمين

٢ كائنين

٣ هاو لا

٤ المعزز

جری الحكم به لا عدمت استعصامك به منه وقيام عصمتك به له  
 غلبت غوالب <sup>قهرقة</sup> قاهرة وبدهت بواده باهرة أودت بقوة سلطانها  
 تقارم سلطانها بالتقاهر فيما قام منها ثم حمل بعضها على بعض  
 فركدت متوارية وهي في الحقيقة بالقوة متظاهرة تحكمت بمنيع عز  
 التصاول بلا أين ولا إلى أين فتكون<sup>١</sup> بكنه<sup>٢</sup> نهاية<sup>٣</sup> ولا إلى مواضع<sup>٤</sup>  
 محدودة فتعرف لها غاية إبادتها إبادة مستظلمة وسطوتها للكل  
 منتظمة. هيه ثم ماذا بعد ذلك نصيبهم غرضا للبلاء وعرضهم  
 للحين والجلاء وأنفذ عليهم المكارة بماضى القضاء وجرعهم الموت  
 صرفا وأجرى عليهم بقدرته ما شاء فمن بين متنازع مستعصم  
 [كان]  
 مغلوب ومن بين مستسلم مغلوب فلا المستسلم فيها باستسلامه

١ متكون

٢ ولاه

٣ مواضع

وانتهت الصفة الى صفته ، ومن وراء ذلك برزخ الى يوم يبعثون  
 واذا بعث الخلق بعد انقضاء مدة برزخهم وأحيى<sup>١</sup> لحقيقة البعث  
 بعد ميّتهم عرفوا إحياء<sup>٢</sup> الحي لمن أحياء وتركه في سرمد البقاء  
 لمن إبقاء وفيما أشرت به من ذلك شرح يطول وصفه ولا يحتمل  
 الكتاب نعتة على كنهه . يا أخى رضى الله عنك وصل كتابك  
 السار ظاهره وباطنه وأوله وآخره . وسررت بما ضمنته من علم  
 غريب وحكم عزيزة وإشارات واضحة منيرة ولم يخف على ما عرضت  
 به مع ما صرّحت به وكل ذلك على علمي به وسبقى الى فهمهم  
 ما قصدت له بين<sup>٣</sup> عندى ( ٣٣ ب ) الى أين ~~مؤيد~~ مؤيد<sup>٤</sup> وإلى  
 أين نهايته ومصدره ومن أين أوله وآخره وكيف جرى على من

<sup>١</sup> انتهت

<sup>٢</sup> وأحياء



يولييك بما ينتخبه لك ويجتبيك ثم ييديك فيما يولييك ويخفيك فسي  
عزيز ما ييديك اعلاء لك عن مصادقة النواظر لحقيقتك وضمن بك  
عن معرفة القلوب لمكانتك. وضم لك بالاشتغال عليك الى مصون  
منزلتك، فكنت عند ذلك بحيث أرمس المكان مكنونه وطمس الدلائل  
عليه من وهم متوهمه. فكنت فيما هنالك بغييب لغييب انتفت عن  
حقائقه الشكوك والريب، كما أن الحقائق بحق اليقين تعلل  
وملاحظة العيان لها محتجة لا تتوهم، ومن وراء ذلك توحيد  
الموحد وروانية الألوهية المنفرد على أولية أزلية وبقاء سرمد الأزلية  
الابدية وهنالك ضلت مقاليد الفهماء ووقفت علم العلماء وانتهت  
اليه غايات حكمة الحكماء وهذه غاية لما هذا نعتنا وسنا ذروة

وبلا حظه

ذروة

غبت لدى الغيب من الغيب بغيبتك ، فأين مالا أين لآينه اذ  
 مؤين الأينات مبيدا<sup>١</sup> لما أينته ، واذا الإباداة مباداة في تأبيد  
 مبيد الأبادات ، واذا الاجتماع فيما تفرق والتفريق فيما جمع  
 فرق في جمع جمعه<sup>٢</sup> ، واذا الجمع بالجمع للجمع جمع فيمما<sup>٣</sup>  
 جمعه .

٣

[رسالة لأبي القاسم الجنيد الى بعض إخوانه]

لا زلت أيتها الموجود بباب الله راتبا ، وبه منه إليه لما يحبه  
 منك طالبا وله في آلائه وغريب أنباته راغبا ، فحبك به عليه فيما  
 يحبه لك ويبلغك إليه باصطفاية الى ما يريدك منك ليصطفيك فيما

١  
لدا٢  
مبيدا٣  
جمعه

وإياك من أقرب أوليائه لديه منزلا • إن ربي سميع قريب •

<

رسالة أبي القاسم الجنيد بن محمد

إلى يحيى بن معاذ الرازي رحمة الله عليهم

لا غبت بك عن شاهدك، ولا غاب شاهدك بك عنك • ولا حُلت  
بتحويلك عن حالك، ولا حال حالك بتحويله عنك • ولا بنت عن  
حقيقة أبنائك، ولا بانة أنباؤك بغيبة الأنبا منك • ولا زلت في  
الأزل شاهد الأزل في أزليتك، ولا زال الأزل يكون لك مؤيدا  
لما زال منك • فكنت بحيث كنت، كما لم تكن ثم كنت، بفردانيتك  
متوحدا، وبوحدانيتك مؤيدا، بلا شاهد من الشواهد يشهدك، ولا

أولياؤه

بالكلاية ويكنف سرائرها بالرعاية ؛ فأين أنت وقد أقبل بك كلك عليه

وأقبل بما يريد منك لديه ؛ وقد بسط لك في استماع الخطاب

ويسطك إلى رد الجواب ؛ فأنت حينئذ يقال لك وأنت قائل وأنت

مسؤول عن (٣ب) أنباتك وأنت مسائل في درر الفرائد وترادف

الشواهد بدوام الزوائد واتصال الفوائد ؛ تهطل بعز من المجيد

عليك من كل جانب ؛ فلولا إحلاله عليك النعمة وتمسيكه لقلبك

بالسكينة ؛ لذهلت عند كون ذلك القلوب ولتمزقت عند حضوره

العقول ؛ لكنه جل ثناؤه وتقدست أسماؤه جاد بالفضل على من

أخلصه وعاد بالعطف على من اصطنعه ؛ فحمل عنهم ما تحمله آياه

وحملوا ما أراد لهم وتفضل به من إداراكهم له ؛ جعلنا الله

الفوائد

رسالة لابن القاسم الجنيد ايضا الى بعض اخوانه

صفا لك من الماجد الجواد جميل ما أولاك • وأخلصك بما  
خصك به وحباك • وكشف لك عن حقيقة ما به بذاك • وأبرك  
بما استأثر به عن سواك • وقربك في الزلفى لديه وأدناك •  
وبسطك بالتأنيس في محل قربه وناجاك • وانتجبك بجميل أمره  
وصافاك • وأيدك في عظيم تلك المواطن وقريب تلك الأماكن بالقوة  
والتمكين والهدوء والدعة والتسكين ؛ لئلا تقوى عليك البدايات  
الواردة والأنباء الغريبة القاصدة ، فيلزمك لقوة ذلك عليك في ابتداء  
خلوصه ؛ ابهات الذهل لما لا تجد لما لا يقال منه محتملا ؛  
فكيف يحتمل ذلك أو تقف العقول بضبط ما هنالك إن لم يمسكها

المحتمل

عدد	مسألة أخرى ( في التوحيد )	صفحة
٩	.....	٥٣
١٠	مسألة أخرى ( في التوحيد )	٥٥
١١	مسألة أخرى ( في التوحيد )	٥٦
١٢	مسألة أخرى ( في التوحيد )	٥٧
١٣	مسألة أخرى ( في التوحيد )	٥٩
١٤	مسألة أخرى ( في التوحيد )	٦٠
١٥	آخر مسألة في التوحيد	٦٣
١٦	أدب المفتقر الى الله	٦٥
١٧	كتاب الجنيد الى أبي يعقوب يوسف بن الحسين	
	الرازي	٧٧

## فهرست

عدد	صفحة
١	رسالة لابي القاسم الجنيد أيضا إلى بعض إخوانه ١
٢	رسالة أبي القاسم الجنيد بن محمد إلى يحيى بن معاذ
المرآة	..... ٣
٣	رسالة لابي القاسم الجنيد الى بعض اخوانه .... ٤
٤	كتاب الغناء ..... ١٢
٥	كتاب الميثاق ..... ٢٨
٦	في الألوهية ..... ٣٦
٧	في الفرق بين الأخلاص والصدق ..... ٤٢
٨	باب آخر في التوحيد ..... ٥٤

# سَائِلُ الْجَنَّةِ

مرها وصحها

على حسن عبد القادر